From Disinterestedness to Engagement
Towards Relational Leadership In the Cultural Sector

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Ph.d. Serie 39.2012

Doctoral School of Organisation
and Management Studies

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In the Cultural Sector

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The Doctoral School of Organisation and Management Studies (OMS) is an interdisciplinary research environment at Copenhagen Business School for PhD students working on theoretical and empirical themes related to the organisation and management of private, public and voluntary organizations.

Acknowledgements

Getting the opportunity to embark on a journey of reflexion such as a Ph.D project in the midst of one's career is a unique privilege. It's an opportunity to revise one's own assumptions, those of others, to suggest new paths and to give back something to the field one has been part of. With privileges, however, also follow expectations. I could not have met those expectations without the invaluable help of a lot of great people – who restored my faith in myself, in the work I do and in formal education; who opened my eyes and ears to fruitful conversations between art and leadership; who backed me up on those days when one is ready to give up; who gave me their time, thought and attention and allowed me into their worlds so I could co-construct my cases with them; who kept me alert as students; and who taught me all kinds of exiting stuff during courses, seminars and talks in the corridors. Thank you so much all of you!

When I began the project, Prof. Flemming Poulfelt was my main supervisor, and Prof. Daniel Hjorth was my secondary supervisor. They exchanged charges and responsibilities on the way to reflect the development of the project in a productive way. Thank you Flemming for your invaluable help in getting the project started, and for support all the way through. And thank you Daniel for getting me safely through the process, and for helping me finalizing the project - without your excellent supervision my research project would not have seen the light of the day.

To la mitad de mi naranja.

Frederiksberg, November 22, 2012
Søren Friis Møller

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Chapter O Prologue

A blitzkrieg on the arts

They promised a golden age, but the coalition's cuts will chill our cities with a cultural winter
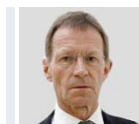
- **Nicholas Serota**
- guardian.co.uk, Monday 4 October 2010 21.59 BST

['The idea that you can cut a £180bn deficit by slicing money out of the budget of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport is frankly absurd."](#) The words of an arts bureaucrat, theatre director, artist or writer with a special case to plead? No: Nick Clegg's, in the election campaign. Now his coalition wants cuts for culture and sport, over the next four years, of between 25% and 30% – the greatest crisis in the arts and heritage since government funding began in 1940.

With the ruthlessness of a blitzkrieg the coalition is threatening the stability of an entire system for cultural provision that has been built up by successive Conservative and Labour governments: a mixed economy of public and private support that has made Britain a civilised place to live, where all have an opportunity to enjoy the arts or celebrate our heritage, and have been doing so in increasing numbers.

Of course, cuts are inevitable, but it is the size and pace that we challenge. Cuts on this scale cannot be absorbed by "efficiency savings" alone, they must inevitably result in a much smaller number of galleries and theatres, fewer chances for young people to broaden their experience of life, and a savage reduction in support for individual writers, artists and composers.

At a time when demand for theatre, music and dance has been rising, arts organisations will have to reduce their activities across the board. Free entry to museums and galleries has been a huge success, but we shall have to consider closing galleries, reducing outreach activities and shutting for one or two days a week. Expect fewer performances, less invention and much less work in the community. In some cases a vicious circle of declining audiences and reduced corporate and private benefaction will result in a slow, painful death because the core public subsidy is insufficient to sustain the halo of earned income and donations that we have all become adept at gaining. It will be the smaller, most innovative organisations across the country that suffer the most.

In the 90s a hard-hitting BBC Newsnight report on Salford showed old people terrified to leave their homes because of the threat of attacks by roving gangs. In 1997 work on a new arts centre began with the aim of raising the cultural profile of the city and bringing new business and tourism into the area. The opening of [The Lowry](#) and the dramatic Imperial War Museum North has transformed the area to the point that the BBC is establishing a major centre of production in the city, inconceivable just 10 years ago.

However, it is not just a story of economics or regeneration. Many West End productions and much of the talent have been developed in the public sector. Take a show such as Enron. Headlong (an Arts Council-funded touring company) commissioned the writer, Lucy Prebble, and worked in partnership with Chichester Theatre to shape the play. It was then co-produced by the Royal Court, subsequently went on to the West End, and is now touring on an entirely commercial basis. This close relationship between the public and the commercial lies at the heart of the success of the arts in this country.

Ten years ago you had to travel to London or Edinburgh if you wanted to see significant works of contemporary art. Now the d'Offay collection is shown across the country and a string of outstanding new galleries have been developed: Nottingham Contemporary, Baltic in Gateshead, the New Art Gallery in Walsall and Towner in Eastbourne – and soon Turner Contemporary in Margate and the Hepworth in Wakefield – are exciting spaces offering a social and cultural mix that engages young people in the culture of their time. Camila Batmanghelidjh, the founder of Kids Company, stresses the importance of art as a way of capturing their attention.

Last December George Osborne came to Tate Modern to tell us "we are deeply committed to the British arts sector … the arts play a vital role in our communities, helping to bind people together and create real social value". Ed Vaizey, the minister for the arts, told the Times: "Far from wasting public money, the subsidised arts give back far more than they receive." In January Jeremy Hunt said: "I want people to say that on my watch the arts not just weathered a very, very difficult period, but also laid the foundations for a new golden age."

Hunt is a thoughtful man who clearly values and cares for culture. The coalition cannot intend to abandon the principles that have brought culture to millions. A 10-15% cut in cash terms over four years would be a challenge of the kind that arts organisations regularly surmount; more than this will threaten the whole ecosystem, cutting off the green shoots with the dead wood, reducing the number of plays and exhibitions, discouraging innovation, risk and experiment and threatening the ability of organisations to earn or raise money for themselves. You don't prune a tree by cutting at its roots.

Chapter 1 In Medias Res – the Cultural Sector as a Narrative Landscape

With this apocalyptic outburst from one of the art world's most acknowledged leaders I invite you to join me on a journey into the cultural sector – an empirical field which this project constructs in the format of a narrative landscape[1]. Constructing the cultural sector as a narrative landscape means paying specific attention to how the field relates[2] itself in narrative terms and how its context makes sense of these narratives. Constructing the cultural sector as a narrative landscape also means taking the editorial responsibility for producing a specific social world: this project becomes a narrative in itself (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50), and in the words of Bruner (1990:77, 2002:23) such a narrative can never be voiceless. So I along with Serrota reveal my '*narrator's perspective*' (ibid.) in my renditions of the landscape I construct – as noted by Neander & Skott (2006:297): *'the researcher does not find narratives but instead participates in their creation.'* Staying with the cartographic metaphoric, this means that through our narratives Serota and I draw maps to depict the landscape we would incite you to see and experience through the narratives we tell. If and when following the maps we draw, our readers, or co-travellers, get to see what parts of the landscape we want them to see in the specific shades of light we chose for them[3].

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[1] It is unclear who exactly has coined the term 'narrative landscape'. It builds on the idea that a single narrative only represents one map to follow such as described by Korzybski (in Bateson, 2002:27), and that endless numbers of narratives may be said to form a narrative landscape. This idea is further developed by Pearce (2007:210) who talks of '*stories lived'* and '*stories told'* meaning that those narratives which are actually told only form a small part of lived narratives. This allows for endless ways of describing the landscape. White & Epston (2007:3) have for years used the map and landscape metaphors in their therapeutic practice, and Czarniawska has translated the idea to an organizational setting introducing '*work stories'* and '*organizational stories'* (2004:40) which represent similar distinctions. The metaphoric has found its value in providing a simple conceptual framework for understanding that there are endless ways of passing through a landscape which will lead to equally endless ways of perceiving the landscape, meaning reality, whether in family therapeutic session or in an organizational developmental process. It is commonly used without a reference, see e.g. Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:227.

[2] I use 'relate' in two senses throughout the inquiry. First, in its original sense from 1530 'to recount, tell', from Latin *relatus*, used as pp. of *referre* from *re-* "back, again" + *latus* (Online Etymology Dictionary). Relating narratives in this sense would be the equivalent of 'storytelling' (see e.g. Cavarero, 1997). Second, in its meaning 'to establish a relation between" from 1771 (ibid.) in which case the verb is followed by the preposition 'to'.

[3] I have more to say on the construction of narratives in terms of '*emplotment'* (Ricoeur in Polkinghorne, 1988:49) and the researcher as '*plotmaker'* (Hjorth, 2007:714) in chapter 2.

I open the project with an article published in British newspaper The Guardian on October 4 2010 as a reaction to the at that time recently elected new government's proposal to cut public spending on arts and culture dramatically as a means, among many, to make the country recover from the financial crisis beginning in 2008. The article is not just any article, it is an article written by Nicholas Serota, the director of the Tate, Britain's national galleries for modern and contemporary art. He gained worldwide professional recognition when his leadership led to the opening of Tate Modern in London in 2000. Few in the international art world[4] have a reputation such as his, not only for his artistic endeavours as a curator of art exhibitions, but also for his leadership and his ability to raise funds for prestigious projects. So when Serota pronounces himself in an article in The Guardian on the issue of cultural policies we may expect that it will not pass unnoticed. We may equally expect that Serota expects being listened to when sharing his opinions on issues of cultural policies and support for the arts, and hence we probably wouldn't be surprised if what he says, also does something.

Serota's article is instantly followed up by massive interest from the media in general, and The Guardian's own cultural section does what it can to keep the interest alive:

> The fact that it comes from Serota is particularly important. There are perhaps only two or three other people in the country who are so senior and so universally regarded as brilliant leaders in the arts. Nicholas Hytner could have written such a piece, or Neil MacGregor, but not many others would have brought the same level of credibility and had a similar impact. Serota is providing a new tone for the debate – harder, more urgent, more critical. It's a new chapter, and he is providing a new sense of leadership. It will be fascinating to see how things pan out from here: but it's certainly all change. (Higgins, The Guardian, October 5, 2010).

What this reaction to Serota's article clearly suggests is that such outbursts, narratives[5] as I refer to them in this project, are perceived as attempts to perform leadership. And setting a

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[4] The notion of 'an artworld' was introduced by Danto (1964:571), and I explore it further in chapter 4. For now, I ask you just to think of it as a heuristic device used to give an impression of an international community sharing language, certain beliefs and ambitions, a global narrative landscape so to speak.

[5] In chapter 2 I discuss further various positions in terms of the use of 'narratives' and how I use it in my inquiry. I also discuss what they do, how they do it and their dependency on legitimization. For now, we may think of it as a linguistic format which is *'composed for particular audiences at moments in history, and*

harder, urgent and more critical tone is considered to be not only leadership, but a new sense of leadership. In short, what we get is an impression that if important people in the art world increase the eschalatological order of their outbursts in the public sphere, their narratives are considered to be performing a new sense of leadership.

With this article I want to give you a first impression of what this project is about. The article may at a first glance appear not to have so much to do with leadership, but perhaps more to do with advocacy, lobbying or just outright indignation on behalf of the cultural sector. We understand, however, that to some Serota's article is indeed an act of performing leadership. One may equally notice the very high pitched notes used in the article. Some may have the feeling that although the reports sound disturbing, invoking the image of a blitzkrieg is perhaps slightly over the top as the term blitzkrieg is commonly connected the Nazis' bombardments of the UK during WW2. With this opening I make a very preliminary suggestion that Serorta's article is not a single swallow in the sense that it expresses viewpoints unfamiliar in the cultural sector. On the contrary, I argue that the article by Serota I have used to compose the opening of my research project follows certain patterns, uses certain vocabulary and refers to certain ideas which allow Serota and those sharing the same ideas to make sense of the depicted narrative landscape in ways commonly agreed amongst them. This standardized interpretive repertoire (Potter & Wetherell, 1987:138) is what allows the community to communicate internally in meaningful ways, develop a sense of community, build personal and professional identities and not least, use a certain kind of argumentation which somehow tends to identify those not sharing those same ideas as ignorant threats to civilization. To further give us an idea of what these interpretive repertoires are, what worlds they produce when applied to form narratives, I follow the map drawn by Serrota for yet another while – I so to speak let his map be the guidance of what we get to see[6]. With a few more of the hill valleys offered along the journey I want to take a step further in constructing the empirical grounds of my

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they draw on taken-for-granted discourses and values circulating in a particular culture' (Riessman, 2008:3), and they constitute 'realities' without reference to extra-linguistic realities (Bruner, 1990:8)

[6] Later, I'll discuss the arbitrariness of my relation to the map and the arbitrariness of maps as depictions of landscapes. For now, I invite you to imagine that we follow a tour around the cultural sector seen in the form of a narrative landscape with Serota as our guide.

research project. I should notify that following Serota's map it rather strenuous, so readers are kindly asked to fasten their sealtbelts. [7]

Canapes Are Not Provided

On January 12, 2011 British correspondent on arts and culture Mark Brown launches his Culture Cuts blog in the digital version of British newspaper the Guardian. The blog is intended to become a 'one stop shop' for debates on the current cuts in public expenditure within the arts and culture. The blog offers a number of functionalities and subthemes including a detailed framework for specifying impact on local communities, individual arts practice and more general questions of civilization. The blog is introduced by the following words:

> If 2010 was a tumultuous, painful year in terms of spending on the arts then there is little doubt 2011 will top it. Wherever you look – in cities, towns and villages – arts funding is being snipped and hacked and in some cases being axed altogether. Whether it is the government or the Arts Council or local authorities, arts organizations, university departments, libraries, and more are facing cutbacks not seen for a generation. Which is why we're going to attempt, from today, to corral what we can into one place in an attempt to get a better grip on what is something of a confused picture. And we need your help. So welcome to the launch of the Guardian's Culture Cuts blog. Everyone is welcome. Canapes are not provided. (http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/culture-cuts-blog/2011/jan/12/arts-funding-cuts-libraries).

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[7] The reader will notice already at this point that I so to speak jump from country to country without making any specific point about it. Had this project been about the substantive (in the sense of having an autonomous ontology beyond the language) issues related in the chosen narratives, I would accept any objection to such negligence to detail (geography, art genre etc.). Yet, as I'll discuss later, I'm taking a communicative perspective on this, which means I look at the communication, rather than through it (Pearce, 2007:29)– I take language to be constitutive of social worlds, and to to represent an extra-linguistic reality 'behind' them. I look for patterns according to which communication seems to be organized to produce certain social worlds in relations. Therefore, I have chosen texts which have recognizable patterns, regardless of geographic context etc. In chapters 4 and 5 where I discuss the narrative resources available for performing leadership through narratives in the cultural sector. I argue that these resources are available across geographic borders, and that similar patterns of communication have led to the establishment of cultural sectors in all of Europe and possibly beyond. The sense of belonging to the cultural sector thus transgresses national borders.

A few days after, the blog is already packed with postings describing the villainous calamities brought onto the cultural sector by the government's cuts in funding for the arts and culture.

An Existential Crisis

Following massive media coverage of budget deficits, cancelled performances and public debate about the future of The Royal Theater, its managing director, Erik Jacobsen, publishes a feature article under the title: '*Danish Cultural Policy: When One Hand Is Giving and the Other Is Taking*' (Berlingske, February 3, 2011). He continues:

> The Danish society has throughout the latest years invested considerably in what was to become a visionary further development of The Royal Theater. We are today at a unique artistic level and right now audiences pour into the theater. Nevertheless, The Royal Theater may be on its way to something which most of all looks like an existential crisis. In the near future discussions take place on how the budgets of the National Stage should look like during the next four years. And if the financial course set out in the previous Budget is followed, things look black for the future of the National Stage, despite the artistic and box office increases of the latest five-six years. For the financial policy informing the Budget in the field of culture lacks visions. It forms the basis for a total cut of 66 million DKR of the budget of Royal Theater during the last four years. It is an expression of a paradoxical logic in which one upgrades in terms of expensive new houses and the necessary additional grants to operate these with one hand, whilst one consequently dilutes the financial foundation for the performing arts with continuing cuts with the other. As managing director of Denmark's largest cultural institution I have to warn against this direction before it is too late. The Royal Theater is the State's property and thus it belongs to all Danes. If one wants to preserve it as artistic and cultural rallying point, the direction has to be changed. Now. (ibid.)

Blitzkrieg or existential crisis? Whatever we prefer, we understand that the apocalyptic abyss is near if politicians and society do no immediately secure budgets in the future.

A Facelifted Dead Body - Who Cares?

Leaving his position as Chair of the Danish National Arts Council, Mads Øvlisen (chairman of the board of Novo Nordisk A/S) launches a broadside against what he describes as a complete lack of political visions for the field of arts and culture (Politiken, March 24 2011). When eventually the Minister of Culture expresses himself in visionary terms, he is met with silence, and Øvlisen ponders whether this is thanks to full agreement or simply the result of a general attitude which Øvlisens sums up by asking '*Who cares*?' (ibid.). He continues:

> For the arts are practically absent in today's overall debate. The arts live shadow existences in the public consciousness. The Dane seldom encounters it in his/her media consumption. The arts don't sell tickets, nor votes. Politicians don't win elections by talking about them. But perhaps they underestimate their voters. At any rate, Børsen recently reported that 35 percent of the voters wish that the debate on arts and culture play a role in the coming elections. This kind of surveys is usually a language understood by politicians. Maybe the lack of visibility is also due to the fact that the arts have not butted in sufficiently. Maybe the messages have been too few, too inside or too badly communicated. I have the last four years served as Chairman of the Danish National Arts Council. Four years to a large extent under the sign of financial crisis. And also under the sign of the cultural crisis. Danish cultural policy is in crisis. (ibid.).

His successor as Chairman of the Danish National Arts Council, internationally renowned visual artist Per Arnoldi[8], picks up on the same line:

> The media have developed remarkably. And art has a big delay in it vis a vis the media. Therefore art can no longer break taboos. If you try, it becomes taboo-fixated and it is nothing worth. Someone has to eat a baby child in order to catch attention.' (Information, March 25, 2011). And he continues: 'In a way art has withdrawn to a reserve. We live in a stream of media which is completely different, and the meeting which previously occurred between the artist and the people now takes place between the media and the people. And it is possible that what we do is just an exercise in the reserve. That we're

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[8] Per Arnoldi decides to leave this position only seven months after his appointment stating that *'I have been happy for the confidence shown to me at my appointment, but I choose now to quietly withdraw to my studio as I can see, feel and understand that the collaboration does not lead to the expected development and result.'* (Politiken, November 7, 2011)

keeping it alive artificially. It is possible that we are dealing with a patient. It might also be a dead corpse we are trying to make up. At any rate, we'll have to come up with something new. (ibid.).

In spite of this worrying predicament art is diagnosed with, Zentropa Producer Peter Aalbæk contends that any artistic leader must acknowledge that artists as a matter of fact, are neither solidary, nor democratic.

It is they themselves and their own work which are their artistic oevre. And in that process consideration cannot be taken for all kinds of other people. As a leader you might as well acknowledge that, and it neither can, nor should be compared into some kind of co-worker construction. We are bloody well the ones who need to adjust. Not the artists. It cannot be the other way round. (Information, October 10, 2011)

Uwe Bødewadt, Head of Culture at the Royal Danish Library and author of the book 'Managing Artists' seconds Aalbæk's opinions and continues:

Art, whether it is performing arts or anything else, is not created in peace and good order. Maybe a new pill at Novo Nordisk might be so. But not art. [...] What we see is that many artistic leaders are these kind of management types who, to an increasing extent, are to satisfy societal needs for revenues, media exposure and what have you. But exactly as with the artists, leaders work must be a choice, not a job. And this kind of leaders just can't do that. As artistic leader you just have to acknowledge that art is always right. And it oftentimes creates problems when the two big egos, the management type and the artist, bump into each other. (Information, October 10, 2011)

And Bødewadt's position resonates well with Turner Prize winning artist Grayson Perry's views on the public in general. Perry is considered influential in the UK and international arts scene, not least as a member of the Fourth Plinth Commissioning Committee, the committee that selects art works for the fourth plinth in Trafalgar Square in London. The Fourth Plinth Project receives massive attention from the public thanks to visibility, the historic location and the importance amongst the general public, the site has. In an interview in the RSA Journal, Perry explains:

'Well, one of my mottos is: 'Democracy has terrible taste'. The public wants to bring back hanging as well, don't they? The public is very unreliable. If you put it to a referendum, I think we'd have no immigration and no tax. In some ways

you do have to be a bit dictatorial as an artist and say that sometimes the art person does know best.' (G. Perry in RSA Journal 2008)

'Cultural policy is a closed conversation among experts. What culture needs is a democratic mandate from the public.' (Holden, 2006)

1.1 There Is Something Rotten….In the Cultural Sector

The way I have constructed the narrative landscape of the cultural sector leaves it open to a number of very different readings. One very obvious, and probably the most current one, is what we might call 'the art for art's sake reading'[9]. This reading presupposes that art and culture have intrinsic values which are constitutive of civilization and therefore in need of protection and support. Such a reading is rooted in the Western project of the Enlightenment, and as I'll argue in chapter 3, it continues to maintain a stronghold as the dominant narrative until the present time. When the sector for arts and culture is in crisis such as communicated in the excerpts forming the initial narrative landscape, leading figures are rightfully demanding help to overcome the crisis. The crisis is mainly due to shortage of funding which leads to problems in terms of its fundamental functionalities and overall purpose. As a response to this, society in general, and politicians in particular must do their utmost to save and protect the cultural sector by providing more funding and demanding less in order to preserve society as a civilized place to live. Failure to understand this is due to the un-enlightened state in which those whom the modern welfare state version of the Enlightenment project have not yet reached, and communicative efforts (in the one way sense of Vermittlung) must therefore be intensified, if necessary, in high-pitched voices to attract public attention to the despair and possible end of civilization. Or rather a certain understanding of civilization, an understanding rooted in the West, which prioritizes certain forms of expressions, certain lifestyles, certain views of the surrounding world and by means of these priorities, suppress others.

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[9] I develop further in chapter 3 how the idea of art having intrinsic properties came about.

Although related in a rather un-nuanced way, such a reading is not at all un-common, and as we'll see later, elements of it have far-reaching impact on the way in which cultural policies have been set up and managed in most of the Western world in accordance with a '*democratization of culture'* agenda (Hughson & Inglis, 2001:473) which has largely informed cultural policies since WW2. The democratization of culture agenda can broadly be summed up as

> [...] the highest art is still the creation of a gifted few, and its excellence most fully realized by a small minority; but appreciation and enjoyment of it, together with some capacity for artistic creation, can spread downwards from the heights to a growing proportion of the public. How far the process will go remains to be seen, but it can be and should be encouraged and accelerated; and the chief means of accomplishing this is education – in school, college or university, throughout life.' (Baldry, 1981:115)

With this as the dominant reading of the narrative landscape, the reading also in the form of a narrative, an inquiry into leadership in the cultural sector would probably tend to circle around issues constructing leadership as clear-cut responses to '*critical problems'* (Grint, 2005:1477)[10] with '*send more money and keep your hands off our artistic freedom*!' as one of its main outcomes. I could find support for such an inquiry in what is broadly termed '*humanistic art theory'* (Harrington, 2004:15) with Kant (1790), and later Schiller (1793-95) and Hegel (transl. 1993:I:3), and more recently, Gombrich (1950) Adorno (tranl. 1972), Eyre (2000:3), Duelund (2003), Røyseng (2006) as influential examples who all, albeit in different ways take their point of departure in the fundamental assumption that art and culture can be conceived of as possessing essential properties, which once realized by artists and cultural professionals contribute to the constitution of the civilized society. Art and culture, or more precisely, certain forms of art and culture thus play a constitutive role in the maintenance of a specific understanding of civilization,

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[10] In chapter 2 I account for the epistemological considerations leading to understanding leadership as a social construction intimately linked to the social construction of putative leadership challenges. In chapter 5, when discussing contributions from leadership literature in more general terms, I provide a more thorough discussion of Grint's argument. In these introductory remarks, I merely use Grint's 'leadership typology' as a heuristic device of which the purpose is to give us an idea that what counts as leadership is linked to what count as a problem/a leadership challenge – and both are socially constructed.

and if follows that acknowledging this role is constitutive in becoming a civilized society. To further support such a view one would probably interview the great leaders who have contributed to the construction of my narrative landscape and see them as '*charismatic and creative people* [who] *stamp their personalities onto arts organizations'* (Holden, 2006:14) and go on to wondering what has made them so great leaders and what it is they do so well. As we'll see later, the Western project of the Enlightenment is tightly linked to the worship of the successful (male) individual. Churchill is known to have replied when asked about possible budget reductions in the arts to finance UK's defense against the German Blitzkrieg in WW2: '*if we cut down on culture, what else is there to defend?'* His remark epitomizes the art for art's sake narrative, and 60 years after, it is still frequently used as a, albeit unorthodox, reference in discussion of society's responsibility for arts and culture.

This approach, however, has since the 1960s been heavily criticized from a number of parties in accordance with the '*cultural democracy'* agenda (Hughson & Inglis, 2001:473), which in short advocates the idea '*that the arts work from the bottom-up whereby people are taught to explore their own creativity from their early years.'* (Hughson & Inglis, 2001:474). It has been criticized on political grounds by authors such as Gramsci (1971), Berger (1972), Jameson (1981, 1991) and Bourdieu (1984) arguing that the democratization of culture agenda primarily accommodates the needs of already elitist classes by favoring their material possessions and their cultural capital in hegemonic conceptions of culture. It has equally been criticized by Chadwick (1990), Pollock (1988) and Rose and Miller (1986) on the grounds that the democratization of culture agenda primarily promulgates a male set of standards for defining art and culture. A recent survey by Fagerström for Swedish Television[11] supports this criticism by showing that only a third of work acquisition by Swedish museums from 2000-2010 are by female artists which leads Fagerström to argue that '*We still live in the notion that the Artist med capital A is a man'.* Heavy criticism has also been put forward by post-colonial studies describing how art and culture mainly are interpreted as Western art and culture which not only systematically prioritizes Western conceptions of art and culture in idealizing ways, but in addition uses art and culture to ridicule non-Western culture and produce images of the non-Western as inferior to

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[11] Broadcasted at http://svtplay.se/v/2591674/man_koper_konst_av_man

Western arts and culture (Bhaba, 1994, 2003, Hall, 1980, 1997, Hall, Held & MacGrew eds. 1992, Said, 1978). This criticism is still more than relevant as a comparative survey in the Nordic countries and the UK by Davies (2007) for the Danish Arts Council shows: distribution of public support for arts and culture by no means reflect demography in any of the countries involved. Butler (1990) has contributed to the critical voices by showing how non-conform sexual orientation is suppressed in arts and culture, and as noticed by Danish Minister for Culture, U. Elbæk, in an interview shortly after his appointment in October 2011, '*When I go to the National Museum to see the Danish Exhibition, there is only one place where I as a homosexual can mirror my own identity. One artifact, namely a picture of Axel and Eigil when they were married as the first homosexual couple.*' (Politiken, October 11, 2011). Finally, an implicit criticism has been issued by authors such as Pine and Gilmore (1999) who argue that the economic potential of aesthetic creativity has been too little explored as art and culture in the sense prescribed by the art for art's sake narrative is largely seen and acknowledged as a costs rather than an economic potentiality.

What this very rough overview [12]of criticism of the art for art's sake narrative indicates is a complex of problems, which in the word of Grint (2005:1477) could serve as a good candidate for being situated as a '*wicked problem',* one that cannot be dealt away with but requires a more reflexive approach and not least a series of questions to better understand it. The situating of the problem as a wicked one suggests reflexive and relationally informed leadership as a response as opposed to the more one-way commanding response suggested as leadership intervention in the art for art's sake reading of the narrative landscape. Grint's point here is, that the way problems are socially constructed as critical, tame or wicked, equally allows for a corresponding social construction of leadership. In other words, the social construction of a problem, what Grint's refers to as the situating of a problem, may be closely linked to the social construction of leadership. So when problems in the initial narrative landscape tend to be situated as critical, this is equally an attempt on behalf of the narrators to construct appropriate leadership responses in a certain way. This indicates a mutually constitutive process in which problems construct

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[12] The project will provide in depth discussion of the criticism in chapter 4. For now, the purpose is to provide an overview and to situate my research project.

leadership socially and vice versa. This becomes particularly interesting in a study of leadership in the cultural sector with its long tradition for charismatic headstrong leaders. Situating the problem as wicked therefore also suggests a different kind of leadership response. It is this reflexive and relationally informed understanding of leadership and its potential in the cultural sector I'll explore further in the project, knowing full well that at this point I cannot expect it to count as leadership in the cultural sector. This is why I use the expression 'understanding of leadership' to underscore that the social construction of leadership is heavily dependent on our understanding of leadership, which means, I cannot enquiry into leadership in the cultural sector without inquiring into the question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector. The question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector, in my inquiry is intimately related to three questions: first, how is leadership in the cultural sector ontologized, i.e. how did leadership in the cultural sector come into being as a local-social-historical construction (Hjorth & Hosking, 2004:261). Second, what practices (Rose, 1996:133) are being deployed to maintain, legitimize and defend this local-social-historical construction? Third, what does this particular ontologization of leadership in the cultural sector offer in terms of legitimizing leadership performed narratively in a certain way, and how is this legitimization being challenged by performative legitimization?

A Crisis of Legitimacy? Situating the Project

Upon the initial contouring of the cultural sector in the form of a cultural landscape and a preliminary suggestion that the dominant narrative might be the 'art for art's sake' narrative, which requires immediate reaction from politicians in order to protect and defend arts and culture as we know it, the brief overview of alternative studies shows that this dominant narrative by no means stands un-contested. On the contrary, Holden (2006) suggests that the cultural sector based on a one-sided art for art's sake narrative is indeed in a crisis of legitimacy and therefore in need of a new public mandate. It is the pursuit of this new mandate that I place as the prime concern for leadership in this project which I therefore construct as an inquiry into possible ways of overcoming the putative crisis of legitimacy.

Whereas I second Holden's view of the cultural sector as in a crisis of legitimacy, I abstain from reducing it to a tame problem (Grint, 2005:1477) which can be managed through the

application of known measures and means. Instead, I place my inquiry in the epistemological framework offered by social constructionism, as this allows me to inquire into the taken for granted assumptions about leadership in the cultural sector and to see these as local-social-historical constructions (Hjorth & Hosking, 2004:261). Seeing these as local-social-historical constructions which are products of local relational processes (Hosking, 2011:52) allows me to inquiry into these processes and the ongoing power at play contributing to the production of such local-social-historical constructions. It equally allows me to inquire into alternative stories (Hjorth, 2007:719) subverting the taken for granted assumptions with the aim of reconstructing these in different ways. Gergen's (1994:63) has summed this up in an idealist program for social constructionist research:

> The three most significant overtures to innovation are deconstruction, wherein all presumptions of the true, the rational, and the good are open to suspicion – including those of the suspicious; democratization, wherein the range of voices participating in the consequential dialogues of the science is expanded, and reconstruction, wherein new realities and practices are fashioned for cultural transformation.'

For a Ph.D thesis I interpret this ambition in a more modest sense: first I must listen to some of the dominant narratives (White & Epston, 1990:18) and do some Indian wrestling with them, and get a sense of how they came into being. Second, I must invite a broader field to share their narratives, their maps of the narrative landscape as it were. And third, I must try to assemble this more polyphonic version of the narrative landscape in a map which may provide leadership in the cultural sector with help to find their way towards a new public mandate in what appears to be an un-passable landscape.

In this project I take the dominant narrative[13] to be the art for art's sake narrative (AFAS narrative in the following), but before unfolding this in chapter 3 I want to add a few remarks as to the legitimization of the AFAS narrative and its so far putative crisis of

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[13] In my discussion of methods, I'll refer to this as the opening line to the 'diagnosis of the current situation' (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983:119) with which Foucault begins his genealogic '*writing the history of the present*'. (ibid.)

legitimacy. Sweder (1984:27) has described the Enlightenment view of legitimization in the following terms:

> The mind of man I intendedly rational and scientific...the dictates of reason are equally binding for all regardless of time, place, culture, race, personal desire, or individual endowment...in reason can be found a universally applicable standard for judging validity and worth.'

These universally applicable standards for judging validity and worth have been described by Lyotard in terms of grand narratives of legitimization (1984:xxiii). He mentions the grand narrative of the Enlightenment as an example (1984:xxiii), and he identifies what he sees as the two main modes of legitimization in the development of the Enlightenment project (1984:33): first, emancipation, placing humanity as the hero of liberty which gives all man the right to science re-conquered from religion and less informed states of society. Second, speculation, which in the words of Humboldt unfolds in a threefold aspiration: the purpose of scientific knowledge is rooted in itself, but linked to ethical and social practice on one side, and pursuing just ends in moral and political life on the other. This, in short is the Bildung project of the Enlightenment which can be summed up in the dictum: '*science for its own sake*' (1984:32).[14] Lyotard argues that this grand narratives function as a meta-narrative providing discourses of knowledge with legitimacy as scientific knowledge (1984:xxiii) which allows it to be separated from common sense and the realms of religious indoctrination. Lyotard's concern in this analysis of the postmodern condition is knowledge production in the postmodern society, and his main proposition is that postmodernity is best described as '*incredulity towards meta-narratives*' (1984:xxiv), i.e. knowledge production seeks legitimization in different terms than those suggested by the Enlightenment project. Without the reference to a meta-narrative as legitimizing origin, knowledge production is referred to performativity as its legitimization, which in turn is bound to be contextually, culturally and relationally dependent (1984:23). This means that with no overarching universally transcendent claim to truth, the cultural and contextual acknowledgement of what scientific knowledge does becomes the legitimization. Lyotard

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[14] In Chapter 3 I go further into how the Bildung project of the Enlightenment and it's affirmation during the era of Romanticism was built into the welfare state of our time and a central idea in the foundation of the Ministries of Culture in Western Europe and the establishment of the cultural sector.

reads this into a crisis of legitimacy (1984:37-41), meaning a crisis of the legitimizing powers of meta-narratives as a description of the postmodern condition, and he proposes recognition of the heteromorphous nature of the multitude of criteria by which performativity is judged (1984:66) as a first step to overcome the crisis he has described. I pick up on this thread in chapter 5 when discussing theoretical contributions towards relational approaches to leadership.

This incredulity towards the meta-narrative legitimizing science as true and knowledgeable and the increased importance of performativity as axiomatic standard, does not, however, mean that the meta-narrative disappears. On the contrary, Sampson argues (1993:6) it continues to operate as an '*absent presence',* which Sampson refers to as an '*implicit standard'* (1993:6). In the introductory article Serota consciously or unconsciously refers to the AFAS narrative legitimized by the meta-narrative described above when he talks of the threats to '*the stability of an entire system for cultural provisions'* (...) '*which has made Britain a civilized place to live',* meaning that changes to the current state of affairs implies the risk of turning the country into an uncivilized place. Sampson describes the implicit standard as '*a universal point of view'* (1993:6), and he points to the power of implicit standards to appear and function as a-political, universal truths which cannot and should not be challenged – only savages would want to live in an uncivilized place to borrow again from Serota's vocabulary, and only the uncivilized would argue with him........or?

Research Aim - **Jamming the System**
Well, running the risk of appearing savage, uncivilized or uncultivated, I will indeed argue with Serota, not with the aim of convincing him, but with the aim of broadening the spectrum of voices who get to define what civilization might be about. Broadening the spectrum of voices will entail a discussion about the relationship between the dominant understanding of civilization and how certain forms of arts and culture can be counted amongst the practices (Rose, 1996:131) supporting and maintaining this understanding, and of how leadership in the cultural sector play a role in maintaining and defending this understanding as it allows for privileges for certain lifestyles, expressions, and positions at the expense of others. Thereby I also aim to show him how he and his colleagues in the cultural sector through constant reiteration of the AFAS narratives or versions hereof in a

paradoxical way seem to defend an essentially modernist worldview while at the same time claiming to be relevant mirrors and conversational partners in a globalized, postmodern world. I equally aim to show him how and why this might not exactly be '*a new sense of leadership*', but rather an increasingly pathetic attempt to resuscitate '*a dead corpse*'. Through this I aim to suggest ways to overcome the current crisis of legitimacy, which in this sense is not only about lack funding or public interest, but a broader discontent and incredulity towards the Enlightenment project and its assumptions concerning arts and culture. Sampson goes a step further in declaring himself happy '*to participate in that collapse*' [of Western civilization] (1993:13) which in the words of Irigay means '*to participate in jamming the machinery and challenging the technologies of domination on which the Western project has been erected and remains in force*' (in Sampson, 1993:13). Making the Western civilization collapse is beyond the scope of this project. But I endeavor to make a contribution to the initial discussion of what a new sense of leadership in the cultural sector might be and how that might contribute to overcoming the current crisis of legitimacy and restoring a new legitimization for, what we have until now termed the cultural sector, but what might more adequately be termed a space for '*expressive lives*' in which '"*Heritage" reminds us that we belong:"voice" offers the promise of what we can become*' (Ivey, 2009:27)

1.2 Designing the Research Project

As I have preliminarily indicated in the introduction, leadership and legitimacy are intimately related in the cultural sector, in what seems to be two very different ways: One is the Enlightenment and modernist alliance according to which legitimization of knowledge is done with reference to a metadiscourse which legitimates itself through referring to the grand narrative or metanarrative of the Enlightenment (Lyotard, 1984:xxiii). This mode of legitimization is operationalized by leaders, artists and other professionals in the cultural sector through constant reiteration of the AFAS narrative which seeks to annihilate any incredulity towards the grand narrative of Enlightenment by verbalizing it as threats to civilization. This alliance is both legally and as a principle protected an encouraged through the arm's length principle which is to separate political influence from professional artistic and cultural knowledge, which in short is about

defending knowledge as universally true, objective and a-political[15]. Another is the postmodernist more instable and contextually dependent alliance according to which knowledge is legitimized in terms of its performativity in language games (Lyotard, 1984:10) or through '*a plurality of formal and axiomatic systems capable of arguing the truth of denotative statements*' (Lyotard, 1984:43). This mode of legitimization, or rather this potentially endless number of modes of legitimization is operationalized in the cultural sector, but primarily in the margins and outside the cultural sector by various protagonists from groups of people who first of all object to subscribe to arts and culture currently dominating the cultural sector, and second, claim to be recognized and mirrored by the cultural sector. This mode of legitimization acknowledges a relationally dependent epistemology, which is subjective and political. It enjoys no formal or principal protection, it is referred to performativity as legitimization.

The point of departure of my inquiry is that the first mode of legitimization is still the dominant one in the cultural sector, although heavily contested both by those voicing their disagreement, but perhaps even more importantly by the large numbers of people who show their disagreement through non-participation in the cultural sector. I access and construct my empirical field primarily through narratives. Arts and culture receive massive media attention and attention from the public in general, and issues concerning the field are extensively debated in printed and digital media. In my inquiry I see this public voicing of narratives as a struggle in which parties subscribing to the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector seek to root out incredulity towards the metanarrative, and on the other side, those subscribing to a more diverse understanding of leadership in the cultural sector seek to gain performative legitimization. To grasp this struggle for legitimacy I primarily construct my empirical field by means of material available in the public sphere (printed and social media, publically available documents etc.).

On the basis of this initial contouring of the empirical field I construct and a problematization of what I have chosen to see as a primary challenge to leadership in this

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[15] Chapter 3 provides a more thorough discussion of the arm's length principle and its consequences.

specific field, I design my research project in the following way: I begin in chapter 3[16] by asking how the AFAS narrative came into being, how it functions as a mode of legitimization for performing leadership narratively in the cultural sector as the AFAS narrative is itself legitimized by a metanarrative of disinterested, extralinguistic knowledge in the form of aesthetic judgments. I continue in chapter 4 by giving voice to other narratives which challenge the dominant narrative, and by inquiring into how they seek to gain performative legitimization. In chapter 5 I continue my inquiry by linking it to theoretical contributions towards understanding how leadership in the cultural sector is and might be legitimized, leading up to the case-studies I conduct in chapters 6 and 7. In chapter 8 I link my inquiry to relational leadership theory (RLT) and reflect on how RLT may add to my inquiry and how my inquiry may add to RLT, and the field of practice I refer to as the cultural sector. I conclude my inquiry and suggest how it might contribute to leadership studies, to cultural studies and leadership in the cultural sector as a field of practice.

The Research Question

In light of this initial positioning of the research project and some introductory remarks regarding the conceptualization of the project in empirical, methodological and theoretical terms, I formulate the overall research question as follows:

How is leadership narratively performed in the cultural sector?

To further understand the dynamics of and the struggle for legitimacy and how this is and may be used by leadership in the cultural sector, I formulate two sub-questions to further guide the research process:

How is leadership narratively constructed in the cultural sector?

How can leadership contribute to increase the legitimacy of the cultural sector?

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[16] As I account for in chapter 2, I began my role as plotmaker (Hjorth, 2007:714) already in the first line of chapter 0

The purpose of these questions is to guide the generative process narrative research is bound to be: generative in the sense that the research process in itself makes up the social world it creates on its way. That is, narrative research does not claim neither to represent and extralinguistic (Bruner, 1990:44, 46), nor to copy it, but to give it a new reading. Providing such a new reading means in narrative terms to organize events according to a plot[17] which is different from the canonical (Bruner, 1990:49-50), and to '*find an intentional state that mitigates or at least makes comprehensible a deviation from a canonical pattern.*' (ibid.). A research project might be seen as an endeavor to deviate from the canonical pattern, the deviation somehow being the contribution to the empirical and research fields. As previously mentioned, this project aims at providing grounds for innovation in its empirical field according to Gergen's social constructionist program. What Bruner points to is that we somehow must provide '*felicity conditions – the conditions by which differences in meaning can be resolved by invoking mitigating circumstances that account for the divergent interpretations of "reality".*' (1990:63, 67). In other words, to pave the way for innovation through a research project requires the effort from the researcher to at least make the prospects of new ways of constructing reality comprehensible, if not exactly mitigating.

On Reflexivity – a Few Precautionary Words

But '*the act of telling can serve many purposes – to inform, embrace, or reassess and retell*' (White, 2000 in Riessman & Speedy, 2007:434), '*remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead an audience*' (Bamberg & McCabe, 1998, in Clandinin ed. 2007:430), so this might be an appropriate time and place to make a couple of precautionary remarks before I continue. For if narrative research is to a large extent the result of the researcher's own reflexive process, what are then the criteria one might expect a research project to meet in *replacement of validity, reliability and objectivity? Guba & Lincoln (2005:114) suggest 'trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability'* along with a number of more activist aspirations such as '*catalytic authenticity (stimulates to action), and tactical authenticity (empowers action)*' (ibid.). This, however, places substantial responsibility on the

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[17] Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the role of plots in narratives.

researcher's ability to allow for transparency in the reflexive process, for, as Goffman points out (1974:21) in his description of socially constructed primary frameworks, the schemata of interpretation human actions are guided by:

> Whatever the degree of organization, however, each primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms. He is likely to be unaware of such organized features as the framework has and unable to describe the framework with any completeness if asked, yet these handicaps are no bar to his easily and fully applying it.

In other words, the researcher cannot even be expected to be fully aware of his own projections and pre-informed understandings of his social reality. He can, at the utmost attempt to make the process of knowledge creation as transparent as possible, and not least important, account for his own sense of selfhood. Not with the purpose of over-encumbering the reader with revelations of the researcher's personal life, but to provide the reader with enough information to a reasonable chance to understand how this person, the researcher, might have come to perceive the parts of social worlds he has constructed as his empirical field at the expense of others perhaps equally worthy of being translated into empirical material in a research project.

Finally, doing narrative research in a field which has had '*one should never let truth get in the way of a good story*' as its modus operandi for the past two and a half millennia, leaves the researcher with more decisions to make with regard to representation and presentation. As pointed out by Alvesson and Skjöldberg (2000:167) there is an intuitively obvious inclination in postmodernist research to work with authorship as part of the research process. This is particularly due to '*the problem of representation*' (Alvesson & Skjöldberg, 2000:170) which prompts an emphasis '*on showing how every representation is a presentation*' (Hjorth, 2004:214). The inquiry becomes an expression of the '*agency of storytelling*' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:17) in the sense that it doesn't represent an extralinguistic reality, but '*it is a process of* creating *reality in which self/story teller is clearly part of the story*' (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:265). This raises ethical questions in terms of what story is related: Hosking suggests the concept of '*power to*' (ibid.) as it '*seems likely to open up a number of (re)constructions*' (ibid.) to function as guide to these

considerations. In my inquiry I'll interpret that as an ongoing reflection on the question if what I relate and how I relate contributions in constructive ways to produce new social realities.

Doing research is also an ambition to propose different views, different understandings and new ways of presenting possibly well known material in order to provide new understandings. Or in a wider perspective:

> The criterion for progress is that over time, everyone formulates more informed and sophisticated constructions and becomes more aware of the content of meaning of competing constructions. Advocacy and activism are also key concepts in the view. (Guba & Lincoln, 2005:113)

Advocacy in this sense implies that the researcher must assume full responsibility, also for advocating in favor of such new understandings.

Constructing an Empirical Field – the Cultural Sector

Constructing an empirical field in the format of a narrative landscape is obviously very different from using structural, functional, financial, institutional or any other entitative categorization. Such categorizations include:

- Statistical accounts, e.g. Eurostats COICOP-HBS division HE09 which covers the classification of individual consumption by purpose, in this case, on 'Recreation and culture', (Eurostat, Cultural Statistics, 2011 Edition:227), The Nordic Cultural Model – a Tale of Tables based on available statistics in terms of cultural spending (Bille, Hjorth-Andersen & Gregersen in Duelund ed. 2003:338), or combined sets of statistics according to the purpose of the analysis such as suggested by Towse (2010:36-45).
- Institutional and functionalist definitions based on recognizable entities, e.g. Elstad & De Paoli (2008:13) who propose to see the cultural sector in five subcategories: 1) '*the art enterprise*' meaning the museum, the theater and the concert hall, 2) '*the workshop*' referring to group based activities, 3) '*the festival*' covering the vast amount of artistic and cultural events, 4) '*the free space*' referring to individual artists, and 5) '*the nomad camp*' referring to network based activities.

- Stakeholder based definitions, e.g. Throsby (2010:23-24) who propose including *'cultural workers'*, *'commercial firms'*, *'not-for-profit firms'*, *'public cultural institutions'*, *'education and training institutions'*, *'government agencies and ministries'*, *'international organizations'* and *'consumers and consumer organizations'.*
- Socioeconomic structures, e.g. Chong (2010:8) who propose the subcategories *'private', 'public' or 'non-profit'* as an initial way to approach the cultural sector in analytical terms.

Although I will draw on the insights produced by such categorizations, e.g. in terms of numbers of users of public library services, I construct the cultural sector as a narrative landscape because I aim to capture the relational processes in which leadership in the cultural sector is being performed. Before continuing I should note that the term 'the cultural sector' may appear misleading as headline of a narrative landscape, since 'sector' usually indicates a more entitatively informed approach. This 'mislead' I'll argue, may have a specific purpose as a *'public narrative'* (Somers, 1994:619) which invests its narrators with the legitimacy of something larger than themselves, this larger being the 'sector' as a fundamental element in the post WW2 welfare society era in the Western world. As using 'artworld' (Danto, 1964:577) suggests the use of institutional theory, and using 'field of cultural production' (Bourdieu, 1993:37-40) suggests an inquiry informed by sociology, I stick with 'cultural sector' as this is how the empirical field I study relates itself with all its imprecision in theoretical terms. Hence, I use cultural sector as a public narrative, not as a strictly defined terminology in say politological or economic terms.

I'll have more to say on various positions in terms of how to define a narrative and what narratives do in chapter 2. At this point, I want to give an initial sense of what constructing the cultural sector as a narrative landscape means. To this end, I already now introduce Bruner's notion of a double bound landscape (1986:14-16, 1990:51). His argument is that any narrative at the same time construct two landscapes: a landscape of action *'where the constituents are the arguments of action: agent, intention or goal, situation, instrument, something corresponding to a "story grammar"'* and a landscape of consciousness which is inhabited by *'what those involved in the action know, think, or fee, or do not know, think or feel'.* In other words, what we get to know about through a narrative is not only

what people in the cultural sector do or do not do, how they do it and for what reasons, we also get to know what they think about it, how they feel about it and how they make sense of what they do or think they do. In this sense, an inquiry based on narratives differs fundamentally from one based on e.g. statistics, functional entities or outcome such as described above. Bruner describes this difference in terms of two fundamentally different modes of thought (1986:11, 1990:6), of which on places 'computability' as the central focus and aim, whereas the other is concerned with 'meaning', shifting also the methodological approach from seeking causal explanations to constructing plausible interpretations (1990:xiii). Thus the purpose (and the possible outcome) of constructing the empirical field of a cultural sector as a narrative landscape is to capture what narratives do and how they are made sense of. With this, I aim to understand how leadership in the cultural sector is being performed narratively by combining landscapes of action and landscapes of consciousness in such ways that certain ends are achieved, certain social worlds are constructed, certain power relations are maintained, certain identities are prioritized and certain judgments are legitimized in an ongoing process of constructing relational realities. This conscious shaping of narratives with the aim of invoking only certain interpretations, namely those corresponding to the intentions of the narrator, are meant to ensure the performativity of the utterance by providing it with legitimization in the landscape of consciousness[18]. I equally use narratives in the sense of *'small stories'* (Hjorth, 2007:719), alternatives to the dominant narrative in their subversive function as '*transversive tactics [which] do not obey the law of the place for they are not defined or identified by it'* (de Certeau, 1984:29). With these I aim to challenge the dominant narrative and suggest possible constructions of new relational realities, in which leadership in the cultural sector is ontologized in different ways in ongoing relational processes (Hosking, 2011:52).

Constructing a Research Focus – Performing Leadership Narratively
Constructing leadership performed narratively as a research focus means endeavoring to capture the ephemeral. This is the case in particular when leadership performed narratively is studied in a relational, context-dependent setting: the studied entity is not the narrative as an entitative discursively based device, but the processes narratives are entwined in, in various ways to further interests, achieve goals, make things happen and

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[18] Chapter 2 provides a more in depth discussion of performativity and narratives.

produce meaning. This means, that although we can learn a lot from narratology in terms of properties and characteristics of narratives (Bruner, 1990:50, 77), we cannot tell what narratives do or what social worlds they make available until we know how narration is done and understood. The relationally informed social constructionist (Hosking 2011, Hjorth & Hosking, 2004) framework of the inquiry is equally an emphasis on contextualization, and placing narratives in dependence of their context means that how they are made sense of how and the social worlds they produce are bound to change over time. This is of particular interest to this inquiry since it offers a possibility to study how leadership performed narratively in one context cannot expect to have similar legitimacy in another, which consequently places leadership performed narratively as an ongoing process of seeking legitimization. Fairhurst argues that '*by recognizing discursive leadership from this vantage, we have a means by which to embrace what leadership psychologists might see as the elusive, unwieldy, mutable, and maddening error variance in leadership – in short, its protean tendencies*' (2007:ix), protean tendencies being what Bruner describes as '*vagueness, with polysemy, with metaphoric or connotative connections*' (1990:5).

This ongoing process of seeking legitimization also has another aspect perhaps particular to the cultural sector, as this sector is dependent on legitimacy amongst the public. Goffman points out that '*What talkers undertake to do is not to provide information to a recipient but to present dramas to an audience. Indeed, it seems that we spend more of our time not engaged in giving information but in giving shows.*' (1974:508-509). The narrative material selected to compose the empirical field in the inquiry reflects this additional public aspect of performing leadership narratively in the cultural sector as the main part of the empirical material is either directly or indirectly addressed to the public. In the project I argue that this public aspect, the constant performing of leadership dramas through narratives in public has a double purpose: it is both about performing leadership but also about influencing what counts as leadership, and thus about seeking legitimization for performing leadership in particular ways. This suggested relationship between leadership and what counts as leadership has an analogy in the arts pointed to by Danto (1964:572) who argues that art is made possible by artistic theories, i.e. aesthetics. Danto's discussion was prompted by the use of ready-mades and popular images as art objects, and his argument is that since these objects cannot be said to posses any intrinsic artistic value

they are in need of a theory of art to discriminate them from any everyday object. Danto coin's the term 'artworld' (ibid.) to describe the efforts to maintain the importance of aesthetics and those involved in supporting them, and he goes on that *the artworld stands to the real world in something like the relationship in which the City of God stands to the Earthly City.*'(1964:582).This takes us back to the crisis of legitimacy I have chosen as the lens through which I'll study leadership in the cultural sector. If the 'City of God' meaning the grand narrative providing the 'Earthly City', meaning the cultural sector with legitimacy, leadership in the cultural sector might just find it worthwhile considering the reflexive, relationally informed understanding of leadership I aim to unfold in this project as relevant in terms of what counts as leadership.

Theoretical Framework

The inquiry is placed at the intersection between cultural studies, social/relational constructionist leadership studies and studies in narratives. This eclectic, even somewhat unorthodox mix is chosen to help me understand leadership performed through narratives in the cultural sector. The following areas in combination are to make up this project. In terms of leadership studies, I draw primarily on contributions by Hosking (2011, 2010, 2006), Dachler and Hosking (1995), Dachler (2010), McNamee and Gergen eds. (1999) and Grint (2005, 2000). In terms of narratives, narratology, narrative knowing and communication as constitutive of selves and social worlds I draw on contributions by Bruner (2002, 1990, 1986), Barnett Pearce (2007), Gergen (1994), Polkinghorne (1988), Potter & Wetherell (1987), Lyotard (1984) and Gubrium & Holstein (2009). In terms of genealogic approaches to the construction of interpretive resources and dominant narratives in the arts, I draw on Rose (1996), Rose and Miller (2010), Hjorth (2007, 2004) Raffnsøe (1996), Dreyfus & Rabinow (1982) and Harrington (2004). In terms of alternative interpretive resources and possible alternative narratives, I draw on Hall (1996), Hall and Maharaj (2001) de Certeau (1984, 1997), Held & Moore (2008), Danto (1964, 1998) Tepper and Ivey eds. (2008). The purpose of this overview is to provide a sense of direction, not an exhaustive list.

1.3 The Thesis

This section offers a reading guide to the research project.

Chapter 1 sets the scene through an immediate empirical contextualization of the focus of the inquiry. It offers an outline of the paths I have chosen to follow into my research project along with an initial argumentation to support this particular take on leadership in the cultural sector. I link to how this may be relevant to cultural studies in a broad sense and to the dawning field of leadership studies in the cultural sector. The research aim is introduced along with the research questions. The focus on performing leadership narratively in the cultural sector is motivated in additions to arguments in favor of relational approaches to leadership in a broader sense, primarily through attention to various (dominant and alternative) ways to ontologize leadership.

Chapter 2 introduces the methodological reflections which have guided the research project along with a discussion of its social constructionist epistemological framework, and more particularly the guidelines offered by relational constructionism. An overview of various understandings of narratives, their properties and performative aspects are discussed and arguments for the relationally based, non-entitative approach used in the project are presented.

Chapter 3 offers a genealogic approach to what the project has defined as the dominant narrative in the cultural sector, the narrative of art for art's sake (the AFAS narrative), which the project argues function as an implicit standard. This includes notions of aesthetic autonomy such as suggested by Kant in 1790, artistic freedom and art for its own sake such as claimed by artists in the Romantic era, and the arm's length principle as the 'constitution of cultural policies' in the post WW2 Western world.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of alternative voices which have challenged the dominant narrative. These include post colonial studies, cultural entrepreneurial studies and consumer behavior studies which in various ways propose alternative ways to lead and support the cultural sector.

Chapter 5 links the discussions in chapter 3 and chapter 4 to leadership studies, notably to discussions of leader-centered orientations versus leading relationally orientations. The chapter concludes by suggesting a new sensibility towards understanding leadership and

meditates on how this might be achieved, paying attentions to the possibilities of overcoming the putative crisis of legitimacy I have placed my inquiry in.

Chapter 6 relates a case-study of Malmoe City Library which endeavors into a difficult, yet very promising process of reformulating what a library may become in a contemporary context. This process challenges the dominant narrative and thus the current understanding of what a library should be, and this deviation from the dominant narrative challenges leadership.

Chapter 7 assembles three different approaches to challenges the dominant narrative and to make new interpretive resources available to the understanding of leadership in the cultural sector. First, givrum.nu, a social movement working with arts, second, Mogens Holm, a leader in the cultural sector in a transition phase, and third, Copenhagen Phil, a classical symphony orchestra striving to avoid becoming a parallel society phenomenon. These case studies are conducted as written interviews with the cases, in an attempted un-edited form to also introduce relational processes informed by a power with relation to my own research project.

Chapter 8 reflects on the case-studies in chapter 6 and chapter 7 in light of the two approaches to leadership discussed in chapter 5. It does so by linking my study to relational leadership theory in order to see how this theoretical field might inform my inquiry and how my inquiry might inform this field. It equally offers five possible reconstructions of the cases before concluding the research project by summing up contributions to the empirical field and the research fields, as well as by pointing to areas which could be further developed in future research.

Chapter 2 Epistemological Framework, Methodological Reflections, Methods

'Getting what you want means getting the right story.' (Bruner, 1990:86)

Doing Social Constructionist Research

I aim to carry out my inquiry within an epistemological framework in broad terms known as social constructionism. This means I take 'reality' to be socially constructed in communicative processes in which language among other bulks of signs has a constitutive role (Gergen, 1994:viii, Gergen & Thatchenkery, 1996:236). I thus assume that there is no extra-linguistic reality, only intra-linguistic social realities produced in ongoing social interaction (Burr, 2003:8). Social constructionism doesn't offer a set of clean-cut axiomatic propositions and preconditions, usually ascribed to a paradigm. Instead, if offers some key assumptions (Hosking, 2011:48), which if not fully compatible and aligned, at least have some '*family resemblance*' (Burr, 2003:2). In this chapter I account for some of these key assumptions, what they entail in terms of a research process, the role of the researcher and the understanding of knowledge implied in social constructionism. To further specify what I mean by attempting to do research within a social constructionist framework, and to point to some of the implications it may have to my inquiry, I draw on relational constructionism (Hosking, 2011). Realtional constructionism shares assumptions with social constructionism, but sharpens the focus as it '*centers* processes of relating' (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:36, italics by the authors), it gives primacy to relations (Dachler & Hosking, 1995:1, McNamee & Hosking, 2012:36). I continue by discussing the structural aspects of narratives, the role of plots, how narratives are productive in processes of meaning making, and the performative abilities of narratives. At some length I discuss various positions in terms of how the notion of narrative has been applied, and account for my own position as non-entitative, also in this regard. I conclude by accounting for the methods, I have chosen to use in my inquiry process, a couple of those I decided not to use, and how I have constructed the empirical field in my inquiry. Empirical fields in relational constructionism are not 'found' or 'discovered' (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:55), but co-constructed in relational processes by the researcher and his co-

researchers, the relational constructionist term for informants (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50), and related as a narrative (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50).

Doing social constructionist research as a solitary process in itself may sound somewhat awkward. Forms of intelligibility based on individual knowledge sound out of tune with knowledge production as a social process. Therefore, as suggested by McNamee and Gergen (1999:10) *'we may labor toward the development of intelligibilities that invite, encourage, or suggest alternative forms of action.'* Also, as pointed out by Hosking (in Shamir et al. eds., 2006:16) we can think of knowledge production as relational processes of producing a '*participative ontology'* (ibid.) in which the implied power relation between those involved is one of '*power with'*, i.e. an attempted symmetry, as opposed to a *'power over'* (ibid.), i.e. an attempted asymmetry in which the researcher has privileged access to producing ontologies. Yet, for a PhD inquiry there are formal constraints such as time, legal framework, the individual assessment process etc. which makes it relevant to find some sort of golden mean between the aspirations of my inquiry to do research as participative processes with my co-researchers, and my task as a researcher in spe to complete a PhD thesis in a format recognizable to a doctoral school. Throughout the research process I strive to find a balance between those two concerns, primarily by operating within the formal constraints, but allowing for other voices, or even less heard voices, to be heard in a research context. In chapter 8 I discuss further how research as participative processes might further be developed within the field of leadership in the cultural sector.

Finally, the outcome of a social constructionist research process may in itself be seen as a narrative producing a possible social reality. As pointed out by Hosking and Hjorth (2004:264):

> When considered from a relational constructionist point of view, *all* inquiry, all knowing, all action can be considered as narrative. The 'inquirer' participates in relational processes – in making self as an inquirer in relation to other [...], and in relation to narratives of science, mathematics, entrepreneurship and so on.

Thus, the outcome of a PhD research process in this regard in itself constitutes a narrative, which as contended by Bruner (1990:77) can never be voiceless, i.e., it is my way of relating the field I enquire into. But, as Hosking and Hjorth argue (2004:265), there is a difference between seeing a narrative as the product of an individual mind and a narrative as the outcome of a social process:

> [...], investigators typically treat narratives as 'mind stuff' – as the other's subjective knowledge (some sort of cognitivist orientation prevails), and position their self as an independent observer generating and analyzing data in order to know what really is the case. (ibid.)

As much as I take full editorial responsibility for how I have related the subject matter of my inquiry, I also underline that it is my way around the narrative landscape I have constructed. Others may choose a different path, and I'm sure they'd be seeing other things, or having different views on what I have seen. I have, however, chosen this particular way in accordance with the activist aspirations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005:114) of my inquiry: I aim to contribute to the process of changing what I see as the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector, privileging certain forms of expression and behavior, thereby allowing for other artistic and cultural expressions to appear and flourish. The contributions I aim to make is about organizing the cultural sector from a bottom up cultural democracy point of view, prioritizing relational views of art, cultural expressions and leadership, as opposed to organizing the cultural sector from a top down democratization point of view, which prioritizes entitative views of art, cultural expressions and leadership.

2.1 Some Key Assumptions

Social constructionism places language as central in terms of how reality is constructed in social relations. This claim is emblematically summarized in Wittgenstein's radical proposition that our language constitutes the limits of our worlds (1922:sect. 5.6, 149). Language as Peirce pointed out (1960, vol.2:228) is a large, and perhaps the most important bulk of signs '*which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity*', yet in a way which makes the relationship between the sign and what it stands for arbitrary. Peirce (ibid.) refers to signs which have an arbitrary relationship between the sign and what it stands for as '*symbols*' to distinguish them from '*icons*' and '*indexes*' of

which the relationship is resemblance or causality respectively. If language stands in an arbitrary relationship to what it stands for, it is dependent on what Wittgenstein describes as '*language games*' (1922: sect. 7), a framework which 'fixes' the relationship in such as way that language can serve as a means of communication. And if the arbitrary relationship needs fixation in language games to gain its meaning and to serve as a means of communication, it follows that language as such doesn't just describe a reality existing independently from language, it constitutes reality through the way the relation between language and what it is taken to stand for is fixed. As pointed out by Hosking (2006:9)

> This gives a new role to language – no longer the means for representing reality – but a (perhaps *the)* key process in which relating 'goes on' and in so doing, constructs people-world realities and relations.

Yet, as pointed out by Berger and Luckmann (1966:87):

> Language becomes the depository of a large aggregate of collective sedimentations, which can be acquired monothetically[19], that is, as cohesive wholes and without reconstructing their original process of formations.

Such cohesive wholes which can be acquired in a prescribed way, is what Bruner describes as cultures (1990:12), which in this sense, becomes isomorphic ways of perceiving realities in un-reflected ways, thus making them appear as realities. These realities, social construtionism reminds us, are but '*objectivated sedimentations'* (Berger & Luckmann, 1966:87), they are the outcome of ongoing processes of constructing reality socially. Therefore, social constructionism tends to question taken for granted realities, such as knowledge and understandings of the world and ourselves, for as argued by Gergen (1994:49)

> Descriptions and explanations are neither driven by the world as it is, nor are they the inexorable outcome of genetic or structural propensities with the individual. Rather, they are the result of human coordination of action.

So if descriptions and explanations are the outcome of human coordination of action, taking place in relational processes (Hosking, 2011:32), communication seen as the

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[19] i.e. by one single criterion (Merriam-Webster online)

relational processes in which we coordinate speech acts (Wittgenstein, 1953: sect. 23:11e, Austin, 1962:6-8, Searle, 1969, Pearce, 2007:106) becomes the focus of attention in order to understand the process of constructing realities socially by means of language. Such communication, Bruner argues (1990:87) is organized in narrative structures, an ability and propensity linked to the human language acquisition program. Central to Bruner's argument is that children already at the age of three acquire the skills to organize their language in narratives in order to obtain and achieve certain things (ibid.). Narratives are thus fundamental to the socialization process of humans, and through this we learn to deploy social and cultural frameworks which allow us to establish a sense of selfhood and make meaning of our social interaction. Narrative structures are, according to Bruner (1990:77) '*inherent in the praxis of social interaction before it achieves linguistic expression[20]*', through what Berger and Luckmann (1966:87) refer to as institutions in the sense of '*'permanent' solution to a 'permanent' problem' of the given collectivity*', a culturally embedded agreement of the meaning of language.

By giving primacy to the relational aspects of communicative and other forms of social interaction, Hosking (2011), and Dachler and Hosking (1995) seek to establish a '*framework of premises articulated at a level similar to that of sociology or philosophy of (social) science*' (Hosking, 2011:52) and point to the following key features as constitutive of this orientation to which the authors refer as relational constructionism:

- Relational processes are centered and not the bounded individual, individual mind operations, and individual knowledge.

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[20] Here Bruner makes a somewhat contested point against the idea put forward e.g. by Wexler and Culicover (1980) that the simpler narrative structures are, the simpler they are learned by children in the process of acquiring language skills. So as a example 'you are' would be easier for a child to understand than 'you're a good boy'. What Bruner seeks to argue is that such computability (fewer words, easier learning) can by no means be substantiated. On the contrary, it seems much more likely that children grasp the sentence 'you are good boy' thanks to its, although simple, narrative structure, than the sentence 'you are' which doesn't make any immediate sense to a child. The 'you're a good by' narrative accompanied by smiling, pointing, unarticulated happy sounds', are understood by the child, as it links to its predisposition for narrative structures, as opposed to the abstract, theoretical implications of the 'you are' enunciation, in spite of its simpler structure. I quote Bruner to underline the point that narratives are central to being human, and to human interaction.

- Relational processes are considered to 'go on' in inter-acts that may involve speaking, sounds, hearing and listening, gestures, signs, symbols, seeing, dance... theorized as ongoing performances.
- Inter-acts (re)construct multiple self-other realities as local ontologies or 'forms of life' (person-world making).
- Relational processes and realities are theorized as local-cultural and local-historical.
- Relational processes may close down or open up possibilities.
- Relating can construct hard, soft or indeed minimal self-other differentiation.
- Power is ever ongoing as a quality of relational processes including 'power over' and 'power to'.

In this sense, relational constructionism adds to social constructionism as an epistemological framework by also considering other, non-verbal forms of social interaction in the process of construction social reality, by giving primacy to relations, i.e. taking its point of departure in relations, as opposed to beginning with individuals, in these processes of constructing reality socially, and by reminding us of the power aspects implicit in such processes (see also Gergen, 1994:36 for a discussion). This means that the process of constructing social realities in relations cannot be thought of in a way, which doesn't imply a power relation, and what relational constructionism does in this regard is to draw attention to this aspect as opposed to thinking communication as a possibly power free sphere. Although I have limited my inquiry to linguistic inter-acts, in the form of narratives, I strive to conduct it within the overall aspirations of the epistemological framework of relational constructionism.

For my research process, the aspirations of relational constructionism have important implications, at least in three ways. First, doing research informed by relational constructionism in two fields, art and leadership which are overwhelmingly dominated by entitative views (e.g. the genius artist, the great leader), is likely to come off the paper as critical, perhaps even provocative. Taken for granted assumptions, as we'll see later, seem available in abundance in dominant understandings of art, culture and leadership and discussing them within a relational constructionist framework problematizes them (Uhl-Bien, 2006:669) in ways which may challenge them. To mention a few examples, the

cultural sector is organized around individual art works selected, analyzed and disseminated thanks to their individual properties; these art works are produced or performed by individual artists admitted into art schools on the basis of their individual talent, supported, criticized and acclaimed for their individual achievements, and they are led by individual leaders whose personal charisma, visions and ambitions have secured them marble statues, oil painted portraits and royal decorations throughout hundreds of years. Inquiring into these fields as relationally constructed allows for a view into how these taken for granted assumptions came into being, what forms of power are involved in maintaining these assumptions, and indeed how they may be changed to create new relational constructions with different forms of power.

Second, a research inquiry informed by social constructionism is in itself a process of creating realities by means of narratives (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:265) in which I as an inquirer am clearly a part of the realities I produce through the narratives I relate (ibid.). I am in this sense promoting my own hopes and dreams within the field of leadership in the cultural sector, and as I cannot escape from doing so[21], I interpret this editorial responsibility as an obligation to account for what I do in the research process as much as possible, thus striving to make it as transparent as possible.

Third, the knowledge produced in an inquiry informed by relational constructionism is not 'discoverage of truth', but a process of opening on to new possibilities made available through the narratives I produce. The new possibilities I aim to make possible through my research process are not presently encouraged, indeed some are even hindered, and I therefore strive to bring such possibilities into my inquiry and point to both how they might be further encouraged and what changes are probably needed in the dominant understandings of leadership in the cultural sector. As pointed out by Hosking and Hjorth (2004:265)

> This means articulating multiplicity, what some call 'plurivocality', and in this way 'giving voice' to practices and possibilities that usually are muted, suppressed or silenced.

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[21] As long as I insist on problematizing the way I see leadership in the cultural sector currently unfold, and propose alternative ways.

By inviting more rarely heard voices into an inquiry, the inquirer can be said not only to open on to new possibilities, but also to make an intervention into the field of inquiry, for as pointed out by Hosking (2011:59):

> One potentially radical implication is that the conventional distinction between inquiry and intervention is unnecessary because all processes, whether or not some community calls them inquiry, actively construct relational realities.

In the research process I strive to make my interventional inquiry capable of constructing '*power to*' (Hosking, 2011:60) in the sense of empowering new possibilities, and '*power with*' (ibid.) in the sense of inviting some of my co-inquirers[22] to co-construct my case studies with me[23].

2.2 Narratives – Plot, Meaning and Performativity

By reviewing some important contributions towards understanding narratives, I go on by attempting to qualify how I use the notion of narrative in my inquiry. As indicated in chapter 0 and 1, I use narratives to construct the social reality of my inquiry. This means, I take bits and pieces of enunciations made available to me through media, documents and conversations I carry out during the research process, and I put these together to construct narrative landscapes. Acknowledging that there are many ways, not all of them straight and well lit, around such a narrative landscape, I use the notion of narrative in a relational way as opposed to an entitative way. This means, I am concerned with how and to what extent an enunciation is taken to produce a social world in its context, rather than with its specific form and structure. Thus, the use of 'narrative' in my inquiry refers to '*ongoing performances*' (Hosking, 2011:52) as mentioned in section 2.1 as opposed to a fixed entitative structure. In opposition to this, if we take it to the extreme, the entitative view of narratives sees these as '*decontextualized sentences*' (Bruner, 1990:62) which *'in the formal logical tradition are as if uttered from nowhere by nobody – texts on their own, "unsponsored"*'(ibid.). In a transmissional way (Pearce, 2007:30), i.e. taking sender, message and receiver as separate entities '*one could then inquire whether the speaker's*

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[22] Those who would in a more classical research project be referred to as informants.

[23] I account for how in section 2.4

meaning was grasped or "taken up" by a hearer and what determined that uptake' (Bruner, 1990:63) which would then allow us to establish a set of axiomatic properties required for a narrative to perform its functions, in the sense of being received with the same content as it was issued with by its sender.

The relational view of narratives, on the other hand, embeds the narrative in its context on which it is dependent to acquire its meaning. Bruner (1990:63)[24] describes this context as '*felicity conditions'* which are

> rules not only about the propositional content of an utterance but about required contextual preconditions, about sincerity in the transaction, and about essential conditions defining the nature of the speech act. (ibid.)

This points to context as a prerequisite both for understanding a narrative, and to further qualify narratives, Bruner (1990:77) points to four elements:

1) '*agentivity – action directed toward goals controlled by agents'*
2) '*that a sequential order be established and maintained – that events and states be "linearized" in a standard way'*
3) '*a sensitivity to what is canonical and what violates canonicality in human interaction'*
4) '*something approximating a narrator's perspective: it cannot, in the jargon of narratology, be "voiceless"'*

Bruner suggests the use of the Burkean pentad to qualify the dramaturgical elements of a narrative. According to this, '*well-formed stories [...] are composed of a pentad of an Actor, an Action, a Goal, a Scene, and an Instrument – plus Trouble'* (1990:50)[25]. But, as Bruner also points out (1990:150), this account may have an ethnocentric bias, it '*may [...] be too "homeostatic" to be universal.'* (ibid.). In his note (ibid.), Bruner suggests further discussion of the issue, and I see this as an opening towards revising the discrepancy

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[24] Bruner (2002:34) uses narrative and story interchangeably without any apparent semantic difference.

[25] The referred elements are Bruner's adaptations of Burke's equivalent elements: Act, Scene, Agent, Agency and Purpose (Burke, 1969:xv).

between his notion of meaning as culturally embedded, i.e. a relational view of meaning as not produced in the mind of a single individual independently of cultural contexts and the relations in which the meaning making process occurs, and his use of the Burkean pentad, i.e. a rather entitative view of the narrative structure which to Bruner is constitutive in terms of producing meaning. In other words, if meaning is culturally embedded, why would the main structuring principle in the creation of meaning be a universal format?[26] Answering this question in a satisfactory way is beyond the scope of this inquiry. But, as Bruner's argument in terms of creation of meaning[27] as culturally embedded[28] is not directly dependent on the specific structure of narratives, I use this argument without requiring narratives to have a specific format, such as the Burkean pentad. Yet, to arrive at a relationally informed notion of narrative, I now go on to review some influential contributions with the aim of positioning such a notion in the field of narrative studies.

Narratives – Structural Aspects

Polkinghorne, along with Bruner, uses narrative and story as equivalent concepts (1988:13), to refer both to the process of making a narrative and to the possible outcomes of such processes: stories/narratives, tales or histories. Abstaining from any limitations to narratives in terms of being factual or fiction, Polkinghorne declares his preference for "true" narratives (1988:14), with true in inverted commas to underscore his main interest being narratives of the self or of historical events. He qualifies narratives as a scheme

> That display purpose and directions in human affairs and makes individual human lives comprehensible as wholes. We conceive our own and other's behavior with the narrative framework, and through it recognize he effects our planned actions can have on desired goals (1988:18)

Whereas Bruner and Polkinghorne use narrative as a structure, according to which all sorts of events and experiences can be ordered to produce meaning and identity, Gabriel

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[26] We should note that Burke has established his pentad on the basis of European drama, wherefore an ethnocentric bias is by no means unthinkable.

[27] Through the double bound landscape, see later.

[28] And therefore also heavily contested, as we'll see later, along with the diversification and globalization of culture.

(2000:32) points to the intrinsic value of a story as a criterion according to which its validity is judged. If stories, such as related in organizations, lack '*the sweeping grandeur, narrative complexity, or overwhelming emotional charge*' (ibid.), they are not part of a mythology, which Gabriel considers an essential criterion for deciding whether an utterance qualifies as a narrative or not. Thus, Gabriel is concerned with content in his attempts to define narratives whereas Bruner and Polkinghorne are more concerned with narratives as structure or schema[29]. Gabriel goes on to argue that although '*their characters can be interesting, unusual, or even brilliant, but the lack the towering presence of true heroes*' (ibid.), and they are '*bound to the mundane realities of everyday experience*' (2000:5) which makes up a real story and therefore merit nothing more than a few retellings if any. Thus, Gabriel sees narratives as a subcategory to stories which in turn have mythical qualities and recognizable grammatical elements proper to stories, unlike Bruner and Polkinghorne who use narrative and story interchangeably to describe structural properties of enunciations. Stories, to Gabriel, posses intrinsic values transcending time, space and culture (2000:23), which narratives don't, and therefore

> It is, however, possible to retain the concept of a story for proper narratives, with beginnings and ends, held together by action, entertaining for audiences and challenging for tellers, while acknowledging that other narrative devices are used to sustain or negotiate meaning (2000:21)

Whereas Gabriel seems to agree with Polkinghorne and Bruner as far as the role of narratives in creating meaning is concerned, Gabriel confine the notion of story to narratives which posses qualities beyond just sustaining or negotiating meaning. Although some narratives[30] in my project may at a first glance seem enough tenacious to life to posses intrinsic value which according to Gabriel would qualify them as stories, I nevertheless maintain the relational view of narratives, which allows me to understand how they came into being, to discuss them and pose alternatives to such stories assuming universal transcendence. In short, Gabriel's interpretivism

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[29] Which in an inquiry informed by relational constructionism is productive in terms of content thanks to the performative aspects of narratives, discussed in the next section. For now, my purpose is to pin down differences between entitative and relational understandings of the notion of narrative.

[30] Because, as I indicated in chapter 1, and continue to discuss in chapter 3, they draw their legitimacy as 'truth' from what Lyotard terms a meta-narrative.

> Preserves distinction between fact and story, story and other narratives, plot and embellishment, story and interpretation, strong and weak interpretations (2000:17)

A view which is incompatible with Bruner's which ascribe '*extralinguistic indifference*' (1990:44) or '*factual indifference*' (1990:50) to narratives, arguing that the narratives themselves present the interpretive contexts for how to make sense of them. Hence, I do no use Gabriel's view of stories and narratives further in my inquiry as it seems incompatible with the aspirations of relational constructionism, I outlined above, which in line with Bruner understands realities, such as 'facts', as local ontologies negotiated in relations, and not as extralinguistic reference points.

A different view on the properties of narratives is developed by Boje who argues that narratives are above stories, '*they stand as elite*' (2001:1), as they have well-organized plots, whereas stories appear as *'folksy'*. Stories are but accounts of incidents and events onto which narratives add plot and coherence. '*Narratives shape our past events into experience using coherence to achieve believability*' (2008:4), and it has a linear sequence, usually backward-looking, with a beginning, a middle and an end (2008:7). In acknowledgement of the messiness with which organizational storytelling often tends to occur, Boje suggests the concept of ante-narrative invoking the double bound meaning of *'before'* and *'a bet'* (2001:2) implying that ante-narratives can be seen both as the messy stories not yet entered into a meaningful narrative, and as tentative efforts to make sense of events and incidents. In this regard stories are what come before narratives placing the orderly sequence as a central criterion for stories to become narratives.

To Bruner sequentiality is an equally important feature of narratives (1990:43) but the linearity composed of a beginning, a middle and an end, is but one of many possible overall configurations of the sequences into plots[31]. The issue for Bruner, however, is not a specific once and for all order of events, but a double-bound: the listener/interpreter has to grasp the plot in order to be able to make sense of the constituents of the narrative, and the narrative has to pay attention to the succession of evens and relate them to the plot. This does not necessarily imply chronological sequentiality, as narratives may also be used for

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[31] I later inquiry further into plots.

such purposes as to justify events and behavior in the past (1990:58) in which case the succession of events may be re-organized to fit the 'new plot', one that is not about making a precise account of events but one that is about justifying or making sense of what happened, seen in the light of new circumstances. The re-organized narrative still organizes events and experiences in a sequential way, yet the various elements may have changed their place in the sequence. The process of re-organizing events and experiences in accordance with a new plot points in the same direction as Boje's '*retrospective explanation of storytelling's speculative appreciations*' (2001:3), but equally leaves room for alternative explanations, as Boje's linear sequence in Bruner's perspective is replaced by a plot being '*linearized*' in a standard way (1990:77). This is worth noticing because '*empirical*' accounts of history and purely imaginative novels share the narrative form (1990:45), and Bruner asks the ever puzzling question why fact and fiction tend to be related in the same form. Boje (2008:7) agrees that often the past is being re-imagined in the view of the present in a process where the narrative is being re-storied or split up into ante-narratives which in turn emerge as a new narrative with a classic linear plot.

Czarniawska's conceptualization of narratives develops over time, from arguing that for a list of events to become a narrative it takes a plot (1998:2), whereas later, a historical account of events '*is a narrative but it is still not a story as it lacks a plot*' (2004:19). Having eventually more or less blurred the distinction, Czarniawska contends that

> When people recount their experiences in life or at work, they often do it in a form of a story, a narrative constructed along the time axis, blending random events and purposeful actions into a meaningful whole with the help of a story plot (2008:32).

The issue not being the distinction between narratives and stories, but an attempt to suggest 'interpretive templates' (2008:33) as a key functionality in the sense-making process. Such interpretive templates are recognizable, familiar story plots and formats into which past events can be ordered to make sense, and they equally serve as a means to project future events into making the yet unknown more familiar when translated in to recognizable formats. Thus, narratives are not only a matter of organizing the past but also a means to make sense of the future. In this regard, Bruner has suggested an inversion of the Aristotelian concept of mimesis according to which art imitates life, by instead

proposing playwright Oscar Wilde's slightly ironic twist: '*Life imitates art, far more than art imitates life*' (2004:692, 2002:9, Wilde, 1889). Czarniawska's interpretive templates thus become not only devices by the help of which we might make sense of the past and the future, they also become proactive in actually shaping how lives are lived.[32] As phrased by White (1989:6) '*We enter into stories, we are entered into stories by others, and we live our lives through stories.*' An interpretive template in this sense is not confined to playing only an interpretative role but indeed also to perform an active constitutive role in the shaping of future events.

What White points to is that we both relate ourselves through narratives (who we experience we are and want to be), and we are being related through narratives by others (who others experience we are, and want us to be), and that the context we are part of, e.g. a culture, provide us with narratives by which we can choose to live, or by which we are being chosen to live. This brings me to discussing the cultural embeddedness of narratives which relational constructionism, as noted in the beginning of the chapter, sees as '*relational processes and realities* [which] *are theorized as local-cultural and local-historical*' (Hosking, 2011:52). Gubrium and Holstein (2009:xvi) see narratives as embedded in such local social and cultural webs wherefore they also include circumstances, conditions and goals[33] in their conceptualization of what purposes narratives serve, and what they do. The authors abstain from a priori definitions of narratives and stories arguing that the context in which these occur and are analyzed are equally important, and that features such as clear cut chronological linearity or complete absence of the same by no means prevent narrators and their interpreters from ascribing all sorts of motives and plots to the narratives. Instead of a definitional framework the authors propose an explorative take on narratives, using what appears to be considered narratives in the context and circumstances as such. This, however, leaves me with the question posed by the authors (2009:225): '*if narratives don't have borders or their borders are fluid, how do we identify them?*' to which this question I will reply in a relational way (Hosking, 2011:52, Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:265)) by arguing that such

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[32] I come back to the 'idealizing' properties of such narratives in chapter 3, 5 and 8, their abilities to function as 'the only' possible way of being e.g. an artist, or thinking about leadership in the cultural sector.

[33] Referred to by Bruner as *'intentional states'* (1990:9)

borders are constituted in the interaction between those narrating, those listening and the local cultural and historical context in which this is occurring.

To sum up, what I in the following refer to as a narrative, does not have fixed, intrinsic or formal properties, and their character as narratives are interpreted on the basis of how they are perceived in the actual context, which means that:

> A simple nod or acquiescent response – as truncated and unstorylike as that might seem – can be narratively adequate in the circumstances, functioning to smoothly facilitate casual yet consequential interaction' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:201)

Narratives in this sense '*are considered to 'go on' in inter-acts'* (Hosking, 2011:52), and although Hosking allows for other than verbal expressions to qualify as such, I confine my use of narratives to verbal enunciations[34]. Abstaining from requiring axiomatic criteria for narratives to qualify as narratives instead prompts an interest in asking how such criteria have come around, what it would have meant, had they been set up differently, and how they can be set up in the future (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:227). This dynamic, relationally based conceptualization of narratives is in line with the relational constructionist aspirations within which I aim to conduct my inquiry. With this, I don't make a priori assumptions in terms of what qualifies as a leadership narrative. Instead, I can I can inquiry into what currently qualifies as leadership performed through narratives, how this came to be perceived as leadership, what different criteria may be applied, and how the application of different criteria may influence what counts as leadership. It also allows me to inquire into leadership performed narratively not only in formal clearly defined settings, such as strategic documents (see e.g. Barry & Elmes, 1997:429-452), public meetings or annual assemblies, but as ongoing relational processes happening at all sorts of occasions. As the aim of my inquiry is to challenge the dominant understanding of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector, my interest is not only to see how formal leaders have skillfully composed their narratives, and how they achieve what they want through these. In this, meaning making is a central issue, as I'll discuss later in this

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[34] In this regard, I don't mean to purposely divert from the aspirations of relational constructionism, just to limit my inquiry to narratives in accordance with my research questions.

chapter. Having now specified what I mean by the notion of narrative, I go on to further inquiry into how we might understand what narratives do, first by seeing plot as a process of finding the best fit.

> *'Plot is for the presentation what story [the narrative] is for the subject of the presentation.'* (Pfister, 1988:197)

Plot as Process – the Best Fit

If narratives are defined as ongoing interacts occurring in relations, what then of the spine of the narrative: the plot? Already Aristotle's Poetics (ch. 7) defines '*mythos*'[35] as the synthesis of events, an organizing principle which, involving a variety of external and internal factors, paves the way through the narrative. While any written or oral account may operate on the basis of chronology, random choice or pure gibberish (Gubrium & Holstein, 2007:226) plot is what turns it into a narrative. In line with the dynamic relationally informed understanding of narratives, I accounted for above, I continue by considering more processual understandings of plots. Understanding what plots do is important to my inquiry, for, as we'll see, leadership in the cultural sector is not un-contested. What leadership may want to achieve by producing a social world by means of a narrative, may be emplotted with a different plot, thus changing what leadership may have had in mind beyond recognition. Equally, some generally accepted narratives, such as e.g. the art for art's sake narrative, may be understood differently, if we inquire into how it came into being, what emplotting this narrative as a narrative of freedom may do, and how it might have been emplotted differently.

To get an initial grasp of plots we may think of them as grids around which events, episodes and experiences are organized into narrative structures. Plots offer grammatical, causal and other grids into which events, episodes, occurrences etc. may be projected in order to provide them with the necessary sequentiality and causality for them to be perceived as meaningful. Ricoeur suggests the concept of emplotment (in Polkinghorne,

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[35] 'Mythos' is commonly translated into 'plot'.

1988:49) to underscore that plots are not extralinguistic standard devices which by a process of trial and error '*fit*' the narratives, but rather a dynamic process of '*emplotting*', in which plots are tried out against events to find '*the best fit*' (1988:19). As an example: I think what got you to D was your passing from A over B to C, as opposed to a right or a correct fit which would follow from a logico-scientific deductive mode: only if you pass from A over B to C, you'll come to D. Thus, best fit plots do not provide symmetry between ex ante predictions and ex post explanations of events such as would follow from logico-deductive reasoning, but instead they enable a retroactive explanation of the significance of events viewed in the light of their outcomes. This process is embedded into the social and cultural context which according to Polkinghorne (1988:3) provide humans with their experiences of being human, thus placing the personal and cultural experience of being human apart from the body. Language stands out as a major manifestation of the arbitrariness of the relation between sign and what it stands for (Polkinghorne, 1988:5), and emplotting narratives in certain ways are therefore the only means through which we can allude to certain interpretations of signs at the expense of others. The context in which a narrative is uttered equally engages in a process of emplotting[36], drawing on available narrative resources[37] to make meaning of the narrative. This process may reduce the arbitrariness between the intended interpretation of the narrative and the way in which it is being interpreted, provided that the narrative resources are compatible and overlapping, and that the plot points to the intended point of entry to the understanding of the narrative.

As we have seen, the amorphous notion of narrative cannot be relied on to 'transmit' in any entitative sense between narrator and listener as well-defined entities. It does not ensure one and only one possible outcome but it is open to a number of possible interpretations. Polkinghorne draws on Peirce's taxonomy of relations[38] between signs and what they stand for to argue that since language is a bulk of symbols, i.e. the words have an arbitrary relation to what they stand for, words and sentences have to be culturally encoded and agreed upon to be understood and interpreted in the intended way. And further, they need

[36] As my case study in chapter 6 is a striking example of

[37] I account further for the notion of narrative resources in connection to meaning making.

[38] Referred in section 2.1

to be organized according to a plot to provide the narrative with its ability to produce, not any, but a specific social world. Holstein and Gubrium (2009:19) adopt the term '*emplotment*' to underline that narratives don't come with a specific plot, they are being emplotted in the process of being related depending on the specific context, what the narrator wants to achieve, and what the narrative is a response to etc. Thus, plot and narratives are not two separate things, but two simultaneously ongoing processes in which emplotting attempts to 'steer' the narrating to achieve the intentions of the narrative. In this process, the narrative may be re-emplotted through impulses from the interaction between narrators and listeners, to adopt, reject or change the intentional outcome of the narrative.[39] This point is important for my inquiry in two regards: first it sees the emplotment process as part of the narrative work, i.e. an active process going on in the relation between narrator and listener, who in this sense become co-producers of the narratives. Accounting for the state of affairs through a narrative is thus an active process of emplotment to obtain certain things, not just any account of things. Hjorth (2007:714) has pointed to the role of '*plotmakers*' who use their narrative skills to construct relational realities into which people '*are lured*' (ibid.) by relating the narrative themselves. As my case study in chapter 6 aim to show, such plotmakers seem to be immensely powerful in shaping the accounts of events by continuously emplotting narratives to produce a specific relational reality. The plotmaker thus emplots various narratives to produce a relational reality which appears as 'reality' to those who relate those narratives. And second, it allows for alternative emplotments, suggesting that an awareness of possible other emplotments, e.g. that the narrative may be emplotted to serve other interests, may increase the probability of obtaining what was initially intended by the narrative.[40]

What I have aimed at showing is that setting up axiomatic requirements for the specific properties of narratives and plots are by no means intrinsic to narratives and plots, but a methodological choice with consequences for what is being studied. For my inquiry I have opted for a relationally informed understanding of narrative and plot, in the aim of

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[39] As we'll see in chapter 6, there is a constant process of emplotment going on in which narratives are being 'twisted' to mean all kinds of things depending on the context, notably the position of the listener.

[40] As we saw already in chapter 0, discussions in governments about funding for the cultural sector can easily be twisted to mean the worst thing that ever happened to a country and the beginning of the dismantling of civilization.

grasping the process of leading narratively in the cultural sector in a relational sense, as opposed to e.g. studying individual leaders and the properties of their individual narratives. As pointed out by Holstein & Gubrium (2009:227)

> In explicating narrative reality, the question is not whether stories have borders. Instead, we ask how borders are established, and what those borders might have been, are now, and will be in the future.

I have also pointed to the ongoing process of emplotting narratives as not only a methodological issue, but a central issue in performing leadership narratively, as the outcome of the narrative, what it does and how it is made sense of, relies both on the initial emplotment and on the subsequent emplotting process done by and in the context. With this in mind, I continue by inquiring into how narrative play roles in meaning making.

Making Meaning

Bruner suggests seeing the study of the mind[41] in accordance with two fundamentally different modes: one informed by computability and one informed by meaning (1986:11, 1990:4). Whereas the first has predictability as its key concern, the latter takes a more interpretive approach (1990:2) in arguing that the mind – the ways in which man makes sense of himself and his surroundings are culturally and socially embedded, and therefore not predictable, only interpretable. This leads to a non-entitative, non-essentialist understanding of meaning (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009:56), which can be understood as an ongoing process of making meaning the outcome of which is meaning which again is

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[41] And already at this point it is necessary for me to explain why I initially draw on a position which is less strong in process ontology than the relational constructionist aspirations I cited above. Langley and Tsoukas (in Hernes & Maitlis, 2010:8 online) locate Bruner's positions as 'subjectivist and interpretive' as opposed to being purely informed by a processual, relational view. This position offers *'handles for thinking about phenomena in ways that are sensitive to time, motion, flux, and sequence' (ibid.), but it differs in that it begins with the study of the mind which suggests an entitative view.* As the authors point out *'there are clearly some distinctions in the degree to which a strong process ontology – where substances are considered to be subordinated to and constituted by processes' (ibid.).* Bruner embed meaning (and self) in culture, as we'll see, and this happens in the process of issuing narratives and making meaning of them. Thus, Bruner's position is by no means incompatible with relational constructionism, on the contrary, he provides a substantial step towards understanding meaning making as processual, as I'll account for. And for my inquiry, he provides a productive golden mean between the intuitive experience of empirical individuals in my inquiry and my research focus on process and relations. As I discuss in chapter 8, this positions is open for both a *'relational responsibility'* (McNamee & Gergen, 1999:3), and for the individual responsibility involved in daring to invite someone to dance.

submitted to the process of making meaning in a continuous process. The process of making meaning is linked to the process of narrating in that

> Meaning making is a practical activity that transpires in particular circumstances and puts into play the available resources for constructing stories (ibid.:57).

This understanding of meaning assumes '*a narrative reality'*[42] (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:34), a reality that we '*are making not with hands but with minds, or rather with languages and other symbolic systems.'* (Goodman, 1987:42). As language and other symbolic worlds are deeply embedded in culture, in common language we would refer to them as culture, I get to Bruner's point that the creative process of making meaning is a process in which one uses the linguistic and other symbolic tools made available through the cultural context under specific circumstances (1990:11). Thus, meaning making is not an individual process, but a public and shared one (ibid.: 13) through which individuals become part of a cultural and social community constantly negotiating meaning. Making meaning, or attempts to do so, is thus a shared endeavor in which culture is a constitutive factor.

This leads Bruner on to arguing in favor of a '*folk psychology'* (1990:13) as a framework for understanding how meaning is made through a public process with culture as a constitutive factor. Folk psychology is an attempt to understand the mind taking such diffuse aspects as beliefs, desires and intentions into consideration, noting that saying and doing become intertwined as what we think we do, or what we say we do combines the actions with how we think and feel about them (ibid.: 19). The organizing principle of folk psychology is the narrative (1990:35) and Bruner introduces the double-bound landscape

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[42] Gurbrium and Holstein's 'narrative reality' may be seen as a pragmatic way of conceptualizing 'reality' in social constructionist terms. Yet, this project has chosen to use the slightly more lyrical, but perhaps also more imprecise concept of 'narrative landscape' for the simple reason that 'narrative reality' could start an endless ontological discussion , in which the positivist approach would be that 'narrative reality' is an oxymoron, and the social constructionist view would be that it is a pleonasm. Without starting the discussion I suppose both parties would be right in their own terms. Therefore 'narrative landscape'.

of actions and of consciousness (1986:14-16) to illustrate this. A visual adaptation of this double bound landscape for illustrative purposes could look as follows[43]:
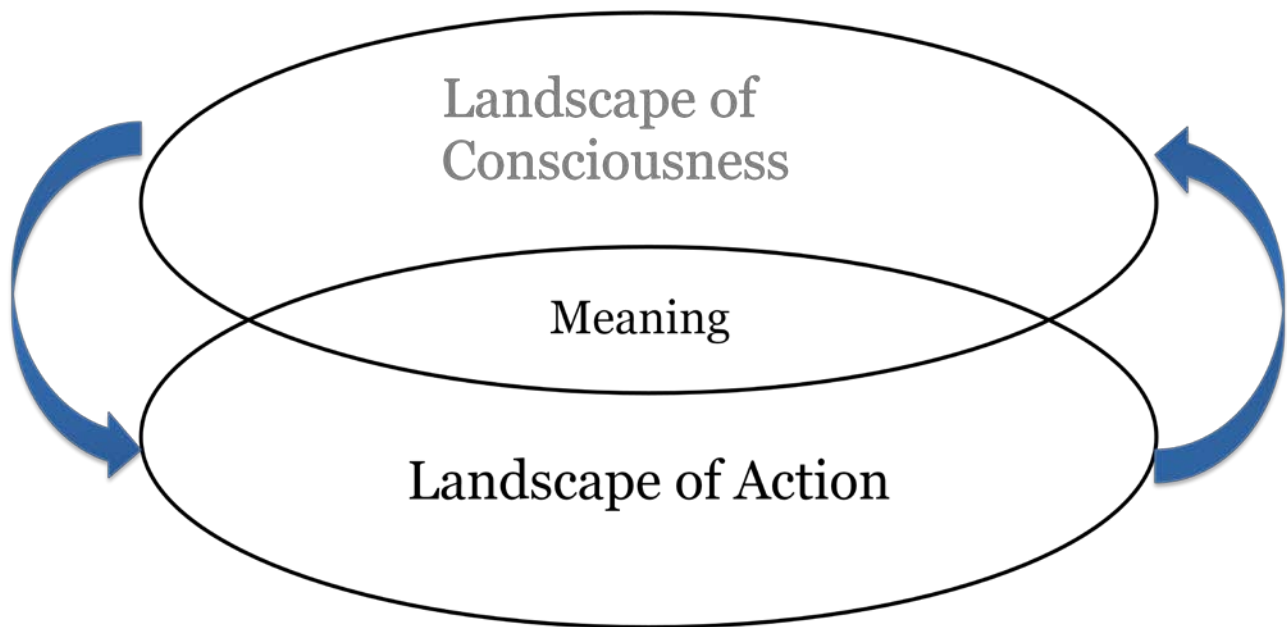
The meaning making process takes place in the interaction between the two landscapes (figuratively speaking in the overlap between the two circles) as any act is dependent on hopes, beliefs, feelings etc. to make meaning, and it is through interpretation we make the meaning out of what we see, hear, say, do etc. or in the words of Bruner:

> To understand man you must understand how his experiences and his acts are shaped by his intentional states, and second is that the form of these intentional states is realized only through participation in the symbolic systems of the culture (1990:33)

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[43] The illustration, however, does not account for the processual aspects I just accounted for, it merely describes an ideal situation in which meaning is made spontaneously such as in the case of coffee mug or chair. As I discuss later, this ideal situation is seriously impaired when we take 'actions' such as culture, art, library or leadership etc., as we can by no means be sure that the meaning making process happens equally smoothly in these cases. On the contrary, as my inquiry indicates, there is a battle going on in this regard.

This view is criticized by relational constructionism for being too concerned with intuitive experience of man and his mind as an entity. As pointed out by Hosking and Hjorth (2004:261)

> It is perhaps, the tacit quality of many relations that leads some to construct an entitative narrative, for example, of entrepreneurs, markets, a business enterprise – encouraging the view that 'it' is an 'it' – observable, singular, and relatively stable.

Yet, Hosking and Hjorth also allow for '*local-social-historical constructions'* (ibid.) which are stabilized effects or patterns, such as '*identities, social conventions, organizational, and societal structures'* (ibid.). My aim is neither to identify, nor to contribute to the construction of an 'it' such as a leader, or a library but I recognize that the field I study does tend to offer such local-social-historical constructions in the form of leaders, artists, artworks, museums etc. Without suggesting unnecessary and perhaps forced convergence between the relational constructionist view and the view of mind embedded in culture suggested by Bruner (1990:12-13), I contend that the two view together offer productive grounds for inquiring into questions such as 'how is the world organized in the mind of a leader in the cultural sector?' paraphrasing Bruner (1990:5) and 'how did local-social-historical constructions such as mind, leader and art come into being?' paraphrasing Hosking and Hjorth (2004:263, Hosking, 2011:54).

As I already indicated in chapters 0 and 1, and will continue to account for in chapters 3 and 5, local-social-historical constructions such as leaders are available in abundance in the field I study, to such an extent that an attempt to understand meaning making as an ongoing process embedded in culture without considering these as part of the culture, would seem inadequate. They are, as we'll see very present in the cultural sector, but instead of seeing them as 'it', I draw on relational constructionism to help me inquire into how these local-social-historical constructions came into being, and how they may be constructed differently. In this sense, these 'its', local-social-historical constructions such as art, library, leaders, cultural politics etc. become part of the narrative resources available

for the construction of narratives. Narrative resources[44] in my inquiry corresponds to what Potter and Wetherell (1987:138) term '*interpretive repertoires'* which they define in the following way:

> The interpretive repertoire is basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events. (ibid.)

For my inquiry this is important, because as I aim to account for in chapter 3, some narrative resources seem to have been ontologized in such a way that they appear as 'truths' which continuously are referred to in the production of narratives. As pointed out by Molin (2003:102)

> *The closed dominant event space expresses a common, consensus based interpretive process,* [italics by the author] which designates the foundation for the coordination of the actors' acts. It is exactly this coordination which is the point of departure for the construction of a stable and meaningful being together. [...] As macrostructures gradually appear as legitimate background for the execution of local communicative processes, the overall space of action and the implicit formation of rules of the system to an increasing extent reified and at the same time confirmed as 'institution'. As such the micro processes of the episodes contain the seeds to the structural self-fulfilling prophecies of the system, within which the communicative processes by and large happen as though it happened on the basis of a closed and dominant – independently existing – event space.

Or along the same lines by Hosking (2011:55)

> Put in another way, the ongoing present re-produces some previous structuring, e.g. the convention of shaking hands, and acts in relation to possible and probable futures, e.g. that a greeting will be successfully performed. So what is possible at any given moment is both resources and constrained by what has already been constructed as 'real and good' and is 'in history', so to speak.

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[44] And I use the term narrative resources as part of my endeavors to establish a linguistic consistency in the inquiry, not to change the meaning.

In terms of my inquiry this means that some narrative resources appear with an air of reality, and they are both consciously and unconsciously, as we'll see, referred to as such. As pointed out by Steyaert (2007:734)

> [...] we are not totally free but we draw upon a limited number of cultural and masternarratives. The narrative study of entrepreneurship[45] tries then to understand how in storytelling a variety of cultural and masternarratives are drawn upon, interwoven, appropriated, resisted and potentially altered. This implies that our personal narratives [...] are far less personal and authentic as the masternarrative of possisive individualism and the cultural narrative of the entrepreneur as a "strong personality" might incline us to think so.

What Steyaert refers to as 'cultural and masternarratives' belong to what I in my inquiry term narrative resources, resources available for the construction of narratives, which in turn are being invigorated by being reiterated. Narrative resources available for the construction of narratives, can however, be split up according to the level on which they operate and how they do it. Somers (1994:618) points to four ways of understanding narrativity producing four different kinds of narratives, or rather dimensions of narrativity according to their performativity, i.e. what they do and how they are used (Somers, 1994:617): '*ontological narratives*' which we deploy to define and make sense of who we are. These are social and interpersonal in the sense that they are being reproduced over time, and they offer the possibility of becoming oneself (ibid.). '*Public narratives*' which are '*attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual*' (ibid.). '*Meta-narratives*' which refer to '*the "masternarratives" in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history and as social scientists*' such as '*Progress, Decadence, Industrialization, Enlightenment*' (ibid.). Paradoxically, Somers argue, metanarratives are characterized by their putative '*de-narrativization*' (ibid.), i.e. their attempts to appear as extralinguistic truths. Thus, they contend to offer frameworks within which truth is understood and produced, by wresting the e.g. the production of scientific knowledge in the Age of the Enlightenment from the hands of narrativity.

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[45] Stayert is concerned with studies of entrepreneurship. I draw on his argument in an analogue way in my study of leadership in the cultural sector.

With these four forms of narratives available as narrative resources for the construction of narratives, which in turn is productive in meaning making, the process of meaning making is prone to encourage isomorphism. This isomorphism occurs as a result of the continuous interaction between the four forms of narratives, e.g. a talented young man (an ontological narrative) becoming an artist by attending the art academy (a public narrative) producing art which has a value in itself (a metanarrative) described and theorized as an artwork (a conceptual narrative). Bruner describes the process of interaction between these forms of narratives in terms of the idiosyncratic properties of culture (1990:67). It is this isomorphism, which I term the dominant narrative (chapter 3) I aim to challenge, by first relating alternative narratives (chapter 4), then by suggesting to change the way we think about leadership in the cultural sector (chapter 5), and finally by suggesting relational leadership theory (RLT) as a framework for renegotiating how we think about arts and leadership.

Performativity of Narratives

The use of the term 'performative' to describe the assumption that words do things as opposed to just describing things was first introduced by Austin (1962:6-8) and later developed by Searle (1995:34). Shotter (1991:200) sums up the performative aspects of language by arguing that

> In everyday life, words do not in themselves have a meaning, but a *use*, and furthermore, a *use only in a context*; they are best thought of, not as having already determined meanings, but as *means*, as tools, or as instruments for us in the "making" of meanings [...] For, like tools in a tool-box, the significance of our words remains open, vague, ambiguous, until they are used in different particular ways in different particular circumstances.

This implies that narratives need some sort of acknowledgement to accomplish their performative properties. Gergen, Gergen and Barrett (2004:49) go as far as to argue that '*a narrative is not a narrative until it ratifies as such*', and as my inquiry will unfold, such narrative ratification can assume no universal transcendence in the postmodern era, it is bound to be local. Hosking (2011:54)

> emphasizes that what is validated or discredited (or given power, so to speak) is local to the ongoing practices that (re)construct a particular form of life.

So, for example, becoming '*local*' (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:263) in the sense of performing leadership narratively in the cultural sector in a successful way requires '*being warranted as culturally competent* [which], *is achieved by relating in ways that are locally warranted or socially certified.*' (ibid.). For my inquiry the performativity of narratives are important in three ways: first, as a means to understand how the dominant narrative of leadership in the cultural sector which I relate in chapter 3, has achieved its powerful position by establishing legitimacy beyond performativity, and what this powerful position does. Second, as a means to understand the struggle between the dominant narrative claiming legitimacy beyond performativity, and alternative narratives seeking to achieve narrative ratification or to be socially and culturally warranted. And third, as a means to understand what might be needed to overcome the crisis of legitimacy I have placed my inquiry in if extralinguistic legitimization can no longer be counted on. Lyotard (1984:66) discards consensus in a universal sense as a new general means of obtaining social and cultural warranty, and proposes first a recognition of the heteromorphous nature of language games, and second,

> the principle that any consensus on the rules defining a game and the "moves" playable within it *must* be local, in other words, agreed on by its present players and subject to eventual cancellation (ibid.).

Informed also by my case studies, I conclude my inquiry in chapter 8 by suggesting how this may be done in practice, and how it might be informed by relational leadership theory (RLT).

I this section I have accounted for my use of narrative as relational interacts which are subject to ongoing emplotment in local contexts, thereby making meaning in a culturally embedded process involving narrative resources. I have equally accounted for the need of social and cultural warranty for narratives to achieve their performativity, a process which is likely to be impaired in a crisis of legitimacy such as the one I have placed my inquiry in. With this in mind, I go on to describe the methods I use in my inquiry and how they relate to the above.

2.3 Methodology and Methods

If 'all *inquiry, all knowing, all action can be considered as narrative'* (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:264) and such construction of narratives '*is a process of* creating *reality in which self/story teller is clearly part of the story'* (ibid.;265), I might as well begin by assuming my role as '*plotmaker'* (Hjorth, 2007:714) in the sense that I attempt to create a relational reality which is different from the dominant by linking events, episodes and enunciations together to form a narrative. To do so I deploy various tricks to stay in the jargon, but to which I in the following refer to as methods. Recalling that the overall program for my research design is *'deconstruction, democratization and reconstruction'* (Gergen, 1994:63) I now go on to account for the methods I have used to carry out my inquiry.

Chapter 0

In chapter 0 I want to create a sense of urgency and immediate. I do so by highlighting the drama of the event (Hjorth, 2007:714), and to create this '*dramatic upbeat'* (Sehrt quoted in Pfister, 1988:86) I create a sensation of opening my inquiry '*in medias res'* (Horace, c. 18BC:verse 148) a method as ancient as narrating itself and used in dramatic texts since ancient Greece. With an article by a prominent leader with a worldwide reputation, at least in the cultural sector, I aim to get my own narrative started and provide a sense of what this might be about. This article has a number of the elements I want to discuss in my inquiry: first, the immediate sense of leadership in the cultural sector being performing narratively, giving the impression that such narratives are both productive in this ontologization of leadership, and that they at the same time appear as performing leadership legitimately thanks to this same so far unchallenged ontologization. Although appearing as an ontological narrative, it draws on a number of narrative resources such as the use of WW2 language (blitzkrieg), arts and culture as the columns on which a particular form of civilization (the Western) is built, the putative obligation of society to secure support for the cultural sector, and the role of leaders to defend artistic freedom. Steyaert (2007:736) describes this as '*webs of interlocution that contain public, meta- and conceptual narratives'.* This web of interlocution is emplotted in a way which seemingly has only one possible outcome. Yet, only seemingly, for as my inquiry aims to show, the 'truth value' of this narrative is threatened, as the meta-narrative to which it refers is no longer uncontested.

Chapter 1

In chapter 1 I spice up the drama by adding more narratives '*lighting fires/desire to create focus and share purpose*' (Hjorth, 2007:713) to construct a narrative landscape (see note 1, chapter 1) by which I aim to convince the reader that this is how the world is, seen from the dominant vantage, thereby inciting the reader to the potentiality of changing it. Already at this point I strategize (Rose, 1996:133) my riot by mirroring it in the crisis of legitimacy described by Lyotard (1984) as the postmodern condition. Thus, I hope to provide a convincing argument that what I have just described as the problem of the dominant reality, is not only problematized by me, but indeed by others who read my problematization into a wider problematization of society, culture and knowledge. This is important to my inquiry, because, as I'll argue performing leadership narratively in the cultural sector is dependent on legitimacy either from a meta-narrative or in the form of narrative ratification. If some groups (chapter 4) show incredulity towards the meta-narrative, the general unquestioned legitimacy provided by it erodes, which instead leaves room for a performative legitimacy in the form of narrative ratification. This in turn prompts the need for leading relationally, leading in ways which aim at accommodating narrative ratification in the process of constructing local realities, and to ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector in a different way as I'll argue in chapter 5 and 8. All translations in this chapter and in the following chapters are by me.

Chapter 3

To produce and account of how the dominant narrative might have come into being, and what what it does does, to paraphrase Foucault (in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982:187) I relate the narrative of art for art's sake (AFAS) in a genealogical way. Hjorth (2007:728) points out that

> A genealogical approach moves upstream to ask how the contemporary could acquire a status of necessary, and downstream to inquire into how it reproduces its necessary context today so as to secure its status (as true, normal, universal).

This means that I must inquiry into how the AFAS narrative came into being and how leadership came to mean protecting and defending the AFAS narrative, and at the same

time how this ontologizes leadership in a particular way appearing as the only possible way. Of the genealogist Foucault says:

> However, if the genealogist refuses to extend this faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there is "something altogether different" behind things: not in a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms. Examining the history of reason, he learns that it was born in an altogether "reasonable" fashion – from chance. (1977:142)

And of history in genealogical sense:

> History has a more important task than to be a handmaiden to philosophy, to recount the necessary birth of truth and values; it should become a differential knowledge of energies and failings, heights and degenerations, poisons and antidotes. Its task is to become a curative science. (1977:156).

I follow this advice as I relate the narrative of how the notion of aesthetic autonomy came into being, paying specific attention to the discontinuities, which in a remarkable way seem to have become constitutive in ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector in a particular way. Not searching for an origin, a true beginning of my narrative (Foucault, 1977:142), I begin my narrative in the present by listening to how leadership in the cultural sector is narrated, and '*as a recorder of accidents, chance and lies*' (Burrell, 1988:229) I go on to seek '*the surfaces of events, small details, minor shifts, and subtle contours*' (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982:106) which contributed to the production of what I take to be the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector. Without attempting to produce a new 'truth' about my subject matter, I relate a genealogic narrative[46] which is my adaptation of Hjorth's '*genealogic storytelling*' (2004:223), for as Hjorth points out:

> Focusing, as a genealogist, on the cultural practices and narratives as a central form for hosting and expressing those practices, the purpose of research can shift from building positions from where we cast critique upon society into one where we enhance our possibilities to actualize forms of participation in

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[46] Hjorth (2004:223) coins this 'genealogic storytelling' which I adapt to relating genealogic narrative for the only reason that I want to avoid confusion in the use of story and narrative. As I have adopted the term narrative in my inquiry, I 'translate' Hjorth's concept to the vocabulary I use, but without attempting to modify or change its content. See above for an overview of the use of story and narrative.

shaping society and to multiply the ways we can participate. Taking this as an argument to do less theory and instead narrate genealogic stories, we would move from a priority of scientific rationality over narrative/literary wit. (ibid.).

Chapter 0 is the beginning of such a genealogic narrative and chapter 3 is the next step, in which I include ontological narratives (1994:618) in terms of how artists and leaders appear as individuals, public narratives in terms of how institutions such as experts, museums, cultural policies, the public, critics etc. are productive in shaping what is and what isn't (Foucault, 1977:154, Hjorth, 2004:227), and the metanarative of the Enlightenment to show how aesthetic autonomy and artistic freedom became ontologized as an extraliniguistic reality by denarrativizing aesthetic judgments.

Chapter 4
If my chapter 3 was about the first half of relating a genealogic narrative which Hjorth (2004:227) describes as the process in which

> We trace a genesis of effective discursive formations, describe how they summoned their power to form strategies in relation to which one can affirm or deny the true and the false, and, after having shown how certain practices emerged into a status as principle in specific systems

Chapter 4 is about the second half in which I

> Continue to tell the silenced stories bearing witness to the instability of principles' self-evidence. (ibid.).

These silenced narratives '*often come in the form of small narratives, in the form of everyday languages, unofficial reports and wit*' (ibid.), and some of them don't even bother to make it to official channels, but instead move on in a rather subversive way in social media or as silenced non-participation in the dominant narrative. Chapter 4 mainly includes ontological narratives, and, with the exception of the narrative of cultural rights, no public narratives, as the silenced narratives aren't attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than themselves. Equally, they cannot rely on the meta-narrative to provide legitimization as the dominant narrative can. I relate these silenced narratives in a way which underlines their subversive character as tactics (de Certeau, 1984:79), as attempts to undermine the dominant narrative. As they have only sparsely been theorized,

with the exception of the cases of ethnic cultural diversity and gender equality, they appear mostly as bits and pieces of narratives which in various ways attempt to challenge the dominant narrative. I end the chapter by suggesting a format of which the purpose is to give direction to the task of introducing conceptual narratives in the form of cultural policies, leadership literature and contributions towards understanding the role of arts and culture in a global perspective.

Chapter 5

As Hosking and Hjorth (2004:258) point out, the process of doing research informed by relational constructionism, can be seen as a form of '*thought style*' (ibid.) in which '*theory, method and data are now seen as so intervowen that the distinctions make little sense.*' (ibid.). Hosking and Hjorth go on to argue that

> One important consequence is that 'research' now has a changed meaning – not to 'tell how it is' – but for example, to 'tell how it might become'. More generally, research might strive to be 'world enlarging' (Harding, 1986), to open up new possible identities and (local) worlds – perhaps by 'telling' – but perhaps also by shifting emphasis from outsider knowledge to participative change work. (ibid.:259).

In this sense chapter 5 is a narrative of how leadership in the cultural sector might become, in which I use conceptual narratives (Somers, 1994:620) in the form of theoretical contributions, models and other attempts to conceptualize a possible future for leadership in the cultural sector to suggest along what possible lines leadership in the cultural sector might be understood and conducted. Again, my role as plotmaker becomes more than obvious. As the genealogic narrative I produce cannot rely on a metanarrative to legitimize itself, my inquiry is referred to legitimation through performativity. What I aim at is to increase the chances of legitimation through performativity of my inquiry by drawing on some influential conceptual narratives. This is to make my inquiry appear as 'not only a singular voice' but rather 'a voice in a choir' contesting the dominant narrative. With this, I go on to construct an empirical field.

Chapter 6 and 7

Selecting cases to study is also a process of emplotting an inquiry if one thinks of research as enabling new possibilities by giving voice to the previously suppressed. As Hjorth points

out (2007:728): '*narratives efficiently dissolve the sharp distinction between the scientific and the literary'*. What I aim at with my case studies is thus to narrate potentiality in a way which makes it accessible by introducing the literary, thus placing a focus on how leadership in the cultural sector '*might become'* (Hjorth & Hosking, 2004:259). I started out by conducting a case-study of U-Turn, a contempory art quadriennial in Copenhagen. U-Turn ended up filing for bankruptcy as the final exclamation upon an endless series of misunderstandings, mistakes and incompatible hopes and aspirations. Having conducted interviews with key figures, read endless documents and press clippings, I failed to make any other sense of this in any other way than in terms of limitations of leadership as defined by the dominant ontologization of leadership in the cultural sector. Thus, I was incapable of making this case point to potentiality, seeing only its limitations, well-known truths, and widespread systemic and structural incapacities despite the tremendous efforts of all those involved as curators, artists, funders, decision-makers etc. I decided to abandon this as part of my inquiry, and instead begin the search for cases which I considered capable of contributing to my narrative of new possibilities. These would be '*deviant cases'* (Flyvbjerg, 2004:426) which in various ways could provide my inquiry with exceptions to the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector.

The case of Malmoe City Library (MCL) related in chapter 6 is in short a narrative of new possibilities making a frontal clash with the dominant narrative. I relate the narrative of the MCL as a web of the four types of narratives described above to form 'a hillside' in the narrative landscape. I specifically construct the case as a 'for or against' the dominant narrative, and as we'll see this construction easily finds resonance in the narratives I have collected and constructed. Again I stress that this is my rendering of the case, although I only use material which is publically available. I stress this with reference to Pearce's '*conversational triplet'* (2007:114) by which the meaning of any sentence may be changed by changing the sentence before or the one after. This means that those criteria initially proposed to '*judge the goodness or quality of an inquiry*' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:114) informed by social constructionism, e.g. '*trustworthiness*', '*transferability'*, '*dependability*' and '*confirmability*' (ibid.) provide little in terms judging the quality, as these criteria assume a fixed link between empirical material and the researcher's rendition of this in the inquiry. The 'I never meant it this way' objection from a contributor to the empirical material is thus an implicit risk in social constructionist research, which instead can strive

for the more activist aspirations (ibid.) embedded in relating genealogic narratives. To pursue these activist aspirations, I decided to invite the city librarian at the MCL to reflect on my rendering of the case, allowing her the possibility to express her thoughts and reflections in my inquiry as part of the case without me censuring these in any way. This turned out to be a productive way of co-producing the outcome of my inquiry and thereby rooting it in the empirical field. We conducted this as a dialog aimed at relating the potentiality of the case study, leaving the less elevating issues aside.

Encouraged by the outcome of the co-constructing process in chapter 6, I decided to conduct three minor case-studies along the same lines, yet aiming at further reducing the researcher's privileged position in terms of defining the case. On the basis of extended information about the cases, I invited key figures to respond in the form of e-mail correspondence to questions, prompted by my inquiry – in particular, some of the more difficult ones, such as '*the celebration of the cultural narrative of heroic individualism*' (Steyaert, 2007:740). With very little editing, to which the contributors have given their consent, and some initial information about the cases as such, these co-contructed conversations constitute chapter 7 of my inquiry.

In my first attempt to conduct a case study, of U-Turn, I read all available documents, including some confidential ones, to which key figures in the case had given me access, most of the available press material, and conducted four semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1997:133). I submitted the interviews to conversational analysis drawing on Fairhurst (2007:133) to establish a manageable format. Although well suited for interpretations in accordance with interpretive repertoires (Fairhurst, 2007: 171), I was unable to find meaningful ways to also consider '*implicit standards'* (Sampson, 1993:6) as these are...implicit, and therefore not present in the textual material. My conversational analysis of the interviews thus proved little successful in terms of in grasping '*the absent presence*' (ibid.) of the interviews.

For the MCL case study, I spent some 30-40 hours talking to the City Librarian, taking notes, but not recording, and using this as background information to construct the case. In addition, I used press clippings, available official documents from the MCL and the City of Malmoe, which the MCL generously provided me with. Having written the case up I met

with the City Librarian for a 7 hours (on May 16, 2012) discussion during which we, and I stress we, decided in agreement to use the post scriptum to point to the uplifting elements of the case as opposed to further discussing the less uplifting ones in line with the aspirations described above.

For the three minor case studies, I invited persons whom I thought might be willing to contribute to my inquiry and accept the terms of co-constructing it with me. This proved successful, and although the outcome of the studies looks less formal in terms of structure etc., they add valuable input to my inquiry, not least in terms of understanding and rooting relational leadership in practical contexts.

For the sake of transparency, I should add, that my co-researchers are people I know from my professional life, but with whom I have no other attachments than shared interests, and a background in the cultural sector in various ways.

Chapter 8

Chapter 8 seeks to place my inquiry in the theoretical field of relational leadership theory. It does so by first making an incision into entitative leadership studies to understanding how these may be linked to the epistemological framework and some important ontological assumptions offered by the Enlightenment. Hosking (2006) refers to this as a modernist tale of leadership, and with the aim of pointing to a seeming paradox in this modernist tale of leadership, I draw in Gardner's (1995) study of great leaders and their individual cognitive traits. I further draw on Rose's (1996) paths which can be followed to inquiry into how subjectification processes, such as the one producing the image of the great individual leader may work by means of practices. I revisit my inquiry along those paths to point to some of the practices by which the dominant narrative of leadership in the cultural sector, albeit perhaps being a paradox, maintains its position. I go on by providing an overview of some influential contributions to relational leadership theory (RLT), and continue by reflecting my own inquiry in those contributions, and finally by suggesting how my inquiry might contribute to the field of relational leadership theory. Before ending my inquiry I propose five possible 'reconstructions' (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) of my case studies in the light of my inquiry, and I end the chapter by summing up the contributions of my inquiry and suggest how this may lead to further inquiry.

Taking the question of what may be made possible through an inquiry conducted as genealogic storytelling as my point of departure, I have accounted for the epistemological framework of my inquiry, some methodological issues and the methods I have applied. I began by accounting for, how the aspirations of relational constructionism inform my inquiry. I went on to argue in favor of a relational understanding of narratives and the process of emplotment, to further see meaning making as culturally embedded and therefore in line with relational constructionism, and how performativity is dependent on narrative ratification to obtain its performativity. Finally, I accounted for the methods I have adopted in my inquiry to which end I have drawn on genealogic storytelling as an overall framework.

'Il n'y a de vraiment beau que ce qui ne peut servir à rien. Tout ce qui est utile est laid.' (T. Gautier, 1835:21)

Chapter 3 The Quest for Freedom

There is only partially support in Kant's own work for the idea that art exists on its own terms. Yet the art for art's sake narrative often takes its beginning with Kant and his segregation of aesthetics as an autonomous field. With this he prepared the soil for what was to become an immensely powerful narrative of freedom, of struggle and of sovereignty of which artists and those around them and their work were to be the primary exponents. Pieces of information, philosophical and political arguments, anecdotes and commonsense observations are woven together to form a narrative which seems capable of serving as interpretive resource in anything from national or personal identity building to intense discussions about public and private cultural money. Churchill used it[47]in his argument in favor of supports to the arts – or was it to stage himself as the prime defender of the free, civilized world? In Denmark, King Frederik VI is known to have said: *just because we are poor we needn't become stupid'* to defend his support for arts and education after the state

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[47] I change now from the more lyrical 'is known to' to the indicative realism in 'used to'. This is to make a point of the sort I discussed in Chapter 2 about canonical narratives becoming reality.

bankruptcy in 1813, which history has it, marked the beginning of the hitherto unsurpassed Golden Age of Danish arts and culture. Compte-Sponville eloquently sums up his defense of *'values of progress, the "thou shalt not kill" of Christianity to the values of equality and liberty of the Enlightenment'* (El Pais, February 24, 2008) by arguing that '*the market economy is not sufficient to create a civilization'* (ibid.). This narrative, the narrative of a fundamental quest for freedom, has formed our understanding to such an extent that we conceive of arts and culture as autonomous –'*as an entity following its own distinctive rules and thereby segregates itself from the remaining reality.*' (Raffnsøe, 1995:12)

Admitted, I can do nothing but suggest that such disparate utterances draw on shared interpretive resources to keep a particular narrative alive. And to suggest that what began for Kant as a philosophical problem of exposing truth when the location of truth had been removed from a known metaphysical order, an order installed by God, and placed in the cognitive subject (Raffnsøe, 1995:29) ended up in front page arguments today's papers in favor of the arm's length principle to protect arts and culture from political, social and economical interference may seem as a long shot. Still, utterances such as those related in the chapter 0 and 1 do seem to pass as contributions to defend civilization, and in certain circles they are taken to perform a new sense of leadership. This more or less consciously implies that an entire field of social, economic, political and cultural activity seems to be governed by rules remarkably different from those one would expect in place in other areas of democratic societies. To name but a few examples: students are admitted to art academies, conservatories and performing arts academies based on a screening of their individual talents, support for artistic production is, allegedly granted at arm's length from democratic interference, the Danish Theater Law §31,3 prescribes that *'No curtailments of the theater directors right to freely and independently make decisions about repertory, contracts and other artistic questions can be made without the Minister of Culture's approbation',* and that the Danish Museum Law §14,7 prescribes that '*the museum must have relevant museum professional background and be full time occupied. The museum must have professionally trained staff corresponding to the main domain of responsibility of the museum.*' In short, that the cultural sector in the Western world operates or seeks to operate according to immanent logics which seem to be kept alive or even reinforced by constant reiteration of a narrative and the practices related to it. These immanent logics are referred to as constitutive of civilization and thus beyond discussion

as they in a tautological way equally provide the definition of civilization. This narrative, however tautological it may appear, serves as endless narrative resource for constructing narrative landscapes in which artists appear as endowed geniuses, and some people, very few as it turns out, posses the capability of recognizing these artists and of making aesthetic judgments about them and their artistic work. Since 1790 the cultural sector has done little if anything at all to scotch that narrative. On the contrary, all sorts of efforts have been made to keep it well alive as it has proven unbeatable in terms of providing arguments for the stability and maintenance of certain social, cultural, political and other structures. Leadership in the cultural sector in this sense can basically be boiled down to maintaining and defending the myth, and the history of leadership in the cultural sector has seen no shortage of examples of the charismatic, intolerant, visionary leader who is unwilling to compromise nor align to formal standards and the needs of others than themselves (Hewison, 2006). The initial tour around the narrative landscape of the cultural sector in chapter 0 and 1 provides examples of this. Some authors (see e.g. Hein, 2009:21-33) have praised such uncompromising behavior as prima donna management, arguing that prima donnas whether leaders or highly specialized employees are driven by a call and therefore tolerate no interference from those inferior to them. The myth is kept intact.

For this inquiry, however, being beyond discussion in the sense that one needn't even mention the argument, or just refer to it as a call, is what Sampson refers to as an '*implicit standard*' (1993:6), or '*a somewhat more silent "killer"*' (ibid.).

> This "killer", too, tries to achieve its end through domination. But rather than using brute physical force, this domination is accomplished through construction. Construction through word – through the very frameworks by which self and other are experienced, subjectivity and self-understandings made known. Construction through deed – through the life opportunities made available to self and to other. (1993:3, with reference to Foucault's (1979, 1980) writings and his distinction between force and construction.)

In chapter 4 I go further into what and who this 'silent killer' might be suspected of killing, but in this chapter I focus on how it came into being and how it does it by first making three incisions into the field of aesthetics. Aesthetics, in very broad terms, I use as an

overall concept for what counts as art and culture. The three incisions I make, show aesthetics first as a business for European Enlightenment philosophy, second as a program for artists starving for freedom, and third as a political program in the aftermath of WW2. I begin in 3.1 by enquiring into the Kantian disinterestedness established through a tautological circuit between those making aesthetic judgments and those producing art: the geniuses. I continue in 3.2 by following how the Kantian disinterestedness is misinterpreted or twisted by the Romanticist art for art's sake movement and used as a trenchant program, and end in 3.3 by following how Kantian disinterestedness and Romanticist views of the passionate artist are twisted into a principle, the arm's length principle, allegedly governing cultural policies, the aesthetics of the second half of the 20th century, marking the Western world as a free world. Although claiming to uphold a tradition, which in short is the Western project of the Enlightenment, what relates these three approaches to 'aesthetics', appears to be nothing more than the inspiration from a good story, if not outright haphazard – but above all, a strong longing for freedom. In 3.4 I attempt to show how this dominant narrative serves to provide the ideal conditions for impersonations of the strong, charismatic, enlightened and visionary leader endowed with super-human if not divine capacities allowing him to finally arrive at the Olympus in spite of all mundane atrocities.

With this I aim to answer the question of what might have led us to understand the cultural sector as a sector which is not, cannot, should not and ought not be governed by the same rules as the rest of society. This understanding, which I take to be the dominant one in the cultural sector, obviously has many implications not least in terms of leadership. Understanding the cultural sector as one beyond the rules of society in general is bound, I'll argue, to heavily influence our understanding of what leadership in the cultural sector is and might be, and consequently what counts as good leadership in the sector. It equally problematizes the question of how and to what extent we can draw on leadership literature in more general terms and apply it to a sector which makes a point of not applying to those general terms.

3.1 The Problem of Aesthetics

Whereas beauty (pulchrum, decorum) and utility or goodness (aptum, honestum) initially were two sides of the same coin in the Middle Ages (Eco, 1986:15) the search for

transcendence in beauty prompted a need for a more nuanced view, and possibly a distinction between the transcendent properties and what could be referred to mere poetic sentiment:

> The need for a distinction among the transcendental *secundum rationem* led to a definition of the specific conditions under which something was seen to be beautiful – that is, the conditions of beauty's autonomy within an ultimate unity of values. (Eco, 1986:21)

And Eco continues by arguing that '*all of this serves to show that at a certain point philosophy felt the need to undertake an analysis of aesthetic problems*' (ibid.), an observation which, although in a slightly different form leads Smith (2010:366) to conclude that contemporary art has become a discipline of art history due to

> the densely textured interplay between artists, those who knew each other as well as those connected by imaginative sympathy. Its raw materials are example and influence, suggestion and orientation, trial and error...In other words, the connectivity between objects, ideas, people, and institutions that is the core subject of the art historian's attention. (Smith, 2010:368)

While the first quotations relates the Middle Ages' concern with the problem of prescribing the transcendental properties of beauty within the reign of god, the second places art as the mere product of its own meta-theoretical field. What this rush through the centuries is meant to illustrate is that the aesthetic questions that puzzled thinkers of the Enlightenment are neither new, nor do they seem to outwear over time: can we somehow ascribe particular properties to art which posses universal transcendence without being suspected of having provided definitions of both ourselves?

Surely an unjust simplification of Enlightenment thinking, the question is meant to provide a firsthand impression of what is to be gained through the aesthetics. As Raffnsøe points out: '*Philosophy is full of confidence that art in its autonomy can open ways to what appears to the thought as superior or strange*' (1995:28). If art can provide such answers, much is gained for Reason in its constant battle with both commonsense and popular superstition, and ecclesiastical authority in the Middle Ages. Similarly, it provides a robust stronghold against the influential families and their wealth and personal taste in

the Renaissance. Raffnsøe sums up the thinking of the Enlightenment aesthetic by saying that *'it makes independent art that previously existed in dependence of a comprehensive entirety.'* (1995:28).

If this comprehensive entirety was mainly defined by God and the Platonic notion of beauty as an image and reflection of Ideal Beauty (Eco, 1986:17) in the Middle Ages, a new entirety arose with the advent of the Renaissance – the patron. The 'period eye' (Baxendall, 1972) of the Renaissance are in effect, the eyes of the patron, the rich banking and merchant families such as the Medicis whose requirements and personal taste would define what counts as beautiful and what doesn't (Haughton, 2004:230), and

> [the] large mass of artists were still organized in guilds and companies, they still had apprentices like other artisans, and they still relied for commissions largely on the wealthy aristocracy, who needed artists to decorate their castles and country seats and to add their portraits to the ancestral galleries. (Gombrich, 2011:475)

The Enlightenment notion of beauty and its meta-theory, aesthetics, are in this regard basically an attempt to free art and beauty first from the hands of divine supremacy, second, from popular commonsense and passion, and third from financial capacity. In other words, the quest for freedom was in need of a meta-narrative which would provide it with sufficient legitimacy to form a plausible and popular theory of art which could replace the will of God, the might of the rich and the influence of commonsense. Yet, this is quite a dramatic shift in the course of history, as pointed out by Raffnsøe (1995:12):

> Our modern notion of an autonomous art is however a *factum,* a historically produced 'taken for granted', since until the middle of the eighteenth century the point of departure was precisely that *no* special rules would apply to art.

My point in this is, that the fabrication of the historical truth of art as in possession of autonomy and the development of aesthetics as a meta-theory to secure this independence cannot be seen without also seeing what it is a reaction to, what are the contextual circumstances in which this occurs. It is probably going too far to say that aesthetics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance *produced* a need for a new aesthetics to secure and develop art as an independent endeavor freed from the influence of Catholic clerisy and

later financial power. But to me at least, it is possible to understand *if* it did and what might have led it to do so.

Kantian Disinterestedness - Aesthetic Judgments and the Genius

So what is Kant's business in this? For my inquiry, the main issues are first, his distinction between '*agreeable arts'* and '*fine arts'* (1790/1928:165-6), and second, his distinction between prescriptive aesthetics, from which he abstains, and judgmental aesthetics for which he argues (1790/1928:175), the second distinction presupposing the first, as his argument for judgmental aesthetics only concerns fine arts.   In terms of the first distinction, Kant defines what he calls agreeable arts as:

> Agreeable arts are those which have mere enjoyment for their object. Such are all the charms that can gratify a dinner party: entertaining narrative, the art of starting the whole table in unrestrained and sprightly conversation, or with jest and laughter inducing a certain air of gaiety. Here, as the saying goes, there may be much loose talk over the glasses, without a person wishing to be brought to book for all he utters, because it is only given out for entertainment of the moment, and not as a lasting matter to be made the subject of reflection or repetition. (1790/1928:165-166)

In opposition to this, Kant points to fine art, of which he writes that:

> Fine art, on the other hand, is a mode of representation which is intrinsically final, and which, although devoid of an end, has the effect of advancing the culture of the mental powers in the interests of social communication.
>
> The universal communicability of a pleasure involves in its very concept that the pleasure is not one of enjoyment arising out of mere sensation, but must be one of reflection. Hence aesthetic, as art which is beautiful, is one having for its standard the reflective judgment and not organic sensation. (1790/1928:165-166)

So agreeable arts, with arts in the plural, are really not worth talking about, whereas fine art, in the singular, can be reflected upon without the impulses of bodily or emotional sensation. This reflective property is at the core of the second distinction, for whereas tastes based on the pleasures of sensation (1790/1928:166) are not disputable, '*works of*

art enable, and command, agreement about their value, because they please not merely by gratifying the senses but by imparting ethically significant "aesthetic ideas" (Harrington, 2004:87). This requires transcendence, not in the object itself, but in the experience of it (van Maanen, 2009:179), which Kant refers to as the judgment of taste (1790/2000:95). Kant contends that '*Taste is the faculty for judging an object or a kind of representation through a satisfaction or dissatisfaction without any interest. The object of such a satisfaction is called beautiful.*' (1790/2000:96). In this, Kant further develops Diderot who has suggested a constant in reflections on beauty in spite of all the differences in judgments (1772, in Eco, 2005:255). Beauty in this sense does not reside with the artwork itself, but in the result of the contemplative reflections about it, i.e. through man's cognitive faculties (van Maanen, 2009:179). For these cognitive faculties to be able to come to agreement about universally valid aesthetic judgments (Harrington, 2004:86), the judgment of taste must be based on transcendental universality, so taste cannot be individual. This establishes a link between the subject and his cognitive faculties, and taste as a universal appreciation and recognition of art. The ability to recognize an object as beautiful and to make a judgment of taste about it is thus the ability to connect with a universally transcendent understanding of taste. Kant defends this notion of taste as universally transcendent by arguing that

> [...] when [a man] puts a thing on a pedestal and calls it beautiful, he demands the same delight from others. He judges not merely for himself, but for all men, and then speaks of beauty as if it were a property of things. Thus he says that the *thing* is beautiful; and it is not as if he counts on others agreeing with him in his judgment of liking owing to his having found them in such agreement on a number of occasions, but he *demands* this agreement of them. He blames them if they judge differently, and denies them taste, which he still requires of them as something they ought to have; and to this extent it is not open to men to say: Everyone has his own taste. This would be equivalent to saying that there is no such thing as taste, i.e. no aesthetic judgment capable of making a rightful claim upon the assent of all men. (Kant 1790/2000:52)

A robust tautology is established by reasoning that taste must have transcendental properties, for if only individual or partial, one could not talk of taste, the notion would dissolve itself according to the logic of the argument. The argument is exemplary of Kant's transcendental philosophy (Harrington, 2003:87), in which logical validity in arguments

about science, morality and for my purpose, aesthetics in particular, presupposes and depends on a '*prior validity*' (ibid.) unconditioned by empirical circumstances, i.e. an extra-linguistic reality, to which man can connect through reasoning and thereby secure the logical validity of his arguments. What is important here to note is that the argument does not involve the properties of the object, the actual work of art, it is entirely concerned with the subject, the admirer of the work of art. Kant qualifies this by ascribing four moments to the aesthetic judgment:

1) It is '*disinterested*' (1790/1928:§§1-5) i.e. '*it does not depend on the subject's having a desire for the object, nor does it generate such a desire*'(Ginsborg, 2008:2.1) and '*they are not based on an interest in using the object for some ulterior purpose of for satisfying some ulterior need*' (Harrington, 2004:85)

2) It is universal (1790/1928:§§2-9), i.e. '*in making a judgment of beauty about an object, one takes it that everyone else who perceives the object ought also to judge it to be beautiful, and, relatedly to share one's pleasure in it*' (Ginsborg, 2008:2.1), and '*they presuppose a universal capacity for common feeling*' (Harrington, 2004:85). While being universal, they cannot be proved, as the universality is not based on concepts which means that '*there are no rules by which someone can be compelled to judge that something is beautiful*' (Ginsborg, 2008:2.1), an argument that clearly distinguishes Kant from the golden laws of classical aesthetics and the prescriptive aesthetics of the Middle Ages.

3) It does not presuppose and end or a purpose (1790/1928:§§10-17), yet it has a purposiveness, i.e. '*an object or a state of mind or even an action (...) is called purposive merely because its possibility can only be explained and conceived by us in so far as we can assume at its ground a causality in accordance with ends*' (1790/1928:§10). It possesses a form of finality, i.e. it views '*the object as an end in itself: not as having a purpose*' (Harrington, 2004:85)

4) It is necessary (1790/1928:§§18-22), i.e. '*in taking my judgment of beauty to be universally valid, I take it, not that everyone who perceives the object* will *share my pleasure in it and (relatedly) agree with my*

judgment, but that everyone ought *to do so' (Ginsborg, 2008:2.1),* and *'they are laid down in the form of a challenge to others to accept the judgment in an analogous (but not identical) manner to the way moral judgments are made'* (Harrington, 2004:85).

As we see, it is to the reasoning about art, and to those reasoning about art that Kant devotes his effort to establish an autonomous position, not the work of art itself or the artist. From this autonomous position, aesthetic judgments can be made in '*free play'* or '*free harmony'* (1790/1928 §9), i.e. by means of the '*faculties of imagination and understanding'* (Ginsborg, 2008:2.2) and taken together with Kant's refusal to bring the objects one makes aesthetic judgments about under concepts, i.e. to subordinate them to prescriptive aesthetics, this double-bound argument constitutes a potentially very effective means of establishing an autonomous position: in plain terms, the functionality can be summed up as *I can't tell you in advance what is art, but you should now when it is[48].* This equally is true for artists and the production of art: without concepts there can be no rules, so '*the artist cannot produce a beautiful work by learning, and then applying, rules which determine when something is beautiful'* (Ginsborg, 2008:2.6), and yet '*every art presupposes rules'* (1790/1928:§46, 307). Kant's solves this obvious contradiction by inventing the capacity of the genius by which '*nature gives the rule to art'* (1790/1928:§46, 307) and

> an artist endowed with genius has a natural capacity to produce objects which are appropriately judged as beautiful, and this capacity does not require the artist him- or herself to consciously follow rules for the production of such objects; in fact the artist himself does not know, and so cannot explain, how he or she was able to bring them into being (Ginsborg, 2008:2.6)

Newton, according to this, does not qualify as a genius (1790/1928:§47, 308-309) as he is capable of accounting for his methods.

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[48] My reading summed up in this catch phrase is obviously under strong influence by my critical approach to Kantian aesthetics which I develop in a more systematic way in Chapter 4. It is meant to resonate Kant's general definition of the faculty of judgment which he describes as '*the faculty for thinking the particular under the universal'* (Ginsborg, 2008:1) For other readings, see Ginsborg, 2008:2.3.2.

Kant's Contributions and the Hero of Knowledge

So for this project, Kant's contribution can be summed up by saying that he has established what seems to be an unconquerable stronghold for Lyotard's '*hero of knowledge'* (1984:xxiv) who in communicating with his fellow heroes can rely on their rational minds to ensure smooth transference of true statements, '*the supreme, unavoidable authority of reason in the undertaking of and executing of any human practice, social relation, and institution'* (Pippin, 2008:18). The observed is separated from the observer, and the truth value of the observer's statements, his judgments of taste, is established not with reference to the object of the judgments, but with reference to a universally transcendent taste. This taste is not a metaphysical truth, but the subject's cognitive ability to reason about aesthetics. This circular causality also makes an effective distinction between fine art and the rest, as 'the rest' would not even qualify to become the object of judgment of taste. The artist as genius is invented and thanks to a paradoxical absence of 'rules' combined with a capacity, and moral-like duty to recognize the same 'rules' a circular unity of genius artists on the one side and aesthetic judges on the other is established who can produce artworks and recognize these respectively. Neither of the parties can be expected to account for rules, methods or regularities in more general terms, while everybody else on the other hand has an obligation to recognize these aesthetic judgments and the artistic works of the genius. Needless to say that those not endowed with such genius nor the capacity to make appropriate aesthetic judgments do not partake in this circular unity.

To connect back to the beginning of the section, I want us to recall that this hero of knowledge and his fellow heroes were constructed in a specific historic context. In this specific historic context the alliance described above between those defining what art is and those producing it does provide a robust platform which established art and aesthetics as liberated from religious doctrines, commonsense and superstition, and material wealth as the main defining power in society. In chapter 4, I'll argue that this quest for freedom was successfully accomplished, yet only to replace previous forms of domination by a new equally sufficient and in no way less oppressive one. But for now, I acknowledge the merits of our hero of knowledge and his quest for freedom as I see how his struggle was effective in gaining legitimization in a realm beyond domination by God, the rich, commonsense and popular superstition.

Reserving Autonomy to Artworks

Kant's position is considerably modified by his successors. If Kant strives to provide a general access to the 'undecidable, the undefinable' (Raffnsøe, 1995:31) by means of an aesthetics, his judgment of taste, Schiller and Hegel narrow this down by reserving this access to the autonomous art and its works (ibid.). This is to do with the '*problematics of truth*' (ibid.). To Kant it is still possible to imagine that man's notions of truth, his reasoning, represents and supports truth per se beyond cognition (ibid.). From Schiller and Hegel and onwards this possible relationship between truth and cognition is broken, and instead autonomy is ascribed to the artwork itself, freed as it is from the order of nature (Raffnsøe, 1995:33). To Schiller art is not capable of recreating a true reality, only to represent it in accordance with its own internal harmony and purpose and his ideal stems from the classic Greek artwork (Raffnsøe, 1995:50) produced in a world where intelligence, reason and sensuousness are still in a harmonious relationship (Raffnsøe, 1995:51). This leads him towards an idealistic aesthetics, where the relationship between representation and truth is diminishing and thus placing art as a privileged form of truth production (Raffnsøe, 1995:55). To Hegel, this relationship is replaced by an auto-compliance between truth and its own ideal content (Raffnsøe, 1995:58), and only art takes the division between reality and the ideal sufficiently seriously by taking sides with the ideal of freedom and realizing it (Rafnnsøe, 1995:60). Whereas the classical Greek artwork and its unity between the real and the ideal is the absolute for Schiller, Hegel finds this regressive, as it cannot represent the antagonisms of the modern mind (Raffnsøe, 1995:62). These antagonisms, Hegel finds, can only in a limited way be expressed through art, as art is bound to its material representation, and this leads Hegel to suggest the end of art. If art is only a mere means of representation, it must soon make itself dispensable. His point is not to do away with artworks, only that they cannot claim a privileged position. This marks a transition from classicistic art to Romanticism and Hegel becomes an exponent of this transitory phase, albeit later losing its appeal, as the field of aesthetics is taken over by artists who strive to distance themselves from reason (Lucas, 1961:88). Art can no longer rely on a harmonious relationship between subject and nature, instead it must rely on itself, and artistic representation takes its new point of departure in the subject's creativity (Raffnsøe, 1995:68) which has the sublime as its ideal, as opposed to beauty, the ideal of classicism. With this the modern subject is born in his troublesome relationship to worldly conditions. Artistic autonomy is weakened, since it only is an element in the ongoing self-

revelatory process of the subject's consciousness (Rafnnsøe, 1995:74) and therefore cannot claim universality, only temporality. To unfold this creativity and the sublime, the individual must be free and only free individuals can be expected to properly appreciate such art works (Hegel, Aesthetics, 1975, 1:179). The very purpose of art '*is thus the creation of beautiful objects in which the true character of freedom is given sensuous expression* (Houlgate, 2010, sect. 3), in other words, art expresses the individual's search for freedom.

For this study, the important thing to note here, is that Kant's hero of knowledge is now, if not replaced, then at least accompanied by a hero of freedom and hero of passion. The modern artist is born, and beauty he finds wherever he likes, as long as it produces an emotional effect in the minds of the spectators and reflects the longing for freedom. The initial ambition to secure an autonomous platform for aesthetics has been modified and confined to the artist and his artwork. Next time the narrative makes itself heard, it comes from different quarters, although again as a contextually dependent reaction. This time it comes from the artists themselves who launch their quest for freedom against rationalism, the very foundation on which the first quest for freedom was based. The French man of letters, Benjamin Constant, uses the phrase 'l'art pour l'art' as a synonym for, or rather a misinterpretation of disinterestedness or autonomy to sum up his impressions of Kant's aesthetics already in 1804 (Wilcox, 1953:360). A few decades later this misinterpretation becomes a program for artists and intellectuals all over Europe.

3.2 Art for Art's Sake

The early eighteenth century sees the advent of two dominating fractions in the field of artistic production: the 'social art movement' linked to and promoting the ideas of growing political movements such as socialism and defenders of democratic rights. The other is the 'bourgeois art movement' linked to and influenced by the taste and purchasing power of the growing bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1993:199). While the first is inspired by, or even governed by the logics of socialist and democratic ideology, the other must comply to the logics of capitalism, both invoking the general logics of the time, rationalism as their main source of legitimization: '*work, technique and science define the reality in which one must live'* (Raffnsøe, 1995:114). As for Kant a competing position would again have to be established through a quest for freedom, a struggle to free art from oppression by dominating social powers. This position was as Bourdieu notes, one that wasn't ready for

taking, but only for making (1993:199), and it requires the invention of a new social personage, the full time artist who works professionally with his art all day:

> Indifferent to the exigencies of politics as to the injunctions of morality, and recognizing no jurisdiction other than the specific norm of art. Through this they invented pure aesthetics, a point of view with universal applicability, with no other justification than that which it finds in itself. (Bourdieu, 1993:199)

If Kant's primary drive is to link metaphysics in aesthetics with logical reasoning, the art for art's sake movement is primarily an attempt to bring back emotion, sensation and inspiration into aesthetics to free it from logics and reason, thereby establishing a free art that doesn't serve any purpose but its own. Or so it seems, at least, for the Romantic era sees the advent of new public arenas, the public art exhibition for paintings and sculptures, and the public theaters and opera house for theater, ballets and opera. This marks a shift if artistic practice, for

> Instead of working for individual patrons whose wishes they understood, or for the general public, whose taste they could gauge, artists had now to work for success in a show where there was always a danger of the spectacular and pretentious outshining the simple and sincere. (Gombrich, 2011:481)

As for the powerful art for art's sake headline itself, Wilcox traces this to a simple misinterpretation by two enthusiastic, yet rather imprecise French intellectuals, Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant who pay a visit to Weimar in 1803-04, the center of Enlightement thinking of the time. Upon a visit to H.R. Robinson, an English student of Kant, Constant writes in his diary that '[h]*is work on the Esthetics of Kant has some very forceful ideas. L'art pour l'art without purpose, for all purpose perverts art. But art attains the purpose that it does not have.*' (Wilcox, 1953:360). This according to Wilcox it the first time the phrase itself appears on print, but does not gain its importance until three decades later when appearing in the preface of French writer Théophile Gautier's second volume of verse, Premières poesies in 1832, in which he writes:

> 'What end does this serve? – It serves by being beautiful [...] In general as soon as something becomes useful, it ceases to be beautiful [...] Art is freedom, luxury, flowering, the blooming of the soul in indolence. Painting, sculpture, and music serve absolutely nothing.' (ref. in Wilcox. 1953:371)

Gautier, in spite of his young age, is a prominent figure in Parisian art circles in the 1830'es thanks to his own writings but also to his victorious leadership in the tumultuous battle at the premiere of Victor Hugo's Ernani on February 25, 1830. In his revolt against the predominant classicist tradition, Hugo, also a leading figure in the l'art pour l'art movement, refuses to employ claqueurs, hired applauders, for the premiere of his play. Instead, Gautier draws in half a salon of their fellows spirits, and the premiere ends in fights between the rows (Bates ed., 1906:20-23). With artists choosing whatever they prefer and find suitable for the occasion from '*the hodge-podge'* of Kantian philosophy (Wilcox, 1953:369) a new aesthetics is born setting a new scene for artistic practices and not least for a new kind of artists. The birth is certainly not acclaimed by the establishment as a contemporary critic remarks:

> Read the prefaces of Mr. Victor Hugo, read the criticisms in the light of his inspiration. Is not art for them entirely independent of all religious or philosophical emotions, of any social passions of the age? (...) the great number of lovers of *pure art,* all that public of the poets and authors of our time who put themselves outside the social movement, outside conscience and human thought, and set themselves to making *pure art,* gothic or whimsical art, grotesque or filthy art. (in Wilcox, 1953:371)

The free artist is no longer bound by the formal traditional expectations and the substantive and financial boundaries of the commissions received from aristocracy, plutocracy and ecclesiastical authority, nor can he rely on philosophy to provide the grounds for his work (Lucas, 1961:88), as art and philosophy go separate ways. Thus, the artist finds himself with a fundamental problem of creation, as it can no longer maintain its relationship with life as '*simple reproduction of human experience'* (Lucas, 1961:89). What the artists cannot find in tradition or expectations, '*he must discover for himself out of his own personality*' (Lucas, 1961:87), and

> it follows that the artist is completely sovereign in the sphere of creation, not subject to rules that can be abstracted from one work and applied elsewhere, nor to religious or humanitarian ends (Lucas, 1961:89)

and furthermore, what Lucas refers to as *'probably the principal connotation of l'art pour l'art'* (1961:89)

> not the philosophical idea that beauty has its purpose in itself alone, though this is certainly accepted, but of how much more valuable and important the world of art is than the rest of the world, above all, how different! (ibid.)

Along with this the notion of the artist himself changes from having referred to '*an artisan, scientists, or painter*' (Singer, 1954:347), it now comes to mean '*imaginative creator*' (Hough,1949:xv in Singer, 1954:347). The artist then is no longer the humble servant of style, tradition, church, aristocracy or the rich,

> Instead, the word "artist" was coming to stand for a special kind of individual, the man of sensitivity, refined tastes, and creative talents, the main in whom the imagination was most higly developed. In short, the term "artist" was being re-defined in accordance with the views of the Art for Art's Sake theorists (Singer, 1954:347)

and his artistic faculty no longer resides in the power of idealization as in the Renaissance, nor in the power of generalization such as proposed by Kant, (ibid.) but in his ability to turn himself, his mind, his soul and his body into a means of sensitivity through which ideas, sensations, uncertainty and revolt are expressed, yet without exposing his own personality in the work, as English playwright Oscar Wilde points out: '*The artist is the creator of beautiful things. To reveal art and conceal the artist is art's aim.*' (in Singer, 1954:348).

I note that the inter-referential circuit between artists and those making aesthetic judgments established by Kant is now replaced by an equally robust circuit between the artists and the rather vaguely defined sake of art. Allegedly, it is not art for the artist's sake but for art's own sake, and the artist is but the medium through which art reveals itself. This process will tolerate nothing, as Shusterman notes:

> Romanticism decried anything that would restrain the imagination of aesthetic genius, and aestheticism deplored any outside interference in the free and pure pursuit of 'art for art's sake'. (1984:171)

And with this, the artist is now the 'expert in beauty' (Singer, 1954:346) and only a few steps remain to be overcome on the ladder to divinity:

> The personality of the artists, at first a cry or a cadence or a mood and then a fluid and lambent narrative, finally refines itself out of existence, impersonalizes itself, so to speak. The aesthetic image in the dramatic form is life purified in and reprojected from the human imagination. The mystery of aesthetic like that of material creation is accomplished. The artists, like the God of creation, remains with or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails. (Joyce, 1949:481-2 in Singer, 1954:348)

For the artist this quasi-divine position required emancipation, for how can artists create if subdued to moral, political or other practical or ideological ends? However, without the support of patrons, artists are referred to subdue themselves to a couple of new, yet equally demanding tyrants: the public and the government, which in practice means that artists must become either businessmen or politicians (Singer, 1954:350) to survive as artists. But to distinguish themselves from businessmen and politicians, the two groups so despised by artists because of their open commitment to ends and causes such as money and ideologies, a crucial argument in the art for art's sake movement becomes that of technical and formal proficiency (Singer, 1954:349). While Kant draws the line between agreeable arts and fine arts, artists of the art for art's sake movement make the distinction between those who have formal education, and those who don't. So in addition to being close to the Creator of Christianity, artists need formal education to separate them from any wannabe semi-god, who without sufficient skills and proficiency would lend themselves to being exploited by the worldly purposes of businessmen and politicians.

Now that artists have detached themselves from mundane concerns such as money, ideology, and effectively raised themselves above unskilled, unlearned amateurs by means of formal artistic education, only the final, and in light of the above, the most obvious one remains to be explicated: the life of the artist was superior to those of all other men. When artists carry out their artistic work with success, they reach the highest level of human perfection (Singer, 1954:352). From this assertion follows another paradox, namely that while artists and their practice have detached themselves from ethical concerns, claiming to be superior to others implies a certain form of ethics, or normativity: artists become intrinsically valuable and their pursuit of their artistic endeavors grants them a status above the rest (ibid.).

Contributions by the Art for Art's Sake Movement

For this inquiry, the main contribution made by the art for art's sake movement is the establishment of the artist as a semi-divine genius, who must be protected from all mundane atrocities, in order to successfully carry out his refined technique and divine talent. What perhaps began with German painter Albrecht Dürer's selfportrait from 1498, which depicts the artists, not as a humble artisan serving wealthy masters, but as a nobleman himself wearing goatskin gloves and posing in front of an impressive landscape, becomes a movement influencing all aspects of art for close to a century. Dürer did not paint himself as he looked, but as he wanted to be seen, and if some of the assertions of the art for art's sake movement sound too elitist in our present time, we may think of Dürer skillful trick when appreciating the art for art's sake aesthetics. Although disconnecting itself from philosophy, the movement nevertheless draws on distorted, if not outright wrong, interpretations of Kant's aesthetics to substantiate its claim for legitimacy. An artistic and intellectually superior elite is created, and a love-hatred relationship is forming itself between the artists and the audiences who love and hate to hear and see themselves being publically scolded by artists for the bourgeois values, their ideological instrumentalism, and intellectual inferiority. The movement itself dies out with the imprisonment of Oscar Wilde in the 1920'ies the UK and later with Edgar Allan Poe in the US. The strongholds gained by the movement on the contrary do not vanish. Next time the art for art's sake narrative makes itself heard is in the aftermath of WW2. Absurdity is a general attitude to life, and the free world must find ways to re-install hope in the future and distance itself from the way in which artists were instrumental in promulgating some of the worst ideologies the world has seen, ideologies fundamentally opposed to the Enlightenment project to which the Western world owes it self-esteem and identity since the 18th century. A new version of aesthetics sees the light of day: cultural policies. The democratic governments become involved in the support of the arts. Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister in the 1830'ies words: '*God help the government that meddles with art'* (in Baldry, 1981:3) are given a new interpretation. The post WW2 government in the free world must engage in arts and culture, but it must be careful in terms of how it does it so as not to resemble the totalitarian regimes of the war. The paradox of the arm's length principle is born.

3.3 Cultural Policies and the Arm's Length Principle

In the silly August of 2009, a front page interview in a daily newspaper starts off an emotionally loaded debate, which for my project serves as an example of how the arm's length principle functions in practice. An MP and party leader of the Dansk Folkeparti (a right wing party with quite remarkable influence on the government's policies since 2001 as the party secures the parliamentary majority for the government) launches herself as possible new candidate for the position of Minister for Culture. She does so, first by bringing accusations against the then current Minister for Culture for being invisible and insufficiently provocative. And second, by giving her view of the present Danish culture which she finds much too elitist.

> I find it disgusting. To me stuffing stools into a glass and claiming it to be art is a peculiar thought. Neither do I see – even though I have all possible respect for Bjørn Nørgaard – that his cut-up horse has anything to do with art. Because it hasn't. Period. Go away. And if you ask me the Government ought to clean up all of this. Tear them out of the imaginary world which makes them think these things would be art. I usually say that Danish culture is about three persons running naked across the stage saying 'bing'. Why does no one take seriously what the ordinary Dane find interesting? I don't advocate in favor of a stab by a forest lake but you can acknowledge that popular naturalism is OK. (Pia Kjærsgaard, MP, Politiken, August 4, 2009)

In the interview, the first specific work of art Kjærsgaard, MP, is referring to cannot be identified with absolute certainty as the description is somewhat imprecise or mixing up elements from several different works. A fairly obvious guess, however, as far as the first piece is concerned, the one described as 'stuffing stools into a glass' is Piero Manzoni's *Merda d'Artista* from 1961 of which an example is at display at Heart (Herning Art Museum). The piece is one of 39 copies of the work each of which allegedly consists of the artist's canned stools sold at auctions for the same price as gold. A copy ended up in the Danish town of Herning more or less as a coincidence as the artist was at the time working as artist in residence at a local factory of which the owner, Mr. Damgaard, was a highly respected patron of art. However insignificant the piece might appear at a first glance, it is probably not possible to overestimate its impact and importance in art history since its appearance.

The second work referred to, is Bjørn Nørgaard's *Hesteofringen (the Horse Sacrifice) from 1970.* On January 30 1970 in the Danish town of Kirke Hyllinge Bjørn Nørgaard together with artist Lene Adler-Petersen conducted the sacrifice of a horse named Røde Fane (Red Banner) and subsequently cut-up the animal into pieces which they conserved in 112 jam glasses with formalin. The event was filmed with S 8 mm and cut to a 10 minutes' piece.

The piece is considered to be a revolt against the then predominant perception of an art work and it has been exhibited in numerous major art institutions and important art shows since, e.g. as a center piece in the show *Norden* in the Vienna Kunsthalle. In art history the piece holds iconic status.

As far as the more general description of Danish culture is concerned, it is unclear if MP Kjærsgaard refers to a specific performance she has seen or the described image is merely used to convey a sense of apparent meaninglessness. We do get some help though in the additional remarks:

> I'm about to throw up over Klaus Rifbjerg & Co. [prominent Danish writer]. There is much too much flattery for that group of elitist artists. One shouldn't boycott experimental art – not at all – but it holds a much too high stake in comparison with all other art. And one should be able to like the popular without being put down.' [...] 'I'm fervently against that well paid artists should be able to live off Statens Kunstfond [The National Danish Foundation for the Arts]. It is highly criticizable that they can make a mint of the fact that we have such an invention. (Pia Kjærsgaard, MP, Politiken, August 4, 2009)

MP Kjærsgaard also has recommendations as to how artists should act in more general terms when it comes to political views and behavior:

> Artists really should stop thinking that they can be both artists and at the same time act as leftwing politicians. Stay with art – then I'll do what I can for you on the political level. Of course everybody can interfere but don't do it so one-sidedly, and stop being so loathsome.

These comments stir up quite a fuzz in the media. One might have expected an immediate reply from the Minister for Culture, but she lets the public know through her press

secretary that she happens to be on honey moon (Politiken, August 5, 2009). This absence of a response to the actual attack on the Minister provides room for an even more vivid debate. Some don't hesitate to draw historic parallels, as expressed most clearly through Mogen Jensen's, MP (Social Democrat) reaction:

> It is culture political censorship when Pia Kjærsgaard wants to decide which art we are going to have. It's the kind of thing we saw the strongest in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. And it is scaring and disgusting to hear it today, when Pia Kjærsgaard cast odium on named artists and wants to decide which art we should have. (Politiken, August 4, 2009)

The view is followed up by writer Knud Romer:

> She is already [Minister for Culture]. She is the one who decides and it is her values that the government has taken to the front in their so called culture struggle: chauvinism and hatred against the intellectuals, the good taste and expert knowledge. It is on the level of letters to the editor of tabloid papers what she spouts, and it's pretty wild she can get this effect out of it. (Politiken, August 5, 2009)

Other artists point to their artistic practice as explanations and more nuanced views on the cultural elite:

> I think it is old fashioned rhetoric. I experience it as curious, scanning, exposing and scientifically working. My own art is a platform, where people from widely different areas meet to reflect on problems which are essential to our lives. It would be limiting to the artistic expression if it was party-political. (Simone Aaberg Kærn, visual artist, Politiken, August 5, 2009)

> If you are to challenge and dismantle dogmas through your art you have to be an inquiring human being. When you are you are probably also likely to have a greater social consciousness and comprehension of other people, and ergo, you perhaps vote to the left of the middle. But what we are to do as artists is to tell stories and portray the world we live in and in that respect the political conviction is irrelevant. [...] She's a terribly good politician but she's a frightened human being who is busy creating fear. And art and culture need to live from the exact opposite: openness and curiosity. (Ann Eleonora Jørgensen, actress, Politiken, August 5, 2009)

Other MPs are less radical in their comments:

> It's the famous arm's length principle which I also cherish...I don't think that we as politicians should be acting as tasting panel giving grants to those they like and not to those they don't like [syntax error as in original]. It would be slightly dull', says the spokesperson for culture. 'So politicians shouldn't interfere?' 'No, they shouln't. (Henriette Kjær, MP, the Conservative Party, Spokesperson for Culture, Politiken, August 5, 2009)

> I respect the art world and their evaluations...We're just supposed to create some good frameworks for the art to unfold. That is our most important métier. [...] Artists see things slightly differently than most established citizens do. I suppose it's part of the art that they see things from new sides and odd angles and find alternative solutions to everything. And really it doesn't bother me. [...] Pia K[jærsgaard] thinks artists should shut up and stop being slanderous and scolding DF and the government? Yeah, well...Beruftsverbot [...] I don't agree with her. We have extended freedom of speech. I'm not muzzling particular social groups just because I don't like them, do I? I'm just concluding: artists are often left twisted. And it'll probably always be like that because they somehow are in opposition to the establishment and want to find new solutions. (Troels Christensen, MP, Venstre [the Liberal Party], spokesperson for culture, Politiken, August 5, 2009)

After a week of intense media debate the Minister for Culture comes back and gives several interviews as a response to the accusations.

> I will not comment on any of this, but just say that we have something called the arm's length principle in this country, and it is something I esteem very highly. Professionals are the ones who decide what sort of art we support and then it must be up to people to decide what they find to be good art and what find to be bad art. Politicians aren't the ones who decide what is good and bad art. [...] And I praise the arm's length principle. It is important that we create good frames for the art where we set the art free and gives it the possibility to develop itself, to experiment and provoke. There I think we have an excellent art support system where professionals do the selections. One can agree or disagree with them and that is why we have those committees of representatives where Pia Kjærsgaard now wants to step in. For me that's fine, then she'll have the possibility to give her opinion on what they support. But there has to be arm's length and we as politicians should not decide what is being supported. Carina Christensen, MP, Minister for Culture (Politiken, August 11, 2009)

Now it isn't the most current works which have been drawn out but in general I would say that we as politicians shouldn't be the ones to decide what is good art and what is bad art. We have professionals to take care of that in this country and in principle I'm satisfied with that. Obviously that doesn't mean we cannot debate art, because one should, but we just shouldn't govern. This has been an important part of the cultural policy as long as one has had a Ministry for Culture. [...] I can see that Pia Kjærsgaard has asked for more value debate after which she starts a debate about deciding what is good and bad art. But is that the kind of value debate we most need? A debate about art is fine because we need a lot more people to make up their minds about it. But if art ends up being politically governed or appears as a prolongation of the political powers it becomes unimportant. Among other things, that is why we have the arm's length principle. (Carina Christensen, MP, Minister for Culture, Berlingske Tidende, August 10, 2009)

After a week of intense debate in the media, an editorial concludes under the headline 'A True Minister':

By one more time dragging the old horses out of the stables Pia Kjærsgaard once more kicks the debate back to the locked divisions of the rindalisme[49] where 'avant-garde provocations' stand against commonsense demand to call a spade a spade and to give it to the artists so they can make themselves useful and earn a living. If these opposite positions are not broken down however, the debate will end up in an eternal loop.

In Tuesday's Politiken she thus repudiates Pia Kjærsgaard by calling attention to the fact that she mixes up the roles of art and the role of a Minister of Culture: it is art which is supposed to provoke whereas the job of a Minister of Culture is about maintaining the arm's length principle and create the framework for art. Carina Christensen maintains control of the situation by responding to the question of whether or not the art works Pia Kjærsgaard is ticking off: '*We have something called the arm's length principle in this country and I esteem that very highly. Professionals are the ones to decide what sort of art we support.*'
[...]
Consequently the conclusion must be that Carina Christensen brilliantly has lived up to her responsibility as the Minister of Culture of the country whereas Pia Kjærsgaard is politicizing and make herself the judge of what art is allowed

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[49] A Danish political fraction opposed to public support for the arts.

to and what not. The Minister of Culture therefore will have all chances to demonstrate the great importance she ascribes to the arm's length principle when Pia Kjærsgaard now is entering the Board of Representatives of the National Arts Council and the National Arts Foundation. (Information, August 14, 2009)

What this public debate clearly suggests is the existence of a principle, a kind of moral obligation for politicians not to interfere with arts. In a Danish context, this moral obligation was first referred to as the arm's length principle by Minister of Culture, Jytte Hilden, in 1994 in an article in Danish newspaper Politiken (KUM Publication, 2011), but the principle itself bustles about already during WW2 and even more significantly in the aftermath of WW2 when governments in countries of the 'free world' are eager to distinguish themselves from the totalitarian regimes of the war and postwar times. Aesthetics and philosophical arguments are being replaced by policies and political principles, although in a rather paradoxical way: democracy is best protected by installing un-democratic principles in the support for the arts and culture, and although aiming to reach the highest possible number of citizens with arts and culture, these citizens are best served by professional specialists making decisions on their behalf in terms of what to support and what not through the new public engagement in the support for arts and culture.

Supporting, but not Steering!

'*No doubt the Treasury though that CEMA would end with the war'* writes Lord Clark in his description of the early days of CEMA, the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts set up in the UK in 1940 (Baldry, 1981:16) with the following aims:

a) the preservation in wartime of the highest standards in the arts of music, drama and painting;

b) the widespread provision of opportunities for hearing good music and the enjoyment of the arts generally for people who, on account of wartime conditions, have been cut off from these things;

c) the encouragement of music-making and play-acting by the people themselves;

d) through the above activities, the rendering of indirect assistance to professional singers and players who may be suffering from a wartime lack of demand for their work. (in Baldry, 1981:14)

What is set up as a temporary pool of funds to encourage and keep the spirit high in wartime Britain is later to become the Ministries for Culture and the Arts Councils that practically all countries in the Western world have established in various forms, a trend that seems to be spreading around the globe. John Maynard Keynes, now a baron, is appointed the chair of CEMA in 1942, and through his marriage with famous ballerina Lydia Lopokova and personal friendship with leading writers, painters and performing artists of the time, Keynes becomes a leading figure in the establishment of State patronage of the arts in the Western world. Two remarks by friends give a hint of what his business is in the arts: '*There was, alas, in this great scholar and great art connosisseur a streak of donnish superiority and a singular ignorance of ordinary people*' (W.E. Williams in Baldry, 1981:15) and '*He was not a man for wandering minstrels and amateur theatricals. He believed in excellence.*' (Lord Clark in Baldry, 1981:15). So, in spite of being set up to encourage the spirit of people in broad terms during tough times, Keynes soon manages to turn the purpose of CEMA in a different direction, that of providing State funding for fine arts, the interpretation of which is by and large similar to the description offered by Kant. The Arts Council is set up in 1946, and much to his surprise, Keynes is not appointed its first chairman, and he dies of a heart attack the same year. Although his ambitions for the ACE may be elitist, Keynes is concerned not to sound elitist, and he aims to stress that the ACE operates autonomously vis-à-vis the government by declaring that the ACE is not meant to '*teach or to censor, but to give courage, confidence and opportunity*' (Pearson, 1982:55 in Hughson and Inglis (2001:460) a declaration which is commonly taken to be the first wording of the arm's length principle (ibid.). Through this, a project which holds substantial reminiscence from the Enlightenment project is more or less explicitly carried on by the Conservative Party, which holds that:

> Last, but not least, in any scheme of social policy comes the problem of the right opportunities for leisure. To guide and elevate the pleasure of the people,

to enrich their lives as well as to increase their livelihood, is sure not outside the duties of an enlightened State. (in Baldry, 1981:19)

The arm's length principle is, although in rather unclear terms build into the Royal Charter providing the statues for the first Arts Council in the UK: the new body is both independent and directly responsible towards the government (Quinn, 1997:129), a rather unclear situation, of which Williams (in Quinn, 1997:128) laconically writes: 'i*t is customary for the body to direct its arm, and all that is gained by an arm's length is a certain notion of removal of directly traceable control.'*. This possibility seems to have inspired governments all around Western Europe when ministries for culture are set up: in France, famous writer André Malraux when becoming France's first Minister for Culture in 1959 declares that the role of governments in the arts should be '*to support without influencing'* (ibid.), and Julius Bomholdt, when becoming Denmark's first Minister for Culture in 1961 repeats the same verse: '*Supporting, but not steering'* (KUM ed., 2011:21). The lack of traceability is a key concern, however, for at least two reasons relevant to this inquiry: first, we must remember the historical context – Nazigermany and Stalinist Soviet Union have both used arts and artists in very instrumental ways as propaganda for their political projects. Politicians in Western European countries during and in the aftermath of WW2 are unlikely to be willing to be just remotely affiliated with such abuse of arts. Second, the lack of traceability to political concerns allows for a platform to be established in which knowledge of and decision making about arts and culture appear as a-political: when knowledge of and decisions about public funding for the arts are made by cultural professionals, politicians cannot be held responsible for the decisions made, nor can cultural professionals be suspected of, or even accused, of promoting specific political ends, as their decisions are made on the basis of professional knowledge, of which the hallmark allegedly is its a-political nature. I problematize this further in Chapter 4, for now it's important to notice the historical context of a free world coming into being vs. a world in which arts are but a means for political propaganda. The seeming reiteration of Kant's circuit of artists and art professional recognizing each other's excellence without having to account for the grounds on which the mutual recognition is based is difficult not to notice.

In France a new Ministry of Culture is set up in 1959 by de Gaulle with popular and highly esteemed writer André Malraux as its first Minister. Although specifically opting for a broader and more encompassing definition by using the term 'culture' as opposed to the highbrow UK notion of 'the arts' the Enlightenment ambition is easily recognizable in Malraux's response to a Carrefour journalist pondering: '*Si nous discernons bien l'idée de ce programme, votre méfiance de l'Etat est aussi grande que votre confiance dans l'homme*' (in Andrés, Arbizu & Ruiz-Villa, 2004:4):

> S'il n'y a pas d'art d'État, l'Etat doit faire que l'art touche le plus grand nombre possible de Français, atteigne tous ceux qu'il peut réellement atteindre. On n'est ni créateur ou amateur sur commande, mais on n'est ni l'un ni l'autre si l'on ne voit pas l'art dans ses authentiques manifestations. Démocratie, ici, veut dire: permettre au plus grand nombre d'hommes de voir le plus large eventail de grandes oevres. (ibid.)

Andrés, Arbizu & Ruiz-Villa (2004:5) read a broader scope into this in comparison with the UK model, and the authors see this as a movement from art as a privilege to art as a right. In the US, the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is rooted in a democratic respect for the nation's rich and diversified cultural heritage as described in §10 of the Public Law 89-209 signed by President Johnson in 1965 endorsing legally the foundation of the NEA:

> It is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to complement, assist, and add to programs for the advancement of the humanities and the arts by local, State, regional, and private agencies and their organization. [...] to help create and sustain not only a climate encouraging freedom of thought, imagination, and inquiry but also the material conditions facilitating the release of this creative talent. (in Andrés, Arbizu & Ruiz-Villa, 2004:6)

Yet, one might suspect that the additional purpose, described in the Acts of the NEA as

> The world leadership which has come to the United States cannot rest solely upon superior power, wealth, and technology, but must be solidly founded upon worldwide respect and admiration for the Nation's high qualities as a leader in the realm of ideas and of the spirit (Andrés, Arbizu & Ruiz-Villa, 2004:9)

is equally important in arguing for the use of public money to support the arts in the US.

In Denmark, the ministry dealing with cultural affairs was initially thought to be a Ministry of Culture and Science, but internal struggle in the Government trips up this idea, and instead a more modest, and certainly less influential Ministry for Cultural Affairs is set up in 1961 (Rohde, 1996:3). The Social Democrat Julius Bomholdt becomes the first Minister, having retained his broad popularity despite substantial modifications to his original support for a very broad working class notion of culture. Uncle Julius, as he is referred to, sets up a Ministry of Culture which by and large is a replica of its European counterparts, with a relatively narrow definition of culture combined with an ambition to promulgate this culture to as many as possible. The arm's length principle is properly incorporated, not least in Minister Bomholdt's now sacrosanct one-liner: Supporting, but not steering!

Democratization of Culture

What this brief overview of how the very notion of public support for the arts in the second half of the 20th century[50] came into being aims at, is not a full historic review. Instead, it takes the liberty of pointing to the rather overwhelming fortuitousness which characterizes the formulation of cultural policies and the foundation of legal bodies, governmental or quasi-governmental to intrumentalize and implement these policies in concrete support for arts and culture. What strikes is perhaps first and foremost, that the whole idea of supporting arts and culture by no means comes as public demand. Instead, such thoughts are developed in surprisingly closed circles between hommes d'Etat and hommes des lettres, individual men who share an already established and refined interest in the arts, and with variations in the argumentation they see possibilities in the promulgation of this interest. Second, one notices how the potential of differentiating oneself as a nation in the free world as opposed to being a totalitarian Nazigerman or Stalinist regime is explored in various degrees through the communication about cultural policies. Third, I notice that although cultural policies are aiming at reaching the largest possible number of audiences, the question of what

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[50] For a brief historic overview covering 500 B.C till the 21st century, see e.g. Byrnes, 2009:25-33.

counts as art and culture is by no means left for those audiences to have a saying about. On the contrary, a principle, the arm's length principle is established to secure that the question of what counts as art and culture is taken care of by professionals, without interference from the public or its representatives, the politicians. Thus, what counts as arts and culture are defined by a few persons, who on the other hand define a specific purpose in bringing this narrow definition of arts and culture to as many as possible. In other words, the purpose of cultural policies since the early years of their formulation, is to use a widespread one-liner, to bring the best to the rest, or what Hugson and Inglis (2001:473) have referred to as '*democratization of culture'.* What counts as arts and culture is decided by professional specialists and citizens are seen as passive recipients of this culture by which they are supposed and expected to be enlightened, encouraged and amazed.

I don't claim that there is a direct line between the mechanisms in and the arguments for support for the arts and culture in the beginning of the 21st century and Kantian philosophy of the late 18th century. I can only note a striking resemblance. A committee appointed by the Danish Minister for Culture in 2011 suggests yet another step in the process of disterestedness in support for the arts, by arguing for the exclusion of all interest organizations in the board of representatives linked to the Arts Council:

> Interest organizations have a legitimate and important task in serving the interests of artists' interests, but this ought to be kept separate from an arts support system which is to distribute support in accordance with an independent art professional quality assessment. (KUM/Liebst, 2011:16)

It seems that albeit spiced up by a few dramatic detours, the notion of disinterestedness is well alive at the beginning of the 21st century, and it haunts discussions of cultural policies as an available option for establishing legitimate grounds for decision making in the cultural sector. The arm's length principle, '*the constitution of art policies'* (Langsted ed., 2010:76) is praised by both culture politicians and the cultural sector, to such an extent that one might get the impression that all cultural support in granted in accordance with the arm's length principle (ibid.). But:

> It isn't. The vast majority of the public support for arts and culture, e.g. support for all the permanent, larger institutions is granted by the political system. The same applies to nearly all art support granted by counties. (ibid.)

What this suggests is, that the arm's length principle becomes more of a toast speech than an actual principle, and Langsted ed. (2010:79) points to another risk equally important for this inquiry:

> The risk of the practice of the arm's length principle is, that the art knowledgeable professionals develop a very art internal approach to decisions. Art for art's sake lies stumbling near. And that the art political decisions distance themselves more and more from where the majority of audiences are. The rough version might be: that it becomes the artistic and intellectual elite's taste that 'wars' itself to public art support. The battle is then about getting the others to pay for one's own leisure interest and taste via taxes. – It doesn't serve any purpose pretending there is not also primitive interest group safeguarding taking place in the practicing of the arm's length principle. It then happens in the cunning way that the interests of interest groups are being presented as equal to the interests of the broad society (Langsted ed. 2010:79)

In other words, the tautological circuit in Kant's argument in terms of aesthetic judgments and artistic production, I pointed to in 2.1, still seems to be a relevant consideration in cultural policies.

Contribution of the Arm's Length Principle and Cultural Policies

When governments in the Western world undertook to support arts and culture during and after WW2, this study has nothing to suggest it wasn't with the best of intentions. From raising the spirit and encouraging people to overcome the atrocities of the wars and later to provide access for the largest number of people to what experts qualify as art and culture, the purpose of public engagement in support for arts and culture seem harmless and indeed praiseworthy at a first glance. These efforts began in a historic context, which made the argument relatively simple, and providing arts and culture along with schools, hospitals, roads and police to everybody does not seem to ask for any further explanations in the establishment of the modern welfare state. Nor does the installing of an arm's length principle in order to guarantee some sort of

professionalism in the way public support for arts and culture is handled. To this extent post war cultural policies make perfect sense in providing a coherent logic and through this a strong argument for public support of the arts and culture. The knowledgeable arts professional, whether an artist or an arts administrator, is secured a place as the guarantee that public support for arts and culture is handled in proper ways, and what may have seemed like a postulated alliance between makers of aesthetic judgments and artists in the 18th century, finds political legitimization through cultural policies of the 20th century. Through this, philosophical arguments of the Enlightenment and later an artist driven movement becomes a sector in the modern welfare societies of the Western world, and in accordance with this development, the question of what counts as art and culture is referred to professionals responding appropriately to policies set up by governments. What counts as leadership in the cultural sector is largely inspired, perhaps even determined by what counts as art and culture and in the following I aim to suggest how the link has come about.

3.4 What Counts as Leadership in the Cultural Sector

If the question of what counts as art and culture can be answered over time by whatever privileges philosophers, artists and art professional have managed to secure through their quests for freedom since the age of the Enlightenment, the parallel question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector is perhaps to be found along the same lines? The McMaster Report (DCMS, 2008) is quite clear on the matter. Esteemed Sir Brian McMaster was asked to do a survey by Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, James Purnell, of how to improve cultural policies in the UK. Cultural policies in this sense, are legal instruments by which the question of what counts as art and culture is defined, and financial instruments by which what counts as art and culture is supported. Through structured interviews with 140 of the most influential art professionals in the UK, McMaster, not surprisingly some would argue, arrives at the conclusion that the professional judgment of the art professionals is the key to improving cultural policies and to securing excellence in the arts and culture. McMaster exemplifies a rather unlimited faith in the '*makers of art to create a culture of excellence'* as noted by theater critic, M. Billington (the Guardian, January 11, 2008). These makers of art McMaster refers to as an '*arts community'* (2008:23), and as an important element of his findings he points to the importance of '*funding bodies*

having the confidence and authority to make judgments that are respected by the arts community. (ibid.) Peer reviewing is part of the system to secure this legitimization of decisions. A similar conclusion is arrived at by the Art Support Committee appointed by the Danish Ministry for Culture (KUM/Liebst, 2011:5) which in conclusion summarizes its proposals as:

> The objective is to make the system more transparent and simple and to secure greater real independence for the art professionals who are to make the decisions.

And the Danish Arts Council (Øvlisen, 2011:9) seconds that to secure

> An up-to-date, transparent and effective support structure [it must] in particular be secured that the arms length principle which at the current state is being riddled by earmarking and different practice from case to case, is clarified and implemented both at governmental and county level.

What the reports, albeit from different countries and systems, nearly unanimously conclude is that if total freedom is secured from political and other forms of partisan interference, leadership will find its own way to create excellence in the cultural sector and to optimize the use of public resources for arts and culture. Chong (2010:144) seems conclusive on the point, arguing that '*Arts organizations, in particular, need to maintain a commitment to excellence and artistic integrity*', and he points to Nicholas Serota as an instructive example of ideal leadership in the arts (Chong, 2010:149). What I retain from these remarkable statements, is a clear and unanimous request to politicians to provide the funding for arts and culture, but to stay out of decision making in terms of how to spend it, using the arm's length principle as the primary instrument in the argumentation. Now one might be tempted to agree to this reasonable argument, that professional choices must be left to those in possession of professional knowledge, but as the following statements suggest, such aesthetic judgments are not entirely based on disinterested knowledge. Personal taste seems to be at least as important, if not decisive.

Serota has responded to accusations that his leadership of the Tate Museums is basically informed by his personal taste by saying that:

> Museums have to make selections. Choices are made all the time, and you can't duck those choices. They establish the frame through which we look at the very recent past. Later generations can make corrections, and that may be more or less expensive to do; generally more expensive, because we may have failed to collect some of those things that have become regarded as important. But you can't evade the responsibility of taking a view. (in Chong, 2010:152)

The taking a view argument is particularly interesting for this inquiry as it suggests, that the very idea of a disinterested aesthetic judgment has difficult times in practice. Serota's view is shared by Danish Royal Ballet Master, Nikolaj Hübbe, who although open to new inputs, stands firmly on his own taste:

> I don't try to hide what I like and what I don't like in terms of dance aesthetics. So if you don't get the role you wanted it is probably because your technique is not exactly as it ought to be, or because you don't dance the way I would like you to. (interview in Lederne, June-July, 2011:22)

In slightly different terms, Swedish curator, Bo Nilsson shares a similar view of how his choices are made:

> I'm not an artist, but I'm not an audience either. I'm the first to interpret the artwork, and I need to communicate my interpretation. I don't wish to hide that I contend that I possess a special sensibility which makes me more suitable in terms of interpreting the work than ordinary people, but I don't judge other people's interpretations, I just try to say: here you are! (Bødewadt ed.,2009:101)

And Marie-Louise Ekman, Director of Dramaten in Stockholm, uses an anecdote to describe how she gets her personal views through:

> The elephant trainer of Circus Benneweis once told me that you need a long stick and hit the elephant where it most hurts the first time you meet it. Then it knows, that it hurts, if it doesn't do as told. I have thought about that many times. You need to be so clear that it hurts. (Bødewadt ed., 2009:134)

The purpose of bringing in these quite striking statements is to give a sense of how the professional freedom provided by the arm's length principle is also interpreted in concrete

practice. As the statements suggest, it is not only professional knowledge of the subject matter that informs leadership, it is also just plain gut feeling, personal taste and raw power. This leads to asking if the 'culture of professionalism' described by Holland (1997:23) according to which possession of subject expertise is decisive in terms of possibilities of promotion in cultural institutions, also endorsed by the Danish Arts Council (2011:15) contending that

> The Committee holds the opinion that the arm's length principle ought to apply where support for the arts primarily is distributed according to assessment of the artistic quality, and where art-professional competences therefore are decisive for the decision to support

somehow does not stand alone: personality and personal taste play equally important roles in leadership in the cultural sector. This rather substantive modification of aesthetic judgments as disinterested and the result of professional knowledge is clearly present in Holden's (2006:14) description of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector:

> In the cultural sector until very recently, Leadership was thought of as something that emerged spontaneously, as part of the job. After all, there has been no shortage of charismatic and creative people, from Diaghilev to Sir Peter Hall, who have stamped their personalities on arts organizations.

From Au-delà to a Cultural Sector

This, in a way, brings my inquiry back to where it began. In spite of considerable efforts to establish art as a phenomenon beyond the rules of the rest of society, and therefore also requiring a different set of conditions to operate on, I am back to personal taste and personality when it comes to what really counts. The argument for establishing art and aesthetic judgments in a zone of disinterestedness, of semi-divinity or of political non-interference may be a noble effort to release artistic practice from all sorts of influences, but in practice, it's only a matter of whose personal taste is decisive. This certainly would weaken the arguments for upholding the cultural sector as a zone with relatively more freedom than other social areas. In chapter 5 I go further into how the leadership styles presented here may be reflected in leadership literature in more general terms. For now

the main purpose of the inquiry is to establish the relationship the important link between what counts as art and what counts as leadership. What the inquiry has shown is that although I may not be able to draw a causal link from Kantian aesthetics, over the art for art's sake movement to the arm's length principle, these three influential ways of providing a framework for deciding what counts as art, do seem to draw on shared ideas. In these ideas resides a strong element of a liberation process, a quest for freedom, which appears in various forms, perhaps even in disguise, but remains a quest for individual freedom. What we see also is, that at least to some degree, this quest for individual freedom is wrapped up in an argument in favor of societal interests in general. As long as this idea is maintained and reiterated successfully through narratives the legitimization is secured through a reference to the 'disinterestedness' with which I began the chapter. Yet, what I want to draw attention to is, that maintaining and defending this particular answer to the question of what counts as art, allows leadership in the cultural sector to perform leadership in a specific way corresponding appropriately to this.

What putting the three variations over the same theme together is not so much a historic rooting of ideas, as an endeavor to show that what presently counts as art and culture, has come into being by all sorts of by-paths. These by-paths have led to constructing frameworks for identifying art and culture which I now take as the dominant view in the cultural sector. This dominant view of what counts as art and culture has led to constructing an equally robust framework for identifying leadership in the cultural sector. Whether presented as informed disinterestedness, cultural elitism or professional expertise, these guidelines to what counts as leadership in the cultural sector seem to be only partially a sufficient explanation – something else is also at stake. This something else, a couple of statements from those otherwise defending these ideas seem to suggest is nothing less than the individual, capricious taste from which art has sought its freedom through the philosophical, artistic and political detours I have contoured.

I don't mean to suggest that these efforts have been made consciously to disguise a will to have one's own personal taste into a general societal interest. What the chapter suggests is merely that regardless of what philosophical, artistic or political provisions are made, artistic and cultural choices remain a personal matter. Democratization of culture in this perspective is but a poorly hidden attempt to generalize artistic and cultural choices of the

few well informed to the rest of society – and one might ask if democratization can be stretched to also include such a process, which in other contexts might appear under remarkably differently headlines. What the chapter also suggests is that if '*the implicit standard*' (Sampson, 1993:6) in the cultural sector in practice is but variations on personal taste, not anybody's taste but the taste of the few informed, there is potentially much to gain from dissolving that standard. Not for those privileged by the current standard, but for the many whose personal tastes, preferences, identities, backgrounds etc. at the present are not reflected, nor encouraged by the implicit standard. This, I will argue in the next chapter is particularly important when a philosophical idea turns into a sector in the modern welfare state with the legal, political and financial implications linked to that. Finally, the chapter has provided a backdrop for better understanding why the utterances we met in chapter 0 and 1 on our tour around the narrative landscape may be shaped as they are, both in terms their high-pitched tones, and the narrative resources they draw on. Privileged positions are at stake, and both interpretations and mis-interpretations provide substantial artillery in the struggle to maintain and defend these – and the dominant narrative shows no sign of giving up without a battle. The chapter falls short of a convincing argument in favor of the alleged quest for freedom. I'm sure such an argument can be made convincingly, and I recognize all the efforts made by prominent professionals in the cultural sector, of whom I have quoted a few. When I have not attempted to go further in the making of this argument, it boils down to a simple question which is the starting point for the critical voiced related in the next chapter: Whose artistic and cultural freedom? On the back of this chapter the answer seems to be: the artistic and cultural freedom of the few! This answer has prompted a fierce criticism of the positions described in this chapter. This criticism is the subject of chapter 4.

Chapter 4 Challenging the Myth

'*Art history is based on the myth of the free, creative genius – a role that women have not traditionally had the opportunity to take on.*' (copied from poster April 2012) reads an information poster in the 2011 re-hanging of paintings in the National Gallery of Denmark. Well, a quick tour around the show certainly confirms that the museum does very little in deed to challenge that myth. On the contrary, as a museum visitor one needs to make a quite determined effort to ferret out the very few and rather obscure exceptions to the myth which seems to have translated into a general rule. The re-hanging is centered around great and famous artists, all male, who function as gates through which the visitor must pass to visit the world of art and the way it has reflected the world since the 13ᵗʰ century. The National Gallery produces no statistics of gender ratio in the acquisition of artworks, nor does it have quotas for future acquisitions. Head of Collections and Research, Peter Nørgaard Larsen, however, contends that

> It is true that female artists have been under-represented in a number of years, but I don't think it has been a problem the last 30 years. (Politiken, December 12, 2011)

Nørgaard Larsen points out that the '*artistic quality is the sole decisive factor when acquiring new works*' (ibid.). The museum, however, is aware that female artist are underrepresented and insufficiently recognized in earlier times, and the museum pays attention to this when acquiring artworks to supplement the historic collection (ibid.). The artistic quality, Nørgaard Larsen refers to, however sensible, knowledgeable and instrumental it may sound, has prompted nothing less than fury and rage in a number of academic, artistic and social fields since the 1960'es. The reason being, that this alleged criteria of artistic quality doesn't recognize but a very narrow, all Western, male and belonging to certain social classes kind of art and culture, and therefore serves as an extremely efficient means of exclusion of artistic and cultural expressions not in possession of those particular characteristics. As I argued in the previous chapter, this notion of artistic quality has been established as a-political, non-partisan, disinterested professional knowledge since the late 18ᵗʰ century and adopted as the constitutional principle of cultural policies in most countries in the Western world. Thanks to its alleged disinterested nature

it has been extremely difficult to challenge, not to speak of modifying or changing. This disinterested nature draws its legitimacy from a meta-narrative, as argued by Lyotard (1984:xxiv) and briefly discussed in chapter 1, and although Lyotard argues that post-modernity is marked by '*an incredulity towards meta-narratives*' (ibid.), the cultural sector, as we saw in chapter 3, has been particularly ingenious in establishing social, legal, financial and cultural practices[51] which renders incredulity towards the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment close to impossible. To some, this may appear as rather paradoxical for while artistic practices since the beginning of the 20th century have claimed to be prime exponents of postmodernity, it seems that art discourse and the practice of managing cultural institutions are still widely referring to the meta-narrative of modernism to legitimize themselves. In addition, failure to comply to the meta-narrative, in Lyotard's words, to show incredulity towards it (ibid.), is frequently linked to the potential dismantling of Western civilization, a '*fact*' that Serota didn't fail to mention in the article opening this project. By constantly reiterating the practices through narratives: referring to them, asserting them, issuing warnings about non-compliance, an '*artworld*' (Danto, 1964:572) is established and maintained as a discriminatory cultural sector in a kind of self-sustaining way and:

> Part of the reason for this lies in the fact that terrain is constituted artistic in virtue of artistic theories, so that one use of theories, in addition to helping us discriminate art from the rest, consists in making art possible (ibid.)

In other words, the reiteration of the practices, narratively and otherwise, is necessary to make art and culture possible through a differentiation from '*the rest*'. Thus, being different from the rest is crucial to the legitimization of the cultural sector, and as we saw in chapter 3 this differentiation is established and secured in at least three different ways, philosophically, artistically and politically[52]. This project is particularly concerned with the

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[51] As pointed out in chapter 2, the practice I'm particularly concerned with in my inquiry is how this unfolds in narrative terms.

[52] To this, we can add the sociological perspective, less explicitly present in this inquiry. The idea of an artworld as a specific, segregated social institution beyond the ordinary society builds on the Durkheimian notion of social structural differentiation, according to which the social can be analyzed in terms of institutions governed and defined by particular laws, practices etc specific to the institution, the cultural sector being an example (Inglis, 2005:23).

narrative reiteration of those laws and practices, i.e. how narratives perform the artworld, make it possible and distinguish it from the rest of the social world by means of the idiosyncratic properties discussed in chapter 2. The way I constructed the cultural sector as a narrative landscape in chapter 1, highlighted that these narratives quite systematically have a monologic form, such as described by Sampson (1993:4 & 13), and through such *'self-celebratory'* monologic narratives various groups of people are constructed as '*other*' (ibid.), as non-compliant to the '*implicit standard'* (Sampson, 1993:6) constituted by the quality criteria applied by professional knowledge. Sampson's argument is that the Western project of Enlightenment is basically about constructing these others as '*serviceable*' (1993:4) linking the monologue to the construction process:

> When I construct a you designed to meet my needs and desires, a you that is serviceable for me, I am clearly engaging in a monologue as distinct from dialogue. Although you and I may converse and interact together, in most respects the you with whom I am interacting has been constructed with me in mind. Your sole function has been to serve and service me. (ibid.)

The constructors of these others, on the other hand, are primarily *'male, white, educated and of the dominating social classes'* (Sampson, 1993:4) and the others, who fail to comply to these criteria are thus '*women, nonwestern peoples, people of color, people of subordinated social classes, people with different sexual desires'* (ibid.). These groups have in other social fields had various degrees of success in making their voices heard, but in the cultural sector, as I aim to relate in this chapter, the voicing has had remarkably little impact.

If incredulity towards the meta-narrative is not tolerated by the cultural sector, incredulity seems rather pervasive amongst those not professionally involved in the cultural sector: the audiences as a prominent example. 77% of Europeans say that culture is important to them (Eurostat, Cultural Values, 2007:9) whereas only 17% went to the cinema, 7% went to a museum or a gallery, 5% went to a concert, 16% to a public library, 4% to a theater and 2% to a ballet performance more than five times a year (Eurostat, Cultural Values, 2007:12). In the report, these statistics are interpreted as a relative success for cultural policies in the EU (ibid.) to produce an argument in favor of more culture. Thus, on a self-reflexive note, I ought perhaps to consider if my inquiry may be too biased when

interpreting these same statistics along the lines of Sampson's argument as a sign of resistance amongst the vast majority of Europeans of enrolling themselves as serviceable others. Yet, if I'd continue along the statistical track, I would find some support for my bias: the increase in cultural consumption from 1964 to 1987 has slowed down remarkably, and from 1998 to 2004 it has come to a complete standstill (Bille ed., 2004:17). I read this in the sense that *'Opposition may be constituted by living, even momentarily, within alternative practices, structures, and spaces'* (Grossberg, 1988:169). This suggests that non-participation is not only interpreted as lack of time or money, or because the efforts to disseminate the cultural activities have not yet reached particular groups of people, who would once sufficiently enlightened actively participate. It is interpreted in the sense, that non-participation is an active choice, a way of 'voting with your feet'*.* The statistics, however, only account for the situation in Denmark, and comparisons are thus difficult.[53] Instead of following the path of statistics further, the chapter will provide an overview of some influential arguments which have been put forward to substantiate the criticism of the implicit standard in the cultural sector. In 4.1 I discuss representativeness, or multicultural managerialism vs. hybridization as both criticism of the mono-cultural view dominating the cultural sector and possible means to overcome it. I conclude by linking this mono-cultural view to the democratization of culture approach to cultural policies. In 4.2 I take the position of the cultural entrepreneur wishing to live an '*expressive life'* (Ivey, 2008:22-25) to provide an overview of criticism of current cultural policies which favor a non-entrepreneurial, system-compliant behavior amongst creative people, and I conclude by linking this to the cultural democracy approach to cultural policies. In 4.3 I discuss how cultural consumer behavior and how the recent development poses challenges to the public engagement in cultural policies. Whereas Adorno has described the arts as a sphere free from the forces of the market, Bourdieu has argued, that the option of being free from the forces of the market only belongs to the privileged cultural elite. Both arguments are being challenged by the advent of the cultural omnivore who seems reluctant to fit into any such categories. In 4.4 I conclude the chapter by framing the discussions in chapter 3 and 4 in a model in order to provide the grounds for my inquiry into leadership in chapter 5.

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[53] And my inquiry does not aspire to be quantitatively based, although in a broader perspective it may be interesting to see what a quantitative approach might add in terms of findings.

4.1 White Cube for Some and White Queue for Others[54]

As I pass the entrance of CBS I notice that a sculptural work by artist Khaled Ramadan stands in the main hall. I first met Khaled Ramadan, born in Lebanon and living in Copenhagen in 1998 as part of my then professional engagement in the Images of the World festival[55]. This lucid architect was doing 'some art stuff' of which I was curious to know more, as part of the festival's official objectives were to establish links between non-Western artists and artists with non-Western background living in Denmark as so-called immigrant artist. In 2001 I invited him to Helsinki where I was in charge of a complete turnaround of the Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art[56] to assist us in formulating a new artistic and cultural program for the already then long dead notion of Nordicness[57]. In 2010 he co-curated Manifesta in Murcia[58], one of the world's top five bi-annuals for contemporary visual culture, has established himself as an esteemed artist, and since 2009 he serves as intercultural consultant for the Danish Arts Council aiming at encouraging and supporting artist with non-Danish background living in Denmark. Khaled Ramadan's narrative is one of unbelievably hard work and overwhelming competences, and yet, he remains one the roughly two handfuls' of artists with non-western background living in Denmark who have succeeded in making a professional career for themselves as artists. This appalling situation stands in remarkable, and somewhat paradoxical contrasts to the amount of media coverage, public and political attention immigrants and their descendants receive, which Bhabha (1996:56) refers to as a position '*somewhere between the too visible and the not visible enough'.* The cultural sector in this light appears as a kind of refuge from the consequences of immigration and multiculturalism, a refuge from the instabilities of culture.

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[54] Section title borrowed from K. Ramadan in Sander & Sheikh eds., 2001:96)

[55] A major festival taking place in Copenhagen and some 20 larger towns in Denmark every two-three years. The festival is initiated and supported by Danish Center for Culture and Development, the agency co-ordinating activities between the Danish Development Aid Agency and the cultural and educational sectors in Denmark and non-Western countries.

[56] See www.nifca.org

[57] A Nordicness that among other things was build on the agreement that only persons with Nordic passports could be employed by the institutions under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers. Such a rule is against EU-regulations of the free labor market, as was changed accordingly as a result of the discussions of such a condition for establishing a notion of Nordicness.

[58] See www.manifesta.org for further information on the biannual.

What I just committed with my poorly hidden indignation over the lack of integration[59] of immigrant artists in the Danish cultural sector was among other things an example of what Maharaj (2001:5) calls '*muliticultural managerialism'*. Multicultural managerialism largely refers to the idea that artistic and cultural influences can be measured by counting numbers. Numbers meaning gender, skin color, ethnicity and cultural background. Numbers of artists allowed entrance into the cultural sectors of the Western world measured by these standards. This Hall argues, is a much too narrow, and certainly an equally oppressing practice, as it completely disregards both non-Western influences in Western arts and culture, and Western influences in non-Western arts and culture (2001:5). Instead, Hall contends,

> The world is absolutely littered by modernities and by practicing artists, who never regarded modernism as the secure possession of the West, but perceived it as a language which was both open to them but which they would have to transform. The history therefore should now be rewritten as a set of cultural translations rather than as a universal movement which can be located securely within *a* culture, within *a* history, with *a* space, within *a* chronology and within *a* set of political and cultural relations. (ibid.)

What Hall points to is that '*there is no pure moment of beginning'* (2001:36) such as implicitly understood in modernity thinking, all must be seen as '*series of translations'* (ibid.) through which cultures and cultural practices, both in the plural, intertwine, hybridize and alter. Counting numbers to ensure representativeness therefore is just another practice by which the implicit standard reiterates itself.

I draw up the two positions slightly too bombastically with the aim of invoking an impression of the dilemma, cultural diversity and multiculturalism confronts the cultural sector with. On the one hand, one might argue that time for talk is over, democratic societies can't live with zones of non-representativeness such as the cultural sector, wherefore quotas must be imposed to increase representation by those not seen by the quality criteria functioning as implicit standard in the arts. On the other hand, introducing such fixed and stable categories as follows from representativeness based on nationality,

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[59] I pick up shortly on the problem of integration and its link to the modernistic idea of *a* beginning, as opposed perpetual mutual influencing amongst cultures.

ethnicity, gender, sexuality, race, disability etc. only serves to re-affirm those same categories, and it takes away from culture its ability to provide '*felicity conditions'* (Bruner, 1990:67), ways of accounting for deviations from the ordinary. The dilemma is equally complicated by what Taylor (1994:25) has termed the '*politics of recognition'* of which the main argument is that recognition is not only a form of courtesy but a fundamental human need through which identity is shaped and developed in a dialogic process with those recognizing or mis-recognizing it. Lack of recognition lead to self-depreciation which in turn becomes an efficient means of oppression (Taylor, 1994:26). Non-representativeness by the cultural sector of women, Muslims, colored people, gays, disabled etc. thus is not just a mere lack courtesy towards these groups, but in addition a means of effective oppression of those not compatible with the implicit standard. Taylor links this to the establishment of an authentic self in the late 18th century, by which '*there is a certain way of being human that is* my *way*' (1994:30, italics by the author), and

> Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, which is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is properly my own. This is the background understanding to the modern ideal of authenticity, and to the goals of self-fulfillment and self-realization in which the ideal is usually couched. (ibid.)

This conceptualization of identity marks a break with previous understandings according to which identity was entirely defined by one's social class, and as Taylor points out, democracy doesn't solve this problem, it only reinforces the necessity of recognition, as democracy on one hand provides the individual with individual rights regardless of class, culture, gender etc., but on the other hand, also surfaces where individuality is not recognized (ibid.). With reference to Mead's notion of the '*significant other'*, Taylor draws attention to the importance of recognition in the dialogic process by which identity is shaped and accentuated (1994:32), and significant others in this sense is open to a possible role for the cultural sector to play, but equally a responsibility. Possibility, because the cultural sector can play an active role in recognition, and responsibility, because failure to do so may lead to either self-depreciation by those not recognized, or simply neglect if those not recognized no longer (if ever) regard the cultural sector as a significant other. Taylor's argument leads him to formulate a politics of recognition by which '*we all*

recognize *the equal value of different culture; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their worth'* (1994:64). This, however, is easier said than done, for as Gutman asks, how does this ambition deal with cultures who do not acknowledge other cultures, or consider themselves superior to these? (1994:19). The closest Taylor comes to an answer is multicultural curricula, (1994:66) by which is understood a form of representativeness and through this multiculturalism we get to study the other; a first step which is perhaps not the same as granting the other a right, but which allows for a more in depth knowledge, and perhaps the insight that one is only a part of a greater whole (1994:73):

> There is perhaps after all a moral issue here. We only need a sense of our own limited part in the whole human story to accept the presumption. It is only arrogance, or some analogous moral failing, that can deprive us of this. But what the presumption requires of us is not peremptory and inauthentic judgments of equal value, but a willingness to be open to comparative cultural study of the kind that must displace our horizons in the resulting fusions.

If such ideas are uplifting and inspiring for the mind, they certainly aren't easy to translate into operational terms (Weber, 2011:7). The dialogic, relationally informed understanding of self and its cultural identity, Taylor adduces, obviously breaks with the entitative concept of self present in European thinking since the beginning of the modern world (Rose, 1996:128) in which '*only one who perceives him- or herself as a distinct entity with certain cognitive, social and emotional personality characteristics and a body associated with them can claim the title of "person"* (Marsal & Dobashi, 2011:63). It also breaks with the stability linked to a

> notion of culture in the old anthropological sense, as something which is clearly, bounded, internally self-sufficient and relatively homogenous across its members, which sustains and regulates individual conduct within the framework that it offers (Hall, 2001: 18)

and cultural institutions such as museums[60], theaters and concert halls which still believe the world is organized in a stable center/periphery are likely not to grasp the most influential movements taking place in contemporary culture (Hall, 2001:21). Instead they

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[60] In this text, Hall talks about museums, but I apply his argument to cultural institutions in a broader sense.

have to engage in '*series of cultural translations*' (ibid.:19) in which they are but '*temporary stabilizations*' (ibid.:22) which '*has to be aware that it is a narrative, a selection, whose purpose is not just to disturb the viewer but to itself be disturbed by what it cannot be, by its necessary exclusions*' (ibid.:22).

Among these exclusions are, Bhabha contends, the presupposition in Talyor's argument that we start from a '*historically congruent space*' (1996:56), which means that

> The recognition of difference is genuinely felt, but on terms that do not represent the historical genealogies, often postcolonial, that constitute the partial cultures of the minority (ibid.)

What Bhabha points to is, that Taylor's liberal approach to equal cultural worth remains a view from the privileged position of those who got to define difference in the first place. Therefore, the challenge is not only to deal with them/us distinctions but also with the historically and temporally disjunct positions from which majority cultures get to define minorities, and minorities receive this cultural identity (ibid.: 57). Bhabha acknowledges Taylor's use of the Bakhtinian notion of dialogic in his development of self and cultural identity, but criticizes him for disregarding the hybridization potentials of the notion (ibid.). Bhabha instead proposes a concept of hybridization which embraces this potentiality in arguing that:

> Hybrid agencies find their voice in a dialectic that does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty. They deploy the partial culture from which they emerge to construct visions of community, and versions of historic memory, that give narrative form to the minority positions they occupy; the outside of the inside: the part in the whole (1996:58)

To allow for and encourage this hybridization potential, Hall laconically suggest to change the title of the conference he participates in[61] from '*Museums of Modern Art and the End of History*' to '*The End of Museums of Modern Art and the beginning of History*' (2001:9) implying that if museums cannot adopt the function of being catalysts of this process they

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[61] Stuart Hall participated in a conference ath the Tate Gallery in May 1999, where he presented the paper from which I draw in this section.

become themselves obstacles in ongoing cultural process, or even preservers of the idea of the West as '*an absolutely pivotal, powerful and hegemonic force*' (ibid.: 21).

To challenge this pivotal, powerful and hegemonic force, UNESCO has agreed on the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity in 2001, and the declaration is in process of being ratified in the member countries. The declaration asserts cultural diversity as immanent to humanity (UNESCO, 2001) This, however, doesn't do it all in terms of how cultural funding bodies and cultural institutions handle the challenge. Skot-Hansen (2004) describes the institutional resistance and the political protraction as follows:

> Not until the end of the 90'ies was multiculturalism seriously placed on the official Danish cultural political agenda, long after most other European countries. But also countries as the Netherlands and especially the UK, which as former colonial powers had many more years of experience in the area, had to acknowledge that "the reorganization from a homogeneous notion of identity to acceptance of a diversity of voices and interpretations only happen slowly both in production and dissemination of art and culture". The explanation is not only the aversion or inertia of the cultural institutions to adopt the new multicultural reality, but also that the cultural diversity oftentimes falls outside of the ordinary structures and subsidy schemes.

In spite of substantial criticism, drawing both on fundamental conditions for democracy, and the hybridizing properties of culture throughout history, it has not been possible, even in those countries most ardent in their efforts, to open the cultural sector to more multicultural approaches, not to mention turning the cultural sector into a platform for supporting and encouraging multiculturalism and hybridization of cultures and creativity in a broader sense. What this suggests is that '*democratization of culture*' (Hughson & Inglis, 2009:473), a top down approach to cultural policies of which the aim is to bring '*the best to the rest*', seems to be predominant in terms of legitimization the modes according to which the cultural sector operates. This also suggests, that changing policies to better accommodate multicultural ambitions and hopes is but a first step in a long and arduous process which also includes changing the grounds on which the cultural sector is legitimized. Those profiting from the way the cultural sector is currently organized and the way it prioritizes certain cultural expressions at the expense of others are unlikely to give up their privileges without resistance. As the McMaster report shows (2008), however, it

seems less confrontational to seek legitimization by invoking disinterestedness as a path towards excellence in the arts, than to actually just argue in favor of well established privileges. The overall conclusion McMaster draws in the report is, that professionally informed judgments are the only way to improve cultural policies (ibid.), and at first glance, that seems like a harmless proposition[62]. A proposition backed up by a substantial part of the cultural sector, judged by who is on the list of interviewees.

What the above discussion points in the direction of is in brief terms that alternative voices to the dominant narrative may shout as loud as they can, it won't substantially change how the cultural sector legitimizes itself with reference to disinterested expert knowledge drawing its own legitimacy from the meta-narrative, I discussed in chapter 1 and further developed in chapter 2. Drawing legitimacy from allegedly extra-linguistic meta-narrative of the Enlightenment (Lyotard, 1984:xxiii) translates into a top down approach to cultural policies, the democratization of culture agenda, which in spite of substantial criticism from multicultural quarters, still seems to maintain a stronghold thanks to its status as disinterested knowledge.

In the following section I follow how the dominant narrative is challenged by cultural entrepreneurs and creative people who seem to think of arts and culture in terms of 'what they'd like to do'. This, however, seems largely overlooked by the dominant narrative in the cultural sector, and yet it seems these cultural activists find their way by blurring all borders between production, consumption and distribution by means of technology and social media. I link this to a cultural democracy approach to what counts as art and culture (Hughson & Inglis, 2009:473).

4.2 Expressive Lives and the Cultural Entrepreneur

If French artist Marcel Duchamp had hoped to challenge the very foundation on which the artworld was operating at his time, he must have been somewhat surprised to experience the agility by which this same artworld after a few initial objections, smoothly adapted to incorporate such challenges as – art. His work '*Fountain*' dating from 1917 was meant as an admittedly skillful conceptualization of some of the absurdities in the way the artworld

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[62] I take this discussion further in chapter 5

was operating in the early 20th century, but the work itself is since hailed as one of the most important artworks of the century, acknowledging conceptualization in the sense of production of new ideas as the core of artistic practice (Lane in Inglis & Hughson eds, 2001:30). A similar destiny befell Italian artist Piero Manzoni's work '*Merda d'artista'* from 1961, which is now exhibited in some of the most prominent museums in the world and sold at 124,ooo Euros at Sotheby's in 2007 (Sotheby, 2007) outperforming the value of gold many times. Equally so Afro-American artist Jean-Michel Basquiat whose graffiti works are now considered some of the most important contributions to the neo-expressionist movement of the 1980'ies and his work is acquired by leading museums around the world (Basquiat.com).

Doing graffiti, however, is more likely to lead to pecuniary penalty than to global fame in the artworld. So is sharing things you like to provoke and challenge the way global markets price arts and culture (www.piratebay.se)[63], or you may even end up in jail for exposing the absurdities of a particular system by a harmless intervention (www.greenpeace.org, August 22, 2011). I draw these more or less parallel examples to give an idea of the kind of protection the cultural sector also offers – what is otherwise illegal, immoral or even impossible becomes legal, moral and possible because of the status as something else than the rest of society, a narrative legitimized such as described in chapter 3. I point to this difference, as I now take the view of cultural entrepreneurs who want to use an unspecified number of aesthetic practices and means to do what they like to have fun, a good life and possibly an income.

Blurring the Borders of the Artworld

What the initial examples show is merely what Danto (1964:572) pointed out when describing the cultural sector as an *'artworld'*,[64] now graciously adopted by the artworld as a proud name. The cultural sector makes art and culture possible, and thus other things impossible, and although claiming professional knowledge to be the criteria by which a

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[63] The Pirate Bay and the Pirate Bay Party are now officially recognized in Sweden as a religion, the religion of Kopism (www.deathandtaxesmag.com), and allegedly they have made this move to seek the same protection of their practices and their faith as is granted to other religions.

[64] I discuss the problems involved in the artworld becoming a sector in chapter 5

category such as 'art' is granted to actions, artefacts etc., it seems that such claims are only part of how the cultural sector operates. It is the theories and histories (Danto, 1964:584) that establish the distinction between what is art and what is not, and these theories and histories are fully capable of making one of two identical objects or actions art, and the other not, and precisely in this capability lies the specificity of the artworld. The argument itself suggests that beyond what is recognized by the artworld are enormous resources of artistic and cultural expressions which don't find their way to being recognized by the cultural sector. Not only are these expressions not recognized by the cultural sector, they are also not recognized in statistics on cultural production and cultural consumption (Tepper & Gao, 2008:24), and therefore usually not included in the cultural sector even in a broader sense.

Apparently out of view of the publically supported cultural sectors, a field of unprecedented creative activities emerges, not least made possible through the Web and related social media (Ivey, 2009:12). This creative field is heralded as the '*likely engine of America's postindustrial, postinformation economy*' (ibid.), it is being moved '*from the margins to the mainstream of British economy*' (DCMS, February 2008), and '*knowledge and creativity are the central elements in the new economy*' in Denmark (EVM & KUM, 2000), indeed some argue we live in a '*creative age*' (Florida, 2002). What this new age offers is the possibility and potential of living expressive lives (Ivey in Jones ed. 2009:23), in which heritage constitutes:

> The part that is about belonging, continuity, community and history; it is expressed through art and ideas grounded in family, neighborhood, ethnicity, nationality and the many linkages that provide securing knowledge that we come from a specific place and are not alone (ibid.:26)

and equally that voice constitutes:

> a realm of individual expression where we can be autonomous, personally accomplished and cosmopolititan – a space in which we can, at times, even challenge the conventions of community or family heritage (ibid.:27)

In these descriptions, borders between amateur and professional, hobbyist and artists are blurring (Jenkins & Bertozzi, 2009:172), and so are borders between production, consumption and dissemination of art and culture (ibid.:176), because everyone can actively participate in each of these areas, and the field itself encourages such active participation across borders (ibid.). The authors suggest to see the '*emergence of this do-it-yourself aesthetic as a revitalization of folk culture*' (ibid.:177), which somehow appear as the opposite of Kantian disinterested aesthetic judgment, as *interested aesthetics.* Such interested aesthetics, as I will call them, do not claim any universal transcendence, on the contrary, there are no canons, but a possibility for all involved to give feedback, and for anyone to be a tastemaker, as '*they operate outside traditional arts institutions* [and] *have not been sanctioned by the critical establishment.'* (ibid.:173) In short, what counts as art from this point of view is basically decided by those involved without a reference to anything external to the community. Legitimacy is performative in the sense that it arises through participation, and a growing community is considered a sign of success wherefore inclusion is part of how the community works. As the traditional mode of operating according to fixed categories such as artists, audience, art and dissemination, some would argue along the dominant model of the industrial society, is dissolving, the new approach also needs to find new ways of funding their activities, or even make an income. Mogensen (2009:3) has coined the term *'anarchonomy'* to describe what seems to be happening. Anarchonomy, combining anarchy and economy, blurs the borders between profit and non-profit, a dominant distinction in the cultural sector, in that it relies on an anarchic sharing of ideas, knowledge, products and 'friends' on the one side, whereas it seeks alternative ways to generate income on the other (ibid.: 6). These open source and open content approaches links what you are able to give to what you are able to offer in a barter-like economy operating as a parallel system to classical market economy (ibid.:8) described in metaphoric terms by playwright G.B.Shaw:

> If you have an apple and I have an apple and we exchange these apples then you and I will still each have one apple. But if you have an idea and I have an idea and we exchange these ideas, then each of us will have two ideas.

Art production in this sense is as much about creativity in terms of how to share things, in terms of how to enjoy the time spent on cultural production and in terms of the communities one becomes part of and contributor to by doing one's 'art stuff'. This has a

grassroots feeling to it, and as pointed out by Florida (2002:113) such cultural entrepreneurs, or creatives as he calls them, are not so interested in climbing up career ladders, as they are in moving horizontally in the pursuit of fun and inspiring projects. While the artworld requires compliance to and respect of the ways it functions in relatively stable ways in order not 'to disturb' the artistic value, and perhaps also the economical value of the works produced and ontologized by the artworld, this new field of cultural production seems more instable, as it is more interested in what kind of creative capital one is prepared to offer (ibid.:273), and this seems to be changing incessantly over time. Without a relatively stable discourse around it, such as offered by the artworld and its institutions such as critics, museums, theaters etc., the processes especially in terms of how new ideas and products are conceived of and how they are distributed and received by consumers seem to happen at a more instable, some would argue dynamic pace.

The ability of cities and regions to attract and provide inspiring accommodation for this kind of cultural production, Florida argues, even seems decisive in terms of how these cities and regions prosper in economic terms (ibid.:241). This argument, however, may be modified by the explosion in and widened access to new technology (Tepper, Hargittai & Touve, 2009:199), which renders one's physical and geographical location irrelevant, as technology ensures easy and low cost communication amongst members of a community involved in cultural production.

The Post Highbrow-Snob World

If what counts as art is fundamentally changing with the emergence of a new creative field of cultural production inhabited by cultural entrepreneurs who set up their own rules, find their own money and share the stuff they do in ways that suit them, the question of what cultural policies are for and how they frame the cultural sector must also be addressed in different terms (Jones ed., 2009:9). What Peterson and Rossman (2009:324) refer to as '*cultural policy in the post highbrow-snob world',* Jones addresses by suggesting '*enfranchising cultural democracy'* (2009:9) as an overall ambition and framework. He points to the movement from provision to reflection by arguing that

> Rather than providing culture and heritage, they should reflect our creativity and the culture that it generates, brokering the relationships between the public and other makers and distributors of different cultural forms (2009:10)

Which resonates well with how the cultural entrepreneurs discussed above seem to have abandoned the modes of operations linked to the industrial society organized around production and provision (Holden in Jones ed., 2009:59). Enfranchisement refers to the idea, that cultural expression must be placed as central aspect of all policymaking in all aspects of society, not just as '*the icing on the cake'* (Jones, 2010:92). Instead,

> cultural funding should be seen as supporting an elemental part of what makes up society. A more democratic understanding shows that an equitable sense of culture must also include representation of the choices that people make and the cultural forms with which they engage (ibid.)

Holden (2008:11) seconds Jones in this, and in addition he argues in favor of encouraging free floating between publically supported art, commercial art and homemade art, as publically supported art has too long been the privilege of the few:

> indeed the cultural gatekeepers of the avant-garde go so far as to *define* art in terms of exclusivity. As Schoenberg put it: 'If it is art, it is not for all. If it is for all, it is not art.' (Holden, 2008:18).

Such a shift of priorities in cultural policy cannot be expected to pass easily, for as pointed out by Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005:4), for a long time, cultural policies were aimed at diminishing the impact, and implicitly understood negative consequences, of cultural industries, and as pointed out by Wright et al (2009) the creative sector is '*notoriously bad at opening its doors to non-graduates, mid-career women and ethnic minorities'.*

Jenkins and Bertozzi (2009:191-192) conclude, however, that the choice really isn't there. The movement towards DIY aesthetics and participatory cultural production is exploding regardless of cultural policies do, and how cultural institutions react to this movement. Cultural policies can encourage this movement, or see it route around them.

In the following section, I go further into changed patters in cultural consumption. For now, I note that the dominant narrative in the cultural sector is challenged by more activist

quarters, who don't spend time waiting for the dominant narrative to recognize or embrace them. These cultural entrepreneurs simply use the opportunities offered by new technology without expecting the cultural sector to adapt to these new conditions. Leadership in the cultural sector, on the other hand, can find ways to adapt to this new situation, or see itself perish, and cultural policies and the ways in which governments are engaged in supporting and providing institutional, legal and other frameworks for the cultural sector are likely to be forced to find ways to accommodate the changes.[65]

4.3 Cultural Capital or Cultural Omnivores?

The criticism raised by multiculturalism as discussed in section 4.1 and the more activist criticism implicit in cultural entrepreneurship discussed in section 4.2, find resonance also in studies concerned with consumption of arts and culture. Here it translates into questions of cultural consumption as a social marker, a position contended by Bourdieu whose studies of cultural consumption in France in the 1960s hold a foundational role in the field of sociology of art and culture (Lane, 2005:33). This position, however, is contested by the advent of the cultural omnivore (Peterson, 1992:243, Peterson & Kern, 1996:904) and supported by studies such as DiMaggio (1996) in a US context, and Meier Jæger and Katz-Gerro (2008) in a Danish context, and by Fiske (1988) whose concern with semiosis allows for a discussion of the bottom-up power implicit in ascribing meaning to cultural products, or choosing from possible meanings as from a menu.

To Bourdieu the Kantian disinterestedness I discussed in chapter 3 is the more or less intended bi-product of the invention of the man taking care of his self-interests in the center of capitalism. By default, the pursuit of one's own interests produces a '*negative counterpart*' (1986:281), a disinterestedness or '*purposeless finality of cultural or artistic practices and their products*' (ibid.) and '*the pure, perfect universe of the artists and the intellectual and the gratuitous activities of art-for-art's sake and pure theory*' (ibid.). These artistic practices and products, however, translate into cultural capital, an accumulation which over time '*contains a tendency to persist in its being,* [a] *force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or*

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[65] I discuss this further in chapter 5 and 8.

impossible' (1986:280). [66] Bourdieu's notion of capital seems to draw on similar thoughts as Berger and Luckmann's notion of language as the '*depository of a large aggregate of collective sedimentations'* (1966:87) which is to say that not everything is renegotiated anew all the time and therefore appear as a kind of objective, social reality (ibid.). Bourdieu terms this '*immanent structure of the social world'* (1986:280) i.e. *'the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices'* (ibid.). Cultural capital, Bourdieu argues, can exist in three forms:

> The *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematic, etc; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (1986:282)

Bourdieu notes in his 1966 study of art gallery attendance remarkable differences in propensity in different social classes (Lane, 2005:33), and as he considers art in possession of a particular code which can only be deciphered if one has previously acquired adequate knowledge of art, the issue of time arises in two ways: first, for acquiring the adequate knowledge, and second for consuming cultural production, i.e. going to a museum, an art gallery or the theater (Bourdieu, 1986:283). Time, however, in both senses is more amenable amongst affluent classes than those less well off, which leads to a distortion in propensity in cultural consumption in favor of the rich, the well-educated, the intellectual elite. In other words, cultural consumption becomes a rather elitist pursuit, replacing religion as '*the repository of moral values'* (Inglis, 2005:17) and making the ability to appreciate art and culture transmissible through social legacy (Bourdieu, 1986:282). This ability, Bourdieu argues, was constructed through Kantian aesthetics (1992:485-900) which '*elevated a socially and historically determined predisposition to appreciate works*

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[66] Bourdieu's notion of capital is analog to Berger and Luckmann's notion of language as 'the depository of a large aggregate of collective sedimentations, which can be acquired monothetically, that is, as cohesive wholes and without reconstructing their original process of formation.

of high art and culture to the level of a universal measure of moral and intellectual worth' (Lane, 2005:35). Thus, the bourgeoisie could

> 'legitimize' and 'naturalize' its political and economic domination by invoking its refined cultural tastes as evidence of its inherent superiority; 'culture', 'taste', and 'refinement' performing the same legitimizing function as had birth and bloodline for the nobility under feudalism (Lane, 2005:35)

This socialization of privileged classes into certain predisposed ways of consuming certain kinds of art and culture, namely high art and culture, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:39) argue, lead these classes into perceiving their own tastes to be both *'natural'* and *'intrinsically superior'* (Inglis, 2005:28) to other people's tastes.

The picture, however, is more nuanced it seems (DiMaggio, 1996:163), for as pointed out by Peterson and Simkus (1992), privileged classes don't only consume high art and culture. Not anymore, at least. As a follow up study shows (Peterson & Kern, 1996:901) '*perfect snobs are now rare in the United States'* in the sense that those people previously consuming only highbrow arts and culture, now tend to engage in much more varied cultural consumption, including consumption of lowbrow culture. Peterson and Simkus (1992) coin the term '*cultural omnivores'* to describe these people who apparently do not behave in accordance with a strict sense of class and cultural ranking, such as described by Bourdieu, but consume arts and culture across fixed categories (Peterson & Kern, 1996:902). Omnivorousness, however, doesn't mean, that highbrow cultural consumers now like all sorts of culture indiscriminantly, it cannot be taken as more than a sign of more openness towards appreciating a multitude of cultural and artistic expressions (Peterson & Kern, 1996:904). The authors point to several factors leading to omnivorousness in cultural consumption: first, '*structural changes'* (ibid.:905) in access to and dissemination of arts and culture, and increased migration and social mobility mixing people with different tastes. Second, greater tolerance as a result, among others things, of historical events which make prejudiced and exclusionist views more difficult to express (ibid.). Third, changes in the artworld, in the sense that endless modes of expressions referred to as postmodernist art and culture, makes it increasingly obvious, that '*the quality of art did not inhere in the work itself, but in the evaluations made by the artworld* which makes singular criteria increasingly difficult (ibid.). Fourth, differences in

taste of different generation, e.g. the 1968 generation now consuming in accordance with their taste for rock music formed in their youth (ibid.). And finally, that '*status-group politics*' (ibid.;906) have changed in the sense whereas '*snobbish exclusion'* (ibid.: 906) functioned well as social marker in a relatively homogeneous world, '*omnivorous inclusion'* (ibid.) seems to function better in a globalized world:

> As highbrow snobbishness fit the needs of the earlier entrepreneurial upper-middle class, there also seems to be an elective affinity between today's new business-administrative class and omnivorousness (ibid.).

This much more unpredictable behavior amongst cultural consumers leads to *'an existential anxiety about survival'* (d'Harnoncourt in d'Harnoncourt et al., 1991:36), for the providers of artistic and cultural experiences cannot know what kind of expectations the audiences bring (ibid.). Indeed, audiences, and in this case, the authors refer to museum audiences, have become '*multifaceted abstractions'* (DiMaggio in d'Harnoncourt et al., 1991:44). These multifaceted abstractions, taken as arts and cultural consumers in a broader sense, do seem to be less faithful to their social classes, also in statistical terms (DiMaggio & Mukhtar (2004:171), and the authors add first nichecasting as opposed to broadcasting, and second the breakdown of boarders within high culture to the above list. Nichecasting refers to the increased possibility by means of new media to produce artistic and cultural experiences directly addressed to specific segments, a option which is not available for the established cultural institutions due to their omnibus obligations (ibid.). And the break down from within refers to the much more diversified artistic practices postmodernist artists and cultural workers use in their practices without distinguishing between serious and popular culture (ibid.).

If the Bourdieusian notion of cultural capital primarily captures production and consumption of arts and culture as a '*complex structure in dominance'* (Hall in Harrington & Bielby eds., 2001:123), it seems less concerned with how these dominating structures are challenged. Fiske (1988:249) reminds us of the '*bottom up power'* in Foucault's argument on power and knowledge and links it to popular culture, and how popular culture becomes possible[67]. Fiske criticizes '*political economists and pessimistic ideologues'* (1988:246) for

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[67] Such as described e.g. in the introduction to the History of Sexuality (1978)

seeing audiences only as a construction of e.g. television, whereas Fiske's position is that cultural products must be seen as '*a menu*' (ibid.; 248) established by and in the interests of the powerful, but open to '*poaching⁶⁸*' (ibid.). In their poaching, audiences exert power over cultural production in the sense that they take from the menu what serves their particular interests. Cultural production therefore becomes an '*open text*' (ibid.), which

> Can only be activated in to a meaningful and pleasurable moment by the personified semiotic process: in this process, the meanings and pleasures that are eventually produced are determined by the social allegiances of the person engaged in it, not by the text itself. (ibid.)

This, however, is not to say, that any form of cultural production is open to any kind of reading, but it is to argue, that '*only those texts which offer socially relevant meanings will be accepted and will thus become popular*' (ibid.). Popular or non-popular thus is not a property of cultural products per se, but a relationally determined aspect occurring in the semiosis, the process in which cultural products are being consumed and appreciated. Fiske's approach thus places the power to determine what counts as art and culture in the hands of audiences, not in the sense of a lowest common denominator, but as a form of empowerment to decide and chose what is relevant to them, and how the cultural products offered can be made relevant or not relevant by various audiences through their ability to experience and interpret what is offered in ways proper to their own ends and purposes. Fiske points to the ventriloquizing aspects of humanities and their ability to exclude cultural expression by establishing canons, by arguing that:

> There is something finally profoundly undemocratic about a theory, however politically correct that tells the people (seen as other) that only *we* can understand and articulate *their* plight in patriarchal capitalism. (1988:250)

This section has been concerned with how the dominant narrative is challenged also by the ways consumers of aesthetic products and experiences seem to behave. Canonical versions of arts and culture established to secure cultural consumption as an effective social marker,

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⁶⁸ A term Fiske borrows from de Certeau (1984:165) to describe how one becomes active in production through one's consumption, thereby appropriating and transforming what is offered by the dominant production.

are being challenged in several ways: first, because they are linked to the elitist intellectuals of the possessing classes in the industrial society and the remains of it. Second, by concrete changes in cultural consumptions which tend to appear as more omnivorous than previously, due to demographic and attitudinal changes to the increased diversity in expressions, and possible expressions in a globalized world. And third, the ability to actively participate in the possible readings of cultural products is seen as an effective tool. It grants power to audiences who in this regards are not seen as passive receptors of meanings, but active participants in a bottom up process which exerts power over what is popular and what is not.

Drawing on some of the most remarkable authors challenging the dominant narrative, I have aimed to substantiate the criticism I introduced in chapter 1. I have equally aimed at relating that whereas some criticism seems to very articulate, other forms of criticism appear as more implicit: cultural entrepreneurs just do their stuff without making too much noise, and cultural consumers just shift their preferences and interpret cultural production the way they like. This presents leadership in the cultural sector with what I suggest to see as a double bound challenge: first, what counts as art and culture cannot be seen as stable, but is rather defined in many ways ranging from disinterested aesthetics such as discussed in chapter 3 to DIY aesthetics such as discussed previously in this chapter. In the following section I want to argue that what counts as leadership is equally bound to vary according both to what counts as art and culture and what the overall aim of the cultural sector is as expressed through cultural policies.

'Ghita does not think she's a collectivist. And she's entitled to.' (Michael Christiansen, former Director of the Danish Royal Theater about star actress Ghita Nørby, Information, October 20, 2011)

'*Art is not decided upon in working parties. It is poorly suited for compromises*' (Ghita Nørby, Information, October 20, 2011)

4.4 Situating Leadership Responses in the Cultural Sector

In their arguments for new approaches to leadership in the cultural sector in the post-financial crisis era Hewison and Holden (2011:12) contend that publically funded culture i.e. '*cultural activity that is funded by public institutions, local authorities or the state – is not defined through theory but by practice'.* What I have aimed to suggest in the previous chapters is that this position is too simplistic. On the contrary, what counts as art and culture seems heavily influenced by first a philosophical argument establishing aesthetic arguments as disinterested. Then, by an artist driven movement establishing art and culture as a semi-divine endeavor carried out by artist with privileged access to the understanding of the larger questions of life. And last, by more or less haphazard politics mixing the individual interests of a few important men with a common ambition to distinguish the free world from totalitarianism. In each of these defining processes theoretical arguments have played a substantial role, although sometimes through misinterpretations. And in line with the Lyotardian argument I referred to in chapter 1, the most important role these theoretical arguments have played is that of providing legitimacy for the practices Hewison and Holden refer to – it's hard to imagine how funds on the scale of cultural policies could be paid out without some sort of relatively substantial legitimization in the eyes of the public. And what we have also seen is that this legitimization isn't stable across time and context. The criticism I have referred to in this chapter seems to suggest a movement in the legitimization of arts and culture from the

disinterestedness drawing on the meta-narrative of the Enlightement described in chapter 3, to the relationally dependent, performative DIY aesthetics described in this chapter.

This inquiry has a strong bias in favor of this movement. Yet, I fully acknowledge that the process is long and painstaking. After all, the will to control what counts as art is not exactly new in European culture: Aristotle's *Poetics* from about 335 B.C is the first known account of prescriptions for drama, a kind of first aesthetics of arts and culture. It consists of two distinct parts of which only the one on tragedy has survived to the present time through numerous translations. The other half, the one on comedy is lost. This loss is dramatized in a speculative form by Eco (1983), who argues that the Roman Catholic Church and the early Inquisition kept it secret from the public in order to prevent the popular frivolity comedy may lead to. In chapter 2 I described the equivocal aspects of narratives which on one side provide felicity conditions allowing for aberrations from the canonical to be re-appropriated to the canon to reestablish meaning and understanding, and on the other hand how this same functionality invests narratives with idiosyncratic properties keeping cultures together. In other words, this double bound ability of culture is a powerful tool if applied to restrict, or even control humans understanding of themselves and their surroundings. When democracies and their governments engage themselves in culture through cultural policies, institutions and support etc., it is thus equally an engagement in how people might and should understand themselves and their surroundings. This suggests that the question of what counts as art and culture, in this case aesthetics, and the question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector, in this case cultural policies, have implications for society beyond the pleasures of being the icing on the cake. I follow up on this question in chapter 5.

Linking the Two Questions in a Model

To link these two questions, I propose a model which has two purposes: an analytical one concerned with providing a view of how the interplay between aesthetics and cultural policies is organized and what this particular organization prioritizes in terms of art/culture and leadership. By combining the two aspects we get an insight into how artistic and cultural production is framed, and how these draw on aesthetics and cultural policies to legitimize themselves and their priorities. By combining the two we also establish grounds for discussing how and to what extent the two aspects mutually

constitute each other. In concrete terms, how e.g. an understanding of art as genius stardom 'calls' for a particular kind of top down visionary leadership style, and similarly how a relationally informed bottom up leadership style would 'encourage' various forms of DIY arts. Secondly, the model has a more future-oriented purpose in that it may equally function as a framework for designing future cultural policies and establishing future aesthetics. By linking these two questions in a model I aim at pointing to the role of aesthetics and cultural policies in socially constructing art/culture and leadership. In this sense, aesthetics don't describe arts and culture, they actively participate in the creation and definition of these by framing what counts as arts and culture. Similarly, cultural policies don't only describe the cultural sector, they actively construct it by framing what counts as appropriate leadership responses. I construct these intimate relations between the framing and the possible 'appropriate' outcome in an analogous way to Grint's (2005) argument in terms of the social construction of leadership. Grint's concern is not what leadership is and what kind of leadership challenges require what kind of leadership in any essentialist terms (2005:1469), but how the way a leadership challenge is framed and how it is responded to may be seen as a mutually constitutive process. This mutually constitutive process, Grint argues, is by no means given or random (2005:1474) but situated by the participants. Participants in my inquiry refer to leaders, artists, politicians and others in the cultural sector. In chapter 5 I go further into the typologies of problems, responses and leadership styles established by Grint (2005:1474-1776), for now it is the mutually constitutive process, and how it may be applied to leadership in the cultural sector in a similar way, I am concerned with.

As opposed to typologies, which in the case of arts and culture might be both difficult to establish and suggest an unintended stability over time, I propose a continuum of aesthetics and a continuum of cultural policies. The continuum of aesthetics has the Kantian disinterested aesthetics described in chapter 3 at the one end, and the partisan interested aesthetics described in chapter 4 at the other. The continuum of cultural policies has top-down democratization of culture at the one end and the bottom up cultural democracy at the other. Both objectives are introduced in previous chapters and will be further developed in chapter 5 in connection to my discussion of leadership. In the model below I translate the two continua into two axes intersecting each other, not to suggest a fixed moment in time, but to evoke their interdependency and interrelatedness.

democratization of culture

art for art's sake

public libraries

disinterested aesthetics

interested aesthetics

commercial films

DIY art

cultural democracy
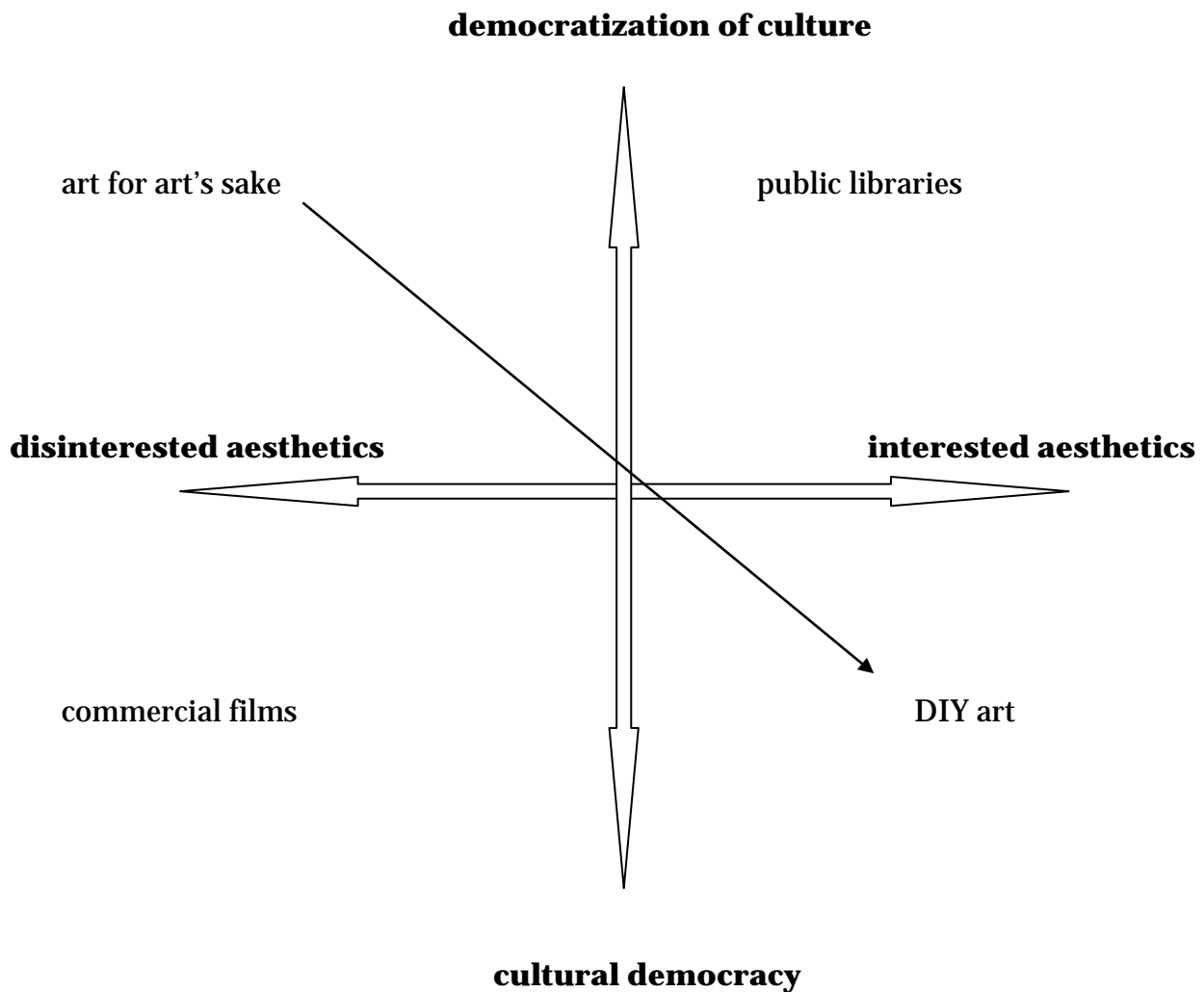
A movement along an axis away from the intersection describes an intensification of the concern marked at the end of the axis. A particular point in the space defined between the two axes describes how this particular point relates to both of the two axes. Thus, for example, the art for art's sake movement described in chapter 3 contend to draw on disinterested aesthetics as their legitimization and cultural policies such as the Danish Agency for Culture supporting this kind of art draw on cultural policies drawing on the democratization of culture agenda as their legitimization. Through these two legitimizing frames, leadership of fine arts is constructed as the professionally knowledgeable who admires and honors the stars, and pays little attention to democratic or other mundane concerns. As another example, the DIY art described in this chapter, draw on interested, partisan DIY aesthetics as its legitimization, and would look for a cultural democracy agenda in cultural policies as their legitimization. Leadership in this sense is constructed as

the process of participating, encouraging one another and finding joy and fulfillment in what is going on and what the community is able to come up with. On a more concrete level, we might account for the suggested position of public libraries, by arguing that professionals make choices of what books to include in the collections in order to disseminate valuable literature to as many a possible in accordance with the democratization of culture agenda, whereas the borrowers decide for themselves what books to borrow according to their own wishes and preferences. And we may argue that commercial films must refer to being both special, unique and a once in a lifetime experience to make a selling point, but at the same time they rely on audiences to be able to sustain themselves commercially. Thus, they are tested over and over again towards the same audiences to ensure they comply with the taste and preferences of the audiences.

On a more critical note, the model challenges the self-evidence of the ways in which particular leadership styles and certain behavior of artists. As pointed out by Bourdieu (1983:311), the cultural sector is significant in demonstrating the *'heuristic efficacy of relational thinking'*. Approaching the interplay between aesthetics and cultural policies as mutually constitutive social constructions

> requires and enables us to make a radical break with the substantialist mode of thought [...] which tends to foreground the individual, or the visible interactions between individuals, at the expense of the structural relations – invisible, or visible only through their effects – between social positions that are both occupied and manipulated by social agents, which may be isolated individuals, groups or institutions. There are in fact very few other areas in which the glorification of "great men", unique creators irreducible to any condition or conditioning, is more common or uncontroversial (ibid.)

As a radical break with a substantialist or entitative mode of thought seems unlikely to happen anytime soon in the cultural sector in the Western world, I would argue that approaching the question along the lines of the two suggested continua appears as more viable. From an overall point of view such a movement can be seen in terms of a shift in focus from the upper left quadrant to the bottom right quadrant as illustrated by the arrow. Such a shift requires changes at all levels in the artistic and cultural ecosystem. From the way artists are admitted to art academies, conservatories and theater schools, over changes in systems of production, critique and communication about arts and culture to changes in policies governing the organizing and funding of the cultural sector. With a yet much too

imprecise term, I summarize these many movements and changes in the word leadership. In the following chapter I go further into leadership in the cultural sector, and link it to cultural policies and more gen general understandings of leadership.

Chapter 5 Leadership as an Aspect of Community

In this chapter I meditate[69] on leadership in the cultural sector. Having related first the dominant narrative of art for its own sake in chapter 3, and some influential voices contesting it in chapter 4, I now go on to meditate on how leadership might be thought of. My aim is first to suggest a couple of dominant ways in which leadership in the cultural sector may have been thought of, and second to point to ways it might be thought of in the future. To point to possible future understandings of leadership in the cultural sector I suggest a first step in the direction of relational leadership (Hosking, 2011:453-465) in the cultural sector. I take this direction further in my case studies in chapters 6 and 7 in four empirical contexts, and reflect further on it drawing on relational leadership theory in chapter 8.

In line with the relational constructionist aspirations of my inquiry accounted for in chapter 2, I see leadership in the cultural sector as a '*local-social-historical construction'* (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) established as ongoing processes in relations and contexts. Some of these contexts, however, are already in place, as Hosking contends (2006:13), which for my inquiry means that the local-social-historical construction of leadership may already be ontologized in a specific ways, what counts as leadership in the cultural sector may already be preset and '*warranted appropriate'* (ibid.) in a certain way. The process of ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector in specific ways may draw on various narrative resources such as '*public narratives'* (Somers, 1994:619) informing us of the benefits of cultural policies as a means to cultivate citizens in the free world or, the narrative about a 'cultural sector' placing arts and culture amongst other respectable, and necessary areas for governments to engage in. '*Conceptual narratives'* (ibid.) such as books and articles about prominent leaders in the cultural sector also contribute to particular ongologizations in their attempts to describe and theorize what leadership in the cultural sector is. The process of ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector may equally draw on various ways of '*situating*' (Grint, 2005:1477) the problem or task facing leadership in the cultural sector to make a specific form of leadership appear as the appropriate '*authoritative response'* (ibid.). In the previous chapter I proposed to see the

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[69] I borrow Hosking's term (2011:453-465) '*meditate*' to underscore that the chapter doesn't aim to describe *what* leadership in the cultural sector *is,* but to suggest instead *how* we might think about it.

two questions of what counts as art and what counts as leadership as mutually constitutive, i.e. mutually productive in the process of ontologizing art and leadership in the cultural sector in specific ways. This means that prioritizing specific responses to the question of what counts as art is likely to produce equally specific responses to the question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector and vice versa. Or more idiomatically, certain kinds of art produce certain kinds of leadership, and certain kinds of leadership produce certain kinds of art. In this chapter I go on to argue that some of these correlations are already '*warranted appropriate'* (Hosking, 2006:13) thereby stabilizing the process of ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector in specific ways. This means that some ontologization of leadership in the cultural sector are already well in place, leadership in the cultural sector 'is' already something, and is perhaps even kept alive as this particular something, a certain local-social-historical construction, by the ongoing processes of ontologization. Thus, efforts to change these particular understandings cannot expect to happen without encountering resistance in their endeavors to be granted legitimization as new ways of understanding and performing leadership in the cultural sector.

In section 5.1 I first relate some attempts to reset arts and culture in a digital, globalized era, thus changing radically the role of arts and culture. In section 5.2 I go on to explore how cultural policies and related practices define what counts as leadership in the cultural sector from a democratization of culture (Hughson & Inglis, 2001:473, Gattinger, 2011:3, Matarasso & Landry, 1999:13) point of view, noting all along the striking similarities with the argument made in 3.4 in terms of how aesthetics provide a framework for defining leadership. I draw on Rose (1996:131-134) to describe the narrative practices through which leadership in this sense is performed. In section 5.3 I discuss how and to what extent New Public Management's concern with providing legitimacy through numbers can be seen as an attempt to situate the cultural sector as a '*tame'* problem in Grint's terms (2005:1477), and thereby providing a framework for cultural policies and perhaps most importantly its legitimization, as governance by numbers (Rose, 1991:673-692). In section 5.4 I explore how cultural policies and related practices might help to define what counts as leadership in the cultural sector from a cultural democracy (Hughson & Inglis, 2001:473, Gattinger, 2011:3, Matarasso & Landry, 1999:13) point of view. I do so by arguing that the very process of deciding what counts as art and culture and following this what might count as leadership in the cultural sector can be an ongoing dialogic process in

relations, thereby situating art as a '*wicked*' problem (Grint, 2005:1477) calling for an authoritative response in the form of '*asking questions*' (ibid.) In 5.5 I link the discussions in 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 to Hosking's concept of '*moving relationally*' (2011) and Gergen's concept of '*relational leading*' (2009:149), and McNamee and Gergen's (1999:4) concept of '*relational responsibility*' by accepting their invitation to meditate, dialogue and wonder aloud how leadership in the cultural sector might appear if not aiming at constructing the other as serviceable (Sampson, 1993:6), but as a process of unfolding identities, communities, creative potentials by means of 'cultural governance' as dialogues of becoming drawing on proleptic tropes to form narratives of the possible. I discuss to what extent globalization and other factors may influence the choice of how to situate leadership in the cultural sector. I conclude the chapter by linking these discussions to the ways in which I have constructed my empirical case in chapter 6 and 7.

5.1 Situating Leadership in the Cultural Sector in a Digital and Globalized Era

'*What we value the most is freedom: freedom of speech, freedom of access to information and to culture*' reads the vibrant epitome of Polish poet Piotr Czerski's[70] manifesto We, The Web Kids (available on the www for free use with credits to the author, translated into your language by the swarm.). This is the digital natives' generation to which the analogue generation has attributed as many as 12 very little flattering, if not outright insulting names beginning with Generation Nothing (ibid.). The manifesto has millions of hits in the social media before it makes its way into the respectably printed newspaper[71] in which I notice it. This in itself produces two kinds of very banal sensations, which I guess is repeated over and over again when one generation hands over what it achieved to the next: first, a spontaneous sense of belonging to a moribund species concerned with preserving a world in its last spasms. And upon second thoughts, a sense of genuine hope that the next generation will actually make an effort to tidy up the mess previous generations left behind themselves.

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[70] the pseudonym of a Polish poet and writer born in 1981. He graduated from Computer Science at the Technical University of Gdansk, and has also studied philosophy at the University of Gdansk. This piece is published under CC-BY-SA 3.0. Originally published on February 11, 2012, in *The Baltic Daily*, a local Polish newspaper (Dziennik Bałtycki). Free to reproduce as long as the author is credited.

[71] Such as Danish newspaper Information March 30, 2012

Czerski goes on to describe a generation fundamentally different from the previous ones, as they do things, experience things, know things, love and hate things in ways which cannot be sufficiently accurately described by the narrative resources available to the analogue generation. Their minds and memories are relational and connected to shared communities that transgress formal borders, institutions, domains, feelings and bodies. Indeed, their very identity is shaped differently, and the pronouns such as 'we' inherited from the analogue world only indicate directions, as identities are '*fluctuating, discontinuous, blurred,* [and] *according to old categories: temporary*' (Czerski, 2012). What unites this generation is '*not a common, limited cultural context, but the belief that the context is self-defined and an effect of free choice*' (ibid.). Included in the range of free choices are not only questions of identity, validity of information and participation in a number of communities, but also questions challenging market laws and property rights. For this generation includes fairness concerns and political statements before clicking the pay button. They are ready to pay artists for their services, but

> the sales goals of corporations are of no interest to us whatsoever. It is not our fault that their business has ceased to make sense in its traditional form, and that instead of accepting the challenge and trying to reach us with something more than we can get for free they have decided to defend their obsolete ways. (ibid.)

Similar reservations go for democratic institutions in their present form:

> we do not believe in their axiomatic role, as do those who see 'institutions of democracy' as a monument for and by themselves. We do not need monuments. We need a system that will live up to our expectations, a system that is transparent and proficient. And we have learned that change is possible: that every uncomfortable system can be replaced and is replaced by a new one, one that is more efficient, better suited to our needs, giving more opportunities. (ibid.)

I realize my first intuitive reaction to Czerski's manifesto was struck by the '*reigning assumption*' as related by Moore (2008:25) that '*the preservation of culture and community go together, if culture is lost then distinctive lifeways and people are lost*' (ibid.). Allegedly,

> This perception underpins the very widespread anxiety felt by many, and incorporated in the anti-globalization movement and in the political claims of

> indigenous groups, that globalization is driving a process of homogenization, that necessarily leads to a loss of cultural diversity. (ibid.)

And my second thoughts inspired by more hopeful reflections, letting go of the immediate anxiety leading me to the much too un-nuanced conclusion that sticking to what we have got is by default better than exploring the unfamiliar. For, as pointed out by Moore (ibid.) global markets both erode and create distinctiveness, and new technologies both support and hinder this process. Thus, we have no arguments to say that globalization with all it includes in terms of movements, technologies, markets and fluctuating identities etc. is inherently good or bad for culture. It is what we make of it, how we manage to use or abuse its potentials, how we avoid its pitfalls and reach its summits etc., that will determine how we think of culture in the postmodern globalized world and what role we allow for it to play. We are therefore left with the exiting, yet ungrateful task of setting anew the premises for how we talk of arts and culture, and for establishing new frameworks for dealing with it.

So if arts and culture have for a while enjoyed the peace and quiet of being the icing on the cake thanks to its secluded status in the clouds of beyondness as autonomous ontology, the temporary break certainly seems to be over. In the age of globalization culture is far too important to leave it on its own, and cultural policies have implications far beyond securing the daily bread for artists through copyrights, building national identities through preservation of cultural heritage and assuring non-interference in artistic and cultural practices by political concerns through the arm's length principle. For as pointed out by Held and Moore (2008:2), culture may be seen as one of the major drivers of many of the phenomena ascribed to globalization. Therefore, seeing it as only the *'victim'* (ibid.) of globalization in no way acknowledges it due credit. Culture is also productive in global tendencies and phenomena summed up in the concept of globalization. To mention a few, authors have pointed to the export of European values, belief systems, and the narrative of the supremacy of the white European male and his access to disinterested knowledge, also in terms of arts and culture (Sampson, 1993:12, Gergen, 1994:20-22, Bhabha, 1990:4). Other authors point to culture's role and the role of cultural institutions in the Western world in producing and maintaining an image of other cultures than Western culture as secondary, peripheral and exotic (Hall, 2001:21, Maharaj, 2001:26, Said, 1978). The issue of culture in terms of identity formation in a globalized world has been addressed by

authors such as Bhabha, Hall, Bauman and Rose (all in Hall & du Gay eds., 1996). And finally, globalization, as Cwerski reminds us, can be seen as the incredulity towards the meta-narrative of disinterested (West-European) knowledge, Lyotard suggests (1984:xxiv) which I have taken as a starting point for my inquiry. Gergen describes this as the '*impasse of individual knowledge*' (1994:27), a form of knowledge, and a way of knowing that is bound to change in accordance with changed global conditions (ibid.). Thus, verbalizing culture as the victim of globalization points in the direction of attempts to cling on to the meta-narrative I described in chapter 3.

Analyzing and reflecting on culture as an unintended bi-effect of social, political and economic discussions, would therefore also be missing the point, in the sense of not grasping, or intentionally disregarding culture's role and the impact it has on identity formation, understandings of society, politics and conditions for production etc. What Held and Moore (2008:2) contend is that culture is now the very battlefield in which these same discussions take place. This view is taken to the extreme[72] by Huntington (1993:24) whose notion of a '*clash of civilizations'* is rooted in an understanding of culture as basic for all human interaction (1993:25). Thus, culture is the very lens through which we can understand globalization, act proactively upon it in the sense of limiting its undesired effects and encouraging its potentials, and therefore culture becomes a form of politics (Held & Moore, 2008:17). Being the center stage is by no means new to culture, as impressive monuments demonstrating the summit of artistic endeavor since prehistoric times bear witness to in civilizations around the globe. Arts and culture are and have always been the emblematic showcases of value and belief systems, and as such an intrinsic part of all discussions concerned with the project of being human. With the Muhammad/Cartoon[73] crisis of 2005 the world experiences events which although allegedly seeking to legitimize themselves through reference to the ontologically autonomous status of arts and culture in a universally transcendent sense, soon gain

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[72] I term Huntington's position extreme in this regard, as it only takes the idiosyncratic, isomorph properties of culture into account, thus producing an entitative, stable view of culture. As described in chapter 2 and 4, culture also has the ability to hybridize and create felicity conditions by means of narratives, thus accounting for deviations from the cultural canon in understandable ways. I come back to this discussion in my concluding remarks to this chapter.

[73] Depending on which view one takes on these events.

uncontrollable and devastating consequences in social, political and economic terms. Lives were lost on that account and being Danish became a highly dangerous claim. Benjamin (1992:234) has warned us that '*all efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing: war*'. His prediction may be only too right, and hardly any effort is needed to construct evidence in support of this. Yet, as I contend in chapter 3 with the help of Lyotard's argument about the postmodern condition, the very idea of seeing either politics as a-aesthetic or aesthetics as a-political is dependent on the legitimacy of a meta-narrative challenged by non-Westerners, digital natives, activists of all sorts and views and so called ordinary people. This meta-narrrative certainly experiences incredulity in the postmodern, globalized era.

The task, therefore, cannot be reduced to de-politicizing culture or to de-culturizing politics. The two go hand in hand, and the question is rather *how* politics are used for aesthetic ends, and how aesthetics are used for political ends. Benjamin's war, however, seems omnipresent wherever one looks in the form of a continuous struggle to gain legitimacy for particular ways of defining what counts as art and culture, and what should be the political framework in the form of cultural policies defining these. On February 25, 2012 two contributions to this struggle are made public. Irreconcilable as they are, they draw up the demarcation lines in the struggle. Gade[74] defends the ontologically autonomous status of art, refusing to take responsibility for anything beyond art itself by contending that

> We are always only a knife edge away from barbarism. Because we need art more in times of crisis, we must not think that we can oblige art to solving society's problems. Art will always first and foremost be obliged to itself – it is art for art's own sake. [...] Focusing on elitist art is synonym with investing in the best and most specialized art. A modern, democratic society has an obligation to support the art in possession of the highest artistic quality, in spite of this not being commercially fit for survival (Politiken, February 25, 2012)

Danish Minister of Culture, Uffe Elbæk, and Androulla Vassiliou, EU Commissioner for Culture, on the other hand contend that

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[74] Associate professor and ph.d. at Copenhagen University, currently serving as chairman of the Danish Arts Council.

For their part, the artists and creative innovators need to realize their own potential and take back their authority. They need to once again step into the arena as the central players in society's own story about itself. We politicians need to be better at listening to the artists and learn their language, but they also have to be a lot better at reaching out to the rest of society. We are not trying to coax the artists into sacrificing artistic integrity on the altar of growth. On the contrary, we need them to do exactly what they are already doing – as artists, they are uniquely qualified to look at the chaos of the world and create a sense of perspective and hope (The Guardian, February 25, 2012)

As I suggested in the previous chapter, these contrasting positions may be seen as the two extremities of a continuum along which the question of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector may be positioned. Any hope that a one-size-fits-all understanding of leadership would apply adequately at all stages along this continuum seems futile. Drawing on Grint's argument (2005) about the social construction of leadership as a 'function'[75] of how leadership challenges are situated, this chapter is therefore an inquiry into how leadership is situated in the cultural sector as a 'function' of cultural policies, culture political agendas, and other texts already in place contributing to ontologizing leadership in particular ways.

Grint's argument[76] establishes the three forms of authority: command, management and leadership as socially constructed functions of how problems are situated as either critical, tame or wicked, and of how authoritative responses are considered appropriate as either coercive, calculative or normative (2005:1477). The argument *assumes that successful constitution of a problem as Wicked, Tame or Critical provides the framework for particular forms of authority* (ibid.), which for my study suggests the correlation between what counts as art and what counts as leadership in the cultural sector I illustrated in the model in 4.4. In this I interpret the situating of a problem and the definition of what counts as art provided by various forms of aesthetics in an analogous way, and equally what constitutes an appropriate leadership response to the definition of what counts as leadership provided by various forms of cultural policies.

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[75] I use the term function at this point to simplify the argument, knowing full well that social constructionist views don't offer causal functions.

[76] Drawing on Rittell and Webber's (1973) typology of Tame and Wicked Problems

Andrea: '*Unhappy is the land that breeds no hero.*'
Galileo: '*No Andrea, unhappy is the land that needs a hero.*' (Brecht, 1938:115)

5.2 The Best (West) to the Rest

Democratization of culture can be seen as a perspective on '*the primary focus and aims of government intervention in the cultural sector*' (Gattinger, 2011:3) in that it defines the objectives of public engagement in the arts and culture through cultural policies. Evrard[77] refers to this perspective as a paradigm (1997:167) according to which governments issue cultural policies which '*aim to disseminate major cultural works to an audience that does not have ready access to them, for lack of financial means or knowledge derived from education*' (ibid.). This audience is expected to have a passive role as recipients of arts and culture already defined in terms of quality and intrinsic properties by experts, who have judged them in compliance with the canon of art. And, Evrard continues (1997:171) '[t]*he qualitative norms already inherent in works of art have parallels in the norms of reception based on the silent and contemplative attitude of what one may call a "Victorian audience*". Until the 1960s this approach to cultural policies largely defined public engagement in the cultural sector in the Western world, notably in Europe, and it is driven '*from both sides of the political spectrum, by a long-standing belief in the civilizing value of the arts and a consequent desire to democratize access to it*' (Matarasso & Landry, 1999:13). But, the authors argue

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[77] With reference to Baumgarten, Evrard distinguishes between '*beauty*' and '*aesthetics*', arguing that beauty possesses intrinsic transcendental value, whereas aesthetics refer to the subjective perception of art. In my inquiry I have used aesthetics with reference to Kant as a meta-theory defining what can be considered art, mainly because introducing 'beauty' as an autonomous ontology without reference to a meta-theory defining it as such would collide with the social constructionist framework I have placed my inquiry in. The choice also reflects more pragmatic considerations, notably in terms of where to begin an inquiry. I have chosen to begin my inquiry, as argued in chapter 3, with Kant, first, because his argument about disinterestedness is relevant in terms of leadership in the cultural sector. And secondly, as argued by Hall (2001:14) histories are narratives, meaning that there are many possible histories with many possible beginnings, all of them being '*discursive impositions of beginnings, middles and, indeed, endings on to histories which do not naturally produce themselves in this convenient form.*' (ibid.)

These values came under severe pressure during the late 1960s and in the subsequent period, as many argued that giving people access to a pre-determined set of cultural values, expressions and products was an inadequate response by democratic states. It was seen to reflect a "top-down" dispensation of elitist cultural values developed in the context of time and class, and which neglected or dismissed many forms of cultural expression and identity. (ibid.)

Baldry (1981:115) defines the top-down aim of democratization of culture in the following way:

In this model the highest art is still the creation of a gifted few, and its excellence most fully realized by a small minority; but appreciation and enjoyment of it, together with some capacity for artistic creation, can spread downwards from the heights to a growing proportion of the public. How far the process will go remains to be seen, but it can be and should be encouraged and accelerated: and the chief means of accomplishing this is education – in school, in college or university, throughout life.

And, as concluded by Hughson and Inglis (2001:473)

The democratization of culture position is, therefore, supportive of 'elitist' concerns for the declining cultural standards although it fundamentally rejects the tradition of Victorian cultural elitism, which sees the 'masses' as incapable of appreciating true art.

In section 4.4 I invoked how leaders in the cultural sector seem to be inspired by how arts are defined in terms of how they see the purpose of their own leadership. What this section suggests is that such an understanding of leadership may find support in cultural policies, indeed be encouraged by these cultural policies which offer narrative ratification, i.e. legitimization for the use of narrative resources such as 'individual talent', 'the best' and 'the artistically sublime' to describe the objectives of these policies. The striking similarities between the aesthetic framework for understanding leadership suggested in 3.4, the privileged access to making disinterested aesthetic judgments, and the culture political framework indicated above finds resonance in Grint's argument in terms of '*command*' in the sense of '*providing answers'* (2005:1477). As there is no possible uncertainty about the solution to the problem, thanks to leadership's privileged access to required knowledge in aesthetic terms, there is no need for collaborative solutions. The question of whether possible audiences are capable or un-capable of receiving or perhaps even understanding

and appreciating the results of these informed artistic decisions comes in a secondary place. Regardless of audiences' abilities, the legitimization of the answers provided by leaders remain intact and un-stained. Thus, the task of leadership is situated as essentially conveying answers to problem solution from one's privileged knowledge. And by translating aesthetics in the various disinterested forms, I related in the chapter 3, into cultural policies, this particular way of situating leadership in the cultural sector, is strongly encouraged and legitimized as the dominant way of performing leadership in the cultural sector. This allows for art, aesthetic judgments, personality and leadership to melt together, as contended by Bødewadt (2009:9) in his description of 11 Nordic top leaders in the cultural sector

> Most of them have floating borders between work life and private life [...] To me, it seems as if they occasionally wipe out the border between their lives and the art, between the product, they participate in creating and themselves.

So privileged access to making aesthetic judgments, cultural policies encouraging and endorsing these, private life and creative ambitions confluence in situating authoritative responses in the form of command/providing answers, leaving little room for uncertainty about those answers, and even less for collaborative approaches to resolving problems. Legitimacy for situating leadership in this particular way seems auto-generated through referencing to aesthetics and cultural policies. Now, ascribing personal potency, charisma and authenticity (Fairhurst, 2007:5-6) to leaders along with ability to enforce their ideas, visions and obsessions on others regardless of where these come from, doesn't exactly seem to be a privilege of leadership in the cultural sector. When I point to this as particularly problematic in regards to the cultural sector, it is because of the interplay between cultural representation and identity formation, such as described by Hall (1996:13) and discussed in chapter 4 as challenges to the dominant narrative by a multitude of other, alternative voices who do not recognize themselves in the dominant rendition of culture. The cultural sector in this sense is thus productive in forming possible identities, and making others invisible. For, as pointed out by Hall (1996:4) '*identities are* [...] *constituted within, not outside representation*':

> Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the

resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (ibid.)

Thus, leaving arts and culture to being defined by a few leaders auto-generating legitimization for their leadership by invoking a sumptuous mélange of philosophical argument about the possible disinterestedness of a philosophical argument, privileged access to an artistic au-delà, political sanctioning of selected kinds of professional knowledge as in defining who has talent and who hasn't, and finally personal whims and tastes, seems like a questionable business.

Yet, it is only questionable for some, namely for those who did not get to be part of defining arts and culture, both in aesthetic and in cultural political terms. To those who got to be part of this, e.g. those I consulted in chapter 0 and 1 to draw the narrative landscape of the cultural sector, such doubts or reservations seem to be of limited interest. This self-explanatory, self-evident immediacy by which leadership in this sense is carried out, is the '*universalizing male gaze*' (Sampson, 1993:8) which functions as key '*dividing practice*' (Rose, 1996:145) to leadership in the *'command'* sense described by Grint (2005:1477). The authority is bestowed upon leadership by cultural policies, enabling distinctions between those who know and those who don't, those whose decisions count and those whose decisions don't, and those who get to become part of culture by means of representation and those who are consequently made invisible by it. Through this form of authority a number of relations are established in the cultural sector between those with authority and their subjects (Rose, 1996:133) such as artists/audience, talented/un-talented, performer/admirer, grant-provider/grantee, writer/reader, artist/curator, culture maker and culture receiver, creative and non-creative. The anthology, We are All Normal (and we want our freedom) (Sander & Sheikh eds., 2001) is a collection of narratives in which artists express their dissatisfaction with such dividing practices which they encounter at various occasions as attempts to normalize their artistic practices, or to make them comply to what is implicitly conveyed as normal standards. Gender as a political statement is problematized (Rose, 1996: 131) and overtrumped by male authority (ibid:131) with more than discriminating overtones, which female artists frequently face. Equally so is homosexual masculinity (Elmgren & Dragseth in Sander & Sheikh eds., 2001:189),

whereas the white cube, the iconic exhibition space since the 1970s functions as a *'technology'* (Rose, 1996:131-132) to which artists with non-Western background only gain access if they '*obey the rules of the game and use the tools and vocabularies of the discourses of Western visual culture'* (Ramadan in Sander & Sheikh eds., 2001:97).

In chapter 1 I related how Serota's outburst in chapter 0 was interpreted by some influential opinion makers in the media as a new sense of leadership expressing society's obligation to sustain its support for the cultural sector in spite of the difficult times, in financial terms, produced by the financial crisis of 2008. Whereas Grint points to how challenges are situated publically in order for authoritative approaches in the form of command to be accepted and acknowledged by the public as appropriate, Rose points to how such authoritative responses function as practices through which leadership is imposed. In other words, Grint's business is the legitimization of particular leadership stiles, and Rose's business is how these leadership stiles operate and perform through practices[78] while at the same time contributing to ontologizing a specific understanding of leadership. With auto-legitimization assured by aesthetics and cultural policies for a particular understanding of leadership, these leadership practices find their legitimization in this understanding of leadership as it appears as the only possible understanding of leadership. Thus, with an understanding of leadership in the form of command safely legitimized through cultural policies and aesthetics, and over time ontologized as the only possible form of leadership in the cultural sector, we cannot really be surprised that leadership in the cultural sector has understood this as the prioritized and desired leadership behavior. The leadership challenge is socially constructed for this to happen. At the same time, we cannot really be surprised that leadership in the cultural sector has done little if anything to nuance or modify the command approach to leadership, as this for those enjoying the privilege, has offered leadership positions with remarkably few restrictions attached to them. Leadership in the cultural sector therefore run substantial

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[78] Again, my inquiry is particularly concerned with how the practices suggested by Rose play out in narrative terms, i.e. narratives become performative as such practices. This is not out of disregard for how these practices may unfold in other terms, but just a way to focus the aim of my inquiry. I draw on Rose and Miller (2010:275) whose description of 'the State' as a discursive field which '*emerges as an historically variable linguistic device for conceptualizing and articulating ways of ruling',* as language is not merely contemplative or justificatory, but also performative (ibid.). By analogue I see the cultural sector as a narrative landscape (described in chapter 0 and 1) in which leadership is performed through narratives.

risk of being suspected of actively participating in socially constructing leadership challenges calling for authoritative responses in the form of command (Grint, 2005:1477, Rose, 1996:129). Drawing on Rose (1996:133-134) we see how these commands may take on the form of both high pitched outburst, admittedly bearing quite some resemblance to commands, but also more subtle forms implicit in the ways artists with diverging, non-conformist artistic expression, identities and profiles are made subject to leadership.

Democratization of culture as an objective for cultural policies in this regard becomes an expression of the '*power over'* relations described by Hosking (2010, net-version) and Hosking and McNamee (2006:88) in which privileged access to knowledge is embedded in the relation leaving audiences without a voice of their own. Situation the '*problem*' in this way (Grint, 2005:1477) constructs leadership as a task of first ensuring that the '*problem*' remains situated in this particular way, as this guarantees continuous support for leadership (Grint, 2005:1491). And second, it constructs leadership as a task of maintaining the support functions described by Rose (2006:129) as '*intellectual and practical techniques'*, for without these, authoritative responses in the form of providing answers lose their legitimacy. Culture becomes a '*regulatory ideal'* (ibid.) which functions as an

> "irreal" plan of projection, put together somewhat contingently and haphazardly at the intersection of a range of distinct histories – of forms of thought, techniques of regulation, problems of organization and so forth (ibid.)

And leadership is the aim to extend that ideal to as many as possible, not by force, but by placing audiences in the silently passive role of admirers gazing mesmerized at the wonders of leadership's informed aesthetic judgments.

Constructing leadership in the cultural sector as an authoritative response consisting of providing answers by linking the cultural political objectives of democratization of culture to the implicit knowledge codes of disinterested aesthetics has much in common with the self-celebratory, monologic, male Western project described by Sampson (1993:4). This project is essentially about producing serviceable others (1993:6) and as we have seen, leadership in the cultural sector has been more than happy to provide a helping hand in

carrying out this project. In strong opposition to this, there seems to be very little serviceable about Czerski and the generation he describes, and even less in the *'cosmopolitanism'* described by Held (2008:159) as an objective for cultural policies in a postmodern, globalized world. And yet, the democratization of culture still seems to maintain its legitimacy intact, or at least partially intact, thanks to cultural policies and the way they situate what counts as leadership in the cultural sector. In the next section I suggest what may happen if the problem of what counts as leadership in the cultural sector is translated into the '*recognizable*' task of counting numbers such as audiences, visitors, viewers, listeners, readers etc., to which well-known measures can be applied (Grint, 2005:1477) as a means to 'secure' legitimacy for cultural policies. Such problems, in Grints' terms are *'tame'* (ibid.) in the sense that solving them is reduced to a matter of organizing the appropriate process, and the authoritative response is thus calculative.

5.3 Counting Numbers – Box Office as Cultural Policy

From the mid-80s cultural policies in the Nordic countries experience an '*economic instrumentalization'* (Duelund, 2008:15). This instrumentalization is part of a larger trend swirling over the public sector in Europe and referred to as New Public Management (NPM), and it entails *'an obsession with measurement'* (Brookes, 2010:341). As part of the obsession with measurement, cultural policies were no longer only about supporting the arts and culture and making it available to those expressing an interest. It was also about counting how many enjoyed the arts, how much art was produced by means of public grants, and to what extent did cultural policies contribute to other societal ends such as regional growth, tourism and increased employment. As suggested by Grint (2005:1477) we may see this development as a means to situate the challenge as a '*tame*' (ibid.) problem which demands an authoritative response in the form of application of known measures. Grint refers to this as '*management*' (ibid.) and since the 1980s arts management did indeed become concerned with applying the known measure of counting numbers and figures (Chong, 2010:16). In this section I suggest to see the introduction of counting and measuring as a prime concern for leadership in the cultural sector as linked to attempts to find legitimization for cultural policies in addition to the kind of legitimacy I accounted for in chapter 3. To do so, I draw on Rose and Miller (2010:273) and Rose

(1991:673) who argue that counting numbers may be seen as '*an intrinsic part of the mechanisms for conferring legitimacy on political authority*' (Rose, 1991:673). This concern with what can be counted can be seen as the core of the '*governmental technologies*' (Rose & Miller, 2010:273) by which governments seek to legitimize and give effect to the ambitions embodied in their policies endorsed by '*political rationalities*' (ibid.). These political rationalities aim at forming discursive terrain (ibid.) which serve to invest the governmental technologies with legitimization so the technologies can effectively embody the governmental ambitions (ibid.). Central to the political rationalities behind NPM is accountability, which in the cultural sector is translated into concerns for how funding is spent, how many people visitors, audiences, concert goers, borrowers etc. used the cultural service made available through the cultural policies, and increasingly also a concern with the extent to which cultural policies are able to encourage regional, economic and other forms of development (Duelund, 2008:17). The figures produced, referred to by Bourdieu (1996:23) as '*audimats*' in the field of television, but used in various forms in all of the cultural sector as '*linguistic devices*' (Rose & Miller, 2010:275) to accord significance to efforts to increase numbers of users of arts and culture supported by cultural policies. Rose and Miller point (ibid.) to the performativity[79] of these linguistic devices through which they become '*systems of actions*' (ibid.) – they *become* cultural policies, and failure to comply to the cultural political ambitions to increase numbers is problematized (Rose & Miller, 2010:279), whereas compliance is used as criteria for success. In spite of the ALP[80], an expressed will by governments not to interfere in the cultural sector, the audimats become efficient '*actions at distance*' (Rose & Miller, 2010:278), which the authors point to as '*a key characteristic of modern government*' (ibid.). Making cultural policies effective and seeking legitimization for them through statistical accounts of audimats has '*particular salience for democracy*' Rose (1991:686) argues, for

> Democracy as an ethico-political governmental rationality is based upon the legitimacy apparently conferred upon political power by a quantitative relation between those holding political authority and those subject to it (ibid.)

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[79] See also chapter 2 for a discussion of the performative aspects of narratives

[80] See chapter 3 for a discussion of the arm's length principle i the cultural sector

So in terms of the cultural sector, the advent of NPM can be seen as an attempt by governments to seek a new form of legitimacy for cultural policies to compensate for the decrease in legitimacy provided by the meta-narrative I discussed in chapter 3. Thus, incredulity towards the belief in arts and culture for their own sake, are being replaced by attempts to legitimize governmental engagement in arts and culture through counting numbers of users.

Yet, this approach to solving the problem of legitimacy for the cultural sector, presupposes that '*the problems* [...] *can be removed from their context, solved and returned without affecting the context*' (Brookes & Grint eds., 2010:11). Such a mechanistic approach to arts and culture, however, has by no means passed unnoticed in the cultural sector. On the contrary, it is seen as one of the main obstacles in achieving excellence in the cultural sector, and counterproductive to reforming the cultural sector with the objective of gaining new legitimacy for the arts (McMaster, 2008). Indeed, it is used to further substantiate the putative dichotomy in the cultural sector between what is good and what is popular, '*a perennial feature of cultural policy and cultural politics*' (Street, 2011:380). Good in this sense refers to '*culture as transformation* [which] *must challenge experience, must be difficult, must be unpopular. There are, in short, political as well as sociological and aesthetic reasons for challenging populism*' (Frith, 1996:20). What these reasons are, seems to be less explicit, but if positioned as the opposite of popular without further qualifications, it seems fair to assume that the notion of good in this regard draws on the meta-narrative I discussed in chapter 3. But it pin-points a fundamental dilemma in discussions of cultural policies summed up by Street (2011:380) in the following questions:

> Does a commitment to what is 'good' over what is popular necessarily entail an undemocratic form of political elitism? Does a commitment to the popular entail an indiscriminate populist relativism?

Street attempts to solve the Gordian knot by drawing on leading exponent of liberal thinking Dworkin's argument that '*it is better for people to have complexity and depth in the forms of life open to them*' (in Street, 2011:391), but it is difficult not to notice the paternalistic ring the argument has to it. For who gets to decide what is seen as complex and deep to those making choices amongst arts and culture, and can these choices escape

both populism and expert knowledge when made? And if what is open to users in terms of arts and culture presupposes public support, can this support escape making choices between supporting arts for their own sake and supporting arts for their societal and other benefits? Hardly so. But then again, isn't the need to come up with a bridge between two allegedly incompatible concerns just a consequence of situating the problem as tame?

I would argue so, because introducing measurement seems to be a short respite in terms of securing legitimacy for cultural policies. It '*brackets off*' (Sandel in Street, 2011:382) difficult judgments by handing them over to inanimate figures thereby situating what counts as leadership in the cultural sector as essentially providing authoritative responses in the form of applying known means to recognizable problems. In Grint's terms (2005:1477) this corresponds to management, whereas leadership '*is about coping with wicked problems involving complexity and change*' (in Brookes & Grint eds., 2010:11). That is,

> Problems that cannot be treated as isolated elements of a mechanical organization but as embedded aspects of a system which is changed if any attempt is made to remove that element. (ibid.)

So isolating the number of users in the cultural sector is likely to affect what is prioritized in terms of repertoires, exhibitions, programs etc., a criticism put forward by Bourdieu (1996) as a prominent example, and in addition it doesn't really solve or bridge the gap between excellence and access (Lee, Oakley & Naylor, 2011:285), on a good day, it perhaps provides temporary relief. Situating leadership challenges in the cultural sector in ways which require authoritative responses in the form of applying known processes and measures to recognizable problems in this regards appears as an attempt by democracy represented by the political level to overcome, or at least establish legitimacy for the democratic deficit in the cultural sector produced by the practices described in the previous section. Whether it has done any good in terms of increased legitimization of cultural policies remains largely to be seen. What we do know in a Danish context, is that participation in cultural activities outside one's own home hasn't increased from 1998 – 2004 (Bille, 2005:17). In other words, the attempts to situate leadership in the cultural sector as providing authoritative responses in the form of applying known processes to tame problems, i.e. counting numbers, has definitely led to more counting but not more to

count. In the next section, I go further into what situating what counts as leadership in the form of asking questions may add to my inquiry.

5.4 We Are All Normal and We Want Our Freedom[81]

In the previous sections I first saw leadership in the cultural sector as a socially constructed endeavor to extend an ideal in terms of identity, relationships of influence and creation as the privilege of the few using arts and culture in accordance with the democratization of culture paradigm. And second, I saw leadership in the cultural sector as a socially constructed endeavor to create legitimacy for the democratic deficit embedded in cultural policies by means of accounting for numbers of visitors, audiences, borrowers and users. As I have indicated, both of these approaches to leadership in the cultural sector seem to suffer from either incredulity towards its legitimizing meta-narrative, or from an insufficient capacity to increase legitimacy, as only the amount of counting, not what is being counted, increases. The question is then what other paths may be taken for leadership in the cultural sector.

The underlying assumptions for cultural policies in the top-down sense of the democratization of culture agenda, are described by de Certeau (1997:103) as

> The features of "cultivated" human beings, that is, corresponding to the model developed in stratified societies through a category that introduces its norms where it imposes its power.

And as described in chapter 3 it draws its legitimacy from the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment, a Western project which over time has come to mean civilization – to those subscribing to this meta-narrative. Yet, as pointed out in chapter 4, this so-called civilization is not only fiercely challenged by all those who did not get to enjoy the privileges of civilization. It is also challenged in a much more toned down way by a swarm of creative people (de Certeau, 1997:139) such as Cwerski and his fellow digital natives who like fungi spread in the cracks (ibid.:142) in the walls of the dominant culture. These people empower themselves by new technologies, new social formats such as the party[82],

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[81] Section title borrowed from publication by Sander & Sheikh (2001)

[82] In the sense of festive occasion such as Love Parade, Distortion etc.

the gang, the role-play and the virtual community and they are joined by all those who defend their rights to be creators (ibid.: 143) in a '*creative swarm*' (ibid.; 139) to whom culture can only be understood in the plural (ibid.). Yet, as de Certeau points out, this pluralization of culture is not likely to come about without struggle (ibid.), for the colonizing powers of culture in the singular provided an implicit legitimization of leadership in the cultural sector in the form of providing appropriate answers to professional '*readings*' of problems (Grint, 2005:1491). Leadership in that form implicitly loses its legitimacy as the pluralization of culture leaves no singular platform for such professional readings, and consequently no appropriate answers. Instead this pluralization prompts the need for both new frameworks to what counts as leadership, and a need for leadership to respond to those frameworks in new ways.

Jones (2010:13) has made the case for fundamentally changing the objectives of cultural policies in the UK seeing the halt in public sector growth in the post financial crisis era as a catalyst for the change process. The lack of funds, however, is in Jones optic but a welcome occasion to reconsider and rethink the objectives, strategies and instruments cultural policies have drawn upon since WW2, and his aim is to link future cultural policies to the development of creativity, identity and citizenship, not in the uniform, mono-cultural sense provided by the democratization of culture agenda, but in a multiform, culturally diverse way which allows for many and varied understandings, not defined by cultural policies but by those wanting to express and enjoy themselves through cultural participation:

> People get a sense of society, a sense of place and a sense of identity by interpreting and participating in the culture around them. Cultural forms and institutions provide them with an environment within which to do so and the skills with which people can act with confidence as citizens of the cultural realm. However, when the cultural realm is prescribed to certain forms, this sense of fairness and society is diminished (2010:13)

What Jones also points to is that cultural policies since WW2 have been excessively focused on the preservation and survival of well-known institutional and artistic formats (2010:14), which haven't succeeded in their social dissemination objectives implicit in the democratization of culture ambitions. Instead, the lack of sufficient dissemination has led

to a sense of disenfranchisement vis-à-vis the cultural sector. Therefore, Jones argues, it's time to reconsider the democratization objectives and thereby provide cultural policies with a renewed legitimizing mandate amongst the public. The aim is not to diminish the role of culture in society, on the contrary, it is to emphasize the cultural element in all aspects of society (ibid.). Such a new aim would require both recognition of cultural and artistic formats currently not recognized by cultural policies, and democratization of those institutional and artistic formats currently recognized and in place (2010:18). Gattinger (2011:3) proposes cultural '*governance*' and '*multilevel governance'* as frameworks for the renegotiation of cultural policies and their objectives, and she argues, that the very process of renegotiation may in itself add to a broader understanding of arts and culture as a democratic concern and endeavor. Grint (2005:1477) reserves the term leadership to an authoritative leadership response in the form of asking questions, the irony of leadership being, that it is often avoided when most needed (2005:1478). For asking questions does not count as leadership by the standards offered by current cultural policies.

Therefore, to support a movement towards a cultural sector driven by the objectives of cultural democracy encouraging diverse forms of artistic and cultural participation cultural policies must prioritize new forms of leadership. Such new leadership, if we follow Grint (2005:1477) must be an authoritative response in the form of asking questions. These questions must be concerned with the endless number of artistic and cultural expressions participants in a democracy might come up with. And for this to happen, renegotiations are required both in terms of what counts as leadership, and in terms of what counts as art and culture. Following Gattinger (2010:3) and Grint (2005:1477) these questions must be dealt with on a governance level introducing renegotiations of the objectives of cultural policies and on a leadership level in terms of how leadership can both respond to and engage in those renegotiations. Yet, as pointed out by Holden (2006:13), leadership seems more concerned with safeguarding their own interests vis-à-vis the political level, than engaging in questions of what might be the interests of the public.

But, as pointed out by Harrington (2004:196), there is movement, although at a very slow pace, for art institutions are engaging more with the public, and they do seem to be concerned with avoiding discriminatory practices. And

Compared with the 1950s, western art worlds are more inclusive of women and non-white majority artists, more egalitarian in their selection of exhibition themes and programmes; and public audiences for art have become more numerous and more diverse. Art has become a more socially participatory opportunity for broader sections of the public (ibid.).

The question is then if society at large, politicians, creatives and audiences will wait patiently for the cultural sector and its leadership to adapt to changed circumstances. This will keep cultural policies in the role of exerting some degree of control over cultural expressions (Jones, 2010:89), and although with decreasing legitimization, the cultural sector will remain the '*icing on the cake*' (J0nes, 2010:90), and not '*something of basic importance to society*' (ibid.) such as described in the opening of this chapter. If this is enough, no need for change in the cultural sector, the impetus to change will not come from leadership in the sector itself. On the other hand, if the cultural sector is to play a role in forming society (ibid.) explicitly as cultural democracy, and not only implicitly as democratization of culture, cultural policies must move away from primarily supporting production and outcome, and instead move towards supporting participation and the capabilities to use the opportunities (ibid.). This potentially can lead to a revolution in the way the cultural sector works (Jones, 2010:91), enabling it to establish fundamentally new relationships between the sector and society. Such new relationships, however, require shifts in priorities in cultural policies along the continua described by Matarasso and Landry (1999:12), who although not arguing in favor of a specific standpoint, nonetheless set up 21 parameters according to which priorities in cultural policies might be made. The parameters are themselves an acknowledgement that cultural policies *can* have other objectives than reinforcing a top-down understanding of arts and culture, as they introduce other concerns, such as e.g. the extent to which culture is supportive of societal and personal development (1999:15). It also requires a shift in attitude in the cultural sector in terms of responsibility for societal development, for, as pointed out by CultureWatchEurope[83] (2011:6) '*cultural actors and institutions cannot hold themselves apart from the current crisis*'. Instead the authors encourage artists and cultural actors to '*enact the ethical responsibilities of leadership*' (ibid.), because if

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[83] A body under the auspices of the Council of Europe.

Cultural actors and institutions, artists and those who support them, are to be credible when they make large claims for the importance of their work – claims that are also made here – they must enact the values they proclaim. Independence, criticality, humanism, non-materialism, empathy – these and other values that lie at the heart of European culture, at its best, must be evident in all what we do, not just in what we say. Only then can we be trustworthy partners, advocates and critics in the renewal of our culture, our economy, our society and our continent (ibid.)

In other words, if the impetus for changing the objectives of cultural policies and for changing the leadership prioritized and encouraged by them are difficult to acknowledge for leadership in the cultural sector, as these changes will imply a less unchallenged position of authority, the ability to maintain a claim for the importance of the sector may be what at last will inspire cultural politicians, leadership in the cultural sector to engage in conversations both with each other, but indeed also with citizens at large with the aim of reconsidering what might count as leadership in the sector?

Probably not, if Grint's (2005:1478) remark about the irony of leadership holds just some truth to it. I discuss the question further in section 5.4, approaching it from a dialogic point of view.

> 'Dialogism asks us to consider the other as our friend, the co-creator of our mind, our self and our society.' (Sampson, 1993:142)

5.5 Towards a Dialogic Turn in Culture

The previous sections saw leadership in the cultural sector primarily as a function of how leadership challenges are situated. This approach sees leadership as a social construction depriving leadership of any ontological autonomy in the form of intrinsic properties such

as cognitive or psychological features or traits proper to an individual or his/her practice (Fairhurst, 2007:9-10). Depriving leadership of such ontological autonomy, my inquiry explores how leadership is socially constructed in three different ways contextualized by the way leadership challenges are related, oftentimes in the public sphere as a means to gain popular legitimization for the particular rendition of the challenge. Such an approach suggests an understanding of leadership, and an inquiry into leadership which sees leadership as a *'local-social-historical construction'* (Hosking & Hjorth in Hjorth & Steyaert eds., 2004:261) established in relations. I have related how this local-social-historical construction I term leadership in the cultural sector has been establish first as an attempt to maintain and defend art for its own sake, and later as an obligation to account for the use of public money by measuring impact, users etc. Thus I abstain from saying anything a-contextual about leadership, and instead I propose various ways to reflect on what is perceived as leadership, how it is perceived in a context (Grint, 2000:3), how it is established as a local-social-historical construction (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) in relations, and how this local-social-historical construction may be reconstructed.

In 5.1 I discussed how situating leadership as an authoritative response in the form of providing answers based on privileged knowledge is a prevalent, if not dominant form of situating leadership in the cultural sector. Situating leadership in this way seems to be legitimized by drawing on the dominant understanding of art and culture I related in chapter 3. In 5.2 I discussed how measurements and counting users of publically supported cultural services at a first glance may seem as a means to gain legitimacy for the cultural sector amongst the public. Yet, we also saw how this approach was not only contested by the cultural sector which favors its own judgment as a means to achieve excellence, but also how this mechanistic approach to situating leadership is likely to influence the cultural sector even in unintentional ways, and ultimately not increasing participation in the cultural sector, allegedly the very purpose of this way of situating leadership in the sector. In 5.3 I discussed how situating leadership as an authoritative response in the form of asking questions may be a highly relevant and needed understanding of leadership, which may find some support amongst cultural activists, entrepreneurs and theoretical contributions in favor of radical changes in the cultural sector. Such changes may even find strong impetus in some of the aspects ascribed to globalization, as I initially discussed, and not least in the incredulity towards the meta-

narrative of disinterested knowledge, which I take as the starting point of my inquiry. Yet, again it seems I'm struck by Grint's remarks of the irony of leadership (2005:1478) in the sense, that where and when it is most needed and appropriate, it seems to be disregarded as an option in favor of less complex approaches. Situating leadership in this way may be both relevant and needed in the cultural sector, but it enjoys little if any support in the sector, as it in a fundamental way challenges its legitimacy. And perhaps more importantly, it also challenges the trait based understanding of great leaders in the cultural sector who seem to genuinely enjoy their place in the limelight (Bødewadt, 2009) and the '*assumed isomorphic correspondence between* [their] *cognitive operations and social process*' (Holmes & Rogers, 1995 in Fairhurst, 2007:9), between what they think, who they are and what they do.

At this point, I want to take the discussion of leadership situated as an authoritative response in the form of asking questions a step further. What might it mean to think of leadership in the cultural sector not as a means to construct serviceable others (Sampson, 1993:6) with implicit reference to a meta-narrative originating in the age of Enlightenment, but as a means to unfold culture's rare abilities to provide felicity conditions for deviations from the canonical (Bruner, 1990:63). What might it mean to think of the cultural sector as an agora for dialogic reflecting on how to create and unfold sustainable communities in a fragmented globalized world, and leadership as just as aspect of such communities? I recognize that from the vantage of the kind of leadership I discussed in 5.1 and 5.2 this may seem like a meaningless endeavor. I also recognize that my discussion will be of the more speculative sort, as the leadership in the cultural sector seems little inclined to asking questions. Yet, substantial efforts are being made, as my case studies in chapter 6 and 7 will relate, so the meditations inspired by Hosking (2011) I now embark on, do find some substantiation in concrete practice in the cultural sector. Another caveat, I should make before continuing is the 'classical' argument based on the understandings of art and culture described in chapter 3, when talk is of management and leadership: how can a sector that draws its legitimacy from being something beyond the social world be understood, discussed and perhaps inspired by theoretical contributions developed in and dealing with social worlds? Will submitting the cultural sector to considerations not originating from artistic and cultural impulses in the sector itself not just be 'victimizing' it, or at least subjectifying it as integrated part of the social world?

Sociology responds to this question by seeking to *'demystify'* (Inglis, 2005:17) art and the artists, thus simply not acknowledging the views related in chapter 3 as anything but socially constructed categories which may be dispensed of or dissolved. Narrative approaches on the other hand, recognize that the mystification, the beyondness is part of how the world is made sense of by those issuing narratives in the cultural sector (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009:xv), acknowledging also their performative aspects (ibid.:81) and therefore reserve the right to criticize them for what they *do* in social worlds.

With this in mind, I want to first dwell a moment by Sampson's notion of freedom (1993:167). Freedom, he argues

> Cannot mean freedom *from* others, but must of necessity be recast as a freedom to work jointly with others on projects and towards ends that we mutually agree upon: i.e. a freedom *because* of others.

This relational view of freedom discards artistic and cultural freedom in the sense of autonomy independent of others as a lie, resting only on the ability of the autonomous to construct others as non-autonomous (Sampson, 1993:166). Cultural policies and leadership aimed at defending freedom *from* others in this light is thus an attempt to protect the freedom of the few at the expense of others. The question, as Sampson poses it (ibid.) is then how we can engage in dialogues of projects and ends that we mutually agree upon to achieve freedom *because* of others. He points to two initial obstacles (1993:176) we must overcome to be able to move towards freedom because of others: first, the insistence of the monologic framework on distancing itself from the observed in order to gain putative objectivity. And second, the division between those who know: the experts, and those who don't: the ignorant, the people, the argument for this division being the experts' privilege to provide '*a better, more accurate, more objective representation of reality' than other people*' (1993:178).

Following Gattinger (2010:3) this means in overarching terms to enter into renegotiations along the two continua I have suggested: one defining what counts as leadership according to and prioritized by cultural policies, and one defining what counts as art and culture defined by aesthetics. McNamee and Gergen do not disregard the role of theory, but they point to the danger of perceiving theory as something outside of '*community standards'*

(1999:ix), outside of relationally dependent communities, and they point to the role of '*relational responsibility*' (1999:xi) as a '*conversational resource*' (ibid.) which may assist in overcoming the difficulties implicit in the '*cultural sector vs. society*' parallel monologues which have repeated themselves for quite some time. This dialectic version of the relationship places single individuals such as artists and audiences as the '*critical terminus*' (1999:3) for the discussion, reducing the responsibility of each of these individuals to justifying its own behavior, and not least to advocating for the obligation of the other to do and deliver something in exchange for what has been offered. To avoid this impasse and to link the dialogical processes involved in establishing new such community standards for cultural policies, for arts and culture and for leadership in the cultural sector, community standards understood as '*local-social-historical constructions*' (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) established in ongoing processes of negotiations amongst those concerned and involved. To this end a framework is needed, as much is at stake – of which I have only captured fragments in the previous chapters. To think about such a framework, Stoker (2006:41) proposes the concept of '*networked governance*' which requires

> The state to steer society in new ways through the development of complex networks and the rise of more bottom-up approaches to decision making [...] Networked governance is a particular framing of collective decision making that is characterized by a trend for a wider range of participants to be seen as legitimate members of the decision-making process in the context of considerable uncertainty and complexity. The pressure is on to find new ways to collaborate as the interdependence of a range of individuals and organizations intensifies.

In the cultural sector this means engaging in potentially endless negotiations of what might count as art and culture and what might count as appropriate leadership. The aim of such negotiations is not to establish new fixed equilibriums, but rather to sustain a processual view of '*political becomings*' (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008:347). This means both acknowledging arts' and culture's active role in producing individual and social identities, but in addition it points to the potential of arts and culture in terms of creating and sustaining hope. The ambition to encourage hope in rough times was what kicked off the establishment of cultural policies in the Western world in the first place, as I described in chapter 3, and perhaps time is due again to reconsider such objectives. This time, however, not in the sense of promoting one kind of hope to fit all hopes, but in the sense of capacity

to aspire such as proposed by Appadurai (2008:29). Rogoff and Schneider (ibid.:347) propose '*productive anticipation*' as a means to engage in such negotiations, allowing for both the narration of current perceptions and fictitious narratives of future possibilities. I will term such efforts proleptic tropes to underline the interrelatedness between the productive anticipation and how this is related in narratives describing and accounting for future possibilities, acknowledging that these may at this point be purely[84], and even intentionally fictitious.

As I have described and discussed arts and leadership in chapter 3, 4 and 5 it is difficult not to notice the immense power of narratives based on proleptic tropes. Kantian aesthetics, the art for art's sake movement and post WW2 cultural politics based on the ALP all describe desirable worlds for those who get to become part of them. I have argued that these three narratives all draw on the same narrative resources and seek their legitimization through reference to a meta-narrative established in the Age of Enlightenment. Although all claiming to describe a reality, what these narratives do is invoking the idea of a promised land by means of proleptic tropes which in various forms paraphrase upon the notion of freedom *from* – freedom from the Church, freedom from the wealthy and the mighty, freedom from audiences, critics and the mob, and freedom from politicians, totalitarianism and the excesses of liberalism. A freedom for the privileged which they are unwilling to share with others – indeed, as we have heard both Serota[85] and Gade[86] argue, those not even enjoying the privilege of freedom ought to feel obliged to pay for it as an entrance fee to become part of civilization. Much in the same way as one drops a few coins into the church box in gratitude for granted absolution.

The question is, however, if the age of globalization offers the privilege of freedom *from* at all. Tomlinson (2008:80) suggests the notion of '*global immediacy*' to describe the way in which basically everything is interconnected in the age of globalization. There are no pockets of time and space for culture to exist secluded from the world – culture is the

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[84] In the sense of not even pretending to claim narrative ratification as a 'reality' perceived by others.

[85] In chapter 0

[86] In section 5.1

world, it's how people make sense of their lives, it's how they build their identity, it's how they dream of the future and think about the past, and eventually culture is also the space in which new realities, new identities, new futures and pasts can be negotiated. As I read Czerski, his generation will not wait to be granted freedom from. They may not even ask for it. They will produce their own experience of freedom which they will continue to renegotiate in their relational and they will sustain it with what they are capable of constructing together with their networks and communities. They will link to those who are willing to share and offer something interesting, exiting, useful or just weird enough to catch attention, and in return they will offer the same or more. Cooperrider and Whitney (1999:58) describe how hope can function as an approach to networked governance on a large scale, albeit not in the form of hope as the predictions of the few visionary, but as a shared effort by large communities to engage in dialogues about their hopes for a common future.

Of course, the cultural sector and its leadership can stay at safe distance from such discussions. As some authors mentioned earlier in this chapter, getting tired of droning out the litany of one's own freedom from and un-commitment to society may be the only catalyst that eventually will motivate the sector to engage in discussions not focusing on the preservation of the sector's privileges. Team Culture 2012 is an initiative by Danish Minister of Culture as part of the Danish presidency of the EU[87] which in short sums up to an invitation to 13 European cultural figures[88] to come up with examples of '*art that makes a social difference'*. The overall aim of the initiative is to engage the cultural sector in Europe in discussions of how arts and culture may contribute to the recovery from the financial crisis and the future development of the continent in terms of creativity, innovation, identity building and economic growth. In a background paper the initiative is motivated and summarized in '*10 challenges for cultural innovation in Europe'* (available at www.kum.dk). Immediately upon its launch, the initiative is described as '*monumentally idiotic*', '*life dangerous'* and '*belonging to totalitarian ideologies'* (Wivel, Editor of Culture in Weekendavisen, March 2, 2012) by influential opinion makers in the cultural sector. In response the Minister denies any attempts to instrumentalize art and

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[87] First half of 2012

takes his vows to the ALP, albeit meekly faltering out that '*we fatally underestimate art and culture if we deprive it of a role in a time of crisis such as now.*' (Politiken, March 3, 2012). To give the Minister some credit, his ambitions do find some resonance in Appadurai (2008:29) who argues that

> The answer is that it is in culture that ideas of the future, as much as of those about the past, are embedded and nurtured. Thus, in strengthening the capacity to aspire, conceived as a cultural capacity, especially among the poor, the future-oriented logic of development could find a natural ally, and the poor could find the resources required to contest and alter the conditions of their own poverty.

In short, culture can provide *'global teleologies'* (ibid.;42), images which can mirror our aspirations in times of instability in many senses. Yet, there are also dangers involved in such endeavors. As Moore contends (2008:28), '*we are increasingly refiguring our notion of culture within an increasingly narrow definition of property over which we seek to assert monopoly rights'*, which means that instead of using arts and culture as an agora in which current challenges, uncertainties and needs can be productively discussed, arts and culture risk becoming a right one claims and exerts the power of.

In this minefield it is perhaps understandable that leadership in the cultural sector tends to situate its challenges in ways that reduce complexity to a minimum, and respond to these in equally low complexity ways by simply claiming the sector's freedom from the many-headed monster of life, society and the world at large. The proleptic tropes of such a narrative offers promises of freedom which are certainly hard to compete with, particularly if one only offers the promise of more trouble for arts and culture as a result of different kinds of engagement. But, as pointed out by Guattari and Deleuze: '*what counts amounted to a visionary phenomenon, as if a society suddenly perceived what was intolerable in itself and also saw the possibility of change'* (quoted by Rogoff & Schneider, 2008:349) As the authors, I read this as the possibility of suddenly seeing reality in a new light paving the way for changing it. White and Epson (1990:40) have described such possibilities as '*unique outcomes'*, not miracles falling suddenly from the sky, but as conscious efforts to search for events which open on to a new and more desirable future. The unique outcomes

aim at producing the sensation that a new and more promising path into the future *can* actually be explored.

If post WW2 cultural policies set the scene for a worthy effort to enlighten the masse by giving them access to what the enlightened conceive of as fine and valuable, largely inspired by such renowned intellectual figures as J.M. Keynes (Upchurch, 2011:70) and A. Malraux (Dubois, 2011:295) it is perhaps time to reconsider if this heritage is still a relevant way to format discussions of leadership, objectives, arts and culture in the cultural sector and beyond. As recalled by Bjurström (2008:66), Susan Sontag coined the term '*new sensibility*' in the mid-1960s to provide a framework for discussing, perceiving and enjoying art beyond the inherited high-brow/low-brow distinctions. Sontag's new sensibility marks a fundamental break with Kantian aesthetics and its faithful progenies (ibid.). I propose a new 'new sensibility' as first step to resituate the task of leadership in the cultural sector, and consequently to provide legitimacy for other kinds of authoritative responses than efforts to turn others into servicables. New it must be in the sense of reviving the spirit Sontag coined it in. And old, very old, in the sense that arts and culture since time immemorial had an element of new sensibility – towards itself, towards its past, towards the known and the unknown. Hosking (2011:453-465) '*meditates*' on relational approaches to leadership, saying little about the '*what*' and '*content*' of such an understanding of leadership. In the meditations however, there is a lot about the 'how' to think about relationally informed leadership.

What I have aimed at in this chapter is to meditate on various ways of ontologizing leadership in the cultural sector as local-social-historical constructions. In doing so I have pointed to the problems in ontologizing it as authoritative responses in the form of either defending and maintaining art for its own sake or of applying known measures such as counting numbers. Following Grint (2005:1477) I have suggested to see leadership in the cultural sector as an authoritative response in the form of asking questions. As this way of ontologizing leadership currently does not count as leadership in the cultural sector, or only does so at the fringes of it, I have suggested cultural governance understood as ongoing processes of regenotiating what counts as leadership in the cultural sector and what counts as art and culture. I have done so in line with the epistemological framework of the inquiry: social constructionist approaches offers little in terms of knockproof

entitative descriptions and instructions, only possibilities to be explored by those concerned (McNamee & Gergen, 1999:x). It is also due to both the possibilities and limitations embedded in an inquiry into two contested areas such as leadership and arts and culture. I have, however, proposed a way to give sense, direction and possibly coherence to the ways we think about the interplay between arts and leadership. To revert to Huntington's possible clash of civilizations (1993), I would modify that argument by contending that only when civilization is taken to mean culture stagnated in its own stable self-sufficiency is there a risk of such a clash. In that case civilization seems little desirable. But if civilization means culture that constantly renews its sensibility, civilization may not be such a bad idea after all.

In the following two chapters, I unfold four case studies which all represent 'unique exceptions', proleptic tropes and a 'new sensibility'. As described in chapter 2, they are chosen precisely because of these qualities, not because they claim to be representative in any sense. My objective with the case-studies is to provide concrete examples of how the purpose of arts and culture can be reformulated, the trouble involved in such processes, and what may be gained from such efforts. With my case studies I aim to relate how the meditations on leadership in the cultural sector may unfold in concrete contexts. Those I have chosen as my co-researchers, have indeed been wrestling with the hows of leadership in the cultural sector, all in various ways asking questions, very fundamental questions, as we'll see, in terms of how what counts as art and culture and what counts as leadership in their concrete contexts. By asking such questions, and by engaging in continuous processes of asking such questions, they are contributing to renegotiating what counts as leadership in the cultural sector. With these contributions from concrete empirical fields in chapter 6 and 7, I go on in chapter 8 to relate the case-studies to the 'meditations on how' in an attempt to propose a move towards relational leadership in the cultural sector.

Chapter 6 Case Study I Malmoe City Library

The city of Malmoe has appointed Ms. Elsebeth Tank as new City Librarian of Malmö Stadsbibliotek (Malmoe City Library, MCL) per January 1 2008. During her first year Tank is preparing a new strategy for the MCL to be launched publically in the autumn of 2009 and to be unfolded and implemented throughout 2009 and the coming years. The strategy is given the name The Darling Library – Your Life, Your Dreams, Your Library and it includes an ambitious plan of how to deal with years of decrease in public interest and borrowings to mention a few of the challenges the MCL is currently facing. During her summer vacation in 2009 Tank receives a call from her superior, the Director of Culture, Mr. Bengt Hall, informing her of a media storm in the local newspapers started on August 10 by a local journalist reporting on the MCL's plans to destruct 30 tons of books as part of strategic plans to create space for other activities. The destruction of books with its long history of autos-da-fé becomes the starting point for a fierce debate on the role of public libraries. Tank immediately decides to cancel her vacation and returns to MCL to deal with the challenges. The case study follows the events with the aim of understanding leadership as an ongoing process of socially constructing realities in the empirical context of MCL and its attempts to challenge and change the dominant understanding of a city library.

6.1 The Calendar of Light – First Impressions

'*It does look remarkably different*' (#601), is my first thought when I catch sight of it as I leave the cemetery through the cast iron gates in down town Malmoe. Nothing has changed really, in a physical sense that is, and yet the impression is just so very different. From being struck by its impressive architecture when I saw the MCL the first couple of times, I now spontaneously react to the hostility of its monumental structures on my way to interviewing City Librarian Elsebeth Tank on August 26 2009 as part of the preparations for my case study of the MCL. '*I want to re-aesthetize the library*' (#602), a remark made by Tank, rings to my ear. The remark didn't make much sense to me as I first heard it, but now it is only too clear what she has in mind. The distant and reserved mood of the building certainly could do with some re-aesthetization! And for that matter, so could the very notion of libraries, which at this point sound more like inaccessible, old-fashioned book containers to me, a frequent user of web-based book stores. As I am approaching the information desk at the entrance hall, a young man, awkwardly dressed in a dark blue blazer, a white shirt and a tie, addresses me: '*Sir, what can I do for you*?' (#603) Somehow

I can't answer his simple and polite question, as if struck by sudden loss of memory. The only thing in my mind is why he calls me 'sir'[89]. No one uses 'sir' anymore in Sweden, and I start wondering what makes me look odd enough to be called 'sir'. I can't help taking this as an offence and my reaction, as I finally get my acts together, is to reply in an equally official manner, that I have an appointment with the City Librarian. I am being shown to the elevators by a women, smiling and with a slight accent: '*Where are you coming from, Sir?*' (#604), she politely asks in the elevator, which is slightly too narrow for us to maintain our zones of personal space. '*From the bus*', is what first slips out but I soon realize I might be offending her so quickly I get myself to falter a more appropriate: '*From Copenhagen*'. By this time, I'm kind of panicking, forgetting all my carefully prepared questions for my interview, as the only thing I can think about is what makes me look so strange. When the door opens the City Librarian herself is there to meet me and we great each other heartily as friends. It is such a relief, and I decide not to spoil the good mood of the meeting by telling my recent experience with the reception of the library.

Later in the afternoon Tank takes me to see a newly refurbished reading room in the older parts of the library. On our way, in the midst of our small talking, she says:

> I'm part of a committee whose task is to suggest influential writers. Yesterday, I went around in the library just to get a feeling of it. I looked at the shelves and thought: it looks like Eastern Germany in the old days!. Long rows of books presented as if it were an archive... (field notes from visit August 26 2009) (#605).

The events from earlier come back to my mind and I smile: '*What a task you have!* In the new reading room is a recently installed artwork called the 'the Poetic Bicycle ' (Den poetiska cykeln) by local artist Leif Nelson, lyrical, yet impressive work. It seems as if made for the space, called the Malmoe Room, giving a cozy and humoristic yet ceremonious touch to the room. In the room people are lounging in comfortable armchairs, as if at home. '*Funny*', she says, '*a group of librarians are sending messages around by the intranet, asking who has commissioned the work. Well, I have. They certainly don't like it.*' (ibid.) (#606). We part and I find my way out wondering how she manages in spite of

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[89] In my reconstruction of the case, I come back to this. It is fully possible I have just misintreted a friendly joke or overreacted to what was meant as a nice greeting.

all the hostility she is met with. Tank has undertaken an ambitious strategic development process at the MCL, and she suddenly finds herself in the midst of a media storm initiated by a local newspaper which somehow seems to have access to information and documents not yet ready for being made available to the public – or at least the communication strategy developed to support the overall strategy is being brought to an abrupt halt by the unforeseen circumstances.

Studying the MCL – Purpose and Plots

The case is chosen in line with the methodological considerations in chapter 2, as a *'deviant case'* (Flyvbjerg, 2004:426), a case that stands out. In the case of the MCL, at least two elements makes me think of the MCL as deviant. First, the ambitious strategic efforts, which in the words of the MCL are described in the following way:

> The City Library in Malmoe wants to carry through a paradigm shift. We want to break with our own and others' customary notions of what a library is and should be. We'll initiating a process in which we challenge the customary notion of a library in order to disrupt the existing physical and mental frameworks, and develop a top modern culture and knowledge center which will be the 'Talk of the Town' in Malmoe and the world   (The Darling Library, Strategic document, 2008:1) (#607)

I read these strategic ambitions as attempts to break with the dominant narrative I described in chapter 3, and to provide a framework which can both accommodate and support the alternative narratives I described in chapter 4. Second, the swirl of media attention produced by unforeseen circumstances offers a case study environment in which the initiated change process with all its implications can be studied in real time. This provides me with the possibility of studying leadership as an ongoing process of social construction, such as I discuss it in chapter 8, not only inside the MCL, but indeed also in a wider social context, as we shall see. The deviant aspect of the case study underlines the point that not all change processes in cultural institutions can be assumed to produce similar effects. And yet, the deviant circumstances do seem to amplify certain aspects which in the optic of the project are important elements for leadership in the cultural sector to consider when embarking on processes aiming at establishing legitimacy for their efforts beyond the dominant narrative. The case study thus offers an opportunity to experience those whilst they happen. Thanks to an agreement with the MCL, approved by

the city authorities (letter of August 31, 2009 and subsequent correspondence) and to publicity laws in Sweden, I have been granted access to any document I have asked for. In addition I have received verbal background information from the City Librarian, which I have been able to discuss both with employees at the MCL and others involved in the cultural sector in Malmoe. In my study I decided to follow the process until a decisive public meeting at the MCL on October 27, 2009). Yet, as I have continued to follow the process even after that meeting, I have decided to add a post scriptum made at the end of my research period. This post scriptum, a reconstruction of the case, aims a providing the City Librarian's hindsight view on the events, along with some information of the long term effects of the initial strategic efforts.

The case study takes its beginning in the midst of the media storm aroused by the management of the MCL's strategic efforts to change and renew the library. The presentation of the empirical material is structured as the telling of a narrative, i.e. with an attempted, yet constructed chronology based on the dates on which documents, entries, articles and statements are published. This, of course, is my narrative of the events, organized according to my overall plot, which is supportive of the leadership efforts to change the library, and thus critical of those hindering this process. By listening to both parties, I don't mean to balance out the view points, but to give the reader an opportunity to understand what the considerations are on both sides, and how these contribute to constructing leadership as a process.

The narrative material is put together from media clippings (primarily from local Malmoe newspaper, Sydsvenskan, from digitally based social media (such as blogs and twitter), strategic and political documents from the MCL and the Cultural Committee of the Malmoe City Council, interviews and site visits. I have made an editorial decision in terms selecting parts of the available empirical material in accordance with the struggle between a dominant narrative (accounted for in chapter 3) and alternative challenging narratives (accounted for in chapter 4). This struggle was, on an emblematic level, confirmed in the sense of being publically referred to at the final book vs. people debate. Those in favor of the book defend its supremacy in defining a public library, drawing legitimacy from an extra-linguistic autonomy ascribed to books. Those in favor of the people defend the supremacy of any citizen in defining public libraries, whilst seeking to legitimize their efforts with reference to democracy and the relation between the library and any present

and future borrower. Framing the study in this way reveals the bias of my inquiry in favor democratic concerns in relation the cultural sector. The purpose of including more text than I can analyze within the limits of this study, is to provide the reader with an impression of what the process might have felt like for those involved when the debate was at its most infuriated state. The somewhat lengthy manifesto-like inputs to this debate also reflect this impression, wherefore I have not shortened them – hopefully producing an image of enthusiastic, engaged writers tapping away on their computers to defend their ideas and hopes, thereby consciously or unconsciously engaging in constructing social realities, which I discuss within the realms of relational leadership theory in chapter 8.

An aspect which the study purposely leaves aside is the question of how nationality and cultural habits linked to nationality influence the conditions for leadership. This aspect certainly is present in parts of the empirical material either in very explicit terms, or more subtly as implicit allusions. Although tempting to explore, and presumably of great importance to the outcome of the case, I have decided to leave the question of nationality aside. My main reason for doing so is that the empirical material I have encountered in this territory tends to be of such stereotyped character, more often than not with political overtones, that it would completely detract the attention from the many other important aspects of the case. Admitting that this choice may be a serious sin of omission, or at least a missed opportunity, I do defend this choice on the grounds that events with parallel characteristics took place in the end of 2007 and the beginning of 2008 at the Copenhagen City Library: a new City Librarian (female and from a more provincial part of the country) was appointed to develop and implement a new strategy, a media storm raged for several months and finally the City Librarian gave up and decided to leave the position. Shortly after her appointment at the MCL Tank commented on the raging debate on the future of libraries in Copenhagen in the following way:

> I do understand that some people are skeptical. In addition to this I'd like to say that I think the debate is incredibly useful for the librarians and the legislators and other stakeholders. We have to reconsider what libraries are for. What is our identity and what should be our reason for being? The debate helps us sharpen our consciousness of the fact that we still have to be anchored in the cultural values that were the starting point for initially considering establishing public libraries at all, namely democracy, general education, equal access to everything etc. The debate sharpens our consciousness about the fact that we – as public libraries – stand for versatility

and quality, and that religion, moral and policy should not be part of deciding what our capabilities as public libraries should be.' (Berlingske Tidende, January 18, 2008). (#608)

Without having studied the Copenhagen City Library case, this project makes no assumptions about similarities in the approaches to the change process in Malmoe and Copenhagen. It just argues that fierce public debates about the future of libraries also occur without the specific element of nationality in terms of leadership. In other words, the case study is not about possible differences in understandings of leadership styles in Denmark and Sweden, or historically based differences in opinions, attitudes towards one another or culture in general but about leadership in the cultural sector as an ongoing process in which all kinds of considerations seek to influence or change the course of the process.

At the end of my research process, the City Librarian was given an opportunity to comment and discuss the ways in which the study relates the case. These comments are included in the post scriptum[90].

6.2 Studying Malmoe City Library

Malmoe City Library was founded in the beginning of the 18th century and opened to the public in 1905. In 1946 it was moved to 'the Palace' (Slottet) a red brick building by Swedish architects J. Smedberg and F. Sundbärg, formerly hosting the Malmoe Museum, majestically located in front of a pond in the city park. This building soon became too small for the ongoing activities but it wasn't until the early nineties sufficient political support was found in favor of building an extension to the existing premises. In 1991 an architectural competition was won by Danish architect Henning Larsen whose project 'the Calendar of Light' added a spectacular glazed building containing the growing library along with a rotunda hosting the reception facilities. More than 600,000 media are now spread over 10,850 square meters. The constructions have been awarded both Swedish and international prizes (Kasper Salin Priset and the IFLA Award) for their architectural qualities. The total costs of the extension and the renovation of the existing premises amount to 236 million Swedish Kronor and the premises were planned to be able to host about 1.5 million visitors annually. The MCL was officially inaugurated by former Swedish

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[90] I discuss the issue of member checking in Chapter 2 in relation to case studies as reconstructions)

Prime Minister, Göran Persson, himself a citizen of Malmoe, endorsing the importance of the MCL in the city, both in terms of geographical location, but certainly also in the efforts of the city to gain a prominent place on the map on Sweden in the minds of the Swedes[91].

In 2007 the MCL had 907.000 visitors, in 2008 it had 917.000 visitors and in 2009 it had 932.000 corresponding to an increase of 3 percent over a three years period of time (January 10 2010, **www.darlinglibrary.se**). In 1993, before extensions and perhaps most noteworthy, before any broader dissemination of the Internet and the World Wide Web, the MCL had more than 1,7 million visitors (Former City Librarian S. Nilsson, Biblioteksarbejde nr. 39, 1993).

In June 2007, Ms. Elsebeth Tank is appointed to the position of City Librarian at MCL by the Malmoe City Council for Culture and Leisure. Tank is due to take on her new obligations as per January 1, 2008. By the time of the appointment, she holds the position of director of the Danmarks Blinde Bibliotek/Nota, the Danish National Library for Sight Disabled since 1998. Tank holds an MPA[92] in addition to being originally a librarian by education and profession. For her eminent work in changing the DBB/Nota into a contemporary world class cultural institution she received the Innovation Cup Award 2007 for public institutions, and at her farewell reception, the Danish Minister for Culture, Brian Mikkelsen, congratulated her as follows:

> When you took over the job as director, DBB/Nota was in for a huge change process. You have shown that you were exactly the right person to lead DBB/Nota safely into the digital era. [...] 'I know it has not only been 'a dance on roses'. It has also been a long and tough move. But you have not been receding from implementing big changes. Nor when unpopular decisions were necessary. Big changes often take a little while getting used to them – both amongst staff and users. [...] I regret that we are now loosing you as director of CBB/Nota but it is a big compliment to DBB/Nota and not least to you personally that our great brother land has now sent for you. I'm sure that the managerial tasks awaiting you as City Librarian in Malmoe will be both exciting and challenging. Once more I thank you for your great efforts and I

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[91] See Dannestam (2009) for an extensive inquiry into the process of establishing a new urban identity for the City of Malmoe in the post-industrial era.

[92] Master of Public Administration from CBS

The New City Librarian Is Arriving

During her first ten days in office as City Librarian at the MCL, Tank has to announce a 2 million Swedish Kronor cut back on salary expenses which means that all interim staff contracts will not be renewed, nor will positions available by someone's retirement be replaced.

> I got to know by the time I arrived. It's a little sad, I hadn't expected that. But that's life, that's what I'm paid for. Apparently, it is some old cut back of 2 millions which has not been effectuated, (Sydsvenskan, January 11, 2008) (#610)

Says Tank in an interview with local newspaper Sydsvenskan upon her arrival. Her superior, the Director of Culture, Mr. Bengt Hall, away on vacation, apparently did not know of this:

> I didn't know of this cutback. Elsebeth Tank must have discovered something in her analysis which we don't know of. Before I left, she briefly told me that there was a problem. If it is as serious as you are saying, I and the CEO of the Cultural Administration, Magdalena Titze, must first do an analysis of the situation before I'm saying anything more. We're doing that first thing on Monday. (Sydsvenskan, January 12, 2008). (#611)

The media quickly picks up on this unfortunate situation expressing support and understanding for Tank during these first days in her new position: '*One would have wished a better start for Elsebeth Tank as a new City Librarian in Malmoe'*, says local reporter Bjarne Stenquist (Sydsvenskan, January 11, 2008), and he continues:

> As a new director, Tank would have needed already from the start to put all attention into the more long-term problems of the library. For ten years the Main Library has profited from its unique architecture, from a scenographic development of the inner space and from a gradually modernized service offer. But last year visitors' numbers started decreasing, largely due to the opening of Malmoe University's new library in Orkanen. The main library, as all library activities in Malmoe, now have to develop their roles in the development of the city and more clearly define the collective offer to the citizens of the library system. To that end it is no longer enough to mostly concentrate on the house

in the park. The Calender of Light must be the pulsating central point in a unified network of libraries which lights and shines in all parts of the city, a network of which the different parts become 'third spaces' in the everyday life of all Malmoe citizens. (ibid.) (#612)

Half a year later, Tank looks back at the difficult start in an inteview: '*It would have been more cool to have received 2, 5 million Kronor. But to me it is a detail in the overall picture. It is nothing that shakes me, I've been into worse things than that. That's life.*' (Sydsvenskan, July 6, 2008) (#613). Tank has started off an intensive idea generating process involving all staff members. The working title of the process is 'The Darling Library of the World', and with her usual enthusiasm, she is not afraid of criticism:

One should listen to critics. Even today, an employee said that we need the old library to take care of our cultural heritage. We are very good at that. So where do we focus our energy to develop something new? In an organization there is always 20 percent 'first movers', 40 percent follow slightly after and 20 percent who really are against. [...] Me being nice and kind is no use to the organization. (ibid.) (#614)

The interview is printed under the heading '*City Librarian Is Open to Sponsoring by Burger Chain*' (ibid.) (#614), although Tank clearly points out in the interview, that she would carefully consider the consequences, should it ever be relevant.

A local researcher, Gustav Holmberg, comments on the new trends, first by telling an anecdote describing a situation in which he was in desperate need of a particular article from The New Yorker, which could only be found at MCL ('*MCL Saves My Ass',* July 12, 2008, **www.gustavholmberg.com**) and second by expressing his anger at the prospect of removals of outdated non-fiction[93]:

But the thing about the City Librarian taking away old non-fiction makes me see red. If one disposes of an annual budget of 100 million Kronor and big premises there should be a possibility of systematically collect and make

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[93] All libraries from time to time remove additional copies of books not being borrowed for five years, especially worn out books on knitting, aquarium fish, gardening, cooking etc., as these are subject to current trends, fashion etc. Such removals are necessary to be able to take in new books without constantly extending the premises.

available even the genre 'old non fiction' so despised by the City Librarian. Because MCL's collection of older literature plays an important role (not only as an accidental lifeline for academics from Lund such as me). Where are those interested in history to find their sources in Malmoe? A city needs memory functions. The researcher at Malmoe University, teachers and student; Malmoe's pupils writing their homework; others interested in history (we live in a time when the interest in history is big): everybody needs to be able to put their gloves on old books. And then MCL want to get rid of old non-fiction. Do the citizens of Malmoe have to go to the University Library of Lund to get hold of 'old non-fiction?' (ibid.) (#615)

The strategy continues to be developed throughout 2008 in what can be described as an open and involving process which will impact all parts of the MCL. Internally the strategy is being developed under the title: The Darling Library – Your Life, Your Dreams, Your Library, Strategy for the City Library of Malmoe 2009 – 2011. The strategy builds on the targets specified in the politically appointed strategy document for Malmoe (Strategy Document #2 Vision, huvudmål, ledstjärnor och verksamhetsidé för Kulturen i Malmö, available at http://www.malmo.se/filearchive/Biblioteken/kulturforvaltningen-visioner.pdf). In particular the focus is on

- Children and Youngsters
- Increased Participation
- New Meeting Places
- Internationalization (ibid.)

The strategy planning process is involving employees at all levels, and even the effort to increase transparency in the process through the use of a blog bearing the name: 'The Darling Library of the World' seems to be successful. At a management group meeting (MGM) in May 2008 the management group enthusiastically concludes:

The blog 'The Darling Library of the World' is becoming an important tool in the process and information from the strategy day must quickly be put into the blog. In general there has been very good feedback on the strategy day –an inspiring day in beautiful environment, force, energy, joy and laughter, just working together with colleagues which whom you usually don't collaborate.' From the departments curiosity is expressed in terms of what happened

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during the day and a will to be part of the process in the future. The big interest is very positive and should be met as actively as possible. (MGM 2008-05-13). (#616)

As the process unfolds, however, there are signals of increasing uncertainty:

> The new managers already receive many questions and there is an uncertainty amongst the employees which has to be dealt with in a professional way. Elsebeth will be posting an entry on the blog on this during the week. [...] Elsebeth also informs the management group that she has had a very positive meeting with the experienced organizational psychologist Barbro Tropé, and that she will be the psychologist we consult during the re-organization as support for the new management group. (MGM 2008-09-16) (#617).

A short ceremony including information on the strategy process and an introduction to newly appointed and leaving managers is being held on September 30 (MGM 23-09-2008). On November 14, staff secretary Anja Angsmark is participating in the management group meeting to report on the risk and consequence analysis of the re-organization at MCL. Angsmark reports that:

> [...] her impressions from the strategy meetings are that there is a big openness and permission to express ones opinions amongst the employees. She also experiences that the staff feels both an increased distance to the new management group which hasn't yet introduced itself, but also a strong confidence in the group's work. Curiosity and great expectations before the first big information are signals too to Anja. (MGM 2008-11-04) (#618).

To this Tank replies that:

> Big efforts have been made to create a transparent dialogue but also that it takes time to find the ground on which we are working in the future. The employees have had big possibilities to impact and gain influence and everybody has been able to obtain information via the blog. (ibid.) (#619)

In December 2008 four new positions are advertized as part of the restructuring of the organization. The positions concern team leaders who are to function as middle-management of teams which are thematically based (Team Experience Design as an

example). The text of the vacancy advertisement gives a clear impression of what is expected of the 'new librarian':

> In our new organization we're seeing the world from a new perspective and we're saying goodbye to working methods or thinking models which were demanded in the traditional analogue library and which don't harmonize with the present and the future. A radically new way of thinking and acting is required, as the library is challenging the existing image of a library and is investigating into new possible roles in the experience and knowledge society. (Malmö Stad, Stadsbiblioteket, without date) (#620).

The text of the advertisement is in concert with the overall aims of the strategic plans and along with the focus on and strategic efforts in terms of securing competence development within three areas: Innovation and Entrepreneurship, Management/Leadership Development and Hosting Competence (Kompetensutvecklingsplan 2009 för Stadsbiblioteket) the issue of new identity building certainly is high on the management agenda. In an 'Expression of Interest (Interesseanmälan, Malmö Stadsbibliotek, without date) issued by the management all employees are given the opportunity to express their individual interest in terms of where they would like to work in the new organization and hand it in to the management by December 11 2008. The expression of interest draws up some important points before making one's choice:

- Something new for everybody!
  The re-organization is to imply something new for you as an employee at the library. It may be about new work tasks, new work environments, new ways of working and thinking or new knowledge.

- Pleasure in the work!
  You should feel pleasure in the work you do.

- Quality to the organization!
  Your work efforts are important and should contribute quality to the organization according to the strategy of the MCL. (ibid.) (#621)

During the year the new strategy paper is taking form alongside the involvement process and the arrangements in terms of new organizational structure and physical environment and the preamble gives the impression of a very ambitious project:

MCL wants to do a paradigm shift. We want to break with our own and others' customary notions about what a library is and should be. We are launching a process in which we challenge the customary notion of a library to break existing physical and mental frames and develop a top modern culture and knowledge center which will be 'Talk of the Town' in Malmoe and the world! (Strategy Document #1 at **www.darlinglibrary.se**) (#622)

The new organizational structure is launched in the beginning of 2009 (Stadsbiblioteket: Forändringar i personalens arbetsytrummen i samband med omorganisation 2009) to be in effect as per February 1, and changes of the physical environment is launched in April (Lokalförändringar och omflyttningar på Stadsbiblioteket 2009-2012). Plans to remove, or rather to reassess collections of books are launched in May 2009 (Samlingarna ska utvärderas 2009-05-14) according to the following tentative criteria:

- Damaged copies
- Outdated books and magazines
- Printed versions if they exist digitally
- Everything which has not been lend out for three years (out or deposed in store rooms) except titlet/limited collections which are excepted according to decision ? by whom?
- Everything which has not been lend out for five years (out or 1 copy saved) except titles/limited collections which are excepted according to decision? By whom? (ibid.) (#623)

The reassessment plans for the collections raises some questions which the management group is discussing on their following meeting:

Lena's document 'Reassessment and Removal of Collections' is to function both as a directive and as guidelines for removals. The management group is deciding upon a few changes to be made in the document before it is ready. Removal must happen immediately and a simple way to do it, as an acute solution, must be found. Further a policy for removal and media planning should be developed and the group will work on a revision annually. Lena, Per

and Åsa are responsible for making the removal process available to involved staff member. (MGM 2009-06-01) (#624)

A public launch is planned for later summer of 2009 under the motto 'We Carry the Books Out and the Writers In' for which purpose a media campaign is prepared including posters to be flashed all over the city.

The Media Storm

On August 10 2009 a media storm starts raising: under the heading: The Library Is Grinding 30 Tons of Books' (Sydsvenskan, August 10, 2009) (#625) journalist Martin Rex reports that a van from the company Hans Andersson Recycling is parked outside the library to pick up a metal cage containing 800 kilos of books and bring them to their premises in Staffanstorp for destruction. Journalist Rex continues:

> Safely arrived, literature is being destructed in a grinding mill and then the company sells the paper to a paper company. Hans Andersson Recycling earns money and the citizens of Malmoe get less books to borrow. Until now about 30 tons literature has been thrown out and grinded, Hans Andersson estimates. (ibid.) (#626)

The journalist has got hold of the internal document on reassessment and removal of collections written by Lena Malmquist. When asked by the journalist, Malmquist is short in her reply: '*Things are happening in autumn at the library which makes it necessary for us to have more floor space.*' (ibid.) (#627). Apparently, the journalist is also familiar with The Darling Library strategy paper, which in short is referred to as a plan to make more meeting places at the library such as stages and restaurants (ibid.). Rex ends his article by asking:

> What kind of books are now ending their days as paper mass? The management has produced lists of books they consider they can do without, lists entirely based on the popularity of the books. Then it is up to the librarians to decide whether some of the books after all should be saved, even if this is seen as an exception according to the instructions of the management. (ibid.) (#628).

In a responding press release from the MCL, the library confirms that books are being removed, but not 30 tons, until the present, only 6 tons. Removals and reassessment are

explained as part of the ordinary business of a library in order to ensure a relevant and current selection of media (MCL, press release 2009-08-10).

> We remove unnecessary doublets, worn out books, incurrent material and physical material which is better found in digital form. [...] Statistics and the librarians' competences are behind how we remove, not a list made by the management group of the library, as inaccurately claimed by Sydsvenskan. (ibid.) (#629).

The chair of the local City Council for Culture and Leisure, Carina Nilsson (Social Democratic Party) supports the removals by saying that: *The number of books is not so relevant to talk about, I think. The citizens of Malmoe will not suffer as all books are found at other libraries so it is possible to order it if you like.*' (Sydsvenskan, August 11, 2009) (#630) and she is seconded by her colleague from the Conservative Party, Stefan Lindhe: '*It's a long time since libraries were just about lending out books.*' (ibid.) (#631). Local blogger, Peter Alsbjer, (Peter Alsbjers Blogg – Of Culture and Libraries In the Interaction Society, August 11, 2008, peterals.wordpress.com) supports the new ideas:

> MCL is removing [books]. This has led to a number of press reactions. The point of departure of the article in Sydsvenskan is more about books being destroyed. Judged from the comments, many readers make the comparison with the autos-da-fé in Nazi Germany. In today's Sydsvenskan the City Librarian Elsebeth Tank makes a statement and she is also supported by politicians from the Cultural Committee. [...] I'm convinced that Elsebeth Tank is doing the right thing. The problem with/at the Swedish libraries is not the lack of books. Through the available networks it is possible to get hold of most of the books that exist. [...] To hug a paper book just for its own sake is more than doubtful – it's the content that counts and its relevance to the contemporary. Books are actually only containers of text. When they are no longer in use or in demand they shouldn't take up space for what is actually needed. A couple of things are quite interesting:
>
> - The love of the book as artifact. Removing books is sensitive. That's why we have second-hand bookshops, I presume. The book as symbol is more important than the symbol of newspaper or magazine.
> - It is important to communicate The New Library to the citizens and make them part of the process. The future of the library is not only something to discuss for library staff and possibly politicians. Invite users, focus

groups, study circles and discuss with them, state the new ideas, listen and test. Bring them in. (it's possible they have done that in Malmoe, what do I know) Explain. Explain again. Because it is not about removing 20 tons of books – it's about the future of the library (ibid.) (#632).

The support from the local politicians, however, does not seem to calm down the storm. The line is picked up the following day linking the current events to historical events: '*Destruction of books has its history'*, says writer Andrzej Tichý the following day. Tichyý is born 1978 in Prag but currently living in Malmoe. He continues: '*MCL seems to want to de-dramatize the whole thing. And to some extent that is fully understandable considering the hateful comments and drastic associations to autos-da-fé which destruction of books entails.*' (Sydsvenskan, August 12, 2009). Having now added political dimensions of a different character to the events, he sums up by asking:

Which ideological forces are behind the market thinking and the new speak? And which consequences does it have that we are considered customers and not curious and engaged citizens (i.e. participants in a cultural and political life) when we enter this new library. (ibid.) (#633) .

Tank who has not yet officially launched the new strategy, as this was planned to happen during the introduction the new activities in the autumn is forced to do so acutely. She does so in a manifesto like manner:

With democratization of access to knowledge old authorities have fallen. The patient has become an expert on his own illness and the pupil has himself the responsibility for his own education. People can and want by themselves. Likewise in libraries, authority doesn't have the same validity as before. Demand for the traditional librarian sitting behind a desk surrounded by book collections is decreasing. Our time is calling for other sorts of libraries and it is this call MCL is listening to in its new strategy. A homogenous population has been replaced by cultural and national diversity. The level of education is increasing and so do claims as to what the welfare state should offer. Globalization has made the world smaller and increased demand on knowledge and culture, even culture which lies outside the borders of the national state. Therefore the utility value of the library does not grow proportionally with the number of books. It becomes even more important that the library works regionally, nationally and internationally to create connected catalogues. In the discussion of books it is important to think about:

- That everyday, 3000 titles are being released
- That the Swedish web based bookstore AdLibris has a supply of 500 million titles
- That Google so far has scanned 7 million titles
- That the worlds entire library catalogues include 1,5 billion unique titles

No library can cover all of this, it has to see itself as a part of a globally cooperative library service. Leading American university libraries have already initiated the development of a worldwide digital library catalogue. The result so far can be seen at **www.worldcat.org**.

As one of the first Swedish public libraries MCL has through a collaboration with the Royal Library in Stockholm made its collections available for the world's catalogues.

In the thousands of square meters of MCL there will be rich possibilities even in the future to investigate the shelves and find inspiration and surprises. There is a lot signs suggesting that especially fiction – both Swedish and foreign – will continue its strong position. Non-fiction books will have their strength with areas which don't wear out so quickly or where the books are so richly illustrated that they have an advantage over the internet. This as an example may be books on architecture, art, music, history and travelling.

But factual information is to an increasing extent being downloaded from the Internet. In Denmark three out of four loans from the educational and research libraries are digital and take place as downloads. It is not only about entire works but also about articles in magazines and chapters in books. Similar winds blow over the public libraries.

For teaching and education books for children have a particular importance but children are also digital natives. They have learned the technique by drinking their mothers' milk and don't know of a life without cellular phones, mp3 and mms. They need support to develop their digital knowledge in order to become both creative and critical users. That is just one of the things the library should help them with.

While books for smaller children are still attractive the older ones prefer bits and bytes. This you can see from the use of books for bigger children and youngsters in the current children's library. They stand there, back by back, and they remain there. New ways of thinking are needed, therefore also a new strategy.

Even if the experienced library visitor appreciates the classic library it is no longer sufficient if the library is to maintain its position and reach population groups who to a very low extent experience that the library has something to offer to them. It is also a democratic matter and an important background for the new strategy. It has as its overall target to reach more people, among other things we want to increase the number of visitors per year from 900.000 to 1.2 million and have more digital visits than today.

In all European and North American countries visitors' and loans' numbers of public libraries have shown a decreasing curve over the last 20 – 30 years. Therefore the discussions on the future and relevance of libraries have been waving back and forth. Often the discussions on removals or not removals of books have been characterized by great disagreement and rigor. Criticism of removals presumably comes from a deep love of the printed word but probably also from a fear of trivialization and ignorance.

It is the aim of MCL to continue the development of a modern library which rooms immersion and history but also a diverse supply of innovative solutions – readily developed in collaboration with the users and others with an interest. The climate of development is of importance to what and how far we can go.

We hope and believe in a broad popular confidence in the reputation and good intentions of the library and generous attitude towards the fact that changes may imply uncertainty and disturbances where these are usually not found. A completely opposite attitude than the one the articles in Sydsvenskan on the library's removals convey. Articles which carefully ignore important background information and which in certain places are strongly tendentious.

Such a coverage contributes to the creation of an ungrounded distrust which in the end can put the library in a strait jacket and contribute to the keeping of lots of outdated and unread literature on the shelves. This will hinder the sight of the bright future the library with its new strategy is putting on the agenda.' (Sydsvenskan, August 13, 2009) (#634).

The debate has now spread into other media and a range of social media such as twitter and blogs. Local newspaper Sydsvenskan continues to fuel the fire, first by staging a pro and con article with an author and a journalist and the day after, by printing a letter signed by 18 local authors. In the pro and con article local journalist Bjarne Stenquist continues his support to the plans:

The conversation amongst people in the society has already through the emergence of social media become broader and deeper. But physical meeting spaces are also needed for this conversation to develop in real life. As such meeting places the libraries have unique qualities and a growing relevance. Therefore the changes at MCL are also steps in the right direction.' (Sydsvenskan, August 18, 2009) (#635)

These views are by no means shared by local author Trygve Bång. He addresses the politicians with an appeal:

To the chair of the Cultural Committee of the City of Malmoe, Carina Nilsson (Social Democratic Party): is it convenient that a municipal organization is choosing and prioritizing individual profit making companies which may imply a strong limitation of competition with the book release area? (ibid.) (#636)

And Bång is backed up by local blogger, Booklover In Mourn of the Upcoming Death of the Library (August 18, 2009, **www.biblioteksbloggen.se**):

What is wrong with a library that only 'consists' of long shelves of books? In what way is it being 'more' when the library is focusing on stages, restaurants and all sorts of populist stuff? Why is it no longer good enough to lend out books to all of us who long to read, and to all of those with whom a good librarian can arouse the wish to read? What is to be of library activities when not even librarians seem to appreciate what should be the heart and soul of the activity? What is it actually that drives the vision that the library should be something more? It is with great sorrow that I'm following what is happening at the libraries in Malmoe, Lund and Vellinge. Books are going away and the shelves are being left half empty, librarians are going away, eating and drinking people are going in and people are to meet and meet and meet. How are all these meeting actually going to look like? And why on earth do we have to meet at the library? Society is already full of meeting places! Why can't libraries continue to be places for calm, silence for reading and quietness? We stressful contemporary people need such places. Everywhere it is possible to comment on the writings on the current development comments from upset people wanting the library to remain a library are pouring in. But who are the ones that rush out to defend cleansings, half empty shelves and visions of a diffuse digital future in which we all have unbroken interest in meetings instead of sitting comfortably in the corner of the sofa with a good book? Well, they are librarians! Why? Can anyone explain to me? Do Sweden's (or at least Scania's) librarians no longer care for books? Don't you like your jobs? Why do

you desperately want the change your professional roles into something else, something more, something better, cooler, more hip, more modern than just lending out books? Please explain to me. I'd really like to know. (#637)

The following day, 18 authors are signing a proclamation against the changes at MCL:

Something is rotten at the MCL. When a library director who due to public opinion has been forced to embellish one of her most important decisions, triumphantly claims that she is listening to her time, one would like to know what sibyl she has been asking. It is certainly not the oracles who come every day to use the library services and borrow something from its fantastic collection. The removals continue in spite of this. The fact is that 460,000 Swedish Kronor has been budgeted for an advertisement campaign in order for the inhabitants of Malmoe to understand what it is that makes library director Elsebeth Tank's vision so contemporary. Consequently it is not Tank who is listening but the inhabitants of Malmoe who are to listen to her. The borrowers must learn that the book is passé and the experience is the new. Time demands that books disappear and that we authors enter. But do we authors want to come into a library where reflection, reading and general education in a pejorative way is being opposed to experience and information? The library is one of society's most important institutions for reading, for the change of human beings that the word can entail. Therefore we ask ourselves what time Elsebeth Tank is living in. According to her it is a time liberated from the rule of experts. But without the twinkling of an eye she acts herself as the great authority in terms of what characterizes our time and what this time demands. It is not enough that today's information overflow has made the librarian and her book collections useless. Even the pupil is the best to bear the responsibility of his own education. Even the patient is an expert on his own disease. One might wonder what authors are good for. The lonely and the unhappy can sure write about their own pain? The thirsty for truth can write his own novel. The experience seeking can stage his own drama.

Thus Tank knows something of which the rest of us don't know. She knows that we don't go to the library to borrow books. They are for sale at the Internet book store AdLibris and for reading at Google books, she writes. But it is free to borrow books at the MCL and most titles available at Google books you can only read extracts from.

If you read Tank's visions of the future library you soon discover a political agenda which is about much more than removals and views of technology. It's about the view of the public. About the view of the citizen and democracy.

We defend ourselves against the development which Tank claims to be the law. Tank is not only the judge, she is also the jury. It is she who has made the decision to break up subject competent working groups, centralize acquisition of books and other collections, work for sponsoring and change the library into a commercial theme park. This is nothing that time demands. It is something Tank systematically implements. And nothing engaged citizens can quietly accept. (Sydsvenskan, August 19, 2009) (#638)

Although powerful in their defense, the authors' article also arouses opposition. Librarian and library consult, Zuzana Helinsky, takes the party of the MCL:

As everything else in society even libraries must develop, they have done that and they will be doing so in step with the overall changes of society. Nothing strange in that. [...] But it is not only in the bookshelves that the reassessment and completions must happen, it is also about mental change. There will be a balance between paper books and electronic books, between the new IT-world and the traditional book world. That libraries in addition might function as experience centers and meeting place is a fantastic ambition and we should all applaud MCL's ambitions. Sure, clear guidelines are missing which means that all who want to move forward to a certain extent have to find their own ways to find their roles in the process. But also to find a position which builds on more content and through this a broader visitors' base. As the library is for everybody and wants to reach even more, it obviously has to be promoted, otherwise the libraries become an interest for a smaller group and that can never be the purpose. It is a frighteningly elitist thought that libraries should become a closed world reserved for those who are already there, unknown to everybody else. The idea of the public library is exactly that people should have access to them, people in the sense of everybody. That, as has been put forward from certain authors' quarters, a broader invitation should imply at the people should also be responsible for the content in the library and through this lead to a trivialization is a plump vulgarization of the debate. The necessary debate. Changes are necessary, so is the promotion of them. Therefore MCL is on the right way when they are advertizing their developed functions as experience center and meeting place. Too many people know of shopping centers as the only place that offers experience so it is excellent that MCL has the ambition to match this. Thank God I'm convinced they will make it! (Zuzana Helinsky, August 20, 2009, peterals.wordpress.com) (#639)

Tank replies:

The MCL's importance to the culture and knowledge city of Malmoe is central. Therefore it is a sign of health that the plans to change the darling arouses emotions and debate. At the library we read the input to the debate with great awareness and discuss how we best meet the often incompatible demands and wishes which are being expressed. Our task is to balance the different wishes but also to take into consideration the citizens of Malmoe who for some reason do not participate in the public debate.

In Wednesday's newspaper eighteen authors protested against the entire plan for the development of MCL in the coming years. I do understand why one might have opinions on details in such a big change project but it is strange for me that one wants to shoot down the entire plan. I'm asking myself: what might eighteen fiction authors hold against a change of which the aim is to also strengthen the position of literary fiction – both in the physical library and in the debate? (Sydsvenskan August 21, 2009) (#640)

Once again the strategic plans at MCL are being backed up by the Chair of the Cultural Committee of the City of Malmoe, Carina Nilsson (Social Democratic Party):

In 20 years the library visitors have been reduced by nearly 25 percent. This goes for all of the country. In Malmoe we are still in a good position as big cities go in terms of book loans but slightly worse off in terms of the visits/citizens ratio. We are in for big challenges when it comes to reaching children and youngster. Our aim is for the library to both keep its visitors and borrowers but also reach new groups. Children, youngster and families, elderly people, people with another background than Swedish. The library should matter to more people! (August 22, 2009, Sydsvenskan) (#641)

Local blogger, researcher and author Rasmus Fleischer (August 22, 2009, copyriot.se) asks if there is only single way in which a library can function, referring to the manifest by the 18 authors:

Worth reading and smart although is doesn't go very deep into the question of what a library should be – or if at all there has to be one recipe of what a library should be. Wouldn't it be better with a diversity of different libraries, ranging all the way from archive to theater (or from archive to museum) – providing there are politicians who are willing to take an overall political responsibility for balancing 'experience and information' against 'reflection, reading and general education?' Another blogger, Anders, is posting a comment to this: 'I think I'll try to write something about the discussion of

MCL too but it is difficult. I haven't been following enough, I feel the debate is mostly making me sad. It would be interesting to know how often those 18 authors of the article in Sydsvenskan go to their local library themselves. It feels as if people are happy to describe their love of libraries, only they don't go there themselves. (#642)

Blogger, Bryt, is picking up the line in his posting:

In terms of the library I think you are even more right Anders. It's like this, in THEORY you would like to have a library but don't feel up to going there, you don't support the idea in practice. Seeing parallels to the book business where customers turn to the Internet to a high extent which leads the book stores to draw down on assortment (to manage finances) after which book stores are being scolded by customers who ANYWAY shop via the Internet because the book stores don't have breadth in their assortment....... And further more: is it really news that libraries do removals? As I understand it, it certainly is a big removal but removing books on films which have not been lent out for over five years doesn't seem so noteworthy. And the competence to select what is to be saved should be with the staff. Archiving is found at the Royal Library, so MCL doesn't have to deal with that. By the way, I think that the books should have been given away from the beginning instead of destroying them. ((August 22, 2009, copyriot.se) (#643)

Fleischer is reiterating some of the points in an article in Sydsvenskan (August 23, 2009):

Are libraries to have their own aesthetics? Or should the art they offer remain within the covers of the books? The question can be seen faintly behind the current debate on destroyed books. 'Library aesthetics' is a word which hardly has found its way into the Swedish language but which have great importance to the new City Librarian Elsebeth Tank. Long before she moved over the Sound to begin her new position she started off an exciting discussion on what libraries can learn from experimental theater and art halls on her personal blog (Library Aesthetics, September 21, 2008 elsebethtank.com). [...] Next step in the removal process is to include books which have not been lent out since 2005. To publish that list would undoubtedly stimulate a vivid debate on literary quality. Furthermore, some would certainly 'support borrow' books which they already love and have to save them from being removed from the library. To surface the active role of the borrowers in this way would be a radical library aesthetic which opens an important question. [...] An alternative perspective, on the contrary, departs from the notion that the digital and the analogue are part of a permanent circulation. As the digital information is already available in excess, the task is to provide space for

physical presence, for people and books, in some sort of balance. A radical idea for a post digital library would be to acquire the new hybrid of printer and press called Expresso Book Machine. Visitors would be able to at a humble cost to produce their own pocket book in just a few minutes, either from a pdf-file or from a database of books of which the copyright had expired. From a library aesthetic point of view it would be great art. (#644)

And the following day, 62 librarians from all over the country publish a letter in Sydsvenskan, which Sydsvenskan is publishing under the heading 'The Fruitsallad of Knowledge' (Sydsvenskan, August 23, 2009). The librarians are supportive of the current debate:

> Having opinions is good. We should have opinions on public institutions, the libraries want to listen to their users. [...] In UNESCO's manifesto on public libraries it clearly says that the main task of public libraries is to work for literacy, information, education and culture among other things through counteracting the digital gap and offering possibilities for creativity and personal development. Around the world lots of efforts have been made to meet those challenges. MCL is one of many libraries which work to create a library that to a higher extent than before can combine the traditional library services with new efforts such as meeting places, arenas for conversations on literature and questions of society, children's libraries and as bridge builders across digital gaps. (#645)

The authors concerns are followed by local journalist Per Svensson (of whom we learn in the article that he was also applicant for the position as City Librarian):

> There is an elitist contempt of the book based library masked into populism and proposal of marriage to the audience, not only in the PR phrases but also in the strategic documents of MCL, although more flowery expressed. Somewhat pejorative and indulgent. The library innovators, those who have knowledge and sentiments, are dancing into the future but would still like to show some generosity towards the graying panel hens which flock at the shelves. [...] On Monday the government is presenting its cultural proposal. The report which is backing it up has been heavily criticized for not caring about expressing any quality targets for the cultural policy. A similar criticism can full well be addressed to the culture revolutionary plans at MCL. If the library doesn't dare or want to stand up to its role as a cultural norm builder and public educator and instead is defining itself as a competitor to the Academy Book Store and other experience based stores in the commercial

market, then why should the library be financed by tax payers' money? (Sydsvenskan, September 19, 2009) (#646)

As the debate is ebbing out the Swedish National Broadcasting is picking up on the theme of libraries in a broader sense. A series of discussions is broadcasted (SR, September 18 – October 2, 2009) under the heading The Library of the Future. The first contributor to the debate is Margareta Swanelid, Dieselverkstadens Bibliotek, which since three years is being run as a private enterprise for the Municipality of Nacka. Swanelid is summing up her experiences:

> Three and half year later we can just conclude that the decision we made to run the library under our own auspices was a very good decision for our visitors and for us as a staff group. It has given us and gives us a larger freedom to continue to form the activities as we and the visitors want. On the other hand, I'm underlining that the operational mode of a library is by no means decisive to create development, all is about attitude, ways of working and a consciousness of the task of 'library to everyone'. Ever since we started we have been one hundred percent focused on the clients, which means even before the word was no longer improper in the business. This means that we are open when people are off work – seven days a week, evenings and holidays. We have carefully selected assortment of books, recordings, TV-games, films etc which is available at the library the same day they are released for sale at the shops. We have employees who are passionate and competent and who are themselves eager cultural consumers which means that the all join circles where discussion on films, literature and music are permanently going on. In this way we have good preconditions for creating an attractive media collection at the library. To have client focus also implies that the attitude towards the visitors is relaxed and curious, that we treat them as equals – there are no prohibition signs, we rely on their own judgement in terms of mobile phones and loudness of conversations. (#647)

Niclas Lindberg is next in line and he is concerned with the public libraries as a project of freedom and democracy:

> Freedom of speech in Sweden is a constitutional right. Every citizen is free to state information or express thoughts, opinions and feelings. A true freedom of speech requires that everybody has access to a language, to knowledge and information. It even requires a diversity of arenas which are easily accessible for people regardless of their social constitution, gender, profession,

geography, ethnicity or disabilities. Should a modern society no need this type of arenas? Mindblowing. In this perspective libraries must be seen as self evident. (ibid.) (#648)

Historian of literature, Britt Dahlström is particularly concerned with how things are measured and how the measurements are being used strategically:

> Removals according to the principle that what has not been lent out for the last five, ten years must go. This only protects today's most popular books! This is capitulating in front of accidental trends! How much valuable female literature had as an example not been removed during the 1940 – 50'ies if that rule had been applied. Those authors came into focus of women's studies and women's research during the 1960 – 70'ies. Had we had libraries three hundred years ago with similar demands on removals Shakespeare would have disappeared as there was a period when he was not an author to count on. It is getting usual to measure the productivity of the libraries and effectiveness in terms of statistics of visitors' numbers and loans. Possibly the numbers have a value of their own. Method and terminology from economy is spreading to other areas where they are misplaced and to the most inadequate do the libraries belong. They are no business enterprise which can become profitable. The values are measured in terms of people's experience of beauty and freedom, loneliness and resistance. In a library the visitor can the time for what requires time and reach to an insight.' (ibid.) (#649)

The discussion is joined from a somewhat unexpected corner, as Göran Hägglund, Minister for Social Affairs (Christian Democrats) is posting a message under the title: '*The Librarians Are Threatening Our Cultural Heritage*' (September 24 2009) **www.newsmill.se**) and he goes on:

> But in addition, the remaining half of all shelves is to be kept empty. The books which escape the paper mill should be exposed to a maximum. Increased competition as some economist probably would have said. This raises serious questions. Is the same logic applicable in a library as in a book store? Is it a market place? And is literature a commodity which is to be developed according to some kind of 'survival of the fittest', which is to say that what is read more is by definition more worth than what is read by fewer? Are we to throw out what doesn't go well by the majority – or in this case grind it in the paper mill? [...] A library is a public general educational institution.

The point is not that one should be able to find what is currently most popular and covering the showcases at the bookstores. Rather the contrary: one should be able to find what is not necessarily read by everyone. One should be able to stroll about, botanize and let oneself be surprised by such books which might behave completely weirdly and cryptically but which still can arouse those thoughts and references which can change an entire life. Originality must have places of refuge in society. A library is conceived to be such a place.(#650)

Tank wraps up the discussion sharing some of her thoughts on what has been a fierce debate:

One hasn't been holding back on gun powder in the criticism of MCL's plans. The debate started in Sydsvenskan in August and has since spread to many media. I and other library employees have had difficulties in seeing the connection between our visions and targets and the future scenarios outlined by the critics. Why do libraries develop new strategies and give the notion of library a new content? Because the physical visits and loans for a long time have been decreasing which does not correspond to the wish to be a library to everybody. But also because society has undergone a revolution within the areas of information, communication and technology as well as the level of education has increased and the homogeneity of the population has been replaced by a strong diversity. If libraries did not act according to such new preconditions their relevance would soon end up in free fall.

There is a need to expand the content of certain fundamental notions in the debate. Why should libraries be financed by the public purse if they do not stand up to their roles as 'cultural norm builders and general educators', writes Per Svensson in Sydsvenskan (September 19). But 'general education' in this context tends to be perceived as 'top-down' – we know what is good for you, we enlighten the people. Opposite this is the notion of 'education', which is based on dialogue and respect of the individual's own definitions of what is meaningful.

A broader notion of education is based on the insight that there are many ways to gain experiences and learn. Some read smart books, some learn through by doing, some learn best visually, others by listening. Some people prefer sitting calmly and quietly, others function optimally in interaction. If one were to point out shared valid cultural norms today they would be: intercultural intelligence and democracy as governance. Apart from these it is problematic in a multifaceted society to work from the idea of a universal norm which

should be promoted at the expense of all others. The library must go in the other direction and offer many options.

This also influences the 'old' notion of quality in the sense that the idea of an unambiguous universal quality norm is loosing influence. Not because everything is equally good but because a cultural or artistic expression must be valued on its own premises. A novel, a rap song or a political debate cannot be valued on identical parameters. The libraries must work with a differentiated, pluralistic and user oriented sense of quality amongst the numerous culture and media forms which must be available.

'Maximizing visitors cannot be a target in itself', says Per Svensson. He has got a point because it is meaningless to run a library without targets and content. On the other hand it is difficult to argument in favor of running a library without visitors paid by the public purse. One has to try to create a reasonable balance.

The recent year 72000 persons have actively used their borrower cards in one of the 11 public libraries which exist in the City of Malmoe. It is not unusual that entire families borrow on the same card and likewise that people stay at the library without borrowing. Even then one has to consider if it is satisfactory that only 25% of Malmoe's population are registered as active borrowers? There is also a tendency that more loans are made by fewer persons. Under the last period of 10 years 14025 super users have accounted for 53% of the borrowings from the libraries of Malmoe. At MCL we are asking ourselves if 900000 annual visits are satisfactory in a library meant for 1.5 million. If it is possible to reach more why shouldn't we?

Throughout the 100 years history of public libraries experience is playing an increasing role. First indirectly through the experience potential of the books, and from the 1970s more directly through program activities. During the recent years the public libraries have given an even higher priority to the experience dimension, among other things to stimulate immersion and prolongation of the library visit.

This seems to be a problem to some of the critics. The word 'experience' has become an inappropriate word and it is seen as a means to devalue the value of the library. But experience is not necessarily synonymous with banal obsequiousness. The notion of experience can on the contrary be a new way to challenge the library visitor – or the entire local community.

'Experience' in this context should be understood as broadly as the 'experience' of the English language which means 'experience' in addition to 'experience' (both oplevelse and erfaring, Erlebnis and Erfahrung). A similar word does not exist neither in Swedish nor in Danish. In English one talks of 'The Experience Library', the library in which experience and knowledge are two sides of the same coin. That is the way we'd like to go at the MCL, in a Malmoe version however.

The international authors' stage which the MCL has started this year has also been attacked. Perhaps because one has not seen how this stage can develop a new strong literary community for readers and established authors. It can be developed to include writing workshops and reading circles or 24 hours poetry arrangements in the 107 languages spoken in Malmoe. It can appear as part of literary festivals and via the Internet plug into literary events in many other places in the world. Possibilities are legio.

When we at the MCL during 2008 started off the development of a new strategy we decided it should have a name and it became 'The Darling Library of the World', with the undertitle 'Your Life, Your Dreams, Your Library'.

The name is to underline that our primary purpose is to gain a place in the hearts of all Malmoe citizens. To get there the way goes through the entire presence of the library: listening, broadly inclusive and dynamic. 'In the world' is to symbolize that the MCL is aiming at being in interaction with all the world which exists in Malmoe at the same time as we want to be known also outside of Malmoe and Sweden as the library which both lives in one of the most beautiful building complexes in the Nordic countries and pays attention to always being the favorite place of the users. (#651)

At a public debate arranged by Sydsvenskan at the MCL, Tank says that the fight has made her more careful. '*It has been incredibly tough. In this sense the critics have won*' (#652) (Sydsvenskan, October 28, 2009). The struggle as described in the case can be summed up in the final remarks by two of the main combatants; Per Svensson: '*The base of a library should be books*' (#653) and Tank: '*The base should be people*' (ibid.) (#654).

6.3 Re-constructing the Case – Whose Darling Is a Library Anyway?

In this chapter I have so far aimed at creating a reality (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50) of which I am clearly a part, as is the future reader of the text (ibid.). The text produced is

thus not a description of how things are, but a construction of what they may be in the particular setting of my inquiry. I interpret the final remarks (#653 and #654) in a way which accommodates and exemplifies the distinction between an entitative and relational view of arts and culture, taking the book to be the epitomized example of the extralinguistic, disinterested understanding of arts and culture as in possession of intrinsic values, and people to stand for the intralinguistic, interested understanding of arts and culture only possessing the value ascribed to them in relations. To further substantiate this distinction, I construct the case to support this overall distinction. I so to speak emplot (see chapter 2) my narrative rendering of the case in such a way, that it allows for reconsctructions (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) along the lines of this overall distinction. This, however, is not to argue that the case may not be reconstructed in other ways, and as the reconstruction the City Librarian and I make at the end of this chapter suggests, the focus on the struggle may be accompanied by a reconstruction informed by the many and impressive achievements the process at the MCL has also produced.

What my very first comment (#601) allude to is the impression that a library looks different depending on whether you place books (#653) or people (#654) at the focus of attention. With books as the focus, one is like to be impressed by the endless rows of well-organized, carefully selected books. With people, one might be surprised at how isolated and solemnly majestic the place appears. Prior to my first visit I had been studying the strategic documents describing the ambitions plans for re-thinking the very notion of a library in terms of a post-modern globalized world in which the very conditions for thinking about a library have been changed. I was excited about those plans which potentially could bring about a revolution in terms of how public cultural institutions are thought of in the public sphere, and the role they may potentially play in the minds of the public. Watching these ambitions stumble because of some knitting and gardening books going to the grinding mill upset me, and I imagine I must have looked so formal when arriving at the MCL, that the reception assistants (#603, #604) felt inclined to address me in old-fashioned formal terms – or they were simply being friendly and joking, which I may have misinterpreted.

It is in light of this initial disappointment that I go on to re-construct[94] (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) the case by first summing up what I have constructed as two competing narratives, the Narrative of Re-Aesthetization and the Narrative of Preservations. In my re-construction I point to the two different plots around which I have emplotted my rendering of the case, and how they struggle to achieve certain aims.

The Narrative of Re-Aesthetization

The narrative of re-aesthetization (NRA) (#602) is organized around a plot which is about fundamentally changing the MCL from a traditional archive of books to a center for culture and knowledge. To legitimize this aim, Tank points to the democratization of knowledge occurring thanks to the Internet, social media etc. (#634) thus invoking a contextual relevance in opposition to 'old authorities' as legitimacy. Since the NRA cannot rely on the legitimacy provided by the old authorities, which I take to be the meta-narrative described in chapter 3, it has to seek a performative legitimacy in the form of narrative ratification such as described in chapter 4. The NRA is granted such narrative ratification by local politicians (##630, 631 & 641), who point to democratic concerns, e.g. that the numbers of borrowers have decreased, and that the MCL therefore must take on an active role in creating activities for new users. The user aspect is given priority above just preserving books, wherefore the function of a library will be changed fundamentally over time. Local bloggers and users (##612, 632, 635, 639 642, 643, 644 & 648) point to the advent of the Internet and social media, which also in a fundamental sense change the role of libraries, as these new media offer easier, more user friendly access to the same kind of services that libraries offer. Some of them, however, do point to the nostalgic veneration one may have towards libraries which may inspire some to argue in favor of their preservation, without using them in a practical sense. The notion of library aesthetics is picked up on and linked to the kind of DIY-aesthetics I discussed in section 4.2. The question is asked whether books in themselves posses an aesthetics sufficient to legitimize their presence and preservation at a public library, or whether libraries must accommodate DIY-aesthetics, e.g. by installing digital on demand printing facilities at the disposal of those previously

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[94] McNamee and Hosking (2012:51) suggest the term 'reconstructing' instead of 'analyzing' to underscore that what relational constructionist research aims at doing, is to reconstruct new possible realities influenced by the researcher's aims, culture etc.

considered as borrowers, now more taking on the role of content producers themselves. Other librarians (## 645, 647) support this development towards placing both current and future users at the core of attention, thus linking traditional library services with the expectations of a contemporary society. Those employed at the MCL express excitement throughout the planning phase (##616, 617 & 618) and take active part in formulating the new strategy, both in more classical forms such as organizational meetings, but also via a new blog which is available to everybody in the organization[95].

In (#651) Tank reiterates the NRA seeking narrative ratification by pointing to two factors influencing the very raison d'être of libraries: first, the number of borrowers (general decrease in numbers of borrowers as a global trend, only 14.025 'super-users' account for 53% of borrowings from the MCL, the MCL is meant for 1.5 annual visits, but only has 750.000-930.000). This argument reduces the challenge to a 'tame' problem, such as described in section 5.2, according to which cultural policies are being legitimized through counting numbers, implying that democratic representativeness in itself provides legitimization. Second, she points to the revolution which has happened both within communication and technology, but also in terms of more diverse populations, increased levels of education. This situates the challenge of libraries as 'wicked' in the sense I described in sections 5.3 and 5.4, to which there are no well known solutions, only an ongoing search for temporary means to handle the situation. The NRA in short places people and their diverse interests as the center of attention (#654).

The Narrative of Preservation

The narrative of preservation (NOP) (#653) on the other hand, is organized around a plot which is about preserving the autonomy of books, libraries and authors (##615, 626, 628, 633, 636, 637, 646, 648 & 650). The NOP seeks narrative ratification by linking to freedom of speech as a constitutional right (#648), and by invoking the historical image of autos-da-fé (#633) in connection to the grinding of removed books (##626 & 628). It problematizes the audience and the alleged focus on them as marketization (#633), by arguing that the NRA's concern for audiences will inevitably turn the MCL into a theme

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[95] This support, however, changes dramatically throughout the media storm. The process following the media storm is worth a study in itself, but I have decided to leave it out of this study. Some of the themes, however, are picked up in my post scriptum.

park. This, the NOP argues, is based on a misinterpretation of what audiences want and disrespect for democracy, but also disregarding such a things as the love of books as physical artefacts (#632). Thus, the NOP is about defending the freedom of authors and books (#633) from interests from others, and about maintaining and re-installing the MCL as a cultural norm builder (#646). This cultural norm builder systematically grants little if any relevance to the concerns of the NRA, as the book and the library are themselves sufficient legitimization, although also supported by the need for physical books to accommodate a growing interest in history (#615). As cultural norm builder, concerns such as popularity of books (#628) are equally considered irrelevant, and discarded as new speak and marketing thinking (#633) leading to considering borrowers as customers and not engaged citizens. Libraries should remain calm and silent places for reading as places of retreat from society (#637).

The way I have constructed the study of MCL resonates the struggle between the art for its own sake which must be protected through the ALP as described in chapter 3, and the post-modern incredulity towards this narrative demonstrated by a diverse, and not necessarily mutually compatible number of other concerns as described in chapter 4. The leadership challenge in the struggle is summed up by Carina Nilsson, City Council Member for Culture and Leisure in Malmoe (Sydsvenskan, August 22, 2009): '*The target must be to reach even those who don't go to the library today.'* This aim, can as I discussed in chapter 5 be approached either from the top-down vantage offered by the democratization of culture program, or by the bottom-up vantage offered by the cultural democracy program. Although initiated by Tank which may have indicated a top-down approach, I read the NRA as an attempt to reinvent the notion of library from a cultural democracy vantage. This clearly breaks with the classical understanding of a library as a top-down norm builder represented by the NOP, the librarians as the custodians of the traditions, and the authors and the sole content providers in the form of books. As the process is public via the media, it is possible to follow the ongoing process of constructing realities socially, which I discuss in chapter 8 in terms of relational leadership theory (RLT). From an RLT point of view, leadership is about processes, and less about individuals. Although the study of the MCL seems crammed with influential individuals, all seeking to influence the outcome of the process through their narratives, the leadership as mutual processes in the case of MCL is of particular interest to my inquiry. First, because it indicates a need for a dialogic turn

such as described in section 5.4, in that it underlines that the responsibility for leadership in the cultural sector can profit from being seen as relational, and not confined to individuals. The MCL's invitation to participate is neglected, or rather not even received, as the media storm aroused by the grinding of books brings the process to a halt even before it has begun. As the study indicates, this has devastating consequences for the final outcome. Second, because it points to the omnipresence of leadership when seen from an RLT vantage. Anyone can participate, regardless of formal hierarchies, position, available information etc., and this fundamentally changes the framework for understanding what counts as leadership. As leadership in this sense is dependent on narrative ratification to gain its performative legitimization, the very process of gaining narrative ratification becomes central to leadership in the cultural sector. This leads on to the third point, which in short is about renegotiating what counts as art and culture and what counts as leadership in the cultural sector. In section 5.4 I referred to this, as a need for cultural governance, in the sense of an overall renegotiation of what a cultural sector is for, for whom it is, what purposes it is supposed to serve and how it is legitimized as part of a contemporary (welfare) society in the 21st century.

To sum up I take the study of the MCL to contribute to my inquiry in the following ways:
- It has made the struggle between the dominant narrative (chapter 3) and alternative narratives (chapter 4) relevant in empirical terms, and given it substance in a concrete context. In particular it has demonstrated the strength of the dominant narrative, and the need for a 'new paradigm' to legitimize challenges to this narrative.
- It has provided an insight into leadership as a process of ongoing construction of realities in which not only individual leaders, but a number of individuals can and do actively participate.
- It has pointed to the relevance of relational responsibility for the outcome of such processes.
- It has suggested as need for a more considerate use of narratives by all those involved in such leadership processes, as inconsiderate use can produce devastating outcomes. I pick up on this point in chapter 8, arguing that RLT is both about diffused power and about diffused responsibility.

- It has pointed to the limits of understanding an organization in the cultural sector as a bordered entity, and to the usefulness of understanding it in terms of its relations and context.
- It has pointed to the need for reconsidering what counts as arts and cultural in a post-modern, globalized world and to how such considerations might be approached.
- It has pointed to the need for reconsidering what counts as leadership in the cultural sector, and given some substantial input to how such considerations might be approached.

Reconstructing a Possible Outcome of the Case Study

With the aim of pointing to possibly useful outcomes of the case study, I have invited the City Librarian to reflect on my rendering on the case, and to participate in the process of reconstructing it, not as it is, but as it might become (Hjorth & Hosking, 2004:259). We meet on May 16[96], 2012 and Tank has read a draft of my case study prior to our meeting and she has equally responded in writing (May 27, 2012) to our reconstruction of the case, which I have added as a further reconstruction of the case.

'*Aren't you being too critical?*' (fieldnotes, May 16, 2012) asks Tank, before we take a break in the meeting. '*I'm only asking you as a friend*' (ibid.). The question hits me like a belly flop as I take it to be about my rendering of the case. I had been thinking I was perhaps too moderate in the way I have constructed the rendition of the case. When going through the case again, it occurs to me that some of the remarks I have clipped from blogs and newspapers do sound very critical when placed in the context of a research inquiry, and especially when sampled in accordance with a specific plot. When responding to my first reconstruction of the case, Tank points out that her remark really wasn't about the rendition of the case, it was more a concern for the kind of criticism I might encounter

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[96] The meeting is scheduled for 14 p.m, but Tank is late. As she turns up, she explains that her delay is due to her having been to the local police office to report two anonymous threat letters (of which I get to see copies) addressed to her. Hostility towards the developments at the MCL is apparently still alive amongst a few radicals. We decide, however, not to let this influence the outcome of the case study, and instead focus on the remarkable results of what has already happened and the possibilities in what is to come at MCL.

when suggesting a 'paradigm shift' in the cultural sector in more general terms, drawing on the inspiration from the MCL. Thus, the remark was more a response to some of my remarks about the cultural sector in general. During our conversation, I had been relating that what may come off the paper as a critical attitude towards preserving libraries in some old-fashioned ways, really is influenced by the struggle I have related in chapter 3 and 4. In this regard, the efforts at the MCL to reconsider and reconfigurate the role of libraries in the postmodern society stand as reference points for other parts of the cultural sector, and my disappointment about the resistance is also linked to these aspects. Tank's remark in this sense, was more a considerate reminder, that when suggesting radical changes in the cultural sector, one should really be aware of the consequences that may entail (response, May 27, 2012). With this clarification, we agree to also focus the reconstruction on some constructive output, in order for me, not only to criticize, but also to point to possible further steps.

On a tour around the library we stop at the new space for 9-12 year old youngsters due to open in a month. The space is just really awesome and carefully conceived of in a collaboration between the librarians, an interaction designer, an interior designer and not least 120 children and future users (Strategy 2012-2016, 2012:5-6) to accommodate the needs of a generation which is online 24/7. Therefore the space is both physical and digitial, and designed to encourage the use of both. As an example, the use of regular chairs, tables and shelves is abandoned in favor of multipurpose installation like structures on which youngsters can hang out while reading, chatting or eating (a kitchenette is also available to them), or just chilling out on an elevated, artificial meadow overlooking the park around the MCL. A small part of the space is meant to have a slightly more formal touch to it, and the children involved in the process have decided that that particular space will be called 'the Ministry' (field notes, May 16, 2012).

We continue through the Castle (Slottet), a large space previously filled with shelves, now converted to a learning center in collaboration with municipal education authorities to accommodate and encourage the ongoing learning process of users seeking support for an inspiration to informal free learning for adults. The way the space is conceived of is based on some ideological intentions the MCL formulated when offered to take on this particular task by the Municipal Agency for Education (MAE). The MAE accepted and acknowledged

the MCL's conditions in terms of keeping the space as free and open to everybody, not asking people to identify themselves, and not conducting exams which was the MAE's original plan (response, May 27, 2012). Specially trained staff is available, but the place is also open to unplanned meetings and informal learning through various media (Strategy 2012-2016:2012:6). Although the place accommodates tasks usually taken care of by other municipal authorities, it has kept its distinct atmosphere as an 'unofficial' place. The place has recently been externally evaluated, and the evaluation is clearly testifying that the space has set new positive standards for adult learning, in particular for men who are usually difficult to reach with such initiatives. On our way back we pass through the children's library of which a reconfiguration is equally in process, as the space currently available more looks like a museum of how children's libraries looked in the 1970s. We joke informally about this, before continuing the meeting.

'*In terms of staff reactions to the changes, the overall impression is that a lot of people do really well, achieve remarkable results and generally support the overall strategy. The resistance group is diminishing, albeit increasing in its aggressive attitude. As my organizational consultant mentioned, they seem to project their paranoia onto me as a person. But when I have staff meetings, I'm amazed to see what people accomplish and the pride they take in their work – and in being part of the process.*' (field notes, May 16, 2012). We discuss further what this means in terms of leadership: '*Starting off with a paradigm shift may have been slightly too cheerful. We didn't have enough knowledge about the various contexts we were part of, and due the press storm, it became impossible to establish the dialogic processes that are key to the overall strategy.*'(Ibid.) *'With the revised strategy, we are now in a position to further unfold those processes, and have a better knowledge of how we may make the library interesting to the surrounding world.' (ibid.).* The strategy paper is a revised version of 'the Darling Library-strategy' (Strategy 2012-2016:3), and if it is slightly less bold in its visions for the future library, it is all the more substantial in describing how, with whom and for what purpose strategic initiatives are being made. Its tone is somewhat more muted, not least because the proposed initiatives are rooted in and substantiated through already accomplished initiatives which have been very convincing both internally and externally. For instance, the Writers' Scene, so fiercely contested even before its launching, is now a huge success both amongst audiences, but also amongst the writers who feel they and their work are being met with an

unprecedented compassion and interest. Even some of those authors who were leading protests, now show up, and as these meetings with the authors are screened online, it is possible to reach a whole new audience for this kind of events.

As we talk about leadership, I argue that Tank has seems to have opted for a definition of her own task as 'wicked' (se chapter 5), to which there are no known answers, only continued search for new answer. I ask her how this challenges her understanding of leadership. '*Well, first I'm not so sure that launching a paradigm shift was such a great idea after all. Perhaps it made things unnecessarily difficult.*' (fieldnotes, May 16, 2012). '*Second, it becomes very clear that enormous amounts of time must be spent on keeping the process going. The search for mandate to go on begins anew every morning, and sometimes I ask myself why I stand up to this. I often think about Prof. Fogh Kirkeby's description of leadership as the incessant quest for something larger than oneself. To me this larger than myself is about carrying things forward, otherwise they just wither away.*' (fieldnotes, May 16, 2012). I suggest introducing Held and Moore's argument (referred in chapter 5) about culture as the lens through which we can understand ourselves and the world, as ideologies have vanished. We agree that this obviously enlarges the notion of culture beyond a strict art definition, and it raises questions about our understandings of civilization and the classical notion of Bildung, so fundamental to cultural policies in the Nordic countries (and elsewhere). I ask Tank if the current process at the MCL may be understood as a process of establishing a new kind of Bildung. *'I'm not sure, but it makes me think about the kind of co-creation we want to bring about in everything we do. When e.g. we invite 120 children and their teachers to help us understand how a library can reflect what is important to them and to their lives, we do have to let go of control, and see them as a resource in the process of co-creating a new library. Obviously, this is really time-consuming and sometimes it challenges current ideas. As an example, the children wanted a 'parcours' feeling to the way the deal with books. Well, then you can't stuff the entire place with books. But this is really a demanding process, 'cause we must always begin these processes by figuring out what it is we're going to talk about. We can't start by telling people what a library is and should be.'* (ibid.). This takes us back to the question of democracy, which we agree sometimes takes on the function of a triumph when we don't have anything better to come up with. I describe Grint's tame problems, and we agree that obviously, the question of what counts

as art and culture cannot be reduced only to a question of only complying with demography. Yet, we also agree that this question cannot be disregarded, and Tank refers to the multiethnic reality of Malmoe as an example. The revised strategy (Strategy 2012-2016, 2012:16) introduces some of the possible new stakeholders who may be involved in the process of co-creating the future library. It both mentions the classical cultural circles, but also stakeholders one wouldn't usually connect to a city library, such as entrepreneurship environments and local businesses. Tank describes how the MCL plans to also physically be present in various parts of the city, in order not to become a 'local' library, but indeed also to give locals in all parts of the city a feeling that they are also part of something larger than themselves. These efforts will be organized around themes described in the strategy (Strategy 2012-2016, 2012:17) such as '*democratic citizen processes*', '*urban planning*' and '*alternative cultural viewpoints*', and user involving methods such as Open Space will be part of the process.

Towards the end of the meeting we revert to the question of me being too critical. I realize that my enthusiasm for thinking about cultural institutions in new ways aiming at giving them new roles in a postmodern, globalized world, can perhaps too easily come off the paper as too critical towards the past. I argue, that my criticism is substantiated both theoretically and practically throughout my inquiry, and not least, that it is a response to an '*implicit standard*' (Sampson, 1993:6) which since the Enlightenment, hasn't had to justify or legitimize itself. Tank stresses the importance of producing outcomes of the inquiry which may enable others to also engage in such processes, and I thank her for making this point so clearly in our discussion. In her response to my first reconstruction of our meeting, Tank comes back to the question of a new understanding of 'Bildung': '*Actually, I think it is possible to talk about a new form of Bildung, in the sense that we have abandoned the traditional top-down understanding, and currently we are engaged in developing the MCL's offerings to and relations with especially the vulnerable users in a way, which allows them to acknowledge that the library may be a resource in their lives – also on their own conditions.*' (response, May 27, 2012). This thread is followed up in a comment on the city's plans to tie development resources for the MCL to extended opening hours at the immediate expense of attempts to reach new users in accordance with the strategy:

The staff at the MCL would without being bored easily be able to use all working hours to run the library for those who already today are active library users. But the longer we have been working with the strategy, the clearer it has become that the MCL's contribution towards the efforts to reduce barriers and create an open, integrated Malmoe to a high extent is about participating in life outside of the inner city in order to establish relations to the majority of citizens in Malmoe who have yet to discover how the library may become an important resource in their lives. Zlatan Ibrahimovitz has told that he was almost grown up before it occurred to him that there is a Malmoe outside of Rosengaarden [neighborhood]. Today's child may at an early age be allow to experience that they are born into a large and rich community which has many offerings to them and their families all over the city – including the MCL. (response May 27, 2012)

As we part, we both come to think of even more new directions we might point to in our discussion about the future of cultural institution and we agree to continue these at another occasion.

In this chapter I have constructed a case study of the MCL and its strategic efforts to become a library of the 21st century. The study relates how these efforts collide frontally with existing understandings of what a library should be. The study relates how these conflicting interests evolve as a struggle between placing either books or people as the main concern for libraries. In this regard, the case study resonates the struggle between the dominant narrative I have related in chapter 3 and the alternative narratives I have related in chapter 4. To allow for and event encourage alternative reconstructions of the case, I conclude the study in an ongoing conversation with the City Librarian, which underlines the many remarkable achievements the MCL has undertaken in spite of the struggle. In the next chapter I go on to co-construct three cases which in particular focus on the potentiality of leadership in the cultural sector as bottom up processes.

Chapter 7 Three Case Studies

My study of the Malmoe City Library (the MCL) in chapter 6 was mainly about the struggle between what I have termed the dominant narrative (chapter 3) and alternative narratives (chapter 4). This struggle epitomized the quest for legitimization either by drawing on the narrative of aesthetic autonomy and art for its own sake, investing the book with intrinsic properties, or by seeking performative legitimacy in the relations between people, books and libraries. In terms of leadership I was particularly interested in the efforts to bring people to the center of attention for library activities, and as the City Librarian pointed out, I had difficulties in hiding my disappointment when the efforts encountered what I saw as untimely and reactionary resistance from part of the public currently benefitting public libraries the way they've always been. In the process of reconstructing the case, the City Librarian considerately pointed out, that my disappointment may have led me to relate the case in a way which to some may come off the paper as too critical. Although being confident that my inquiry offer a substantial basis for this criticism, I also subscribe to the view that the movement I aim to bring about in terms of leadership in the cultural sector (see end chapter 4), may benefit from being both a criticism of the current situation and an inspiration to what the future can be about. Coming back to the MCL to finally conclude the case study, indeed provided such inspiration, albeit it also surfaced reminiscences of the struggle mentioned above. In particular, it was encouraging to notice how the MCL had successfully achieved the objectives of the initial The Darling Library strategy document (2008:1) and how this invested the library with a much more lively feeling to it. Through a revised strategy (Strategy 2012-2016, 2012) the MCL will continue these efforts and I leave the case study with a feeling that with such determined efforts to create new legitimization for public libraries, they stand a good chance of surviving.

In this chapter I go on by relating three narratives of efforts to change what counts as art and what counts as leadership. They purposely have similarities with the case study of the MCL, particularly in terms of how leadership is seen as a relational process aimed at establishing performative legitimization as opposed to the '*denarrativized*' (Somers, 1994:619) legitimacy provided by the dominant narrative referring to the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment. They are also similar in the sense that what is referred to as art and culture is undergoing dramatic changes from being artworks and artefacts such as books, music or performance to which aesthetic autonomy is ascribed, to being processes of

interaction between all kinds of people all contributing to co-creating the arts and culture. Yet, the three narratives I'm about to relate are different in the sense, that I strive to leave out the struggle as much as possible to focus on the potentiality, the narrative of success and on how this may serve as an inspiration. Although I don't follow its four steps meticulously, I have been inspired by the appreciative inquiry (AI) method developed by Cooperrider and Srivastva and described in relation to research by McNamee & Hosking, 2012:65-67) in my selection of cases to study. AI suggests beginning with what works well, or less badly, as opposed to beginning with a problem. In line with this approach, I have so to speak looked for what seems to be working really well, and by giving it attention and asking those involved how they might further develop their work taking their point of departure in the successes they have already achieved, my aim is to relate narratives of inspiration. With this I introduce an element of experiment into my inquiry, in the sense that I as a researcher lose control over the process in favor of a '*generativity*' (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:59). This generativity aims at unfolding potentials which are useful to a concrete field of practice (ibid.), in the case of my study, the cultural sector. In practical terms I have invited three persons to co-create three cases by sharing their reflections with me in an unedited form. I already have extended knowledge of their work and practices, so the aim of these cases is not so much to know more, but rather to relate what they do as contributions towards understanding leadership in the cultural sector in the context of my inquiry. Under very different circumstances these three persons strive to produce alternatives to the dominant narrative of arts and culture, and through their practice and reflection they equally produce alternative narratives of leadership in the cultural sector. Albeit all being initiators of processes and projects, my aim is not to produce 'portraits', but get a sense of what they look for, and how they engage together with others in moving the stakes in dominant understandings of arts and culture, and what kinds of leadership might be involved in that. First, we meet Jesper Koefoed-Melson and Givrum.nu. In a recent evaluation of their project PB43 (Creative Commons, 2012) they choose to highlight a case in which the port-cabin of a local beer drinking club has burned down, and the role of PB43 is to help them build a new so they don't have to stand in the street while drinking their beers. While also hosting high profile galleries, a prize winning urban garden and numbers of other talk of town projects, I see the mentioning of the efforts to help building a new port cabin for the drinking club as an expression of a remarkable generosity and sense of community. Second, we meet Mogens Holm who in addition to having managed a

well-reputed theater, invests human and financial resources in making theater available to people who don't usually go to the theater, e.g. because their cultural background doesn't include that, not only out of sheer generosity, but also out of curiosity in terms of theater can become a meeting place in a community, and thereby become constitutive in creating communities. By the time we meet him, he's in a transition phase embarking on a new journey as head of culture in a district of the City of Copenhagen. Finally, we meet Uffe Savery, a high profile musician investing himself in attempts to redefine how we think about symphony orchestras, by involving all its members in a process of revitializing the very notion of symphony orchestra. In this process, the orchestra leaves its elevated position to become a social medium in itself.

'Society misses out on a lot of resources, simply because they are not perceived as resources.' (Fumz & Koefoed-Melson in Jensen & Andersen eds., 2012:34)

7.1 Case Study Givrum.nu

Givrum.nu (givespace.now) is an organization initiated by Christian Fumz and Jesper Koefoed-Melson as an attempt to encourage and enable the use of empty buildings for cultural and social purposes in sustainable ways based on maximum involvement of users. As guidelines for their work, the initiators have formulated four ideals: '1) *it has to make sense for all involved parties. 2) The initiator* only [italics by the authors] *does complexity management. 3) The activities must be based on an independent and sustainable financial model. 4) Available resources must be used in the best possible way.'* (Fumz & Koefoed-Melson in Jensen & Andersen eds., 2012:38). Givrum.nu works on four levels: politically in the sense of advocacy towards authorities, particularly aimed at problematizing what is seen as too strict laws concerning the use and construction of

buildings, and environmental issues[97]. It works with consultancy and advisory to promote urban development through the temporary use of empty buildings and as a business plan to make the organization a livelihood for the initiators and those employed by them. It works with knowledge sharing in social media and through the annual conference Think Space, and in a very practical sense by finding and developing buildings in accordance with their ideas for givrum.nu Thanks to one of the initiators of Givrum.nu I had heard about these ideas, but it is through the first concrete example PB43, I get to understand how it plays out in a concrete sense. PB43 is a former lacquer factory owned by AkzoNobel in a part of Copenhagen currently under development from industrial area to what might one day be a vibrant, multicultural urban spot with apartments, workshops and artist studios. Until recently though, it looked more like an urban wasteland one wouldn't want to enter at night. Previously such a wasteland, PB43 was frequently squatted by all sorts of people, the buildings deteriorated rapidly because of vandalism, and they by no standards contributed in any ways to the surrounding environment. On the contrary, for the owner of the buildings, they represented an expense, and the value of the property, which the owner wants to sell, only went down as a result of its increasingly miserable state. In December 2010 Givrum.nu made an agreement with AkzoNobel to temporarily take over the place and turn it into a local oasis of social and cultural entrepreneurship and participation. At my first visit in the summer of 2011 the buildings appeared worn down, but the place had an unmistakable funky feeling to it, buzzing as it was with energy. It doesn't fit into any known and well-established categories for cultural institutions, nor does it have the sometimes unwelcoming attitude that some squatted places may have. On the contrary, it looks well-organized in all its recycled splendor and reception is heartfelt, yet professional. There are galleries, meeting rooms, café/bar like areas, workshops, offices, some urban gardening, and although most of the original aesthetics of the buildings have been kept, some parts have been redone to create more formal spaces. Fumz and Koefoed-Melson argue that '*human resources are* [...] *the knowledge we have, our ideas and dreams, craftsman's skills and other physical skills which are not being put to use in the current society. Personal motivation we see as the biggest resource we as society have.*' (in Jensen & Andersen, 2012:34). To understand what Givrum.nu is about, and not least to

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[97] As an example, it is not possible to have more than one meeting in an empty building before it has to go through the process of being formally authorized as a meeting room with all the necessary facilities (Fumz & Melson in Jensen & Andersen, 2012:36).

have the two initiators' reflections on the issues I deal with in my inquiry, I invited them to participate in a conversation by e-mail.

> Hi guys, many thanks for sharing your reflections with me. As you know, I'm interested in two things in connection to your project, first, cultural projects as bottom up processes, and second, how we can understand leadership as relational processes in such projects. Would you begin by describing how bottom up concerns inform your projects, and how you deal with these on a daily basis?

> Hi Søren. There are many things to say about your good questions, but because time is a limiting factor[98], I will try to describe the different aspects of our work concerning bottom-up processes, without going into detail. Moreover, it can be subject to shortcomings, as we have not written a 'manifesto' for your questions and therefore the following text was designed for the occasion. It also means that your questions and our responses contribute to our continued work, so thanks! (#701)

> Specifically for our work, we use a lot of time talking about room for opportunity and action for the various projects we are engaged in. We constantly evaluate the processes that occur in different contexts, we are part of and we include our competent network in the project development all the time. We talk a lot phone, hold many meetings and write many mails and make many project presentations.

> Overall, our work with bottom-up processes (#702) concerns involving as many people in our projects as possible, recognizing that we do not have the resources or skills to handle the challenge of taking an empty building in use for cultural and social projects for a temporary period. That is why much of our daily work is to create relationships with cultural and / or social projects as a way to expand our own knowledge. It is also the case that the more people / projects we know, the more chance there is that when we have a building available and spread the word in the network, then there will be some who see a potential in being engaged in this. Last but not least it gives us the opportunity to combine the projects and relationships crisscross and here we see the emergence of new and exciting information, which may help to resolve some of the challenges society is facing. We like to pull together!

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[98] For time reasons, Christian Fumz couldn't participate in the interview, but he remained c.c. in the conversation.

When we have an empty building at our disposal, we try to incorporate a method with phases that makes a very complex and chaotic process, orderly and manageable.

When we take an empty building into use or develop ways to do this, we take into account those aspects that may influence the project's finalization:

- It includes a study of what characterizes the building in terms of premises, size and composition. This has great influence on which people will find the rooms attractive, so that they can see a potential in realizing their project in the building.

- Meanwhile, it's about examining what needs exist in the local area and how this might be involved in shaping the activities that may be in the building. In this connection we shall also focus on our network that we know have the skills to realize projects in the rough and temporary frames. They can act as catalysts of how a future use can look and therein lies also some leadership, which concerns providing a direction.

- The above should of course be in dialogue (#703) with the owner of the building and there are different dynamics in play, depending on whether there is a private or public ownership. The private owner is primarily interested in savings and revenues, which for municipalities are added with a culturally or socially democratic aspect.

In the next phase of the process, it is about creating a meaningful organization, which is done in collaboration with the (resourceful) users in the initial phase. Together we explore the opportunities that are present and which are achievable compared to the owners and human and financial resources that make up the user group. The way we show leadership in this phase is to provide a direction by creating an inclusive narrative that people can subscribe to and also we aim for as open and transparent a process as possible. In our case, we focus on:

- To involve groups rather than individuals in the buildings as we have an assumption that groups have a greater tendency to engage in community and their activities are directed in a social direction.

- Not to take payment from the user as an economic dividend ratio does not benefit the facilitation of self-organizing and self-financed sites. If we received money from the users, they would rightly have an expectation that we would perform the maintenance that we want users to take care of. Furthermore, it would result in a completely different culture on the site that are not consistent with our desire to help create new ways of organizing cultural and social work.

- Showing the good example by investing our time and energy on the site. This, partly by sharing our knowledge and experience, partly by taking on tasks in a preliminary phase and partly by handling the overall administration in the form of contractual and financial obligations to the owner.

In this phase we are leaving the responsibility and decisions to the users so they can see the meaning in and handle the process. We try not to exert more influence on the process unless we are asked to do so, and we perceive the projects that arise as equal partners whom we might as well learn from as they learn from us. In this perspective we can really benefit from this in our efforts to create more user-driven (#704) sites and attention to the societal value created at these sites. Only now we are not alone in doing this, as we now have a lot of people involved in the process and a concrete example that can be mentioned is Prags Boulevard 43, which is an old Sadolin Factory, we have taken into use, resulting in many projects, which greatly contribute to our work:

There is a book, "The city emerges - an urban handbook" made by users at Prags Boulevard 43 which is a collection of articles by researchers, urban pioneers and users of Prags Boulevard 43. It beautifully illustrates both the value of user-driven communities in empty buildings and also the work we have done to get it established. To mention a couple of examples:

- Prags Have, an urban garden that has won several prices and often appears in the media. The association is now regarded as innovators in the field and cooperation between us and them elsewhere is obvious.

- A myriad of cultural activities that contribute to the local community and society as a whole.

Working bottom up is strictly speaking not rocket science, since it basically is about giving the people you surround yourself with a meaningful range of possibilities and empty buildings are a great tool for many people that might not work so well under normal market conditions or under highly controlled social rules. Moreover, for us it is all about being curious, be open to other perspectives, dare to fail and to follow talk with action.

Hope this somewhat answers your questions... (Koefoed-Melson)

Ok, as cultural entrepreneurs – which is how I see you – I'd like to hear more about the framework you operate in? I mean, how do authorities, such as the municipality and the companies you 'borrow' buildings from react to what you do? It seems to me there is a substantial societal dividend in what you do – is that being appreciated? What might in your view encourage more cultural entrepreneurship? I'm not necessarily taking about financial support, which

implies the risk of institutionalizing things, but more in terms of legal framework, attitude, attention, competence development etc. (SFM)

First and foremost it must be said that we still only have one building with our signature on the contract, so our experience of 'borrowing' buildings is still quite sparse. That said, we have now advised and become acquainted with a lot of examples of user-driven sites where the owner has good conditions for users, while we have built up some knowledge of how the various stakeholders are thinking.

We find generally good feedback when we encounter and cater to different owners, which we are dealing with. However the rationales that underlie the various owners are different in terms of seeing a point in entering into cooperation with us.

In the case of municipalities, they are interested in several aspects of our work. We handle both a cultural and social role for them and obviously they are happy about that as they thus save a lot of resources. Furthermore, there is a political focus on 'knowledge society', where it is now generally believed that user-driven communities are vital when it comes to increasing creativity and innovation. (#705) We have shown that we have an ability to facilitate processes, including new forms of organization that involves citizens without cost to the municipality, so if we do our job well, we help both the municipality with their 'democratic' mission while we help Denmark to participate in a global society with increased competition.

There are many differences between the various municipalities. In Copenhagen the empty buildings are not an urgent problem, since the buildings or grounds are so valuable that it is relatively easily marketed. We find that the primary reason for Copenhagen to collaborate with us is that we can include some other people than they reach with their institutional mindsets and traditions. Also there is a discourse about the user-driven as a hotbed for creativity and innovation, which is obviously also why the municipality of Copenhagen is interested in us.

Then there's the whole discussion about the outskirts of Denmark where provincial and rural (#706) municipalities are very worried about people moving out and in that context, anything that can contribute to a more positive storytelling and make the municipality more attractive to move to will be embraced with open arms. In many cases, the municipal merge in 2007 and the industry, moving production abroad have lead to many empty buildings in rural Denmark. This leads to insecurity for citizens and costs of maintenance for municipalities, which ultimately reduces the attractiveness of an area.

The municipal challenge is that they do not have the money to tear down, as a demolition pot did not come in the Budget for 2012 and also they have no money to create activities in the buildings. Here we try to give them a cheap alternative to borrow the buildings for a temporary period as to create self-organizing and financing communities for which we receive a fee that is much cheaper than the municipality has to grant for operating aid to an institution or building up new.

For developers, there are some other things at stake and this means that they often have shortsighted glasses when it comes to taking their empty properties into use. They have constant eye for the commercial tenancies and only if this cannot be arranged, they will be interested to rethink. If they cannot get it rented out, they will consider including us in the first attempt with a normal lease. If this is not feasible, they are hesitant, as it will cause them administrative costs (legal etc.) to make loan agreements. There is primarily thought in terms of savings and then in added value. They are aware that creative artists can add value to a building and to a field, but they have primarily focused on the economy in the short-term perspective.

Overall for dealing with the owners of empty properties you can say that it is some enormously elongated processes, you are in when you want to take over an empty building with anything other than a lease. There is a practice that makes the vast majority of ideas and initiatives die before they get seriously underway. Here we find that owners can easily understand the societal good about the formation of user-driven, creative communities, but because there is great value in buildings and a widespread habit of thinking, it will take a long time before there is going to be major changes in this area. We hope in this context that we can help show the way for others who are dealing with good cultural projects.

If you have to get more people to engage in entrepreneurship in the cultural area, there's obviously a lot of knobs to be screwed on. I will try to outline some of the key aspects addressed in relation to what might make it easier to take the first step towards the cultural entrepreneurship.

For many people it seems to be really attractive to become a part of the cultural environment in professional terms and it means in many cases that you have to do a lot of voluntarily work, before we can get money for it. One must be willing to do so for a period of time to build up knowledge and network, which is crucial for the possibility of success in one's work life. One must also know one's own skills and quickly be able to read how the skills fit the situation you are in. Furthermore, one should be open and inclusive and share knowledge with others – the more people are jumping on the bandwagon, the greater chance of success. (#707) We as cultural

entrepreneurs must also meet the 'system' with openness and flexibility to be able to adapt and engage in relationships where both parties can see the meaning and benefit.

The education system could in many ways be more helpful when it comes to preparing people for a labor market, more so than previous due to changes for the individual worker. Fewer will be part of a long employment in the same workplace and that means that one should be better to engage in many different contexts and could see the relevance of this. If a much greater level of practice and leadership is incorporated in the educations, more will see the possibilities of starting up their own projects rather than to end up in meaningless activating courses as unemployed.

There must be a greater degree of flexibility and transparency in decision making in the institutional DK if we want to encourage more cultural entrepreneurship. (#708) It is really quite simple - you have to feel like an important and recognized part of the process and you only feel like that if you are taken seriously in relation to your wants and needs. Therefore, for example, it is deadly for the entrepreneur to be included in a lengthy processing - first at official level and then at the political level. The entrepreneur has before being given a final decision found better things to do and therefore there is a need to shake up the bureaucracy.

One way to change the practice to the advantage of the entrepreneur would be to incorporate more flexibility in the legislation. In relation to the temporary takeovers of empty buildings one must follow some very strict requirements in relation to safety, environmental and disability issues if you have to do public events. This legislation makes a lot of sense, since it is sensible people who have made it, but it will not meet the creativity, since it is geared to a permanent use. One could thus envisage that it would make sense to the authorities to shed some extra resources for the safety of temporary / cultural / creative activities and they could relax a little on the demands in relation to environmental and disability issues, if this would mean that there would be more life, culture, and ultimately jobs, as it so could influence a change in attitudes towards entrepreneurship.

7.2 Case Study A Cultural Leader in Transition – and Cultural Leadership in Transition

When Mogens Holm took over Taastrup Teater as director in 1987, this small and not particularly significant theater in a Copenhagen suburb counted a staff of two persons who

borrowed space in a local gym. Today, as Holm leaves it after 25 years of hard and innovative work, it boasts a splendid new theater building, a nationally recognized artistic profile and not least a remarkable track record in the field of new audience development. Holm himself has become the symbol of this development, as media coverage of his resignation also confirmed, and yet, Holms work is if anything characterized by his ardent endeavors to enable, empower and recognize the work of others. Albeit leaving an impressive monument behind him, there is nothing monumental about Holm's way of working. On the contrary, he's a networker, a skilled fundraiser, and a remarkably popular figure in the theater world and in the cultural sector in general. On May 1, 2012 Holm takes over the position as Head of Culture in the Østerbro District of Copenhagen. The City of Copenhagen is culture-wise in a transition phase these years, thanks to an ambitious strategic plan initiated in 2008: 'A Metropolis for People 2015' according to which the city aims at becoming the world's most livable city[99]. Culture plays a central role in the strategy, and although the city, the government and private foundations have invested heavily in cultural infrastructure (such as museums, theaters, concert halls etc.) in recent years, temporality is a pivotal point in the strategy. '*Temporality inspires and motivates the overall planning. It creates new urban life here and now*' (#709) explains Tina Saaby, City Architect of Copenhagen (November 30, 2011 aarch.dk). And consultant in the technical and environmental administration at the Town Hall, Hugo Prestegaard (ibid.) further explains:

> We have disposed of administrative thinking in grooves, and we have moved from being a 'no' municipality to being a 'yes' municipality (#710). In general we never turn down an application. If we for some reason have to say no – which we very rarely do – the case officer in charge is obliged to indicate what is needed to receive a yes, in order for the project to be accomplished.

To accomplish the strategy, cultural institutions in the districts of the city have been either merged or linked together in binding collaborations. This new organizational structure on one hand offers new possibilities in terms of meeting the goals of the overall strategy. On the other hand it breaks with traditional silo structures in the cultural sector, and therefore poses new challenges. At the same time, as the new strategy is not only user oriented in a

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[99] British magazine Monocle awarded the city the first rank in 2008 and it has been in the top rank since.

traditional sense, but places culture at the core of urban development, expectations in terms of generating new urban life are high. Of his new job, Holm says:

> It's an exciting challenge within an area with a big growth potential, so it's difficult to say no. We need to establish a strong leadership organization (#711), create synergy and see potentials in transverse collaboration, with other entities in the municipality, with private business, volunteer activists, political stakeholders and many others. Last but not least a balance between a stable daily administration and a visionary and ambitious development profile must be created. (April 11, 2012, press release, taastrupteater.dk)

And with reference to the overall strategy of the city, he continues:

> Copenhagen aims to become Europe's most inclusive city, and the cultural policies of the city gives culture a shared responsibility for achieving this aim. This means that the problem solutions of the individual cultural institution are linked to an overall strategy, which shows the need for transverse collaboration, both internally and externally, and points to easy and equal access to cultural life as a precondition for development. (ibid.)

To reflect on leadership in the light of both 25 years of working with a local institution, and with the prospect of working between institutions in the future, I invited Holm to reflect on questions prompted by my inquiry so far.

> Ok, Mogens, thank you very much for taking your time to reflect on leadership in the cultural sector with me. I want to start off with a question that really puzzles me, in particular when I think of you and the work you have been doing for the past 25 years. And since you are embarking on a new journey as Head of Culture in the City of Copenhagen shortly, the transition phase is perhaps a good moment to reflect? Anyhow, to give you a few indications of my research project, I'm suggesting a move from understanding leadership in the cultural sector as entitative, leader-centered, person-focused to a relational, process oriented understanding, known as relational leadership theory. As Hosking points out: 'the present discourse [a post-modern discourse of leadership processes] 'starts' with processes and not persons, and views persons, leadership and other relational realities as made in process' (in Shamir et al. eds., 2006:9). Yet, when I think of you, and judging from the media coverage of you leaving Taastrup Teater to take on a new positions I'm not alone with this view, it strikes me as really difficult *not* to begin with you as a person. On the other hand, as Foucault asks (1977:137-8): '*under what conditions and through what forms can an entity like the subject appear in the order of discourse; what positions does it occupy; what functions does it exhibit; and what rules does it follow in each type of discourse?*' Would you

reflect on the seeming incompatibility of the entitative vs. the relational view of leadership? Both in your own case, but perhaps also in a wider perspective?

Hi Søren. If I were to name one significant organizational experience from a quarter of century as head of the theatre in Taastrup, it would be the realization that leadership is not founded within the individual. Leadership emerges in the space between individuals (#712). One of the flattering newspaper-articles you mentioned actually depicted me as an *iconic* leader, which when you come to think about it really is not a very empowering description. I mean, what does an icon actually do? It just sits there. Doing nothing! As it is, 25 years in the same job had left me feeling relatively numb to the space between individuals, so I had to move on, and indeed the subject of relational leadership proved to have considerable weight in the interviews which lead to my new position in Copenhagen.

The understanding of relational leadership (#713) is counterintuitive because anywhere we look we observe leaders who seem to make a difference by bodily, emotional or spatial behavior or by e. g. musicality, language or intellectual capacity. Most often these traits evade exact analysis, but they are still difficult to ignore. I believe Weber was one of the first to use the term *charisma* to describe the clout that a leader may possess, and which is evident to the people surrounding him, but not directly attributable to logical or professional qualifications.

Anyway, at the first glance what we see are not relationships, it is personality and charisma. One reason for the fixation on the personal entity of the leader is of course that, when an organization goes downhill, it is more convenient to fire the CEO than it is to undertake a thorough organizational change, just as it is easier to fire the coach of an unsuccessful soccer team, although it is the players who do not score goals. What happens when we observe charismatic leaders is that we see what we expect to see. Let us look beyond, because the logic is flawed. Not even new coaches score goals. They do, however, still make a difference. How so?

My suggestion is that we look for the narratives which accompany every leader and every organization. Narratives define expectations. And narratives are per se made up by communication occupying the space between persons. Not that we can completely ignore personal traits or properties, neither the psychological or physical ones. Knowledge, appearance and experience does make a difference when it comes to performing the role of the leader. But the difference does not lie in the trait itself, it lies in the enhanced ability to cope with the continuously developing narrative. (#714) To build on to the narrative, to absorb the blows, that it is bound to give, to try to foresee its development and point it in new directions (narratives may be influenced, although not controlled). The reason why Foucault has another take on

leadership than good old Weber may very well be because of the fact that the object of leadership has changed. This has to do with the other side of the equation, namely the modern self-leading employee. Therefore, where Weber made do with charisma, Foucault had to insist on the changing *subject-position* of the leader. In the modern subject-position the leader is often attributed diverse and exceptional properties. And trust is an increasingly important prerequisite for the leader-employee relationship, whereas control (i.e. the execution of power) is almost always only a theoretical possibility. You could say employees willingly distribute power to the leader, who in turn uses more resources than ever to decentralize the structure, delegate tasks, and empower the employees.

The point of all this is of course that 'beauty is in the eye of the beholder', or to put it more directly: an icon does not establish itself, it is 'iconized' by the onlookers, it emerges in relationships.(#715)

PS: A CBS-professor recently asked me to help out with a course in leadership which was losing momentum. He had asked his students to create (physical) leadership-masks, and work with them. What happened, however, was that the students limited themselves to merely repeating the symbols they had already put into the masks, but not generating new knowledge. Coming from the theatre-world I was able to make a simple, but powerful suggestion based on the work we do in e.g. commedia dell'arte, namely that they stopped defining the personality of their mask intellectually, verbally and from within, and instead let it be defined through interaction with other persons, i.e. let it emerge from relationships. /Mogens

I find this really interesting, and in particular I'd like you to reflect more on your notion of space in between.........if we look at leadership in the cultural sector, and think of it in terms of encouraging spaces in between, what steps might we take to further such a development? How might such a development contribute to expanding our (very dominant) notions of arts and culture? What implications will this have, in your view, for the way cultural policies are issued? (SFM)

Hi Søren. What you are suggesting is that a new form of leadership might generate a new understanding of arts and culture. And of course you are right. The question is what comes first, the hen or the egg?

Not to stray in a completely new direction we could stick with Weber and Foucault. Weber presented the world with a detailed description of the unbeatable and ever-efficient *bureaucracy*, which has been smoothed and moderated through the decades, but which is still inherent in every organization. The bureaucracy applies an economic perspective and secures

that not much happens which has not been planned for. A century later Foucault presented us with the notion of the *heterotopia*, (#716) which he defines as: '*...a counter-site, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which all the other real sites within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted*'. A heterotopia is a space where anything can happen.

Today organizations try to bypass the hierarchical structure of the bureaucracy by juxtaposing 'homo economicus' with 'homo ludens'. Aiming for innovation they convert meeting rooms into stages, allow for new kinds of interactions, and thus construct spaces for play that may serve as heterotopias. I see relational leadership as a symptom of this development. On the one hand it is a prerequisite of the morphing organization, on the other hand it is a result of it. (#718) The 'space in between', which we have discussed, constitutes the heterotopia and one way of identifying the object- and subject-positions within these heterotopias, would be to study the expectations, which are aired in the accompanying narratives.

 If we were to take this development further, we should encourage the organizations to enter into partnerships with completely different organizations, allowing new and even more powerful heterotopias (or 'spaces for play' if you will) to unfold on the organizational boundaries. Artistic expressions, cultural policies (or any other innovative change for that matter) would then materialize away from the center of the organizations, they would be based on the relationships between individuals and erupt in more diverse settings. At the same time they would not necessarily jeopardize the central strategies of the host-organizations. (#718)

In my experience such formal partnerships between organizations enable informal relations between individuals, thus contributing to expanding our notions of art and culture. /Mogens

What I have been both struck, and if I may add, impressed by in your work in Taastrup is precisely the many informal contacts as result of formal partnerships. Have you thought of ways to bring some of that into your next job? I mean, there is clearly a need for this kind of double bound approach, but how does that challenge the formal and political structures and hierarchies of a county? (SFM)

Hi Søren. Interesting. Firstly I don't know that I have more formal contacts than others, and secondly it is difficult to determine whether the formal partnerships actually do come before the informal contacts. So once again the question of cause and effect enters into our dialogue. For now let us just say that the causality of network-communication appears to be circular.

You are right about me spending most of my time on the new job trying to establish contacts and networks, and yes, such informal 'network-communication' does challenge the formal and political structures and hierarchies of the organization. However, the way I see it, adding legitimacy to the organization by building partnerships is what I am paid to do, so obviously the traditionally hierarchical organization establishes a paradox (#719) by entering into a contract with me while at the same time making demands that threaten the hierarchy. We all live with that paradox either by refusing to see one, when we see the other, for instance by arranging meetings which are either hierarchical or bilateral; or by displacing the responsibility that is attributed to us.

Luhmann points out that the message of an act of communication is defined neither by the sender nor by the recipient, but rather by the way the message is received, i.e. by the way the communication chooses to proceed. If one is to take that seriously, and I try to do just that, one must observe not the message itself, but the reaction to the message, in order to comprehend it. That is, one has to follow the thread of one's own communication in praxis and be more interested in the way it is understood than in the way it was meant to be understood. Theatrical education has of course equipped me with a theoretical apparatus for analyzing body-language, facial gestures and emotional patterns in face-to-face interactions. But whereas I cannot rule out the possibility that acting-experience might help initiate a process of social interaction, I doubt that it can sustain long lasting relations. However, it would require a thorough study to conclude anything definite about this matter.

Before ending we could perhaps go back to your initial observations about the contrast between on one hand, the construction of classic rigid institutions such as museums, theatres and concert halls, and on the other hand, the rise of ad hoc festivals, temporary street art and pop-up culture. I consider the tension between the two a very productive one (#720), because the traditional institutions would petrify if they were not open to temporary influence, and the conspicuous manifestations of temporality would be but passing shadows if were not able to perform on the backdrop of the centuries of condensed knowledge and meaning that lies within the institutionalized cultural venues. Leadership in arts then becomes the art of balancing the two.

Everywhere we look we see the traditional cultural institutions changing from introvert research-hubs to leisure- and activity-centers. The reason for this development is obviously that although the institutions may very well appear solid and endurable, without the fertilizing temporality of passing visitors they are still doomed. Thus the main scope of the leader action moves from

defending brick-buildings and formalized art-forms - to facilitating social interactions. (#721)

'Copenhagen Phil has a declared aim to challenge the framework around classical music. We wish to be relevant in different contexts and show the many ways one can use a symphony orchestra' (Uffe Savery)

7.3 Case Study Challenging the Understanding of a Symphony Orchestra

'It's about the people in the orchestra and about those we can engage in music', (#722) says Uffe Savery, himself a classically trained percussionist with a rather unusual track record including both prestigious classical concerts in Carnegie Hall, and later pop/techno concerts in stadiums around the world as one half of Safri Duo. Since August 2010, Savery is Head of Copenhagen Phil, a Copenhagen based symphony orchestra which suddenly saw itself in immediate danger of losing its 40 million plus grant from the Danish Arts Council with the advent of a new Minister for Culture in 2011. According to the Minister's 'Marshall Plan for Culture' (September 11, 2011, denradikaleuffe.dk) the number of publically supported symphony orchestras must be reduced in order to find more funding for so called rhythmic music and local music venues. Copenhagen Phil with its narrative as 'the third orchestra' in Copenhagen is pointed at as an obvious candidate for closure. What the Minister, however, has not taken into consideration, is Savery's determined efforts to place Copenhagen Phil on the top of the agenda amongst both old and new music lovers with a range of new initiatives to revitalize both the orchestra and the concert format. To mention a few of the more spectacular ones, a flash mob featuring Ravel's Bolero at the Copenhagen Central Station with over five million views on youtube.com, Sixty Minutes concerts

combining classical and contemporary music with lounge events, and music interventions in hospitals. These activities have contributed to dust off the reputation of the orchestra and placed it at the forefront of attempts to renew classical symphony orchestras and perhaps most importantly to generate new audiences for symphony orchestras. When the threat to the existence of the Copenhagen Phil became publically known through the media, a swarm of postings crashed the Minister's Facebook page reporting all the exiting experiences the audiences have had with Copenhagen Phil new programs. During the following political negotiations, plans to close the orchestra were abandoned, and Copenhagen Phil is now a reference in discussions of how to renew cultural institutions. Yet, to Savery the ceasefire provides only temporary relief, as symphony orchestras all around the world are fighting for their lives, and many have already been closed. The need for cuts in public spending in the aftermath of the financial crisis 2008 is allegedly the primary reason for reducing the number of symphony orchestras, but there are also problems in terms of the demographic profile of orchestra audiences. In Denmark as an example, 38% of the population is interested in classical music (Bille, ed., 2004:77) whereas only 14% of the Danes have been to a classical concert within the last year, and the percentage is decreasing. With this in mind, Savery has launched an organizational development program aimed at renewing the narrative of Copenhagen Phil, and as a consequence of that, equally aimed at expanding the competence repertoire of orchestra musicians. As Savery points out:

> Being an excellent musician is a necessary condition for playing in a top orchestra, but it is not a sufficient condition. (#723) Today, musicians also need to be able to communicate about their music, to be creative in terms of creating new projects and possibilities, and not least innovative in terms of reducing fixed costs of an orchestra. (notes, May 2, 2012)

To Savery, this is also an attempt to de-center leadership, which traditionally in symphony orchestras has been epitomized by the eccentric and charismatic conductor and the no less dictatorial head of orchestra who expect musicians to follow any movement of the baton.

As Savery ponders: '*We have more than 80 musicians with networks, ideas, ambitions and hopes. Just think of what might be possible if we can bring some of that to life*' (notes, May 2, 2012). On May 8, 2012 Copenhagen Phil launches a new flash mob in the Copenhagen metro. Five days after, it's been seen on youtube.com by more than half a

million, and Daily Mail's Rebecca Seales (May 14, 2012) refers to it as '*the most cultural flash mob in the world*' as she points to the potentials of social media in disseminating classical art forms.

For my inquiry, I want to pursue some of these questions, notably what this development implies in terms of leadership. A very concrete thing is the question of union agreements stipulating the conditions for musicians in symphony orchestras. These have for many years served to ensure proper conditions and salaries for musicians, and equally set certain limits in terms of what is possible to do with a symphony orchestra. Yet with file sharing, online streaming of concerts and pressure on the financial support for symphony orchestras, the rights ensured by these agreements seem to lose some of their importance, as the rights they ensure are being sapped by these new conditions for producing and disseminating classical music. At the same time, these new conditions also open up to a whole range of new possibilities, which currently cannot be fully explored due to union agreements, and thus potentials for renew and increased interest in symphonic music are left unexplored unnecessarily. I begin by asking Savery to address this difficult question.

> Ok, Uffe, I know you just initiated talks with your colleagues from the other orchestras and the representatives from the musicians to renegotiate the union approved conditions for being a musician in an orchestra. How did it go and what were your main concerns? (SFM)
>
> I remember having a meeting with my four colleagues (we are five regional symphony orchestras in Denmark), and they talked about the "A-" and "B-side" in connection with the union negotiations. Being "the new boy in the class", at first I wasn't quite sure what they actually meant!? However, within the next minutes I realized that the "A-side" was representing employers, and the "B-side" the employees. I was quite surprised with this kind of definition, as I thought this belonged to the time of the Industrial Society! (#714) If we reflect a bit about the philosophical contention that "language creates realities", no wonder that the last two negotiations has ended up in "a bridge to nowhere". The "A- and B-side" discourse results in words such as "duty" and "right", which will never really encourage exploring such concepts as possibilities and common interests. It's also based on a certain definition of being a symphony orchestra, which can lock the possibilities of exploring and redefining how a symphony orchestra in the 21st century also could be?...

KL (Kommunernes Landsforening - national association for employers and councils) suggested to us to rethink the setting of the negotiations, and introduced us to a method called "negotiation based on interests". This means that instead of preparing a set of demands from the A- and B-side, and ending up with a compromise from both sides, it's about exploring, defining and unfolding the common interests. We had our first meeting, and I started the meeting with a presentation that could start this conversation.

Here I talked about Cultural Entrepreneurship and leading creativity, about Leitha (to lead, in Danish, has the same two-folded meaning from the origin in Norse language: to seek, and to go in front), about social construction in leadership - ask questions! (such as Grint suggests in his 2005 article), the Cultural Value System (Holden, 2006)) and a very important point: Why don't we start with skipping the A- and B-side discourse, and name it as one A-SIDE, where we have one "leg", one half, each of the A! Everyone agreed to this being a good idea. After this our facilitator Mette Mejlhede (Copenhagen Coaching Center) talked about Acknowledgement and about emphasizing successful experience. We worked in groups of two, one from each leg in the "A", to find out which kind of values our successful experiences were carried by. From this we altogether agreed that our forthcoming negotiation should be carried by values such as: Co-ownership, acknowledgement, curiosity, cultural entrepreneurship, receptiveness and the pleasure of succeeding.

We discussed all together the meaning of these values, and decided to continue down this road. We did experience from time to time, however, how fast - within a second, we all can be "stricken back to start"! (#725) Suddenly people were discussing in the old discourse - the A- and B-side is still alive, "The habit lives in the body". It's really a learning process for all of us! But - we have all created a consciousness and a will of defining a new discourse, and I believe we can end up with a promising collective agreement........ (May 15, 2012)

To take this changed way of talking about the future of symphony orchestras a step further, and not least to also involve the musicians in these discussions, Savery has invited the orchestra including the administrative and production teams to a strategy workshop of which one aim is to renew the narrative of Copenhagen Phil (field notes, May 2, 2012) seminar. This is an unprecedented step, as talks amongst musicians are usually concerned with repertoire planning and questions directly related to the work of the orchestra. Yet, for Copenhagen Phil this kind of strategy work is not entirely new, as Savery conducted a similar workshop immediately upon taking up his duties as Head of Orchestra. This time, however, conditions are somewhat different. First, because the 'honeymoon' is over, and

the orchestra has been through a difficult time facing closure. And second, and probably most importantly, because the orchestra now has experienced tremendous success with some of its new initiatives giving it a global exposure it has never experienced before. As Los Angeles Times' Chris Barton writes:

> Oh, Copenhagen. You brought us the Midcentury furniture designs that make "Mad Men" an interior decorator's dream and saw the wisdom of bike commuting long before L.A. earned its first CicLAvia. Now you've one-upped every philharmonic in the world with video of your orchestra (Sjællands Symfoniorkester) making an entire subway train weak in the knees with a flash mob performance of Grieg's "Peer Gynt" on a Copenhagen Metro train. (Los Angeles Times, May 16, 2012)

If Copenhagen Phil ever had a profile as the 'third orchestra of Copenhagen', this certainly has vanished now. The question is how the orchestra can use this to further explore new territories. I ask Savery to reflect on this question in relation to the upcoming workshop.

> Hi Søren. Well – what happened? That's a good question!
>
> There has been a number of reasons for the development of the orchestra, and I'll try to mention the reasons which I see as the most important. However, don't forget - it's my point of view, from where I'm placed. Maybe you should ask one of the musicians as well as one from the administration - to get a full picture? Nevertheless, here are my bullet lines:
>
> *The hall.*
> In 2008 the orchestra moved to the former Radio House concert Hall, now the Royal Academy. Many classical concert goers really enjoy a lot this particular concert hall. And I do understand why. It's one of the best concert halls in the world, and the Wilhelm Lauritzen architecture is in itself an outstanding experience. With the balcony close to the stage, all 1.075 audiences sit quite close to the stage, and the sound is rich and beautiful. Logistically it's easy to approach - so the change of hall, from Tivoli to this, did play an important role.
>
> *The new generation.*
> Then there has been quite a generation shift in the orchestra. The concert masters have been replaced with some of the very greatest young profiles we've got in Denmark. And they don't only play very well, they also play an important role in contributing with a very curious and open minded culture, as well as being ambitious. This combination is really good - and very important

for Symphony Orchestras. We cannot continue being "self-sufficient". We ought to start creating different actions, being spokesmen for a "up-to-date" culture, that can generate a new consciousness of a symphony orchestra (#726), which again will create a new meaning of being a symphony orchestra. This has become a positive self reinforcing circle. The artistic growth in the orchestra, as well as the recognition of the culture the orchestra stands for - do that we now attract the very best and open minded musicians.

I've described my leadership challenge as being two-folded: How do we create the sensemaking symphony orchestra, in a society that is under rapidly change, which again changes the conditions of being a cultural institution? And - how do we do this in a way, so it becomes meaningful to the individual member of the orchestra and administration?

This brings me to the workshops!

Workshop I.
Shortly after I began my position as CEO for the orchestra, I together with a consultant from Attractor.dk facilitated a workshop. A number of members of the orchestra, the whole administration, and two members of the board were participating. We were about 24 participants. The members of the orchestra were the solo-players (or substitutes) and members of the Programme Committee as well as Works Committee. In my forthcoming second "Workshop 2.0", I've recruited the participants as an open invitation to everyone - and all that wanted to participate on a voluntary basis, are participating. This also ended up in 24, more mixed participants...

The first workshop was about generating ideas of which kind of artistic initiatives we could create, to position the orchestra strongly and differently in the society. I talked about leadership in terms of asking questions: to create a frame where all the creativity, richness of ideas and competencies that are in the orchestra as an artistic resource, can get into play. To develop the orchestra with the strength of collaborative development. We generated about 125 ideas, sorted them in being realizable as well as good (which ones did we feel very strong for). Hereafter we qualified the best ideas - all this work ended up with creating the new concert format 60 minutes, "invading hospitals", musicians from the orchestra presenting the concerts, musicians being radio hosts, collaboration with a composer society and many other ideas. It also created the foundation for later being able to realize new ideas such as our flash mobs at the main train station as well as in the metro.

The new concert format *60 minutes*, is actually a whole evening event with the

main concert from 21-22 o'clock being surrounded with "support" as well as a "Musical Marketplace" before the concert, and "Lounge" after the concert. At the Musical Marketplace, you can meet the artists, experience small artistic installations and exhibitions, see a violin builder in action etc - as well as having a bite of food. At the "lounge", we have a dj playing music connected to the theme of the concert.

All this was basically generated by the orchestra themselves! Apart of the creative force of getting all this richness of initiatives and ideas into the process, it also creates a fantastic co-ownership (#727) from the whole orchestra - which make all the initiatives realizable with a great deal of contribution and enthusiasm.

However, if my very little administration as well as myself have to follow up on all the great ideas, we will either be very stressed or die! This solution is probably not a good direction, next possibility is to triple the administration, third possibility is to keep "business as usual"- none of these aren't quite good solutions. This brings me to the point of the forthcoming Workshop 2.0!

Workshop 2.0.
This workshop is about emphasizing the narrative of the orchestra, and brainstorming about the future narrative. Which cultural values, such as the intrinsic, institutional as well as the instrumental values do we create? - and which can we create in the future? This could be part of our "value proposition". But it's not only about what to do, but also HOW!?

We will discuss how these ideas and initiatives can be transformed into an individual project of developing competencies. Can we create a less hierarchic (#728) culture, more circular structure in the orchestra, which challenges everyone more? - and can we create task forces within the orchestra, who will develop concrete projects? For instance - we have an idea of creating a classical theatre concert, based on the story of the Danish composer Carl Nielsen. His 150 year birth is being celebrated all over in 2015. Could a group with members from the orchestra as well as the administration, create and develop the theatre concert from A-Z? And how? Do they need support from outside? We talk about finding the theatre, the instructor and responsible for the set, setting the team, working on the funding - all it takes to create such a new initiative. And how can such a project be an individual project of developing new competencies - so you "ad on to", explore and develop the concept of "being an orchestra musician"!?...This is the focal point in the Workshop 2.0.

As a cultural leader you can facilitate creating a new culture within the orchestra - but, you can't get anywhere without the orchestra and the administration itself. I am gifted with a very contributing, open minded, enthusiastic and energetic orchestra as well as administration - every single member, is what makes it really possible to succeed with the development of the orchestra. We, ourselves - create our future. We, ourselves, can take the responsibility of turning a symphony orchestra into an institution that makes great sense to society. We, ourselves, have the opportunity to "put ourselves at disposal", to create an internal culture, where being an orchestra musician becomes very meaningful!... It's all about people!

Thanks, Søren, for asking these questions, which keep me in the reflection mode!...
Uffe

Thanks Uffe for really interesting points -my first reaction is that your 'take' clearly marks a difference, as orchestras are usually defined by their conductors.......and what you see in front of you is a whole bunch of people who can engage themselves in creating a future for the orchestra. I probably should ask a musician or somebody from the administration, but for this purpose, I'd rather ask you: what kind of new opportunities do the musicians see for themselves and for the orchestra in this more multifacetted way of being a musician? And what are their fears? And what do you dream of getting out of the workshop? søren

Hi Søren. Thanks for keeping me in the loop, so we don't risk that I "sand up" by any chance! ☺

Well, I would say that the will and curiosity of expanding the definition of being an orchestra musician, are in a way already there. It was already in the "pipeline". In fact, it's mentioned in the last union agreement, that one should make an individually project for each musician of developing competencies. However - so far, it has been more words than actually action. So, when something is in the pipeline, it's just about how to get the ball rolling. And that has already been done a bit with all my communication with the orchestra, as well as our initiatives.

My hope for the next workshop, is to professionalize the project of developing competencies. It also means, that if one participates in a task force for a certain project, it's not only about using your experience in the group. It's also about participating in a learning process. In this connection I like the way "the wheel of competencies" is described by Jan Molin. Because you assess yourself

- (usually people are really good at that) - and from here you decide which competencies to develop and when.

Just to make a quick overview, I can give some examples:

- To develop "competencies of action", is to turn words and ideas into action, so they come true. In this process you would often realize that the project can take different and unexpected directions - this you have to learn to take into consideration. Further, the more ideas you realize, the better you also become at producing ideas.
- To develop "competencies of reflection", is actually a part of our mission: To be a self reflecting Symphony Orchestra. It actually takes a lot to look at your own position from "outside", and develop the ability to look at ourselves from many different angles. This could be to try to imagine yourself coming to a classical concert for the first time - what would see, what would you think - and what kind of experience will you get? The answer to these questions may then raise the next question: is there something we ought to change, also in our standard classical series?...
- To develop "personal competencies", could be about looking at yourself in relation to others - for instance, how do I communicate with my colleagues? How can I communicate in a way, where I create an "open narrative" - a narrative which the other part can continue... - no matter how much I actually, from a starting point, disagree with the person.
- To develop "inter-personal competencies", could be about how to look at your orchestra as a group, and how we can develop the group.
- To develop "competencies of specific subjects", could be an extra education project, or to work with exploring new things. If you want to be part of creating the future, you also have to be interested in what's going on, get ideas from here - to move on. You can't only rely on your "backlist"!...
- To develop "technical competencies", could be to learn to handle certain tools, to be able to contribute with the work. Excelling in your work, ways of searching information, how to built a project - etc.

Imagine a whole orchestra drawing up their individual wheel of competencies, all wanting to develop in these directions. Then the orchestra becomes a "bank of ideas, new thoughts and initiatives" – what a gift to everyone!

The fear could be too little focus on the core activity (#729) - playing very well. And this of course is individual. Some in the orchestra have much more resources for developing in other directions, than others. This can depend on where you are in your life (small children etc....), how many years you played in the orchestra - the instrument you are playing - how easy it comes to you - etc... But, basically, I don't think there is a real fear. So far, people are looking very much forward to the Workshop 2.0 - let's see what happens after!!???....

Uffe

Hi Uffe, and thanks for really interesting reflections on competences and potentiality embedded in activating an entire orchestra in creating its own future. I'd be curious to know more about how you see your own role in this. Søren

Hi Søren. Yet another question which can't be answered with either yes or no!...

I think I will stick to writing about what I believe will be, and should be, my role as music director with my orchestra. Because - it all depends on the context. Where is the orchestra? Who is the Music director - and why? - and depending on these parameters, naturally, there isn't one answer to the role of the music director, but really, multiple answers. Even if I look at just my own case, there could be multiple answers. But I will try to give some reflections based on my case, in my situation, with Copenhagen Phil, where we are at now, and about to go... OK? ...

It's really important that I'm supporting the narrative of the orchestra. Communication is so essential, as it creates the narrative, (#730) the understanding and the meaning of the symphony orchestra - external as well as internal.

Starting with the external narrative, a recent event comes to my mind. I just attended the new conference in Munich: Classical:NEXT. At this conference I established two very important relationships, which most probably will turn into very fruitful collaborations. On top of that, the narrative of the orchestra was exposed everywhere, and just emphasize the network to the international music life. Having a fantastic case behind me, with probably the most successful music video / flash mob in the classical music world (the metro flash mob), did of course help me quite a lot.

World Online Orchestra
As a follow up to our flash mobs, I've developed a fantastic idea with the young film maker Mads Damsbo (Makropol): World Online Orchestra. It's in connection with our forthcoming release of all the Beethoven symphonies – of which we've done really great recordings with our chief conductor Lan Shui. However - they are released about 300 times before - how can we add a new perspective to the releases? The idea of the World Online Orchestra, is quite an innovative strategy of communication!... - or - dialogue with our, and a new, audience.

We will create a site, worldonlineorchestra.com, which will be an interactive site, where the individual musician is put in perspective to the total. It will illustrate the individual musician's performance, and the role of it, to the total sound. And each user of the site, can create their own version. For instance, it could be based on Beethoven's 5th, 1st movement "radio edit"!

Based on the original recording with the orchestra, we will record sound and picture of each single musician. Placed around in the city, places that means something to them, whatever. These individual recordings create 70 visible individual tracks on the site. From all these tracks, every user can "choose and pick", what to see and hear. In the background you will hear the original recording, but you will really hear and see very different perspectives of the music, and create a very different relation to the music. We will produce "an original" version, which we will post on YouTube. But the user can then on the site produce their own version, and share that in their social networks. Next step, is that every user can also create a track with themselves playing along. Also here, they can create a final version they can share. This new track, by this new user, will then be available for the next users - which means that shortly we might not have any of the Copenhagen Phil musicians in the video - but the source comes from us, and all the time we will refer to our recordings, and the narrative of the orchestra. Last step could be to make an installation, based on these recordings, and bring them into the museums.

The most obvious way of funding this, would be with KICKSTARTER.COM. This would really be in line with the project, and would also establish a whole group of a community of the project, before it's launched. But it demands a collaboration with some kind of NGO organization based in the USA.

When I arrived to Munich at the Classical:Next conference, the very first speech I bumped into, was about crowd funding and a Kickstarter project (http://www.classicalnext.com/program/conference/what_is_better_a_or). Peter Douglas told about a very interesting project with recording the Goldberg Variations (http://www.kickstarter.com/projects/293573191/open-goldberg-variations-setting-bach-free).

Immediately after we met and agreed that we should definitely collaborate on making the World Online Orchestra happen in a collaboration!!...

Touring.
For a while, I have been very keen on getting a management agency for Copenhagen Phil, arranging our international tours on a professional level. I've had special focus on the international "Tour Project Media", initialized by Intermusica (http://www.intermusica.co.uk/projects/features/tours-project-media-2011-13-58129). With them I met twice, and agreed that we should definitely make a collaboration starting to tour our new concert formats.

So – all in all, these two new collaborations + the whole network, reinforcing the narrative of the orchestra, are of extreme importance to the future of the orchestra. And speaking about the role of a music director, the money is much better spend on

me promoting the orchestra, rather than managing the orchestra at home!...

About the internal narrative, it's very important that I spend time on conversations. To motivate and inspire. Talking with all the members - in groups, individually and the whole orchestra. With these conversations, (#732) I can ask questions, make new ideas and initiatives grow, co-create new narratives!... And from these meetings, we will develop and explore new possibilities of the meaning of the symphony orchestra as an artistic resource in our society.

I think I mentioned that I believe it's very important to relate to "leading" in the two-folded way as the word origins from Norse Leitha - which means: to seek, and to lead the way. One could say that the internal communication is about seeking – and the external about leading the way...

So the external communication creates new narratives to the politicians, partners, in the music life, future collaboration possibilities, musicians, conductors, composers and cultural entrepreneurs.

The internal communication draw a line between words and action, gives self confidence - and creates "a move" from inside. All this create a new meaning of being an orchestra musician - we could ideally name the orchestra as "the sensemaking symphony orchestra".

Finally, my own wheel of competencies: DO NOT FORGET REFLECTION!

If I don't allow time to reflect, develop my own mind and my own learning, allow myself time and peace for new inspiration and ideas to grow - the orchestra might grow, but there will be a great risk for me to literally "burn out", at some point. Because I'm so dedicated and excited with what I'm doing, this is a great challenge for me to focus.

And this should be a direction I have to develop in my own wheel of competencies! As a starting point, I'm currently hiring a head of finances to my administration, in order to release tie to the most important matters: Being a cultural entrepreneur; leading, inspiring and motivating creativity. Creating and "thickening" the narrative of the orchestra – internally and externally!

For the time being, that should be the role for me as Music Director of Copenhagen Phil.
:-)
Best, Uffe

7.4 Reconstructing the Three Case Studies

When conducting an interview for the case study I gave up (as described in chapter 2) I send a full transcript of the interview (incl. pauses, un-articulated utterances, laughter etc.) to the interviewee to get his comments. My purpose was to produce a text which I subsequently could submit to conversational analysis. The answer I received back was: '*this shows the worst thing a journalist can do to an interviewee is to write what he says![100]*' My intention was in no way to neither misinterpret nor to name and shame my interviewee, on the contrary, I thought we were engaged in exploring the difficult parts of the case. Having rewritten the text a couple of times, I realized that what was left of an initially very interesting, and in many ways very informative interview, was now a show performed to an audience (Goffman, 1974:508). This obviously said a lot about the official version of the case, but very little about the considerations which had been going on throughout the project. Goffman's point is that human beings are always engaged in performing shows to audiences, so the question for a researcher in this regard is how to become part of the 'rehearsal' for the show. In chapter 6 ongoing reconstructions of the case together with my co-researcher (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50-51) turned out to be a productive way of becoming part of the rehearsal, and for the three case studies in this chapter I decided to take a step further along this path. I therefore invited three persons whom I trust very much to coproduce the studies with my, according them full control of their own contributions by guaranteeing them that I would not edit their texts. In addition to producing very interesting and thoughtful accounts of their respective work and leadership practices, the three co-researchers have also allowed space for what I will term beta-versions of their reflections. By beta-versions I mean excerpts from reflexive processes which are not aimed at producing final answers, but at suggesting how one might reflect on a particular issue. For my inquiry the combination of very precise accounts and these beta-versions provide an 'online' insight into one of the possible paradoxes of leadership described by one of the co-researches as both searching and taking the lead. Although I may have pointed their reflections in particular directions by asking formative questions (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:75), the way we have co-produced the interviews in this sense has allowed for both searching and taking the lead. Staying with this open-

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[100] I have this on e-mail correspondence, but as I don't use the case, and have no permission to disclose the interviewee's identity, I use this anonymously and for illustrative purposes instead.

ended, non-conclusive mode in which the case studies have been produced, I will not attempt to reconstruct them according to one or more specific plots, but rather suggest some possible emplotments according to which the three case studies may be further reconstructed.

The bottom up emplotment would be a way to begin a first reconstruction of all of the three cases (## 702, 704, 707, 710, 712, 714, 718, 721, 722, 726, 727 & 728). Whether as a strategy for urban development, a means to encourage social innovation or a way to revitalize a classical cultural institution such as a symphony orchestra leadership is engaged in various forms of bottom up processes. Engaging in such bottom up processes is not seen as a potential threat to leadership, but rather what leadership is about. Although all three co-researchers may be seen as driven by visions, ambitions and aspirations for the respective fields, they seem to agree that involving as many and disparate others is in itself, not only a modus operandi for the leadership practice, but indeed also a quality of their work. This, however, presents them with challenges in terms of the hierarchical structures already in place (##709, 711, 713, 719, 720, 724 & 729) whether in the form of too rigid and inflexible regulations, institutionalized understandings or seemingly out-dated salary negotiations. These reminiscences of more top-down informed ways of organizing arts and culture, and of performing leadership take determined efforts to deal with, and seem counter-productive to the work carried out in the three cases. Yet, such hierarchical structures, as annoying as they may be, also provide productive tensions (##703, 705, 706, 713, 715, 717, 719, 720, 723 & 725) in the sense that the bottom up processes seem to draw energy from the dynamics of the tension between what is and what might come through their various innovative approaches. Hence, their entrepreneurial approaches to leadership (##705, 706, 712, 714, 716, 717, 718, 719, 722 & 732) is thriving both in spite of and thanks to existing structures and hierarchies and well established, institutionalized understandings. This suggests a role for cultural entrepreneurship not only as innovator of new forms of arts and culture, but also as revitalizer of existing artistic and cultural formats.

To sum up I take the study of the three cases to contribute to my inquiry in the following ways:

- As the previous case study, it has made the struggle between the dominant narrative (chapter 3) and alternative narratives (chapter 4) relevant in empirical terms and given it substance in a concrete context. But whereas the study of the MCL was focused on the struggle itself, the study of the three cases in this chapter is focused on the potentiality of this struggle, as it also provides a ground for creative and innovative approaches.

- It has suggested cultural entrepreneurship as an overall framework for discussing and studying various disparate activities both within and outside the traditional institutions in the cultural sector.

- It has equally suggested including some activities in the framework of cultural entrepreneurship which are not traditionally included either in the cultural sector or in the creative more commercially oriented sector. These activities seem to be a hybrid between social, cultural, artistic and business activities thriving in areas usually not considered in terms of arts and culture.

- It has pointed to arts and culture as facilitators of social processes, more than as products and to the potentiality in exploring and using such social processes in urban and rural regeneration and in community building.

- It has pointed to the potential use of narratives in leadership practices as a means to bridge between what was and is, and what is to come.

- It has pointed to the viability of cultural democracy in concrete contexts and the potential in exploring such approaches.

- It has pointed to leadership ongoing processes of both reflections and actions, involving many different relations, some of which would hardly count as leadership in an entitative sense.

- It has suggested ways to reflect about these processes, and provided concrete examples of how reflections may unfold in practice.

In this chapter I have co-constructed three case studies of givrum.nu, a cultural leader in a transition phase and Copenhagen Phil. The case studies were constructed as online dialogues between me and Jesper Koefoed-Melson, Mogens Holm and Uffe Savery as co-researchers with the aim of providing an insight into both leadership practices, but also into the reflections accompanying and inspiring these practices. Initially a methodological

experiment, the format turned out as particularly productive in terms of relating both relatively established reflections and beta-version reflections. Thus, the case studies provided my inquiry with both careful considerations and spontaneous thoughts in terms of how leadership in the cultural sector may be understood. In the following chapter I go on to link my inquiry to various ways of ontologizing leadership.

Chapter 8 Towards Relational Leadership in the Cultural Sector

In her discussion of the '*local-cultural, local-historical, power-full processes'* (Hosking, 2011:54) by which '*regional ontologies'* (Benton & Craib, 2001, in Hosking, 2011:54) such as social realities or knowledge are being produced, Hosking argues that

> some forms of life are able to 'enroll and control' on a larger scale than others and so may appear, for example, to have more powerful gods or better methods for producing objective knowledge. (ibid.)

As I have suggested in chapter 3, leadership in the cultural sector has been particularly ingenious in establishing 'powerful gods and better methods' which in turn seem to be remarkably effective in terms of enrolling people into certain lifestyles, and in controlling that the gods and the methods be respected. The process of establishing these gods and methods, have been so successful that they appear as '*implicit standards'* (Sampson, 1993:6), which are '*denarrativized*' (Somers, 1994:619) through a reference to a meta-narrative which is built '*on concepts and explanatory schemes [...] that are in themselves abstractions.*' (ibid.). By this ongoing process, the dominant narrative of leadership appear as if governed by natural and timeless laws of what is real (Hosking, 2006:13), and in the process people are enrolled as '*serviceable others'* (Sampson, 1993:6). Yet, as I have related in the chapter 4, large groups of people refuse to bow and subdue themselves to the implicit standards in order to become serviceable others. On the contrary, they continuously challenge the dominant narrative, to such an extent that its legitimacy through reference to the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment is threatened perhaps leaving it in a crisis of legitimacy such as suggested by Lyotard (1984: xxiv). It is in this crisis of legitimacy that I have placed my inquiry. And by following both some well-known roads and a few less known paths, I have designed my project as a struggle between the dominant narrative and its efforts to maintain and defend its legitimization through the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment, and a number of alternative narratives and their efforts to obtain performative legitimacy in their local relations. By struggle I mean '*power-full processes*' (Hosking, 2011:54) in the sense that the processes by which leadership in the cultural sector is being socially stabilized as a '*local-social-historical*

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construction' (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) aiming at becoming a '*regional ontology'* (Benton & Craib, 2001, in Hosking, 2011:54) power is involved in various forms. Both as the '*power over'* (Hosking, 2006:16) implicit in the struggle for becoming a regional ontology, and as the '*power over', 'power to'* and '*power with'* (ibid.) implicit in the various ways leadership in the cultural sector is ontologized.

However, as pointed out by Steyaert and Van Looy (2010:2)

> Theorizing is thus not a neutral activity, but an ethico-political endeavor that urges us to ask the question in which worlds we want to participate and to experiment and unfold another kind of theorizing that finds connection with the everyday, yet urgent, problems of "this" world.

For my inquiry I have formulated an answer to this question in the form of an activist aspiration suggesting a movement towards relational leadership in the cultural sector[101]. Yet, as also stressed by Hosking (2006:13) '*would-be contributors to the leadership literatures must find ways to co-ordinate with the texts 'already in place', i.e. with existing constructions'.* Although I don't mind '*jamming the machinery'* (Sampson, 1993:13) slightly, I acknowledge the need for coordination with texts already in place, i.e. with existing understandings of leadership in the cultural sector. So if I aim to suggest and advocate in favor of a move towards relational leadership in the cultural sector, understood as '*a social act, a construction of a 'ship' as a collective vehicle to help take us where we as a group, organization or society desire to go'* (Murrell, 1997:35), problematizing (Uhl-Bien, 2006:669) leadership in the cultural sector as it is predominantly ontologized is not enough, I must also propose ways to reconstruct (Gergen, 1994:63-64, see also Hjorth, 2003:18) alternative understandings.

Seeing leadership in the cultural sector as a '*local-social-historical construction'* (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) may in itself appear as a problematization of leadership, as it doesn't recognize extra-linguistic legitimization in the form of inborn physiological, psychological

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[101] In section 8.4 I discuss the paradox implicit in my aim to turn the local-social-historical construction of leadership in the cultural sector as relational leadership into a regional ontology.

or neurological[102] traits as claimed by e.g. Gardner (1995). Further seeing leadership in the cultural sector as a process of ongoing social construction (Meindl, 1995:380) allows for a view into the various forms of power involved in these ongoing processes of socially constructing leadership in the cultural sector.

In this chapter, I go further into the local-social-historical constructions of leadership as an individual achievement based on individual traits and the ongoing processes by which it has come into being including the various forms of power and practices involved in these processes. With the activist aspirations of my inquire in mind, I aim to suggest that the dominant (modernist) narrative of leadership as an individually based endeavor finds resonance in the dominant narrative of arts and culture I related in chapter 3. I go on to inquire into relational leadership as a post-modernist narrative which may serve as a resource for moving towards relational relational leadership in the cultural sector, and point to possible reconstructions of my inquiry with the aim of encouraging further reconstructions as opposed to attempting to ontologize leadership in the cultural sector in yet another dominant way. In 8.1 I walk in the footsteps of individual leadership to suggest how this particular local-social-historical construction of leadership in the cultural sector came into being, how it is being ontologized in ongoing processes and by means of narrative practices (Rose, 1996:130), and how it might be understood as a modernist narrative of leadership (Hosking, 2006:5) seeking to perform leadership narratively by means of '*power over'* (Hosking, 2006:16). In 8.2 I provide a brief overview of contributions to the field referred to as relational leadership theory (RLT) (Uhl-Bien, 2006:654), as 'a '*a post-modern discourse of leadership processes*' (Hosking, 2006:2), as '*post-heroic practices beyond individualism'* (Dachler, 2010:41), as '*discoursive leadership'* (Fairhurst, 2007) and '*relational leading'* (Gergen, 2009:148). As these understandings all give primacy to relations (Dachler & Hosking, 1995:2), I refer to these as RLT as suggested by Uhl-Bien (2006:654.[103]), albeit acknowledging that RLT cannot be

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[102] These traits could also be argued to be local-social-historical constructions.

[103] The article summarizes various positions within the field pointing primarily to their commonalities. As the purpose of RLT is not to conceptualize leadership in any entitative form, differences in approaches are not seen as challenges to RLT, but rather as means to expand the field. The purpose of my overview is therefore not to discuss minor differences, but an attempt to introduce it as a context in which to discuss my inquiry further.

taken to demarcate a theoretical field in a strict sense of the word. In 8.3 I suggest five possible *'reconstructions'* (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) of my case studies in the light of my inquiry, and discuss how these may contribute to a movement towards relational leadership in the cultural sector. In 8.4 I discuss how RLT has been productive in conducting my inquiry, and in 8.5 I conclude my inquiry by suggesting how it may coordinate with texts already in place, and how my inquiry can be seen as an invitation to further ongoing processes of reconstruction in relations.

8.1 In the Footsteps of Individual Leadership in the Cultural Sector

As a prologue to my narrative of leadership in the cultural sector, I invited a renowned and admired figure in the cultural sector, Nicholas Serota, the director of a hugely influential museum in London, to have the first word. He certainly used the occasion to get a clear cut message across: meddling with governmental support for the arts is a blitzkrieg on the cultural sector, leaving the country in a freezing cold winter leading directly onto the dismantling of civilization as we know and cherish it. Having hardly digested this spate of words, I let Serota be joined by a few of his admirers and fellow top guns in the cultural sector who all as if rehearsed, further let the public know in unambiguous terms, how they see the world, and how the public fits into this world. Admittedly, these bombardments do amount to '*a description, nearly a caricature, of the dominating, competitive, aggressive, manipulating, achievement-driven male*' (Dachler, 1988:264) who is the hero of what Hosking terms '*a modernist tale of leadership'* (2006:5). This modernist tale of leadership situates leadership in a Cartesian epistemology, seeing leaders as having personal inborn characteristics, as acting in relation to objects such as employees, and as building and adding to their individual knowledge and power (ibid.:7). Hosking's point in highlighting the links between the epistemological framework and the ontological assumptions and entitative studies of individual leadership is to place such studies in the local, social and historical offered by the Enlightenment. In this sense the great, individual leaders and his leadership is a product of his historical context, and our understanding of leadership as individualist endeavors enabled by individual traits is produced by the epistemological and ontological assumptions underlying and framing this context. Hence, the great individual leader is made possible by the subject's separation from the object, and his individual endeavors in terms of leadership are made possible by the scientific knowability of things (Lyotard, 1984:xxix). A modernist discourse of leadership is established supporting itself

by what is being studied, great leaders and their leadership, and how it is being studied, e.g. identifying and isolation individual traits, and this discourse is legitimized by reference to the metanarrative of the Enlightenment (ibid.). As Hosking notes (2006:7), the post-positivist tale of leadership admittedly modifies the assumptions about the total separation of subject and object, but does so only by modifying epistemological axioms from proof to falsification[104] (ibid.), thus not in any important way redirecting what is being studied, how it is being studied, and what sense is being made of the studied. In such leader-centric studies, the primacy is given to studies of individuals, their cognitive traits, their charisma and their visions (see e.g. Bass, 1985, Conger, 1989, and for a more in depth critique, see Calás, 1993). In relationally informed studies, such studies are oftentimes referred to as entitative studies (Dachler & Hosking, 1995:2) as they take the individual leader as the '*critical terminus'* (McNamee & Gergen, 1999:5) of interest, seeing the leader as *'a container'* (Sampson, 1993:34) filled with qualities and abilities allowing the leader to carry out the most impressive of achievements, often in spite of given circumstances. Whereas relationally informed studies of individual leaders and their leadership (e.g. Grint, 2000) make a point of studying these individual leaders as local-social-historical constructions (Hjorth & Hosking, 2004:261) produced in ongoing processes in relations, entitative studies of leaders and their leadership explicitly or implicitly subscribe to an epistemological framework informed by positivism or post-positivism, allowing them to make (taken for granted) assumptions about the separation of the subject from the object, the leader from the object, i.e. his subordinates, the surrounding world, in a classical Cartesian sense (Hosking, 2006:4). This focus on, perhaps even obsession with the self is by no means a recent phenomenon in the Western world, on the contrary, as pointed out by Dachler [105](2010:45):

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[104] Thanks to the argument made by Popper (1959) which changes epistemological axioms from verification to falsification.

[105] Although beyond the scope of this inquiry, it would be possible to develop Dachler's point further, by arguing that it is our modernist reading of our 2000 years history which produces this understanding. Taking Dachler's own point, it would be possible re-read the 2000 years history from a relational vantage, thus inquiring into the processes by which these great heroic individuals came into being, who might otherwise have been constructed as a heroic individual, and what does it do that individuals and not social relations are being constructed as heroes etc.

> Western culture is the inheritance from more than 2000 years of celebrating the self-contained self, the self as an individual agent, who makes rational and conscious decisions, who rationally and goal-orientedly transforms his or her intentions into actions, and who therefore is author of his or her performance and architect of his or her world.

With Cartesian philosophy and the Age of Enlightenment, the celebration of this self-contained individual turns into an epistemological framework by means of a philosophical proposition giving rise to a plethora of sciences oriented towards individualism (Dachler & Hosking, 1995:2). Fascination of the individual becomes truths about the individuals' inborn traits and abilities, and worshipping therefore becomes duty, and subordination the very purpose of life for those with less fascinating inborn traits. Fascinating in this sense is taken to mean spectacular, outstanding and unique, indeed, it is a heroic self (Dachler, 2010:45) that becomes the ideal leadership model. Dachler asks *'from where does such knowledge about leadership come, how was it developed and constructed over history and set into the world as taken-for-granted "truth"?'* (2010:44). Without attempting to provide any exhaustive answer to this question, but only to point to a rather surprising paradox in this modernist understanding of leadership, I go on to relate an influential narrative in leadership studies, the narrative of individual leadership traits. It holds remarkable resemblance to the dominant narrative of the artist I related in chapter 3, in particular as these two narratives share the conviction that traits and talents are individual, possibly inborn, and decisive factors in leadership and artistry respectively. Whereas the narrative of individual leadership traits seems very explicit, and only seldom misses an opportunity to make itself heard, it seems also to be accompanied by more subtle, yet by no means less efficient practices. Upon my short detour into entitative leadership studies, and the very explicit narrative of individual leadership traits, I go on to revisit my inquiry to look for the more implicit narrative practices sustaining the modernist entitative narrative of leadership in the cultural sector.

(The Narrative of) Individual Leadership Traits

In his study of leadership, meaning great leaders and their achievements throughout times, Gardner[106] uses an axiomatic criterion formulated as the ability to affect '*thoughts,*

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[106] The literature on entitative views of leaders and leadership is vast and impressive. For my inquiry, I have chosen Gardner as an exponent for two reasons: first, because I to some extent share his field of interest,

feelings, and behaviors of a significant number of individuals' (1995:296) and by means of this criterion, and a number of studies supporting it, Gardner claims the ability to point out a series of cognitive capabilities, social properties and competences allowing certain human beings to become leaders (ibid.22). Quoting Harry Truman, Gardner describes the leader '*as a man who has the ability to get other people to do what they don't want to do and like it* (ibid.), and we understand that our '*primate heritage'* (ibid.: 23), i.e. our ability to recognize other individuals from an early age and to compete with them for a place in the social hierarchy is a first determining factor in the process of becoming leader: '*size, strength, skill, intelligence, attractiveness, and gender all contribute to the determination of which organisms will occupy superior positions in the emerging social hierarchy'* (ibid.) we're told. In other words, there is a first natural selection process in terms of who might at all be eligible for leadership if we follow Gardner's argument. This approach to understanding leadership builds on what Dachler terms the idea of the '*heroic self'* (2010:45), and this idea is well rooted in Western culture, and retold, idealized and referred endlessly since time immemorial in our parts of the world. In opposition to this trait based, entitative view of the heroic self having fought its way to its place in the social hierarchy thanks to its gender, strength, mental and cognitive abilities etc, Grint (2000:10) suggests, on the basis of his inquiry into so-called great leaders throughout times, some of whom happen to be the same as those studied by Gardner, that this heroic self is both superimposed on those selves and constructed by their followers. That is, the cognitive skills claimed by Gardner to be foundational for great leadership, are according to Grint but local-social-historical constructions (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) established in the ongoing processes in the relations between leaders and their possible followers. Gardner's study is of particular interest for my inquiry in this regard, for assumingly unwillingly, it establishes a paradox, which, however, according to Grint is the closest we may come to understanding leadership as sets of individual traits and skills.

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namely art/artists and leadership/leaders, although from a very different vantage. Second, because his study of so called great leaders (1995) happens to share some of the empirical context with Grint's (2000) similar study of leadership from a relational vantage. The differences in the outcome of the studies have served as an inspiration for structuring my own inquiry as they in a both obvious and admittedly quite provocative way show how leadership is but a function of what is studied, and not least of how it is studied. What my inquiry shares with both Gardner and Grint is the interest in leadership in some way shaped and performed narratively, whereas we put this interest to work for very different ends.

In terms of entitative studies of leadership as based on individual, possibly inborn traits and skills, the individual mind and its embodiment are at the core of the study (Gardner, 1995:37), and any failure to comply with this individualistic focus is seen as lack of leadership, or week leadership at its best. As an example of such non-compliance to the standards set up by entitative leadership studies, Gardner points to former US President Clinton, *'who seemingly avoids opportunities for solitary reflection, there arises the possibility what he may not wish to know his own mind'* (ibid.). The knowledge and mastering of one's own mind is key to leadership (ibid.), and it is implicitly assumed that the mind can be understood, studied and developed independently of context, culture and relations. This view, obviously, is opposed to the relational view of the mind, which holds that the mind itself is a relational phenomenon (Gergen, 2009:69) which cannot be understood, nor studied outside of its context and culture (see chapter 2). To study the mind in terms of leadership, however, Gardner takes a somewhat unexpected turn, as he points to '*stories of identity'* (1995:43) as crucial to the great minds of leadership

> Narratives that help individuals think about and feel who they are, where they come from, and where they are headed – that constitute the single most powerful weapon in the leader's literary arsenal. (ibid.)

Gardner opens his discussion of the importance of narratives to leadership by quoting Isabel Allende's tale of Belisa Crepusc*lario and the Colonel. The Colonel, the tale goes, has achieved his powerful position as a ferocious warrior, but to become president, he must win '*the minds of men and the intuitions of women'* (sic! in Gardner, 1995:41). He realizes he can only do so by words, and he therefore asks the beautiful young women Belisa who makes a living from selling narratives if she can provide him with the words for a speech he can use in his campaign. She agrees, and the Colonel becomes president, not by means of his physical powers, but thanks to his mesmerizing words. Acknowledging the apparent limits to physical traits in terms of leadership, Gardner goes on to further explore the role of narratives:

> I argue that the story is a basic human cognitive form; the artful creation and articulation of stories constitutes a fundamental part of the leader's vocation. Stories speak to both parts of the human mind – its reason and emotion. (1995:43)

And here comes the unexpected in Gardner's turn to narratives, for whereas entitative in his view of leaders and their abilities, he appears to have a relationally informed view on narratives: '*A definitive account of the nature and purpose of stories, scripts, and/or narratives may prove elusive'* (1995:42). With reference to Wittgenstein's language games (see chapter 2), Gardner contents himself with '*the state of affairs'* (ibid.) by acknowledging that it doesn't seem possible to talk of more than a '*family resemblance'* (ibid.) when it comes to identifying the possible intrinsic properties of narratives. This leads Gardner to discuss the possible limitations of a rational/cognitivist positions in terms of understanding how narratives function. He holds that

> Cognitivists are inclined to believe that the more sophisticated story will prevail. That is, because the mind prefers to function in its most developed form, more primitive expectations and explanations tend to be overridden by more complex and subtler ones. (1995:47)

And that the *'strongest evidence in favor of the cognitivist position comes from experimental studies'* (ibid.) with youngsters who when growing older appear more inclined to acknowledge '*sophisticated accounts'* (ibid.) and to '*spurn simplistic ones'* (ibid.). Gardner modifies this view by acknowledging that '*stories can appeal for a variety of reasons, and listeners harbor a multitude of motives for attending, apprehending, and acting'* (1995:49), and he concludes by arguing that

> There is always the chance that a more sophisticated story will prevail, particularly when the teller is skilled and the audience is sophisticated. However, my study provides abundant evidence that, more often than not, the less sophisticated story remains entrenched – the unschooled mind triumphs. (ibid.)

Well, as may at this point have come off the paper in rather unveiled terms, my inquiry has not taken the position of great leaders allegedly being misunderstood or not understood at all due to the lack of sophistication of their surroundings. The point from a relational vantage is therefore not how we might further isolate the intrinsic properties of narratives (see chapter 2), nor why seemingly sophisticated narratives are being misunderstood or out maneuvered by jokes or swearwords. The point is that any utterance may perform as a narrative (see chapter 2), if perceived as such by listeners, and that any narrative may

perform leadership if granted the necessary social warrant by listeners, thus legitimizing it performatively because listeners makes sense of it in terms of leadership and decide to act and think accordingly. The point is also, that this does not allow us to say anything conclusive about oratorical skills or lack of the same as individual traits, for the performative legitimization of these skills when used to produce narratives, occurs in the ongoing relational processes of construction. Grint (2000:244) therefore, does not refer to such abilities as leadership skills, but rather '*skills in the performing arts'* used as a '*construction machine'* (ibid.) to produce images of leaders and images of followers. With narratives as such a construction machine, '*the cult of heroism'* (2000:245) is initiated, sustained and developed, implicitly also producing the image of the less heroic, whose only chance of resistance to oppression is to misunderstand, or not understand at all the sophisticated narratives issued by leaders. Studying leadership from an entitative vantage in this sense becomes a search for '*truisms*' (2005:1) of the order: '*successful leaders are successful'* (ibid.) because entitative studies of leadership are themselves ongoing processes of construction in relations, in spite of their possible claim to producing extra-linguistic facts. What this points to is a paradox Grint sums up by arguing that '*leadership success is dependent upon the extent to which leaders are sufficiently and inventively inconsistent to wrongfoot their more consistent opponents'* (2005:413). It also points in the same direction I drew up in chapter 3: in terms of leadership in the cultural sector there seems to be no end to the ingenuity by which the stronghold of the dominant narrative is being maintained and defended. Albeit only at rare occasions particularly consistent, or at some points only being consistent in the sense of being tautological, the dominant narrative still has been capable of 'wrongfooting' its opponents to such an extent that surprisingly little space has been available for alternative narratives. Or these alternative narratives have not been sufficiently inconsistent to wrongfoot the dominant narrative. What this suggests is, that if one is silly enough to try to make a consistent argument to challenge the dominant narrative of leadership, one is likely to be out maneuvered by it, as it is unlikely to surrender to consistency. From a relational vantage, this appears as rather paradoxical, as a fundamental assumption about studies of leadership (and other studies for that matter) allegedly supported by evidence such as Gardner's (1995) is that it establishes extralinguistic ontologies by means of an epistemological framework claiming universal transcendence. But, as Somers argue

> Perhaps the most paradoxical aspect of metanarratives is their quality of *denarrativization.* That is, they are built on concepts and explanatory schemes ("social systems," "social entities," "social forces") that are in themselves abstractions. Although metanarratives have all the necessary components of narrativity – transformation, major plot lines and causal emplotment, characters and action – they nonetheless miss the crucial element of a conceptual narrativity.(1994:619 italics by the author)

In this sense, so called individual leadership traits, although claiming to be extralinguist ontologies, become but a narrative of individual, even inborn traits substituting its possible lack of performative legitimization by referring to a metanarrative which denarrativizes it, hence releasing it from its dependence of this performative legitimization. As Grint argues

> Perhaps Nelson's greatest leadership skills were not in battle, nor in securing the unflinching support of most of his followers, but rather in persuading others, especially the British media and the Admirality, that whatever he did was a manifestation of his unique abilities. This is particularly important when defeats and mistakes occur, because it is relatively easy to secure praise for clear-cut victories but much harder to represent defeats advantageously. (2000:280)

In other words, keeping the narrative of individual, inborn leadership traits alive as an active narrative resource by referring to its state as extralinguistic factuality, and by emplotting this narrative in such a way that events and experiences support it, regardless of inconsistency, mistakes and failures, becomes a purpose in itself. It is difficult not to notice the striking narrative qualities of Gardner's study of inborn leadership traits, in spite of its claim to be independent of the performative legitimization of narratives. But what Grint suggests is that this paradox is in itself the closest we come to understanding leadership in terms of individual leadership traits. For we have since the narrative of David and Goliath been faced with obvious paradoxes in terms of how to establish computable sets of leadership skills, traits and abilities, and as it seems impossible to provide a consistent argument, or a universally transcendent understanding of such leadership skills and traits, a good narrative comes in handy. Narratives can, as I accounted for in chapter 2, account for deviances to the canonical, i.e. they can account for the obvious inconsistencies in probably any effort to establish a universally transcendent, and hence computable, set of leadership skills, traits and abilities. And as leadership, perhaps more

than anything else, is subject to social revision over time and place, its strongest means seems to be narrative renditions, as these at least can account for inconsistencies and make deviances from the canonical comprehensible. This, however, does remain a paradox, as the very purpose of understanding and promoting ideas of leadership as based on individual traits, seems rather to be an effort to denarrativize the notion of leadership.

On this paradoxical note I go on to revisit my inquiry along the paths suggested by Rose (1996:128) to see how individual leadership is being sustained by means of narrative practices[107] contributing to ongologizing leadership in the cultural sector as an individually based achievement enabled by individual traits.

Sustaining Individual Leadership by Practices

If the narrative of individual leadership traits is but a '*linguistic fatamorgana*' (Molin, 2003:133) promoting the illusion that leaders have become leaders thanks to their individual, possibly inborn traits and ability to climb to the top of social hierarchies, how then has constructions of leadership in various versions of Sampson's '*universalizing male gaze*' (1993:8) come into being? In chapter 4 I referred how artists 'bumped into' various forms of practices which although not necessarily explicit enrolled them into certain forms of behavior tending to 'normalize' them and their artistic expressions. In this process of normalization, becoming a self, in the case of my project, becoming an artist takes on the function of a '*regulatory ideal*' (Rose, 1996:129). Such regulatory ideals function as an ''*irreal' plan of projection*' (ibid.) serving to establish and maintain the self as a '*historical ontology*' (ibid.). The self in this sense has come into being because

> It has been the object of a whole variety of more or less rationalized schemes, which have sought to shape our ways of understanding and enacting our existence as human beings in the name of certain objectives – manliness, femininity, honour, modesty, propriety, civility, discipline, distinction, efficiency, harmony, fulfillment, virtue, pleasure – the list is as diverse and heterogeneous as it is interminable (Rose, 1996:130)

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[107] And again, my inquiry is primarily concerned with how such practices unfold in narrative terms. See also note 178.

To this list my inquiry suggests to add art and culture, and it therefore becomes interesting to see in what ways leadership in the cultural sector is active in establishing and maintaining art and culture as a rationalized scheme according to which regulatory ideals for coming into being as a human are constructed. Rose (ibid.) stresses this active role in opposition to others[108] who tend to see subjectivity and identity as '*consequences of wider social and cultural formations*' (ibid.). If I follow Rose, leadership in the cultural sector is thus not just a consequence of regulatory ideals established in the age of Enlightenment, or in the post WW2 era, but it is active in maintaining these ideals. Not necessarily as explicit ambitions, but rather implicit in the various '*practices*' (ibid.) and '*intellectual techniques*' (ibid.) '*invented, refined and stabilized* [...] *disseminated and implanted*' (ibid.) in all parts of society, and for my inquiry, in museums, conservatories, theaters, libraries, concert halls, art and theater academies etc. Rose points to five paths along which I go on to revisit the narrative landscape I have constructed in my inquiry to follow the practices seen as ongoing processes of constructing leadership in the cultural sector as an individual endeavor based on individual traits.

In terms of '*problematizations*' (Rose, 1996:131) Serota's initial outburst (chapter 0) is a first warning of where, how and by whom non-conform behavior is being problematized. In a true blitzkrieg of words, to use Serota's own metaphoric, we're told, even warned what awaits us if we do not comply with standards – a freezing cold winter in which civilization is soon to wither away. In chapter 1 and 3 I follow the path of problematizations around the narrative landscape I have constructed, only to learn that anything from entire governments and totalitarian regimes, over lowbrow culture, gay, female and immigrant artists, through management types, business men, the un-enlightened to folk artists, digital natives and internet creatives, cultural activists are being problematized. All these are in various degrees taken to threaten civilization or even hand over society over to barbarism if we let them challenge or get any influence on the dominant understanding of art and culture. Along the same lines, barbarism is also claimed to be close by if we dare ask the cultural sector to share the responsibility for how society has come to be organized, and for how it is going to develop in the future. On our way, we get an impression of how the '*very notion of normality has emerged out of a concern with types of conduct,*

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[108] Rose (ibid.) suggests examples such as Bauman, 1991, Beck, 1992, Giddens, 1991, Lash & Friedman, 1992.

thought, expression deemed troublesome or dangerous' (Rose, 1996:131). Leadership in the cultural sector appears as the true, and seemingly only, guardians of this notion of normality, and aberrant behavior seems quite effectively problematized, to such an extent that any non-conform behavior either has to fight for recognition or establish itself as a local-social-historical construction governed by its own standards.

In terms of '*technologies*' (Rose, 1996:131) I have drawn attention to quite an impressive repertoire at the disposal of leadership in the cultural sector which have been invented to serve and promote particular understandings of art and culture. Without mentioning narratives in the form of apocalyptic outbursts, I began by the very effective practice of making aesthetic judgments in chapter 3. This technology, as we have seen, is put to work in a number of ways, from admitting students to art academies, conservatories and theater schools on the basis of their putative 'talent', a personal and individual trait ascribed to some, by juries in possession of the ability to recognize these traits; to exhibiting primarily white male artists in museums under the pretext that female, non-white artists and their artistic achievements do not live up to the quality standards of museums and galleries. Over securing the artistic and cultural freedom of directors of theaters, museums and orchestras by law, thus entrusting them with the full responsibility for making choices representing the social realities, the cultural identities, the history, the present and the future of entire populations. I have drawn attention to how taking one's vows to the ALP appears to be a precondition for participating in any discussion about arts and culture of significance, thus entrusting leadership in the cultural sector with allegedly unpartisan, disinterested professional knowledge with the unlimited responsibility for deciding what is art and culture, and what isn't, regardless of any democratic, cultural or other concerns. And finally, we have seen how language in itself, in the form of narratives drawing on certain narrative resources, and problematizing others, function as an effective means to perform leadership by emplotting narratives in certain ways to produce certain social realities and certain understandings of who might become and count as a leader.

Following this, I have pointed to *'authorities'* (Rose, 1996:132) through which leadership is accorded and claims the '*capacity to speak truthfully about humans, their nature and their problems'* (ibid.). These authorities gain access to this capacity primarily through references to scientific knowledge (Hosking, 2006:7) in the form of disinterested

knowledge, backed up by cultural policies allegedly only serving the interests of arts and culture for their own sake. By means of these forms of authority, distinctions are made between the highest and best art and the rest, between high culture worthy of being exhibited in museums, performed in theaters, made available on the shelves of libraries and played in music halls, receiving public financial support in the forms of grants, and culture not worth mentioning, between artists and non-artists, between creatives and non-creatives, between talented and un-talented, between the civilized and the barbarians, between business and art, between the worthy and the un-worthy, between the stars and the admirers etc.

These stars in turn tend to function as *'teleologies'* (Rose, 1996:133) serving as ideals and idols for best practice in the cultural sector, showering these in lime-light and leaving the rest in the dark, albeit with chances of meeting the stars at rare, but much desired occasions. Finally, we have seen how compliance to the wishes of these ideal figures allegedly is our best guarantee towards dismantling civilization and ending up in barbarism. The '*strategy'* (ibid.) of linking the wishes and concerns of ideal figures to the wider societal concern of preserving civilization, or perhaps rather not to appear as uncivilized, is endlessly repeated throughout the inquiry, as if any question concerning leadership's role in protecting arts and culture can be directly linked to these wider questions of moral, politics and society. Through these strategies an implicit logic is maintained stating that art is good, more art is better, provided it complies with the standards of the teleologies. It applies to all questions of importance, not only in the cultural sector, but allegedly also in questions concerning the very civilization implicitly understood to be universally cherished, and the responsibility for deciding upon eligibility of possible candidates to enter into this logic rests safely with leadership in the cultural sector.

Revisiting the narrative landscape of my project by the pathways suggested by Rose, gives an impression of how leadership implicitly is productive in the establishment and maintenance of local-social-historical constructions of both leadership in the cultural sector and human beings in general, if we assume that culture function as a rationalized scheme according to which human beings understand themselves such as I have suggested. Although this revisit may appear as a critique of leadership in the cultural sector, the

purpose, as Rose points out (1996:147) is not critical in itself, but rather an attempt to produce a '*device for critical thought'* (ibid.). By means of this device it becomes possible to both consider what leadership in the cultural sector does does (Foucault, cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982:187), and possibly to alter the practices implicit in leadership in the cultural sector in order to do something different. What it also stresses, is that leadership in the cultural sector is also subject to rationalized schemes, by which it also comes into being in certain ways guided by similar practices. These may equally be altered, thus becoming active in producing different understandings of leadership in the cultural sector.

With this walk in the footsteps of individual leadership in the cultural sector, I have aimed to suggest how Hosking's modernist tale of leadership (2006:5) explicitly by means of a narrative of individual possibly inborn traits or implicitly by means of practices become a narrative serving to establish leadership as '*power over'* (ibid.:16). Although by no means doing, or even attempting to do modernist informed, entitative leader-centric studies due credit, I have aimed at pointing to some of the ongoing processes by which leadership in the cultural sector in this particular form is constructed and maintained, and to an obvious paradox in this regard. In spite of being a paradox, or just a good narrative not living up to its own epistemological axioms as extralinguistic and extrarelational knowledge, the modernist narrative of leadership, however, seems capable of maintaining its position as taken for granted truth. Its seems to owe this position as taken for granted truth, first of all to a very efficient narrative, which as factually indifferent (Bruner, 1990:44) is capable of accounting for deviations. And second, in self-explanatory ways (ibid.:48) it is capable of maintaining the ontological assumption regarding the separation of subject and object, and support this assumption by studying individual leadership in ways which are based on the same assumption, i.e. that what is being studied is not influenced by how and by whom it is being studied. What this amounts to is a kind of self-perpetuating '*construction machine'* (Grint, 2000:244) which paves its own broad avenues in the narrative landscape producing taken for granted understandings of leadership in the cultural sector, fuelled as it is by practices supporting those understandings. I chose to follow Gardner (1995) down the avenue of individual leadership, mainly because of our shared interest in leadership, arts and narratives, but also because his study offers a remarkable example of how the ontological and epistemological assumptions, I have referred to as part of the modernist

tale of leadership, are likely to produce understandings of leadership in accordance with those same assumptions. This, as pointed out by McNamee and Hosking (2012:45) is true for any such assumptions, whether modernist or postmodernist, or variants in between, but the point from a relational vantage is, that the focus of study is shifted from the putative separate object to how ontological and epistemological assumptions are productive in constructing the object and the subject constructing it, i.e. how those assumptions are themselves productive in terms of what an inquiry may produce. In spite of the quite remarkable paradox in Gardner's study, fundamental assumptions are not being questioned. On the contrary, they are being retained, and instead, subordinates are being referred to as less sophisticated by establishing a logic according to which '*unschooled minds triumph'* (1995:49) over learned leadership enunciations.

With these stanzas of a modernist narrative of leadership in mind I continue by providing an overview of theoretical contributions towards understanding leadership as processes of ongoing construction in relations.

8.2 Leadership as Processes of Ongoing Construction in Relations

In the growing field of studies devoted to studying leadership in an epistemological framework informed by social constructionism, and further pinned down and referred to by some as relational leadership theory (RLT) (Uhl-Bien, 2006), as a post-modern discourse of leadership processes (Hosking, 2006), relational leading (Gergen, 2009:148), discoursive leadership (Fairhurst, 2007), leadership as a social construction (Grint, 2005a, 2005b) and relational responsibility (McNamee & Gergen, 1999) relational aspects have been at the core of interest (Dachler, 1988). As Gardner's remark in the previous section hints at, relational understandings of leadership do not arrive at unreserved enthusiasm from entitatively informed leadership studies. On the contrary, we're led to understand that failure to comply with essentialist concerns, is in itself a somewhat dubious, even suspicious endeavor, likely to cover for an unwillingness to confront oneself or the true leadership of others. And yet, as laconically pointed out by Grint upon his studies of those having been perceived as great leaders over time, leadership is more of an art than a science (2000:417), for to be a science *we could reduce the essence down to a parsimonious set of rules and apply the result with confidence'* (ibid.). This confidence is severely injured in Grint's study, which sees errors as surprisingly commonplace in

leadership (ibid.:419), since '*what distinguishes a successful from failed leader is whether the subordinates can and will save the organization from the mistakes of its leaders*' (ibid.) in his study. From this vantage, leadership appears as a relational business which can only partially, if at all, be studied and described with reference to individual traits. Or more precisely, studying leadership from the vantage of individual traits, says more about the '*continuous historical, societal development*' (Dachler, 2010:46) in the Western world since the Age of the Enlightenment than it does about the leadership traits studied. For, as Dachler points out (ibid.), we could have seen a different development in the Western world, had the focus of studies been different, thus generating different kinds of knowledge leading us to making different kinds of decisions, organizing ourselves differently and perceiving leadership in different ways. As discussed in chapter 3, 4 and 5, studying leadership from the vantage of the heroic self, has not been without consequences in terms of how the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector has come into being over time, and this particular understanding certainly has had '*destructive impact on Western development*' (ibid.) if we listen to the alternative narratives in chapter 4, through its focus on and priority given to certain life forms, and by consequence, its disregard or even oppression of others. Giving primacy to relations in leadership studies can thus be seen not only as an attempt to grasp a few more nuances of leaders and their leadership practices, but indeed an attempt to change the course of the world by proposing different understandings of what might count as leadership[109].

RLT and the Primacy of Relations

In response to the vast entitatively informed literature on leadership, RLT proposes to give primacy to relations and the social processes involved in socially constructing leadership (Dachler, 1988, 1992, Dachler & Hosking, 1992, Dachler & Hosking, 1995, Morley & Hosking, 2003, Hosking 2006, Uhl-Bien, 2006). This is not to disregard leaders, their individual traits and endeavors, but to argue that these are socially constructed and can therefore not be studied, nor understood outside of their context, and the relational processes in which they are being constructed. Leadership in this sense can thus be seen as a social construction happening continuously in social processes taking place in relations. Social processes vary over time, and are made sense of in differently ways over time,

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[109] I account for some of these activist aspirations in social constructionist research in chapter 2

wherefore RLT is little concerned with questions of what leadership is, but more with questions of how leadership might be reflected upon. The 'what-question' refers to, as I discussed in chapter 5, the way we have agreed what counts as leadership, how it has been established as a local-social-historical construction (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261), how it predominantly has been ontologized in processes of ongoing construction, and not universally transcendent definitions of leadership. This 'what' meaning the content of leadership is left open to a locally negotiated, context based understanding to which no transcendence or generalizeability is ascribed (Hosking, 2006:5). Therefore, the 'how-question' becomes central to an RLT informed study of leadership in that it aims to problematize '*leadership by theorizing 'empty' processes i.e., 'the how' of leadership'* (ibid.). RLT so to speak '*'starts' with processes and not persons, and views persons, leadership and other relational realities as made in processes.*' (ibid.:9). In these processes language plays the central role, as key to constructing social realities in relations (ibid.), and as discussed in chapter 2, leadership in this sense is performed by means of language organized in narrative structures. This, again, is not to disregard structures, e.g. hierarchical structures, organizational boundaries and other non-verbal '*actions, things and events*' (ibid.:11), but to argue that these are not made sense of till verbalized or narrated and thereby constructed and ascribed meaning to in social processes[110]. In these social processes in which meaning is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated, the most important outcome is

> *an agreed narrative about what has happened, and why, providing a rationale linking what is happening now to what has happened in the past and to what will happen in the future.* If such narratives are not acceptable they will not stick. (Morley & Hosking, 2003:83, org. text in italics)

Narratives in this sense become the organizing principle in the ongoing social processes, serving to 'fixate' understandings of these same actions, things and events allowing leadership a major role in the '*rewrit*[ing] *of social history'* (ibid.), and as I discussed in chapter 3, this role may be used, even exploited to endlessly rewriting social history in such a way that certain individuals, certain behaviors and certain cultural expression gain

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[110] As referred in chapter 2, relational constructionism also takes other communicative signs than verbal language into consideration, e.g. dance.

predominance over others, giving the impression that reality *is* in a certain way and cannot and should not be altered. But, as Dachler points out (2010:47) such self-evident social constructions appearing as 'reality'

> Has profound consequences for what, in the context of the socially constructed reality, appears to be meaningful in the first place or conversely for what, in this context, seems unrealistic or erroneous.

Among such realities are the narratives of leadership according to which '*leaders are understood as subjects set apart from the objects which make up their context including their subordinates'* (Dachler & Hosking, 1995:8), and

> consistent with the meta-narrative of possessive individualism, theories of leadership typically emphasize individuals as entities and locate explanatory force in their assumed properties (ibid.)

In other words, Gardner's focus on hierarchical positioning as central to understanding leadership may in this regard be seen as a function of studying leadership through the lens of hierarchical positioning, and nothing else. This lens excludes the study of leadership going on at all levels of organizations and in all sorts of social processes (Uhl-Bien, 2006:668), wherefore this broader understanding of leadership is unlikely to appear as significant in studies limited to hierarchical positioning. From an RLT point of view, hierarchical structures are but '*patterned regularity of interaction'* (Dachler & Hosking, 1995, Uhl-Bien, 2006:670) in which the ongoing processes of construction in relations have sedimented in a certain way, thus appearing as a structure informed by power over. This view does not disregard that hierarchical structures may appear as structures, but contends they are but social constructions, and the question is therefore not what they consists of in an ontologically autonomous sense, but rather how locally acknowledged epistemologies allowed them to be constituted. From this vantage, the impressive production of leadership studies concerned with studying traits, talent, behavior etc. becomes constitutive in the production of leadership as a leader-centered, ontologically stable entity, which in turn becomes the lens through which we study and understand leadership.

RLT as Problematizing Leadership

As relationally informed studies of leadership for epistemological reason will inevitably point to this ongoing ontologization of leadership, such studies tend to come off the paper as problematizations of leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006:669, Fairhurst, 2007:5) summed up by Fairhurst (2007:5) as a constructionist stance on leadership:

> Leadership need not have existed, or need not be at all as it is. Leadership, or leadership as it is at present, is not determined by the nature of things; it is not inevitable.

But to bring about such a change of course, Drath contends that *'nothing less than a revolution of mind is required, a shift of order of thought, a reformation of how leadership is known'* (2001:124). In my study, I have primarily been concerned with problematizing what I have argued is the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector. I have in various ways described this understanding of leadership as efforts to gain and maintain '*power over'* (Hosking, 2006:16). In other words, leadership as a form of domination, a way of imposing certain standards, rules and behavior on subordinates, and pointed to how this specific approach has had severe consequences in the cultural sector, as this sector in many ways is about identity, creative possibilities and aspirations for better lives and recognition. I have therefore also attempted to move beyond the '*hero myth*' (Murrell, 1997:39), both to see how this is being challenged, but also to inquiry into other and different understandings of leadership to see if different understandings of leadership may both encourage and enable leadership in the cultural sector to perform in less oppressive and more democratic and culturally sensitive ways. These different understandings, summarized under the umbrella of RLT may, admittedly, appear as less spectacular than heroic individuals relating, sometimes yelling, their visions, ambitions and capacities at gaping audiences. Yet, if less spectacular, RLT instead offers a decisively differently vantage from which to study and understand leadership as a collective act taking place in relations as opposed to traits and actions ascribed to certain idealized individuals. Murrel (1997:39) sums this move up by saying that

> Relational leadership puts the emphasis of study squarely on human processes of how people decide, act, and present themselves to each other. In this study it is possible to see relationships other than those built from hierarchy and

those in which nurturing and supporting roles could be legitimized as means of influence. It is also possible [...] to envision transformational phenomenon where the social change process occurs well outside the normal assumptions of command and control.

This view suggests a move which is not only about handing over control and power to a broader slice of people, or to see leadership in more distributed ways. It is about finding ways to construct and perceive of leadership as '*power to'* (Hosking, 2006:16) by acknowledging the need for symmetry amongst those involved in leadership in all its aspects. Yet, as Murrel points out, there is a danger, that the attempted implicit empowerment doesn't really shift the focus of attention, it just relegates leadership to some other more or less symmetrical relations. I ended chapter 5 by pointing to cultural governance as a framework for reconsidering how art, culture and leadership in the cultural sector are constructed in ongoing social processes in relations. What RLT has to offer in this regard is not just to 'replace' one local-social-historical construction (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) of leadership in the cultural sector with another, even if the replacement is more relationally informed or sensitive to processes of ongoing construction in relations. This, as I read RLT would be a too simplified reading of the contributions. What RLT has to offer in terms of leadership in the cultural sector is the much broader scope of seeing art and culture themselves as processes of ongoing construction in relations and leadership as nothing but the facilitators of such processes. In what ways does such a local-social-historical construction of leadership differ from the modernist narrative of leadership related in section 8.1. Well, if we recall Grint's typology of authoritative responses (2005:1477) as a 'function' of how leadership challenges are situated, the modernist narrative of leadership comes close to constructing leadership in the cultural sector as an authoritative response in the form of a command such as 'this is art because I say so!' The authoritative response is slightly modified in the post-positivist narrative of leadership which in terms of leadership in the cultural sector may come close to authoritative responses in the form of organizing processes in order to secure that 'this is acknowledged and accepted as art and culture because enough people agree to us saying so, and we have establish processes to account for that'. The postmodern narrative of leadership in the cultural sector, however, is more diffuse. It would be about engaging in ongoing processes of asking questions such as 'how did we come to understand this as art and culture, and what does it do that we understand this and not other expressions as art

and culture, and how might we change that? Hosking (2006:16) suggests '*power with'* as a framework for negotiating such a participative ontology, or rather ongoing processes of constructing ontologies, i.e. what counts as art and culture, and what counts as leadership. We may think of such ongoing processes of construction in terms of cultural governance such as I suggested in chapter 5. Cultural governance in this sense is about renegotiating the assumptions we take as preconditions for participating in the processes of ongoing construction, and about willingness to suspense these in favor of others. In this way, the cultural governance starts with '*empty processes'* (ibid.), not a set of imposed assumptions, and potentially anyone can contribute to the process. This also means, that in a sense, the process does not start with leadership (ibid.), meaning a vision, a leader, a strategy etc., but with '*the space for participants to generate multiple local cultural realities*' (ibid.), hence through power with gaining power to.

For this to happen leadership in the cultural sector would have to take on a difference meaning, than the heroic, individualistic, visionary even commanding understanding of leadership, I have related in my inquiry as the dominant. For whereas this seems to be not only aware of, but in deed using the political potential of ontologizing (Gergen, 1994:36) to maintain and defend certain understandings of art and culture, at the expense of others, a post-heroic, post-commanding understanding of leadership in the cultural sector, would have to be sensitive to this potential in a different way. Different in the sense, that any attempt to ontologize art and culture implies a political potential, wherefore such attempts would require, if not even encourage ongoing dialog and negotiations on who takes part in arts and culture, in what ways, who's left out, who might be included if art and culture is understood differently etc. And different in the sense, that leadership in the cultural sector cannot flee to the reserves of beyondness by referring to extralinguistic legitimization, as RLT does not offer leadership a space outside of the relation to which it can withdraw. Hence, excluding all those we have encountered amongst the alternative narratives from the dominant narrative of arts and culture, cannot be accounted for by reference to an extra-relational reference point, such as the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment, but would have to be accounted for here and now. In my case studies, I have related narratives of leadership which have taken on the task of broadening the understanding of leadership in the cultural sector, and equally of broadening the objectives of leadership in the cultural sector to encompass a much broader understanding of arts and culture than

the one offered by the dominant narrative. It would be beyond the scope of RLT to qualify these efforts as relational leadership, as RLT specifically does not offer a set of axiomatic prerequisites according to which we can 'measure' or 'judge' leadership. Instead, RLT encourages us to consider performative legitimization in ongoing processes of construction in relations such as e.g. social warranty. What I can say is that these case studies to me provide excellent examples of leadership efforts to place relations at the core of attention. This, as I have related, has not always been without problems, as placing relations at the core of attention at the expense of paying tribute to the dominant narrative by no means is costless. Yet, in spite of obstacles their incredulity towards the dominant narrative, has opened on to new paths for arts and culture to take. These paths have little resemblance with the narrow finely paved ones guarded and patrolled by the dominant narrative. On the contrary, they more appear as cross country drives where the path is made while driving. In this sense, the case studies relate ways to understand leadership as ongoing processes of construction in concrete empirical contexts. I pick up on this in the next section, when suggesting ways to reconstruct my case studies.

In this section I have provided a brief overview of contributions towards understanding leadership as ongoing processes of constructing social realities in relations, and referred to these as RLT as their common denominator is the primacy given to relations. I have suggested how RLT may contribute to understanding leadership in the cultural sector as a process of asking questions and negotiating assumptions as a form of cultural governance aimed at constructing power with relations. In the following section I go on to discuss how my case studies in chapter 6 and 7 can be seen as *'reconstructions'* (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) contributing to a movement towards relational leadership in the cultural sector.

8.3 Reconstructing Case Studies – for Further Reconstructions

'*When the native hears a speech about Western culture'*, Fanon writes (1967),

> He pulls out his knife [...]. The violence with which the supremacy of white
> values is affirmed and the aggressiveness which has permeated the victory of

these values over the ways of life and thought of the native mean that in revenge the native laughs in mockery when Western values are mentioned in front of him. (ibid.).

So far, no one has been pulling out knives in my inquiry. But figuratively speaking, it's been close by at times. For as I have attempted to draw attention to, Fanon's classical text has taken on a new meaning for all those who for some reason cannot see themselves in the cultural ideals of the Age of Enlightenment. As pointed out by Hall (1996:4)

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical naturally-constituted unity – an 'identity' in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation.

Throughout the project I have attempted to link leadership in the cultural sector with a responsibility for taking these concerns into consideration, thus suggesting a move towards understanding leadership in the cultural sector as a relational business, rather than as a defense of extra-relational, or entitative positions. In support of the activist aspirations of my inquiry I have given voice to a number of groups who with various degrees of mockery have expressed their discontent with what they perceive as the dominant narrative of arts and culture, and through their alternative narratives they have implicitly or explicitly problematized leadership in the cultural sector. In my project, I have reconstructed (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:51) these alternative narratives and their problematizations of leadership in the cultural sector in a '*conceptual narrative'* (Somers, 1994:620) by drawing on theoretical contributions from RLT, thereby attempting to conceptualize and propose ways to understand and perform leadership in the cultural sector as ongoing processes in relations. The conceptual narrative of a move towards relational leadership in the cultural sector is thus a way to theorize this move by linking it to the already existing conceptual narrative of RLT.

The way I have constructed my case studies relates leadership which in various ways has aimed at renegotiating the fundamental premises for arts and culture, involving both 'the usual suspects' such as librarians, musicians, cultural politicians etc., and a multitude of others whom we don't usually hear much of in connection to arts and culture e.g. digital native bloggers, immigrant artists etc. In methodological terms, I have strived to relate leadership as ongoing processes of construction by co-conducting my case studies in ways which allow the processual aspects of ongoing construction, negotiation, and reconstruction to be very present in the text. I have done this at the expense of say interviews beginning with questions such as 'what is good leadership to you?' or pointing to best practices for leadership in the cultural sector. Instead, I have encouraged my co-researchers (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:50) to reflect on how they go about their work, how they think about it, what matters to them etc. The outcome are reflections on the 'hows' of leadership more than the 'whats' to avoid implicitly suggesting that there is something that *is* leadership (Hosking, 2006:19). This distinction is important, as the cases I have studied arguably relate processes initiated by what might come off the paper as strong leaders. Changing the focus of attention to how they reflect about their work, how others reflect about it, and how I as a co-researcher am part of the ongoing processes, suggests that many reconstructions are both possible, and perhaps desirable in other circumstances. Constructing case studies in this way also aims at not superimposing any a priori hierarchical structures in my inquiry. Thus, I have allowed for inputs from processes at all levels, ranging from governmental and political frameworks, formal hierarchical leadership positions, casual blog postings, strategic documents, media clippings in what in an entitative study of leadership in a more classical sense, would probably appear as a pêle-mêle, but what in a RLT informed study is just a way of acknowledging the processes as inclusive, locally grown and multi-logical (Hosking, 2006:23). In this the formal leaders as individuals are but impetuses along with other impetuses who from a relational point of view seem to be engaged in ongoing renegotiations about what counts as social reality, what counts as art and culture, and how those involved in these processes construct their experiences and possibly make sense of them in terms of leadership (Meindl, 1995:332) or lack of the same.

Reconstructing Case Studies around Five Plots

In an attempt to avoid the '*I have found that...*" (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:55) trap of '*making positive knowledge claims*' (ibid.) on the basis of my case studies, I will go on to point to five plots[111] according to which the narrative renditions of my case studies may be interpreted and made sense of. By suggesting five different, and not necessarily mutually compatible plots, I aim to make my case studies available for further reconstructions. I also want to encourage reflexivity in the readings of my case studies as a means not to overcome the active process of emplotment involved in relating a case study, in asking '*formative*' questions (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:75) and in selecting cases to study to mention but a few areas for emplotment in my inquiry, but create an awareness of it, thus allowing for other and possibly different reconstructions.

The Art vs. People Reconstruction

My case-studies, and my entire inquiry for that matter, organize events, experiences and various other contributions to produce a narrative which places people at the core of attention. Not specific kinds of people with special or unique capacities, looks or interests, just people in the broadest possible sense. To these people I ascribe the will to organize their own lives according to their own beliefs, ideas, aspirations and dreams in the communities they refer to as theirs. My narrative is organized in such a way, that the endeavors of these people to live and unfold their lives in ways they prefer in itself becomes a quest for freedom. Freedom from a standardizing culture, which itself began as a quest from other standardizing cultures: the church, the rich, the market, the totalitarians. In this sense, my inquiry just seems to repeat history without really adding anything new. And yet, I argue that at least some things are different this time: first, I point to the incredulity towards the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment and subsequent legitimization through performativity described by Lyotard's as the postmodern condition (1984:41). This suggests, that this time the quest from freedom is not a struggle to free oneself from one unifying grip just to throw oneself into another. The picture is more blurred, as cultural uniformity is in itself seen as the enemy from which one must free oneself to emancipate in a potentially endless number of ways. Second, I point

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[111] Recalling from chapter 2 that the plot is the spine of the narrative according to which we organize events and experiences accounted for in the narrative to 'fit' our plot, i.e. we tell the narrative in order to produce the social world we'd like to see unfolded.

technological factors such as the advent of social media which allow culture to happen in ways it hasn't happened before[112]. This, as my case-studies suggest, takes place both in classical cultural institutions, but indeed also in places one wouldn't expect such as worn down urban areas, central stations and not least in the social media themselves which become not only the means, but also the areas for cultural production and consumption. And third, I point to globalization and the role of culture as the lens through which we can understand the world after the collapse of ideologies. This suggests, that culture understood as Western arts and culture taking a self-assured, self-evident role in the global scene is coming to an end, and the struggle for cultural representation is intensified both in classical arenas such as cultural institutions, but also in new arenas such as discussions about copyrights, where Western dominance is diminishing.

To further support this narrative, I have conducted case-studies which all in various ways place people at the center of interest. Whether it be potential new borrowers at the Malmoe City Library, local cultural entrepreneurs in an upcoming area of Copenhagen, people unfamiliar with classical music or the citizens of a posh district in Copenhagen, the case-studies are all concerned with people, if not at the expense of art and culture, then at least as a primary focus. And these people are approached not with the aim of enrolling them in a preset cultural format authorized by expert knowledge, but with the aim of making cultural arenas available to what these people take to be art and culture, or to create new arenas to meet the needs of these people. In this I point to a move from the democratization of culture regime to cultural democracy as a framework for understanding culture in this sense (see chapter 4). This movement, as my cases also suggest, implies thinking about leadership in different ways than as attempts to install and maintain power over relations. Instead, it entails reflections on how power to and power with relations (Hosking, 2011:60) can be encouraged, and this in turn de-centers the focus on the strong leader and his possible traits and competences.

Such empowering of people, however, implies disempowerment for those previously enjoying the privilege of having power and authority to define arts and culture. I have

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[112] As did the invention of printing technology, or rather the appropriation of the Chinese technology of printing into a European context.

constructed the study of the MCL to produce an insight into how this struggle for the right and privilege to define arts and culture between 'the old and the new ones' unfold, and restricting my inquiry to narratives[113], I have aimed at showing that this struggle by no means is a quiet one. The following three case studies I have co-constructed together with people performing some versions of leadership in the cultural sector. What we have produced together is an insight into how people can and might be involved in creating new frameworks for understanding, producing and consuming culture in ways which both seek to accommodate the cultural claims of those involved, and to expand those claims.

Finally, to produce a reconstruction around the art vs. people plot I haven't purposely omitted a large, significant effort to place arts and culture in the hands of people. In the 1930s (see e.g. Bomholt, 1930) there were some efforts to see arts and culture in more democratic terms, but in the aftermath of WW2 these were silenced and 'neutralized' into a general humanism (see e.g. Bomholt, 1958), i.e. to comply with the dominant narrative related in chapter 3. Since then, remarkably few attempts on a larger scale have been made to renegotiate arts and culture on the premises of people, their communities and interests. The MCL takes a big step though in this direction. This may be why the efforts stir up such an enormous fuzz – if successfully carried out, other cultural strongholds of the dominant narrative might follow after. The art vs. people reconstruction, however, is not deployed to argue that there 'is something intrinsically bad' about arts and culture. On the contrary, as all case studies show, there is potentially a lot to win from placing people at the core of interest. Whether or not this means the dismantling of civilization, I'll discuss in the next reconstruction: the Fall of Civilization Reconstruction

The Fall of Civilization Reconstruction

Throughout my project there are references to civilization, and notably to its possible dismantling or fall if art and culture is not secured in its alleged aesthetic autonomy beyond political and democratic influences. In a chiasmatic move, the project

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[113] As suggested by Hosking (2011) a study informed by relational constructionism can also include other forms of expression. Had I done so, I would have included the e.g. the introduction of new shelves with wheels in order to make them movable, so other things than depositing books can happen in a library, or the changed visual impression stemming from placing some books with the front towards the borrowers as opposed to placing them with their back towards the borrowers as in a classical library.

problematizes civilization thereby acknowledging what is problematized by civilization an opportunity to retort. By this move civilization is given a more differentiated meaning than its usual unanimously good meaning as the constitution of the world we live in and the utopia towards which we strive. I provide this potential fall of civilization with a certain narrative grandezza by linking it to the Lyotardian (1984) incredulity towards the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment which since have provided discourses of knowledge with legitimacy, but which now sees itself abased and challenged by other discourses of knowledge which as unscrupulous second hand car dealers can only can legitimize themselves by performativity. '"*Is it saleable?"* [...] "*Is it efficient?"* as opposed to "*Is it true?"*, as Lyotard puts it (1984:51). To further substantiate the implicit questioning of civilization as unanimously good, I call upon Samson (1993) and his fierce criticism of the individualism which has been praised since the age of Enlightenment. Having thus abandoned monologous individualism, I take a dialogous celebration of the other as my point of departure, by placing my inquiry in a framework informed by relational constructionism (Hosking, 2011). This allows my inquiry to question all taken for granted assumptions including those foundational for civilization, arts, culture, aesthetics, leadership etc. as these in the light relational of constructionism are but local-social-historical constructions (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261). Revising these taken for granted assumptions, however, tends to come off the paper as problematizations, wherefore my inquiry for the better part has a critical feeling to it. Such a problematization becomes very obvious in my study of the Malmoe City Library in which the taken for granted assumptions about libraries, and notably their concern for books, is being problematized. Libraries which in Western culture since 280 B.C Alexandria have been foundational for Western civilization are now being problematized to an extent which causes revolt not only locally in Malmoe, but in all of Sweden's cultural life. The MCL is being problematized on at least two interlinked accounts: first, the advent of the internet has revolutionized public access to books and documents previously having a stronghold in libraries, and this has caused dramatic decrease in borrowings all over the world. Second, these strongholds have tended to become rather secluded and elitist in their attempts to stock and accumulate knowledge and culture, which have invested their contribution to civilization with a rather excluding and exclusive air. Thus, as the City Librarians mentions in a comment about the Municipal Authorities' proclaimed will to extend opening hours at the expense of the MCL's efforts to attract new borrowers: '*Those who are active users get a better offer,*

whereas those who are outside will have to stay there' (Sydsvenskan, June 5, 2012). Restricting and confining civilization to be about better offers for the chosen few is in this way problematized in an attempt to propose offers which can now and in the future make the MCL attractive to more people in more and different ways placing people and culture in the broadest sense at the core of attention for leadership. Most of these attempts turn out to be remarkably successful placing the MCL at the forefront of developments in the cultural sector. The attempts, however, also point to another aspect less present in RLT: entering into dialogous relations with people in the broadest sense is not only about empowerment. It is indeed also about responsibility (McNamee & Gergen, 1999:20), for relational leadership requires something from all those involved, not only from leadership in the classic hierarchical sense. In this regard, the case study suggests that moving our understanding of civilization from a top down privileged accumulation of preset ideas, cultures etc. to a more inviting and relational one, also requires a new understanding of Bildung. This means that those who participate in the relations must co-share the responsibility for these processes, as opposed to complying to already preset ideas, assumptions, values etc. In this sense, the top down version of civilization has perhaps prioritized irresponsible participation in dialogous relations, in its efforts to maintain the right to define what counts as civilization and what does. The fall of civilization plot is less explicitly present in the three minor cases, although they all in various ways suggest a movement towards a new understanding of civilization. Becoming a 'yes municipality', combining art, culture, social and environmental work and urban regeneration, or making classical music available to people who wouldn't normally enjoy it and allowing them to make their own versions of it, are all steps towards understanding civilizations as giving primacy to relations. These steps also suggest a participatory element, which I'll discuss in the next reconstruction: the Cultural Participation Reconstruction.

The Cultural Participation Reconstruction

Strategy, de Certeau writes, is

> the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power […] can be isolated. […] A Cartesian attitude, if you wish: it is an effort to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other. It is also a typical attitude of modern science, politics, and military strategy. (1984:35-36)

By contrast, he continues,

> A *tactic* is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides is with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of the tactic is the space of the other. [...] It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. (1984:36-37)

The case studies I have related in chapter 7 operate on the level of tactics (ibid.) in the sense that they cannot draw legitimacy from any such overall strategy. Instead they operate in a more ephemeral way placing temporariness both as a precondition for what they do, and a quality criteria by which their work can and will be judged. I have purposely given the studies the form of '*little narratives'* (Lyotard, 1984:60) which remain '*the quintessential form of imaginative invention*' (ibid.), and as such they can be seen as an '*efficacious act, a tactical act, making use of a freedom to create'* (Hjorth, 2004:218). This freedom, however, challenges the dominant narrative, for as pointed out by Foucault (1982:221) '*Without the effectiveness of dominant strategies for how to know, speaking might easily subvert, transform or destabilize the reigning order.*' Thus, inviting Holm, Koefoed-Melson and Savery to co-construct their respective case-studies with me, can both be seen as an opportunity to destabilize the reigning order of my inquiry and its research objectives, and an opportunity for us as co-researchers to produce little narratives, which serves both the activist aspirations of my inquiry, but also aims to reconstruct the fields they operate in, for as pointed out by Hjorth (2004:220) '*a little speech at the wrong moment, in the wrong place could change everything'.*

I am in no way suggesting that my attempts to consider leadership from a relational constructionist vantage could or will change everything. But placing such considerations in a research context is one of many ways to make them available as narrative resources for constructing narratives of leadership in the cultural sector. This is perhaps particularly important in terms of placing participation on top of a cultural agenda. Whereas participation traditionally reads as dissemination in line with the democratization of culture agenda, participation as in 'what can we do with an empty building?', 'what can we

do with a city district in terms of inclusion?' and 'what can we do with a symphony orchestra?' suggests various approaches to construct leadership in the cultural sector as ongoing processes in relations informed by '*power with*' (Hosking, 2006:16). Participation and involvement in in this sense becomes efforts to establish relations of power with, with the aim of providing occasions for arts and culture to be co-created, co-produced and co-consumed. This, as my three co-researchers stress, in fundamental ways changes the relations with what was previously known as audiences, as those previously enjoying privileged positions as directors, musicians, or experts must now engage in the power with relational processes in ways which do not produce asymmetric hierarchical positions. It also changes their work in the sense, that they operate in more entrepreneurial ways – the must search for and create opportunities, as they cannot rely on a delimited own place (de Certeau, 1984:36). This in turn prompts the need for thinking differently about artistic and cultural competences, as being a good artist, in this sense is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for engaging in participative relations. The artist must become a cultural entrepreneur who can swiftly adapt to new circumstances, and not least create opportunities for the co-creation of art and culture. Creating and using opportunities, however, may also come off the paper as opportunism in a negative sense. I discuss this further in the next reconstruction: the Opportunistic Reconstruction

The Opportunistic Reconstruction

Following the publication of the McMaster Report From Measurement to Judgment in 2008 the question of introducing other than pure artistic criteria for public support for the arts ways raised again. McMaster concluded his report, having interviewed a large number of culturally influential professionals in the UK that the cultural sector would be better off if aesthetic judgments reside with the professionals. The report is discussed in the UK Parliament, and as the exchange of words shows, the well-meaning attempts to introduce alternative criteria in cultural policies have gone completely out of hand and are about to end up in pure opportunistic nonsense:

> Further to the question from my hon. friend the Member for Maldon and East Chelmsford (Mr. Whittingdale), has the Secretary of State [Andy Burham] in the short time in which he has been in post, had an opportunity to see the grant application form from the Arts Council, which asks people who have applied to funding to give the number of members of their management

committee who are bisexual, gay, lesbian or heterosexual? Will the Secretary of State explain why on earth funding should be base on people's sexual orientation, and is funding for the arts in the north-east really dependent on how many gays and lesbians happen to apply for it? (MP Philip Davies (Shipley) (Con), House of Commons Hansard Debates for January 28, 2008: Column 11)

I am dismayed by the tone of the hon. Gentleman's question. I know that he is following the tone set by the Leader of the Opposition [David Cameron], who complained that the Arts Council was giving too many grants to "one-legged Lithuanian lesbians". That is wrong on two accounts: it is not just offensive but it breaches the Arts Council's arm's length principle. It is important to point out that the excellent McMaster report, published just a few weeks ago, says very clearly that we should move from measurement to judgment: we should reduce the targets for arts organizations, fund excellence, and give those organizations the freedom to put on the very best possible work for as many people as possible. I entirely endorse that principle, and I do not believe that politicians in the House should meddle in the Arts Council's decisions. (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Andy Burham (Lab), House of Commons Hansard Debates for January 28, 2008:Column 11, bold-face by me)

And, as pointed out by Rancière (2009:19)

The same assertion is bandied about nearly everywhere today, namely the claim that we are over and done with aesthetic utopia, with a certain idea of artistic radicality and its capacity to perform an absolute transformation of the conditions of collective existence. This fuels all those high-sounding polemics pointing to art's disaster, born of its dealings with fallacious promises of social revolution and the philosophical absolute.

Artistic radicality cannot thrive if restricted by democratic and other concerns, and attempts to introduce such concerns are bound to end up in empty opportunism. As pointed out by Michelsen:

A competitor such as [Copenhagen Phil] is about to solve the problem of classical music by giving priority to form over content. But they are dealing with a problem that doesn't exist. There are lots of classical concerts. Every single week. And there are lots of audiences to the concerts. (Music Editor, Politiken, June 9, 2012)

Thus, in a sense the inquiry is fighting windmills. It is built on a false assumption, a problem, that doesn't exist using Lyotard's putative crisis of legitimacy as a pretext for its own activist aspirations. As Rancière also points out:

> It would be pointless to conclude that Lyotard misread or misunderstood Kant. It is no doubt more judicious to ask why he read him in the way that he did. But the first question to ask is simply this: why does he need Kant? Why go and seek in Kant's texts things that in all likelihood are not to be found in them [...] (Rancière, 2009:94)

Why is the project problematizing Kant's disinterested aesthetic judgment, when the alternative is pure absurdity? And even if there was a problem, is the alternative not just the mass deception of cultural industries criticized by Adorno and Horkheimer (1972:120) prostituting enlightenment into cultural mass production? The project doesn't even recognize these problems as anything but local-social-historical construction with reference to its epistemological framework. It gives primacy to relations implicitly giving primacy to participation, which it hails as its new god who is to succeed the god of excellence. Yet, this participation is emptied of real content, and its obsession with participation resonates the Houellebecqian renunciations of the powers of a metaphysical utopia. In its genealogical approach, the project has refused to extend its faith into such metaphysics (Foucault, 1977:142) reducing its scope to the production of knowledge as a perspective (ibid.: 156).

What producing knowledge as a perspective is about, I go on to suggest in the Curative Reconstruction.

The Curative Reconstruction

In his reflections on genealogy and history, Foucault points to history as a '*curative science*' (1977:156) in that '*it should become a differential knowledge of energies and failings, heights and degenerations, poisons and antidotes*' (ibid.). And yet, history in the genealogical sense as a curative science contains an implicit paradox, for as Foulcault also points out, '*there is not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they* [things] *have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms*' (1977:142). In chapter 2 I discussed the methodological implications for my project

of relating narratives genealogically, and for this fifth reconstruction of my case studies, I want to revert to this. For as the paradox suggests, curative in this sense, does not mean curing the patient until he is reestablished in his original healthy state. On the contrary, the 'patient' in this case has no essence or his essence is a bric-à-brac of things put together for the occasion. Yet, putting things together for the occasion allows the genealogist, not to produce new transcendental truths, for this would be counter to the genealogy in this sense, but to embed truths in their historical context as a product of that historical context and equally the product of the genealogist's own set of tools '*since it* [the genealogy] *gives equal weight to its own sight and to its object*' (Foucault, 1977:157). Thus, knowledge becomes a perspective (ibid.; 156), which is '*not made for understanding. It is made for cutting*' (ibid.:154). It is therefore not only fully possible, but also desirable to accuse the inquiry of being biased, for 'cutting' in ways which serves its purpose, for in the possible and desirable are the activist aspirations of the inquiry. These are stated from the very beginning of the research process, thus functioning as the perspective by which my narratives are cut and shaped.

Is it then not possible for the inquirer to be surprised? Is there a risk that the empirical data cannot say no, cannot refuse to obey to the researcher's perspective? Well, certainly yes, and I have consequently made a specific point of both accounting for when I have misunderstood or misinterpreted my co-researchers, and of providing my co-researchers with the opportunity to produce their own texts, without me editing. This said, I could also have given similar opportunities to co-researchers who potentially would disagree more with me, or even defending the dominant narrative. I'll discuss this more in the final section in terms of future perspectives. And yet, my co-researchers cannot only be said to represent some sort of new reality, a reality corresponding to my activist aspirations. Tank is not giving up on libraries, she seeks to make them even more necessary and relevant. Koefoed-Melson is not giving up on arts and culture, he seeks to make it more active and present in a local context. Holm is not discarding institutions, but seeks to develop them in an interplay with more temporary activities, and Savery is not abandoning the symphony orchestra, but seeking to give it a new life, and a role in society, not only in the music world. In this sense, there is nothing neither nihilistic, nor pessimistic about what they do. On the contrary, what could potentially have become a critical and not too optimistic assessment of the current state of affairs, instead turned out to be an inspiring journey into

some very fertile grounds in the narrative landscape which has pointed to some very concrete implications and potentials of relational leadership in the cultural sector. Misreading Kant in this sense becomes a good excuse for sneaking off and wandering about in less known areas in the narrative landscape only to discover one has arrived at the desired location, but by the wrong paths.

I abstain from concluding remarks in this section as I want to leave the space open for further reconstructions. In the next section, I go on to discuss how RLT has been productive in my inquiry.

> *Le seul véritable voyage, le seul bain de Jouvence, ce ne serait pas d'aller vers de nouveaux paysages, mais d'avoir d'autres yeux, de voir l'univers avec les yeux d'un autre, de cent autres, de voir les cent univers que chacun d'eux voit, que chacun d'eux est.* (M. Proust, 1923)

8.4 Contributions from and to Relational Leadership Theory

'Are you inspiring your audiences to imagine, to step into a world of possibilities?' ask (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:12). Well, at least that is what I have aimed at by drawing on RLT as a framework for considering and possibly reconsidering leadership in the cultural sector. Yet, introducing RLT into a field which has for centuries hailed, admired and worshipped the Great Leader who thanks to his inborn talent and other traits has printed his name in the annals of History, is certainly not unproblematic. Hardly any leader in the cultural sector ever had his portrait cut in marble for giving primacy to relations, whereas lots of museums, theaters, concert halls, libraries boast well-placed marble busts or oil painted portraits of leaders whose leadership styles have hardly fallen short of tyranny. RLT, however, draws our attention to leadership at all levels in all kinds of contexts. The primacy given to relations is not only about the relation between the leader and his employees, and the implicit problematization of leadership implicit in RLT is not only confined to formal leaders in a hierarchical sense. Although RLT turns out to be an efficient platform from which to produce a criticism of leadership, it would be a too

simplistic reading of RLT to restrict its scope to only include entities such as leaders and their leadership. On the contrary, through RLT it is possible to inquire into leadership in all kinds of settings. By giving primacy to relations, and by offering ways to understand, discuss and possibly change the ongoing processes in these, and the various forms of power involved in them, the scope is broader. In principle any relation can be studied from an RLT vantage. In my inquiry I have looked at a number of very disparate relations, in which it is possible to study leadership in an RLT sense: ministers - politicians, politicians - voters, leaders - culture politicians, journalists - readers, librarians - authors, authors - librarians, bloggers - bloggers, bloggers – critiques, critiques - leaders, curators - artists, artists - museum directors, street alcoholics - cultural entrepreneurs, musicians - metro passengers and so on. Some of these relations may also be the object of more entitatively informed leadership literature, but others probably not. Yet, as my case studies suggest, all of these relations seem to be highly relevant in leadership discussions. I have narrowed my inquiry to study these relations through narratives, but RLT also allows for other communicative signs to be studied. I'll discuss the potentials in the final section.

For the better part, my inquiry has drawn on RLT to problematize leaders and leadership in a hierarchical sense. I have, admittedly, been particularly inspired by RLT as a theory of empowerment and participation, which support the activist aspirations of my inquiry. Yet, as my inquiry also suggests, empowerment and participation do not come without responsibility. The primacy is given to relations, and thus all those involved in these relations are productive in the ongoing processes of constructing social world and creating local-social-historical ontologies. I don't mean this in a simplistic manner. I mean it in the sense that there are no free ride positions available if we look at leadership from an RLT vantage. The possibility of unpartisan, disinterested aesthetic judgments offered by philosophy of the Enlightenment is not available to leadership in an RLT sense: for narratives produce social worlds, they don't only describe them. Some of those whose narratives I have drawn on in my inquiry may wish to consider this more carefully in the future.

Albeit stressing the responsibility involved in the ongoing processes of construction social realities, RLT also points to 'the texts already in place' and the processes and practices by which these have come into being, and possibly appear as taken for granted assumptions.

In this regard, it has been productive to combine RLT with various approaches to producing genealogic narratives which serve as narrative resources for the construction of narratives and as organizers of practices. Leadership in this sense is thus not only productive in the ongoing processes of constructing local-social-historical ontologies, but to some extent also receptive in these processes. As my case studies suggest, attempts to change understanding of arts and culture, and understandings of how leadership should respond to such changes, involve tremendous efforts, as narrative resources and practices do not seem to change overnight.

Finally, I have suggested five possible reconstructions of my case studies in light of my project. These are invitations to further reconstructions, as RLT does not aim to simply replace existing ontologizations of leaders with new ones. Instead RLT encourages us to reflect on how our taken for granted assumptions have come into being, what processes and practices were involved, what kind of impact do these taken for granted assumptions have, how we may change them and what kind of power is involved in these processes. As Bruner contends: '*To make a story good, it would seem, you must make it somewhat uncertain, somehow open to variant readings, rather subject to the vagaries of intentional states, undetermined.*' (1990:54). I hope my narrative of leadership in the cultural sector is open to many variant readings.

8.5 Concluding Remarks, Contributions and Further Perspectives

In this for the time being last section I will look back, tell what I see, turn my head and look ahead. With this, I don't mean to 'conclude on the findings' of my inquiry (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:55) but instead to reiterate what I have constructed, reconstruct it and suggest how it might be further reconstructed in various theoretical and practical fields. McNamee and Hosking (2012:59) have suggested eight '*shifts in thinking about inquiry*' when attempting to move from a *'received view of science'* (ibid.) to a view of knowledge production informed by social constructionism. Although appearing in pairs, thus to some suggesting a 'from/to' movement in the pairs, I read the views informed by relational constructionism as more intertwined. For as the authors point out (ibid.:46) empirical context, methods, theory and epistemology tend to be blurred and merge together in relational constructionist informed inquiry. While revisiting my inquiry, I will, however, refer to the suggested shifts, albeit being aware of the risk of making unnecessary

categorizations as a framework for capturing what may come out of an inquiry informed by relational constructionism. The shifts are:

Received view of science	Relational constructionism
Data	On-going Process
Results	Process
Control	Minimal structures & unfolding
Method	Forms of practice/performance *in context*
Reliability	Generativity
Validity	Usefulness to the (multiple) local communities
Protocol	Emergence & Reflexivity
Science & scientist centered	Ongoing processes centered

(McNamee & Hosking, 2012:59)

In terms of my initial research question: How is leadership narratively performed in the cultural sector? the first thing one may notice is that the term leadership, which has a long tradition for being studied from an entitative vantage, in my inquiry is seen as an ongoing process, which is not only about leaders, nor only about followers, but about the ongoing processes by which leadership comes into being, is performed and made sense of in terms of leadership (Hosking, 2006:3). I have accessed these ongoing processes through narratives, which are not the only, '*but a (perhaps* the) *key process'* (ibid.:9, italics by the author) in which relating is going on, '*and in so doing, constructs people-world realities and relations'* (ibid.). Accessing leadership from this vantage doesn't answer the question of what leadership is, but instead offers ways to understand how leadership is being ontologized in various forms, on what narrative resources leadership may draw to perform in a variety of ways from issuing commands, to speaking in recognizable and trustworthy terms to asking questions. Hence, the outcome of my inquiry are further sequences of process as my co-researchers have pointed to by suggesting further conversation on the issues raised in our conversations. Using a non-entitative, non-structural relational understanding of the term narrative has allowed me to capture a variety of statements, enunciations, outbursts, lengthy strategic talks, more or less casual blog-postings etc. This rag rug of narratives has provided me with an opportunity to study leadership processes in a number of the very disparate contexts in which leadership is being performed

narratively. By studying leadership in these concrete contexts both my research process and my interaction with my empirical field have aimed at generating reflections on leadership, which may not be useful in or generalizable to other contexts, but seemingly of some relevance to the contexts I have been part of. Out of these reflections emerges the idea of a new sensibility towards understanding leadership in the cultural sector in ways which are less aimed at establishing and maintaining power over relations. And through my inquiry I have contributed towards discoursing such a new sensibility as leadership in the cultural sector, thereby engaging myself and inviting others to engage themselves in further ongoing processes.

Upon this brief look back at my inquiry through the lenses offered by relational constructionism I go on to suggest how my inquiry may contribute to leadership studies, in particular RLT, culture studies, and to my empirical context, the cultural sector.

Contributions – Co-ordinating with Texts Already in Place

By contributions, I stress again, I don't mean to place myself in the '*I have found that...*' (McNamee & Hosking, 2012:55) trap of making positive knowledge claims based on an inquiry in which I as a researcher have played an active part in co-constructing my empirical field. But as suggested by Hosking (2006:13) as a would-be contributor to leadership and culture studies, methodology and to an empirical field, I must find ways to co-ordinate and relate with '*texts already in place'* (ibid.). This means, I'm not going to make bold claims of what my inquiry has seen which previous inquiries have not seen. Instead, I will attempt to co-ordinate and relate with the ongoing processes in the theoretical and empirical fields by acknowledging how these ongoing processes have been productive in my inquiry, and how my inquiry may be productive further on in the ongoing processes.

Contributing to Culture Studies

In the field of culture studies I am deeply indebted to Hall and Maharaj (2001), Sampson (1993), Inglis and Hughson eds. (2005), Harrington (2004), Lyotard (1984), Kant (1790), Hall and du Gay eds. (1996), Taylor (1995) who along with other authors such as Jenkins and Bertozzi (in Tepper & Ivey eds., 2008), de Certeau (1984), Held and Moore (2008) and Holden and Hewison (2006) to mention a few have offered contributions without which I

could not have conducted my inquiry. I have patched these contributions, some would say in an eclectic way, to produce a theoretical landscape in which I have discussed and reflected the questions my inquiry struggles with. Bringing these authors together in a criss-cross manner to suggest how knowledge production, cultural identity, arts and culture are being legitimized in different ways, by means of extra-linguistic references, in performative ways or variations in between suggests ways in which the ongoing process may continue. One of these ways begins by abandoning the idea of a singular beginning in order to adopt hybridization as an ongoing process. This requires a new sensibility also in terms of art and culture which, as my inquiry suggests, seems bound to leave its secluded autonomous position beyond the social, de gré ou de force, to 'return' to its place as dependent of an extensive unity (Raffnsøe, 1996:28). This extensive unity, however, is different from the previous one constituted by religion and the divine universe. This unity is the world, which in no ways seems inclined to offer itself in any unity. On the contrary, diversity, paradoxically, seems most adequate in terms of describing the unity of the world. With diversity, instead of unity, as prerequisite hybridization as ongoing processes will become the framework within which we can talk about arts and culture, enjoy them, use them for building our identities, express ourselves with them, be surprised or shocked without necessarily having to defend them or impose them on others. This, however, also requires abandoning, or at least varying the taken for granted assumption, the local-social-historical construction (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004:261) that arts and culture are governed by other rules than the rest of society (Raffnsøe, 1996:12). This, in turn, will place arts and culture in relations, not as something beyond relations. Such a shift can be seen both as a process of empowering those involved, who cannot refer to extra-linguistic references to authorize their claims. But it can certainly also be seen as a process of placing responsibility on those involved in these ongoing processes, for there will be no free rides, only ongoing processes of construction and reconstruction. This, my inquiry finally suggests, requires cultural governance, an ongoing process by which what counts as arts and culture is continuously renegotiated. Thus, arts, culture and leadership, the project suggests, are intimately intertwined. In entitatively informed studies, these may be studies as separate entities, but seeing them as part of an ongoing process of constructing social realities in relations shades new light on them, a point which may be my contribution to the ongoing reconstructions.

Contributing to Leadership Studies

In the field of leadership studies I'm deeply indebted to Hosking (2002, 2004, 2006, 2010, 2011), Dachler and Hosking (1995), Dachler (2010), Meindl (1995), Uhl-Bien (2006), Fairhurst (2007), Grint (2000, 2005), Molin (2003), Fairhurst (2007), Chong (2010), and to Hjorth & Hosking (2004) and Hjorth (2007) in entrepreneurship studies on which I have drawn in an analogue way. Whereas my interlocutors in culture studies form a rather eclectic ensemble, I have strived at narrowing the contributions to leadership studies I drawn on to those in various ways giving primacy to relations, to which I refer to as relational leadership theory (RLT). RLT is yet only a tiny corner of the vast field of leadership studies, and is thus not chosen for its representativeness or other similar concerns, but for its productive generativity in terms of problematizing leadership as it predominantly appears and occurs, and of suggesting ways to proceed in ongoing processes of constructing social realities in relations informed by power to and power with. In opposition to RLT, I have drawn on Gardner's study of great leaders (1995) to position RLT in relation to entitatively informed leadership studies. Drawing on Gardner alone obviously doesn't due full credit to the vast field of entitatively informed leadership studies, so my engagement with the texts in place within entitative leadership studies mainly occurs in the form of problematizations. These problematizations have been particularly concerned with the intimate links between ontologizing leadership in certain ways and ontologizing arts and culture in certain ways. My inquiry in this regards suggests, that what may appear as two separate paths along which great leaders and great artists have marched throughout history are more than likely to have crossed at various occasions to form an image of the strong, white, male individual as the implicit standard (Sampson, 1993:6) according to which all others are measured. Such an alliance deprives arts and culture of its disinterested, unpartisan autonomy and places them at the hands of the powerful, although in ways which blurs direct connections thanks to the arm's length principle. An arm's length, however, is no distance to speak of when efficient (narrative) practices are in place (Rose, 1996:131), for these practices are productive in ontologizing both leadership and followership in certain ways. In my study of leadership in the cultural sector RLT has been particularly productive in 'surfacing' the relations at all possible levels in which leadership occurs as ongoing processes of construction by providing a theoretical framework which does not begin with individuals such as leaders, artists, spectators, politicians, journalists etc. Koivunen's study (2003) provides an excellent example of how

relationally informed approaches have been used to study leadership in a symphony orchestra, and I hope my own study will encourage further use of RLT in a cultural context. My inquiry has also drawn attention to the implicit responsibility which goes hand in hand with empowerment for those involved in ongoing processes of constructing social realities in relations. If RLT to some may appear as primarily a theory of empowerment, my study suggests that it is as much a theory of responsibility. For much is possible in relations, both in terms of creating and destroying possibilities, especially as 'relations' are not confined to organizational entitites, but seem to go way beyond them in potentially uncontrollable ways. Only a few titles have yet appeared under the umbrella of cultural leadership (see e.g. Hewison & Holden, 2011). By drawing on RLT in my study of leadership in the cultural sector I aim to expand the understanding of leadership in the cultural sector beyond leader-centered studies, and this may be my contribution to the processes of ongoing construction in this part of leadership studies.

Contributing to the Empirical Field – Leadership in the Cultural Sector

As my prologue suggested discussions are going on in most countries in the Western world concerning the future of the cultural sector in the post financial crisis era. These discussions are diverse and cannot be summed up in any meaningful way. But two issues tend to surface in most of these discussions. On one hand, the need for arts and culture to encourage creativity, innovation, urban and rural development and social cohesion. On the other hand, the need to find ways to reduce the costs of arts and culture in times of decreasing financial resources. These two issues are more often than not presented as a dichotomy, which usually ends up in the kind of verbal battles I have related in my inquiry. I cannot claim that I have solved this Gordian knot. But I have suggested that it may be the result of a false dichotomy, in the sense that the incompatible views are based on local-social-historical constructions which have not always been and need not always be in the future, albeit they currently appear as taken for granted assumptions. Reconstructing some of these taken for granted assumptions, the projects suggests, is probably needed not to solve the Gordian knot, but to reconstruct it as a creative tension. Such as process is not likely to happen overnight, and the project has suggested both a concrete framework for the process in the form of a model, theoretical meditations on what may be considered in terms of how to encourage such a process, and empirical examples of how this may happen.

In the project, I have approached a very delicate matter, referred to as the constitutional law of arts and culture: the arm's length principle. This principle is taken to have secured arts and culture their aesthetic autonomy beyond the mundane atrocities of the social world. But as I have suggested, this putative aesthetic autonomy is perhaps less disinterested than it may appear at a first glance, for as a number of my co-researchers have pointed out in their alternative narratives, aesthetic autonomy has been both used and abused to serve interests which by no means are disinterested, nor unpartisan. As a researcher in spe, I have myself enjoyed the privilege of a certain protection from influence sanctioned by the University Law. Yet, as Sampson (1993:x) '*something has never permitted me to write from privilege about privilege*' and I have therefore used my privilege to problematize it. This probably has been the most difficult part of the research process, as it leaves the researcher in a vulnerable position. But, as McNamee and Hosking (2012:111) point out with regard to inquiry informed by relational constructionism:

> We are not talking and writing *about* a particular inquiry technique or strategy. We are, instead, *performing* inquiry. We are living and acting and being relational in our everyday engagements. For many, this is the most challenging aspect of a relational constructionist stance. It is not enough to talk/write about it. We must perform it.

In this sense, I am left with the only option of performative legitimization as I have suggested for the empirical field I have studied. The authors link this to the Aristotelian notion of phronesis – '*the sort of wisdom that unfolds in the interactive moment'* (ibid.). Hence, my inquiry cannot be seen as a finite contribution to my empirical field, but as an invitation to ongoing reconstructions.

Further Perspectives

As mentioned in the first lines of chapter 3, Kant probably never meant to contribute to the art for art's sake movement. His position was in itself a step towards democratizing art in the sense that both genius and the ability to make aesthetic judgments according to him would no longer be the privilege of the church and the wealthy. In principle, it might strike anyone. Beginning my AFAS narrative with Kant may thus be effective in terms of pointing to the discontinuities by which certain understandings come into being, but it may equally suggest a too biased reading of Kant third critique. As Rancièrian readings of Kant suggest

(see e.g. 2009, 2010) there is more to discuss in terms of aesthetics inspired by the Kantian positions.

Bourriaud (2002) has coined the term '*relational aesthetics'*. Yet, his notion seems to be confined to the interactive relation between the artists and his spectator, and thus made for cutting rather than knowing (Foucault, 1977:154). As my use of relationally informed aesthetics draws on relational constructionism, it suggests a much wider field primarily aiming at unfolding and encouraging artistic and cultural expressions without preset definitions produced by aesthetics. If relational aesthetics is not only an anything goes strategy, but one that implies both empowerment and responsibility we need to understand further what such relational aesthetics may be about.

The use of narratives in inquiries seems to be thriving, but as my chapter 2 suggests, there may be room for increasing precisions in the use of terminology. Notions of narratives informed by social constructionism and relational constructionism also to some extent seem to be converging with speech act theory and Coordinated Management of Meaning theory such as suggested by Pearce (2007). With meaning as culturally or relationally embedded there is room for further research between these two possibly converging fields.

Finally, my inquiry has only touched upon the use of relational constructionism and RLT in the field of arts and culture. As my inquiry has only vaguely indicated it is possible to rewrite art history, cultural history and the history of cultural politics and leadership from a relational constructionism vantage. This potentially could open op to many reconstruction of taken for granted assumptions in the field of arts and culture which to most of us appear as truths carved in stone.

Invitation to Further Ongoing Processes of Construction in Relations
In this chapter I first followed in the footstep of individual leadership to understand the processes and practices by which leadership in the cultural sector in a classical, hierarchical sense may have come into being. I suggested that leadership in this classical sense is both productive in these ongoing processes of construction, and the object of the existing practices of subjectification. I further provided a brief overview of contributions to theoretical field which may be referred to as RLT, as giving primacy to relations is the

common denominator of these contributions. I continued by suggesting five possible reconstructions of my case studies in chapter 6 and chapter 7 to encourage further reconstructions of these, and by discussing how RLT has been productive in my inquiry, notably in regard to problematizations, power and the implicit focus on both empowerment and participation, and responsibility. Finally, I made a preliminary halt in my inquiry process which I spent on looking back at what I have seen, reflected on it and suggested new ways of seeing both what I have seen, and what I have been less attentive to. In line with the relational constructionist framework within which I have conducted my inquiry, the previous pages are but an invitation to further reconstructions. I hope reading has encouraged such processes.

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English Summary

The thesis is an inquiry into how leadership is performed narratively in the cultural sector.
Chapter 1 draws the cultural sector as a narrative landscape, and the reader is invited on a tour around this narrative landscape as seen through the eyes of some of the top guns in the cultural sector. Seen from this vantage, leadership in the cultural sector seems to be predominantly performed by relating narratives with reference to the metanarrative of the Enlightenment. The inquiry, however, draws on Lyotard (1984) to argue that such extralinguistic legitimization is in a crisis of legitimacy, wherefore the inquiry embarks on a problematization of the dominant understanding of leadership in the cultural sector with the activist aspiration of suggesting a postmoderning understanding of leadership in the cultural sector being performatively legitimized. **Chapter 2** argues in favor of a relational, non-entitative understanding of narratives and it points to emplotment as a process of finding the best fit. This relational understanding of narratives allows the project to inquire into leadership performed narratively in all kinds of empirical settings, not confining itself to formal leadership contexts. **Chapter 3** offers a genealogic approach to what the project has defined as the dominant narrative in the cultural sector, the narrative of art for art's sake (the AFAS narrative), which the project argues function as an implicit standard. This includes notions of aesthetic autonomy such as suggested by Kant in 1790, artistic freedom and art for its own sake such as claimed by artists in the Romantic era, and the arm's length principle as the 'constitution of cultural policies' in the post WW2 Western world. **Chapter 4** provides an overview of alternative voices which have challenged the dominant narrative. These include post colonial studies, cultural entrepreneurial studies and consumer behavior studies which in various ways propose alternative ways to lead and support the cultural sector. **Chapter 5** links the discussions in chapter 3 and chapter 4 to leadership studies, notably to discussions of leader-centered orientations versus leading relationally orientations. The chapter concludes by suggesting a new sensibility towards understanding leadership and meditates on how this might be achieved, paying attentions to the possibilities of overcoming the putative crisis of legitimacy the inquiry is placed in. **Chapter 6** relates a case-study of Malmoe City Library which endeavors into a difficult, yet very promising process of reformulating what a library may become in a contemporary context. This process challenges the dominant narrative and thus the current understanding of what a library should be, and this deviation from the dominant narrative challenges leadership. **Chapter 7** assembles three different approaches to challenges the

dominant narrative and to make new interpretive resources available to the understanding of leadership in the cultural sector. First, givrum.nu, a social movement working with arts, second, Mogens Holm, a leader in the cultural sector in a transition phase, and third, Copenhagen Phil, a classical symphony orchestra striving to avoid becoming a parallel society phenomenon. These case studies are conducted as written interviews with the cases, in an attempted un-edited form to also introduce relational processes informed by a power with relation to my own research project. **Chapter 8** reflects on the case-studies in chapter 6 and chapter 7 in light of the two approaches to leadership discussed in chapter 5. It does so by linking my study to relational leadership theory in order to see how this theoretical field might inform my inquiry and how my inquiry might inform this field. It equally offers five possible reconstructions of the cases before concluding the research project by summing up contributions to the empirical field and the research fields, as well as by pointing to areas which could be further developed in future research.

In line with the aspirations of the relational constructionist framework of the project, the inquiry does not offer a conclusion. Instead it encourages further reconstructions, thus submitting itself to the performative legitimization it argues in favor of.

Dansk sammefatning

Afhandlingen er en undersøgelse af, hvordan ledelse i kultursektoren performes narrativt. **Kapitel 1** tegner kultursektoren som et narrativt landskab, og læseren inviteres på en tur rundt i dette landskab set med forskellige kulturpersonligheders øjne. Set fra den vinkel, forekommer ledelse i kultursektoren fortrinsvis at blive performet narrativt med henvisning til Oplysningstidens metanarrativ. Afhandlingen hævder imidlertid, med henvisning til Lyotard (1984), at henvisningen til denne udenforsproglige reference er i en legitimitetskrise. På den baggrund problematiserer afhandlingen det dominerende forståelse af ledelse i kultursektoren med det aktivistiske formål foreslå en postmodernistik forståelse af ledelse i kultursektoren, der søger sin legitimitet performativt. **Kapitel 2** argumenterer for en relationel, ikke-entitativ forståelse af narrativer for peger på narrativets plot som en proces. Denne relationalle forståelse af narrativer gør det muligt for afhandlingen at undersøge ledelse i mange forskellige empiriske sammehænge, og ikke kun begrænse sig til formelle hierarkiske ledelsessammenhænge. **Kapitel 3** indeholder en genealogisk tilgang til det, som afhandlingen har defineret som det dominerende narrativ, narrativet om kunst for kunstens skyld, og afhandlingen hævder, at dette fungerer som en implicit standard. Den genealogiske tilgang indeholder tilblivelsen af begreber som æstetisk autonomi (Kant, 1790), kunstnerisk frihed som den formuleredes i Romantikken, og armslængdeprincippet som det grundlæggende princip for kulturpolitik i efterkrigstiden. **Kapitel 4** indeholder en række alternative narrativer fra postkoloniale studier, kulturelt iværksætteri og kulturel forbrugeradfærd, der alle peger på alternative forståelser af ledelse i kultursektoren. **Kapitel 5** kæder diskussionen i kapitel 3 og kapitel 4 sammen med teoretiske forståelser af ledelse, som henholdsvis ledercentreret og relationel. Kapitlet mediterer over, hvad der kunne bidrage til en sådan bevægelse og diskuterer, hvordan dette kan bidrage til at overvinde legitimitetskrisen. **Kapitel 6** er et casestudie af Malmø Stadsbibliotek og **Kapitel 7** er casestudier af henholdsvis givrum.nu, Mogens Holm og Copenhagen Phil. Casestudierne er fokuseret på forskellige forsøg på at bibringe ledelse i kultursektoren ny mening og ny legitimitet gennem at indgå i nye relationer. **Kapitel 8** rekonstruerer casestudierne i lyset af relational ledelsesteori (RLT), og peger på, på hvilke måder, RLT har bidraget til afhandlingen, og hvordan afhandlingen kan bidrage til RLT. Afslutningsvis peger kapitlet på mulige nye forskningsområder. I overensstemmelse med afhandlingens relationelle konstruktioniske ramme, indeholder den ikke en konklusion. Derimod

opfordrer den til yderligere rekonstruktioner, hvorved den underlægger sig selv den performative legitimering, som den argumenterer for.

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