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Assembling the Ecology of Culture in Odsherred 2000-2018

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ABSTRACT

Land of Light maps the ecology of culture in Odsherred 2000-2018 and analyses how complex interorganisational relationships that condition the organisation and production of arts and cultural offerings are assembled. Odsherred is a rural region in the north-western part of Zealand, Denmark. The region has a diverse ecology of culture encompassing performing arts, film, music, visual arts, crafts, literature, fine dining, and a tradition of collaboration between publicly funded, market based, and grassroots arts and cultural organisations. Methodologically, *Land of Light* uses semi-structured interviews with various people working in arts and cultural organisations as well as participant observation of cultural productions and events, and it combines these with document and artefact analysis to map the ecology of culture. The thesis reviews the concept of ecology of culture and finds a degree of ambiguity with regard to the status of 'ecology' as the theoretical field does not agree on whether 'ecology' is a descriptive term or a metaphor borrowed respectively from biology, human or general ecology. This means that it is unclear which aspects of ecological theory can be applied to the study of ecology of culture. The thesis hence develops its theoretical framework by conceptualising 'ecology of culture' as a concrete assemblage of heterogeneous matter, assembled by a multiplicity of concrete agents and according to a specific logic of assemblage. The ontological concept of 'assemblage' is a key feature of the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, and it is used in the thesis to establish a framework for a reflexive philosophical inquiry into the concrete assemblage of culture. Based on empirical data, the thesis conceptualises and maps four distinct modalities of interorganisational connectivity. In order to explore the ecological effect of assemblage, two empirical phenomena are analysed in detail: first, the emergence of the youth culture organisation *Ung i Odsherred* over the years 2011-2014 and the collective enunciation of 'youth participation in culture' as a problem; second, the assemblage of a set of heterogeneous signifying practices that produce 'the Local' as a semiotic attribute that is used to add value and meaning to products, places, events, and organisations. The thesis contributes to the study of the ecology of arts and cultural organisations and to organisation theory that is concerned with the nature of embeddedness of individual arts and cultural organisations in an ecology of arts and culture.

RESUMÉ

Land of Light kortlægger kulturøkologien i Odsherred 2000-2018 og analyserer hvordan komplekse interorganisationelle forbindelser, som betinger organiseringen og produktionen af kunst og kulturtilbud, er ansamlet. Odsherred er et landdistrikt i den nordvestlige del af Sjælland, Danmark. Egnen har en mangfoldig kulturøkologi, der indeholder scenekunst, film, musik, billedkunst, kunsthåndværk, litteratur, madoplevelser, og en tradition for samarbejde mellem offentligt finansierede, markedsbaserede, og græsrods kunst og kulturorganisationer. *Land of Light* anvender semistrukturerede interviews med forskellige medlemmer af kunst og kulturorganisationer, samt deltagerobservation af kulturproduktion og begivenheder, og kombinerer disse med dokument og artefaktanalyse for at kortlægge kulturøkologien. Afhandlingen gennemgår litteraturen om kulturøkologi og finder en vis flertydighed med hensyn til hvilken status 'økologi' har, eftersom der ikke er enighed i det teoretiske felt om 'økologi' er en beskrivende term eller en metafor lånt fra henholdsvis biologisk, human eller general økologi. Det er derfor uklart hvilke aspekter af økologisk teori der kan anvendes i studiet af kulturøkologi. Af den grund udvikler afhandlingen sin teoretiske ramme ved at begrebsliggøre 'kulturøkologi' som en konkret ansamling af heterogene stofligheder, ansamlet af en mangfoldighed af konkrete agenter i henhold til en specifik ansamlingslogik. Det ontologiske begreb 'ansamling' er et nøglebegreb i Gilles Deleuze og Félix Guattaris filosofi, og det anvendes i afhandlingen til at etablere et rammeværk for en refleksiv filosofisk undersøgelse af den konkrete ansamling af kultur. Baseret på empirisk data begrebsliggør og kortlægger afhandlingen fire distinkte interorganisationelle forbindelsesmodaliteter. For at udforske ansamlingens økologiske effekt bliver to empiriske fænomener analyseret: først fremkomsten af ungdomskulturorganisationen Ung i Odsherred i årene 2011-2014 og den kollektive udsigelse af 'ungedeltagelse i kultur' som problem, dernæst ansamlingen af et sæt af heterogene betydningsskabende praksisser som producerer 'det Lokale' som en semiotisk attribut der anvendes til at tilføje værdi og mening til produkter, steder, begivenheder og organisationer. Afhandlingen bidrager til studiet af kunst- og kulturorganisationers økologi, og til organisationsteori der teoretiserer kunst og kulturorganisationers indlejring i en kunst- og kulturøkologi.

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THE LAND OF LIGHT

A book entered the world. 318 pages, the first sentence reads 'Jeg holder Angelica i hånden.' It tells a tale of family, climate crisis, eco-activism, a dam that is sabotaged, and an abominable snowman suffering in the heat. No book merely appears. The first line reads easily, yet the crafting of this particular sentence is a matter of meticulous and careful work. An artwork is the product of artistic labour, a messy collection of processes of imagining, researching, composing, structuring, pondering, creating, writing shitty drafts, revising, editing, and organising words into sentences, sentences into paragraphs, paragraphs into chapters, chapters into syntagmatic structure. Producing literature, like painting, can easily be perceived as the labour of the solitary artist, toiling away in her room with her notes, books, keyboard and screen. It is lonely, to be sure. However, a book and its corresponding author do not exist in solitude. They belong. To understand in what sense a book and an author belong, we need to examine a variety of elements: the economics of his profession, the people directly involved in her practice, the institutions and organisations that employ him as speaker, teacher and working artist, the publishing house, and his readers. The book and the author belong to a specific, concrete assemblage of elements entering into productive composition and providing the resources, the infrastructure, and the inspiration necessary for his literary practice. The infrastructuring practices and connective tissues of cultural policy, funding bodies, networks of authors, events, interorganisational relations, a local community and its cultural history, other books, radio, newspapers, and friends are also elements that inform, condition, and affect his work. Despite being only indirectly coupled to his practice, they are nevertheless elements in the literary and cultural milieu that the book and the author belong to. Then, questions: how to explain the subtleties of belonging to an ecology of culture; how does an artwork belong?

A man had an idea. It occurred to him on an October day in 2014. He was traversing the shopping street in Nykøbing Sj., and, as he was passing a defunct supermarket, he noticed that the sign in the storefront advertised the building *for sale*. A thought came to him: 'it would be great if the theatre was located here.' He was the director of *Odsherred Teater*, the regional theatre beautifully located in *Annebergparken* outside of town, surrounded by majestic trees and with a view to the fjord. Upon returning to the office, he asked the others at work what they thought

about the prospect of relocating the theatre. They bought into the idea immediately: *let's go for it.* The director sent an email informing the mayor of Odsherred that the idea to relocate *Odsherred teater* to the former IRMA building had been conceived and that it would be announced to the press first thing the following day. The mayor was in support of the idea. On October 11th, a headline in the local newspaper *Nordvestnyt* read:

Regional theatre is looking at IRMA building.[1]

Reactions were positive across the political spectrum, and citizens and business gave their thumbs up: locating the theatre in the main shopping street as part of the general development of the city could play a major part in the current plans to revitalise the street and the city, fostering activity, connections, growth, life. By relocating the theatre, culture would now be positioned as a key driver in making the city a better place. It would no longer be secondary to commerce, industry, and tourism. And so, it went. The decision was made, plans were drawn up and set in motion; the theatre relocated in 2017 and started operating as a café theatre. The idea, the decision, and the execution of the plan took place within and involved an ecology of culture.

A real estate agent welcomed a middle-aged couple looking to purchase a second home. They discussed different prospects and at some point, the conversation moved on to the general merits of Odsherred. The man said: 'there is a special light in Odsherred.' The real estate agent had heard customers say this before. But it was not just customers: the special light was in tourist destination brochures, coffee table books, in culture, in landscape painting; it explained the establishment of the fourth artist colony in Denmark, those early 20th-century painters who immigrated into Odsherred from the city, drawn by the landscape and the light. The national treasure *Solvognen*, a beautiful Bronze Age sculpture of a horse pulling the Sun across the sky was discovered in *Trundholm Mose*, evidence of the local agricultural culture's Sun worship. The old ones knew that the light brought life. Modernity provided the enlightenment values; late capitalist modernity brought amenity value. The light is not a commodity, but it can be used to sell commodities like houses, experiences, visual art. Today, the special light is a product of the ecology of culture by which the light is enjoyed, circulated, referenced, imagined, uttered, enacted, and collectively enunciated: Odsherred, land of light.

A book, a decision, a light. Each belongs to the ecology of culture in Odsherred as emergent effects. The ecology is their condition of reality.

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[1] Stefan Andreasen, "Egnsteater har kig på Irmabygning," October 11, 2014, *Nordvestnyt.*

CHAPTER 1.2

ECOLOGY OF CULTURE

What is an ecology of culture? In 2015, the Arts and Humanities Research Council published *The Ecology of Culture* by John Holden.[2] The aim of the report was to study the value of culture ecologically. To employ 'ecology' as the grounding metaphor would offer a 'richer and more complete understanding of the subject' than the kinds of economic approaches to studying the value of culture that had formed the dominant discourse since the 1980s.[3] Whether it be 'cultural economy,'[4] 'cultural value,'[5] 'experience economy,'[6] or studies of 'creative industries' and 'creative sectors,'[7] a common reference point had been the *monetary value* of culture.[8] Instead,

> An ecological approach concentrates on relationships and patterns within the overall system, showing how careers develop, ideas transfer, money flows, and product and content move, to and fro, around and between the funded, homemade and commercial subsectors. Culture is an organism not a mechanism; it is much messier and more dynamic than linear models allow.[9]

In other words, an ecological study would not only be able to account for value in a better way, it would also offer a conception of culture that is more accurate and properly attuned to the nature of culture. Though exploring the cultural sector ecologically is a field of study still in the making, to think about culture in ecological terms is not a novelty; already in the first half of the 20th century did cultural anthropologists embark upon studies of 'cultural ecology.'[10] Then like today, to study culture ecologically meant studying how human culture adapts to the physical

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[2] John Holden, *The Ecology of Culture* (2015).

[3] Holden, *Ecology of Culture*, 3.

[4] Stuart Cunningham, John Banks and Jason Potts, "Cultural Economy: The Shape of the Field," in *The Cultural Economy,* ed. Helmut Anheier and Yudhishtir Raj Isar (2008); Chris Gibson, "Cultural Economy: Achievements, Divergences, and Future Prospects," *Geographical Research* 50:3 (2012).

[5] Jen D. Snowball, "Cultural Value," in *A Handbook of Cultural Value*, ed. Ruth Towse (2011); Hasan Bakhshi, Alan Freeman and Graham Hitchen, "Measuring Intrinsic Value: How to Stop Worrying and Love Economics," (2009); Bruno S. Frey, "What Values Should Count in the Arts? The Tension Between Economic Effects and Cultural Value," in *Beyond Price: Value in Culture, Economics, and the Arts,* ed. Michael Hutter and David Throsby (2008).

[6] Joseph Pine and James Gilmore, The Experience Economy, Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage (1999).

[7] E.g. David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (2001); David Throsby, "The Production and Consumption of the Arts: a View of Cultural Economics," *Journal of Economic Literature* 32:1 (1994).

[8] One should be careful to not set up a straw man; monetary value, after all, is not the sole value that the studies cited above measure.

[9] *Ecology of Culture,* 3.

[10] Paul Robbins, "Cultural Ecology," in *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, ed. James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson and Richard H. Schein (2004).

environment and how the practices, symbols, meanings, and sentiments of human communities are developed in relationship with the surrounding physical conditions. Human cultures are embedded in their environments; culture is an ongoing adaptive response to that which conditions it, itself included. The history of ecological thought precedes the contemporary interest in studying culture ecologically. Informing the conceptualisation of ecology of culture as 'the complex interdependencies that shape the demand for and production of arts and cultural offerings'[11] is a conceptual history that has taken more than a hundred years to develop and where notions of 'complexity,' 'interdependency,' 'relationship,' 'pattern,' and 'system' have emerged, alongside other key conceptual motifs. When John Holden's *The Ecology of Culture* was published in 2015, it was built upon a messy history of wrestling with the concept and imaginary of ecology. In Chapter 3, I present a brief and non-exhaustive history of the concept of ecology in the social sciences in the 20th century. The precursory works featured in this history are not referenced by Holden, but I suggest thinking of them as part of the connotative and resonating texture of the concept of ecology of culture.

Within the study of culture and the arts, there are immediate predecessors to Holden's ecology of culture: some exemplars are David Throsby's comparison of culture to theories of ecosystems:[12] David Barnhill's exegesis of Gary Snyer's 'cultural ecosystem,'[13] Jeannotte's social ecological analysis of culture's contribution to the sustainability and social cohesion of communities,[14] Kreidler and Troustine's 'cultural ecology of the Silicon Valley,'[15] Will Straw's study of 'cultural scenes' in Montréal and Manchester,[16] and Hearn, Roothouse and Blakey's 'Value ecology.'[17] There are others.[18] None of them constructed an explicit ecological frame of reference for the study of arts and culture. Most used ecology as a metaphor or synonym for network, system, or locale. Exemplary is Keith Gallasch's call for ecology as a new root metaphor

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[11] Ann Markusen, Anne Gadwa, Elisa Barbour and William Beyers, *California's Arts and Cultural Ecology* (2011), 8.

[12] David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (2001).

[13] David Barnhill, "An Interwoven World: Gary Snyder's Cultural Ecosystem," *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture, and Ecology* 6:2 (2002).

[14] Sharon Jeannotte, "Singing Alone? The Contribution of Cultural Capital to Social Cohesion and Sustainable Communities," *The International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9:1 (2003).

[15] John Kreidler and Phillippe Trounstine, Creative Community Index, (2005). Also, AnnaLee Saxenian, *Regional Advantage. Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128* (1996).

[16] Will Shaw, "Cultural Scenes," *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure* 27:2 (2004).

[17] Gregory Hearn, Simon Roodhouse and Julie Blakey, "From Value Chain to Value Creating Ecology: Implications for Creative Industries Development Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13:4 (2007).

[18] See, Mirjam Gollmitzer and Catherine Murray, "From Economy to Ecology: A Policy Framework for Creative Labour" (2008); John Howkins, *Creative Ecology: Where Thinking Is a Proper Job* (2009); Steffen Böhm and Chris Land, "No Measure for Culture? Value in the New Economy," *Capital & Class* 33:1 (2009).

in the study of arts, although the call comes in the shape of an opinion piece and not a research article.[19] But for a new root metaphor to emerge, something had to give.

Maybe it was Nirvana, the grunge rock band that smelled of teen spirit and suicidal depression, that provided the occasion, maybe even the need, to rethink culture. Many great bands have hailed from the Pacific Northwest: Pearl Jam, Mudhoney, Green River, Alice in Chains, Soundgarden, the Melvins, the Wipers, Botch. It was Nirvana that placed Seattle on the map of culture with their platinum selling mix of hardcore punk, shoegaze, and melodic sensitivities. Grunge was born and what had hitherto been a set of diverse bands operating underground became big business. In 2004 and 2008, the city of Seattle commissioned studies from the University of Washington on the economic impact of Seattle's music industry on the local economy.[20] Paraphrased, the operational questions were *what were the conditions of reality for Nirvana?* and *what are the conditions of possibility for the next Nirvana?* While these studies in their economic focus resembled many of the other regional studies of the economic impact of creative clusters and arts, its mode of inquiry led Markusen et al. to cite these studies as important sources of inspiration to their seminal work on the ecology of arts and culture in California.[21] Markusen et al. also cited Kreidler and Eng's mapping of the Art's Ecosystem in America as a pioneer work: '...an on-going attempt to apply the methods and modelling language of systems thinking to the world of arts and cultural production, consumption, support, and experience in the United States.'[22] In 2011, when Markusen et al. conducted their study of art and culture in California, 'ecology' was beginning to be the subject of research projects. The ecological framework had explanatory potential. The sociology and ethnography of the arts, and cultural studies too, had provided numerous empirical inquiries of the *pragmatics*, *contexts*, and the *embeddedness* of art and aesthetics since the 1970s;[23] in a sense, the attempts at constructing ecological research designs contributed to that line of inquiry by establishing *ecology of culture* as a frame of reference that could include the environmental conditions of art, artist and cultural practice, and could map the structure and social and economic organisation of local, regional or even national culture. This could perhaps explain

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[19] Keith Gallasch, "The Arts, Ecologically," *RealTime* 61 (2004).
[20] William Beyers, Anne Bonds, Andrew Wenzl and Paul Sommers, *The Economic Impact of Seattle's Music Industry* (2004); William Beyers, Christopher Fowler and Derik Andreoli, *The Economic Impact of Music in Seattle and King County* (2008).
[21] Markusen, Gadwa, Barbour and Beyers, *California's Art's and Culture Ecology* (2011).
[22] John Kreidler and Moy Eng, "Cultural Dynamics Map: Exploring the Arts Ecosystem in the United States," National Art Strategies, March 2005, The Cultural Dynamics Map
[23] Hans Van Maanen, *How to Study Art Worlds, vol. 211* (2009).

why Nirvana happened and provides clues as to what kind of conditions cultural planning, policy, and funding should seek to create.

Complex connectivity

The dominant conceptual component that runs the studies of ecology of culture is 'connectivity': in an ecological approach to arts and culture, the relationships and interdependencies between people and between organisations is crucial.[24] Connectivity is a necessary and sufficient condition of reality. In Gross and Wilson's *Cultural Democracy,* a cultural ecosystem is 'a developing set of interconnections and interdependencies between...cultural resources of many kinds,'[25] and Stern and Seifert state that '*ecologies are systems of interdependence.*'[26] Culture is a complex system, a vibrant network, conditioned by the nature of its sets of internal connections that serve as the infrastructure by which resources such as money, ideas, people, talents, and skills flow,[27]

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[24] Examples, from a larger body of work, that have connectivity in common in their multifarious ways include: Patrycja Kaszynska, *Cultural Value Scoping Project* (2018); Alis Oancea, Teresa Florez-Petour, and Jeanette Atkinson, "The Ecologies and Economy of Cultural Value from Research," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 24:1 (2018); Jonathan Gross*,* "Creativity Off the Clock: Re-conceptualizing Creative Careers," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Creativity at Work* (2018); Richard Courtney, "Network Governance in the Heritage Ecology," *Journal of Management and Governance* 22:3 (2018); Nick Wilson, Jonathan Gross and Anna Bull, *Towards Cultural Democracy: Promoting Cultural Capabilities for Everyone* (2017); Jonathan Dovey, Simon Moreton, Sarah Sparke and Bill Sharpe, "The Practice Of Cultural Ecology: Network Connectivity in the Creative Economy," *Cultural Trends* 25:2 (2016); Andrew Zitcer, Julie Hawkins and Neville Vakharia, "A Capabilities Approach to Arts and Culture? Theorizing Community Development in West Philadelphia," *Planning Theory & Practice* 17:1 (2016); Andrew Miles and Lisanne Gibson, "Everyday Participation and Cultural Value," *Cultural Trends* 25:3 (2016); Evelyn Jamieson, "From Dance Cultures to Dance Ecology: A Study of Developing Connections Across Dance Organisations in Edinburgh and North West England, 2000 to 2016," Ph.D. Thesis (2016); Elena Borin and Fabio Donato, "Unlocking the Potential of IC in Italian Cultural Ecosystems," *Journal of Intellectual Capital* 16:2 (2015); Elena Borin, "Local Participation for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage: the UNESCO Candidature of the Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne," *The Ecology of Culture* (2015), 105; John Knell, *This England: How the Arts Council Uses Its Investment to Shape a National Cultural Ecology* (2011); Ann Markusen, "Creative Cities: A 10-year Research Agenda," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36:2 (2014); Julie Hawkins, Neville Vakharia and Andrew Zitcer, *A Fragile Ecosystem: The Role of Arts & Culture in Philadelphia's Mantua, Powelton Village and West Powelton Neighborhoods* (2014); Douglas Medin, Bethany Ojalehto, Ananda Marin and Megan Bang, "Culture and Epistemologies: Putting Culture Back Into the Ecosystem," in *Advances in Culture and Psychology,* ed. M. J. Gelfand, C.-Y. Chiu, & Y.-Y. Hong (2013); Mark Stern and Susan Seifert, *Cultural Ecology, Neighborhood Vitality, and Social Wellbeing—A Philadelphia Project, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania* (2013); Paul Makeham, Bree J. Hadley and Joon-Yee Kwok, "A 'Value Ecology' Approach to the Performing Arts," *M/C Journal* 15:3 (2012); Mauricio Delfin*,* "The Promise of Cultural Networks in Latin America: Towards A Research Framework for the Study of Region-specific Cultural Network Ecosystems," *Cultural Trends* 21:3 (2012).

[25] Gross, Wilson and Bull, *Cultural Democracy* (2017), 7. Also, Niles Wilson and Jonathan Gross, *Caring for Cultural Freedom: An Ecological Approach to Supporting Young People's Cultural Learning* (2017), 15.

[26] Mark Stern and Susan Seifert, *The Social Wellbeing of New York City's Neighborhoods: The Contribution of Culture and the Arts* (2017).

[27] Marcin Poprawski, "Intergenerational Transmission of Values and Cultural Sustainability: The Cultural Participation of Local, Small Town Communities in Poland," *Law, Social Justice and Global Development Journal* 20 (2016), 5: '"Cultural ecosystem" can be useful if one wants to identify and comprehend the circulation of thoughts, theories, policies, and cultural organizations' practices in the interconnected organizational fields that are governed through the discourses and practices of cultural policy and even cultural activism.'

and it is 'the degree of connectedness within the system [that] can be taken as a sign of systemic strength.'[28] According to Holden,

> The ecology of culture is an intricate web of connections, both internally – with movement of ideas, people, products and money around the whole system – and externally into a wide range of other fields. The effectiveness and efficiency of the ecology depends on the number and strength of the internal and external connections. Both economic and cultural value are created through a high degree of interaction and the quality of those relationships. The cultural ecology also depends on the benignity of the environment within which it functions. Just as with a natural ecosystem, the cultural ecology will be more fecund and productive when it has a great number of species interacting with each other: in the opposite case the result will be a cultural desert.[29]

While the conceptual component of 'connectivity' is ubiquitous, the concept of 'holism' rarely appears in contemporary studies of culture. There are references to the motif of the 'whole ecology,'[30] but appeals to a spatial or geographic totality do not automatically import the implications of holism, i.e. the notion of internal harmony, homeostatic balance between constituent parts, or sub summation of individuals elements to the whole.[31] Does this general omission mean that contemporary ecological thought on arts and culture does not subscribe to holistic ideas and is committed to methodological individualism? Does it mean that the historical propensity for holism in ecological thought is glossed over[32] but remains as what Derrida understood as a 'constituent outside,'[33] as a *necessary* but tacit component for the constitution of ecological thought?

There are other ecological conceptual components at work: 'ecosystem', 'heterogeneity', 'differentiation' and 'diversity', 'dynamic pattern,' 'processes,' 'flows,' 'generativity,' 'permeability' and 'responsiveness,' 'emergence' and 'emergent properties,' and finally,

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[28] Mary Blackstone, Sam Hage and Ian McWilliams, "Understanding the Role of Cultural Networks Within a Creative Ecosystem: A Canadian Case-study," *Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* 6:1 (2016), 24.
[29] *Ecology of Culture,* 32.
[30] Ann Markusen, "Creative Cities: A 10-year Research Agenda," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36:2 (2014), 583; Geoffrey Crossick and Patrycja Kaszynska, "Under Construction: Towards a Framework for Cultural Value," *Cultural Trends* 23:2 (2014); John Knell, *This England*, 16.
[31] See John Foster and Brett Clark, "The Sociology of Ecology: Ecological Organicism Versus Ecosystem Ecology in the Social Construction of Ecological Science, 1926-1935," *Organization & Environment* 21:3 (2008).
[32] Foster and Clark, "Sociology of Ecology".
[33] Jacques Derrida, *Limited, inc.* (1988).

'complexity.'[34] Most, if not all, of these concepts stem from open system and complexity theory,[35] which makes it even more surprising that 'equilibrium,' 'homeostasis' and 'steady state' rarely appear in the literature on ecology of culture. It is also surprising, given contemporary ecological thought's intellectual debt to systems and complexity theory that the considerable contributions of Niklas Luhmann,[36] Gregory Bateson,[37] Edgar Morin,[38] and Prigogine and Stengers[39] are rarely mentioned or integrated in studies of the ecology of culture. One way of reading this is that the systemic concept of ecology is employed whilst, at the same time systems and complexity theory and their attached implications and commitments are strategically warded off. Another way to read this is that, when 'ecology' is used as a metaphor and only some aspects are actually transferred, it is because what really is at stake are those very conceptual components and not the entire conceptual package of ecology; ecology, so to speak, is an umbrella term or a superordinate concept to which a set of subordinate concepts are coupled. Choosing only some concepts from the package is, of course, perfectly legitimate even if it does raise the question of whether the rest of the conceptual gang gets smuggled in through the back door. A third way of reading it is that we cultural researchers simply do not have an adequate grasp of ecological theory and therefore use only what we understand.

There are four pertinent problems attached to the study of culture as ecology. First problem: the complex connectivities, links, and relations are assumed to exist but are not evidenced in most cultural inquiries.[40] This means that 'ecology' can be used as a theoretical framework based on the ontological proposition that culture exists as a pattern of complex interdependencies, but

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[34] Examples: "The Ecology of Culture: Community Engagement, Co-creation, Cross Fertilization*," Book proceedings 6th Annual Research Session*, ed. Encatc (2015); Oancea, Florez-Petour and Atkinson, "The Ecologies and Economy of Cultural Value from Research"; Courtney, "Network Governance in the Heritage Ecology"; Julie Hawkins, Neville Vakharia, and Andrew Zitcer, *A Fragile Ecosystem*; Medin, "Culture and Epistemologies"; Makeham, Hadley and Kwok, "A 'Value Ecology' Approach to the Performing Arts"; Delfin, "The Promise of Cultural Networks in Latin America"; Goetz Bachmann, Jon Dovey, Jeanette Monaco and Bill Sharpe, *Cultural Value Network Research Finding* (2012); Stern and Seifert, "Social Wellbeing of New York's Neighbourhoods," (2017); Jamieson, "From Dance Culture to Dance Ecology"; Margaret Salazar-Porzio, "The Ecology of Arts and Humanities Education: Bridging the Worlds of Universities and Museums," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 14:3 (2015).

[35] See Chapter 3 for an elucidation.

[36] Niklas Luhmann, *Social Systems* (1995).

[37] Gregory Bateson, *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* (1979). The concept of the 'pattern that connects' seems relevant in this regard.

[38] Edgar Morin, *Metoden. Kendskabet til Kundskaben. En Erkendelsens Antropologi* [1986] (1990).

[39] Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers, *Order from Chaos. Man's New Dialogue with Nature* (1986). Particularly the concept of self-organising, far-from-equilibrium systems that develop as dissipative structures.

[40] Victoria Barker, "The Democratic Development Potential of a Cultural Ecosystem Approach," *Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development* 24 (2020), 13. Notable exceptions: Paul Jeffcutt, "Knowledge Relationships and Transactions in a Cultural Economy: Analysing the Creative Industries Ecosystem," *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy* 112:1 (2004); Rowan Bailey, Claire Booth-Kurpnieks, Kath Davies and Loanni Delsante, "Cultural Ecology and Cultural Critique," *Arts* 8:4 (2019).

where this is not substantiated or demonstrated in the specific case studied. This becomes exacerbated by a lack of primary data: Blackstone, Hage and McWilliams argue that studies of ecologies of culture have often relied on secondary statistical data which makes the study of the nature of connectivities difficult and the complexities of the case hard to discern as it does not fully appear in the available data.[41] The second problem concerns the conceptual status of 'ecology': is it a metaphor derived from biology and natural ecologies, or, it is literal? If it is literal, does that imply that the mechanisms described by ecologists also apply to the study of culture, or are there other mechanisms at work that would then be qualified as ecological - for example, is 'specialisation' an ecological mechanism that applies to both natural ecologies and ecologies of culture? If so, how? This is related to the third problem concerning the degree to which 'ecology' effectively works as a placeholder or synonym for 'network', 'structure', 'place', or even 'economy.' It is not always clear whether the application of an ecological framework actually differentiates from and can explain culture in ways that, for instance, social network analysis or even ethnography cannot.[42] The fourth problem is a political one concerning the manner in which the application of ecological frameworks can come to equate a *local* ecology of culture with a *national* ecology of culture,[43] organise conceptually an 'amorphous mass of people, places and activities that are often only tenuously linked, or not linked at all' as if they are one interdependent system,[44] or justify the continued exploitation of small, vulnerable and precarious artists by large, robust and 'predatory' organisations in the name of interdependence, reciprocal relations, and systemic processes of value creation. An appeal to ecology can gloss over or marginalise concerns with systemic inequities.

I think these are valid concerns that ecological thought needs to engage with. To me, they can be summarised into a single theoretical question: *what does it mean to think culture and arts in terms of connectivity and complex interdependence?* It is to this end that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of *assemblage* is applied.

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[41] Blackstone, Hage and McWilliams, "Understanding the Role of Cultural Networks Within a Creative Ecosystem," 27.

[42] Alessia Patuelli and Fabio Donato, "Developing Local Cultural Networks: the Case of Dante 2021 in Ravenna," *Encatc Journal of Cultural Management and Polity* 8:1 (2018).

[43] Philip Schlesinger, "The Creative Economy: Invention of a Global Orthodoxy," *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 30:1 (2017), 86.

[44] Kerry Harker, "Seeing Beyond a False 'Ecology' for Visual Arts in the North," (2019), 74.

Assemblage

This thesis conceives ecology of culture as an assemblage of a multiplicity of concrete elements fitted together to produce culture. What is an assemblage? In *A Thousand Plateaus* Deleuze and Guattari use the motif of 'the book' to illustrate the concept of assemblage applied to a phenomenon. Here, I quote at length and replace 'book' with [ecology]:

> [An ecology] has neither object nor subject; it is made of variously formed matters, and very different dates and speeds. To attribute [an ecology] to a subject is to overlook the working of matters, and the exteriority of their relations. It is to fabricate a beneficent God to explain geological movements. In [an ecology], as in all things, there are lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of deterritorialization and destratification. Comparative rates of flow on these lines produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture. All this, lines and measurable speeds, constitutes an *assemblage.* [An ecology] is an assemblage of this kind, and as such it is unattributable. It is a multiplicity--but we don't know yet what the multiple entails when it is no longer attributed, that is, after it has been elevated to the status of a substantive. One side of a machinic assemblage faces the strata, which doubtless makes it a kind of organism, or signifying totality, or determination attributable to a subject; it also has a side facing a *body without organs*, which is continuously dismantling the organism, causing asignifying particles or pure intensities to pass or circulate, and attributing to itself subjects that it leaves with nothing more than a name as a trace of an intensity. What is the body without organs of [an ecology]? There are several, depending on the nature of the lines considered, their particular grade or intensity, the possibility of their convergence on a "plane of consistency" assuring their selection...there is no difference between what [an ecology produces] and how it is made.[45]

I present the concept of assemblage in more detail in chapter 3.2. Here, it is sufficient to present it as an ontological concept concerned with conceiving how things exist: as a set of heterogeneous concrete elements that are interrelated in accordance with rules of composition immanent to the assemblage and that produce something because of the specific manner of composition. The assemblage is an abstract and formally empty concept: a book and an ecology can both exist as an assemblage. What matters are the concrete elements that go into the composition of the assemblage and their specific co-functioning: these elements and what they do are always empirical questions and can only be determined *a posteriori.* Ultimately, Deleuze and Guattari

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[45] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* [1980] (1999), 3-4.

were empiricists. To conceptualise an ecology of culture as an assemblage means reimagining and revisiting the assumptions that are implicit and perhaps taken for granted in ecological thought. One example of an assumption is the idea of 'survival of the fittest' and the related idea that the most fit have been 'optimised' by the environment.[46] If thought is structured to resonate with such an assumption, then analysing the success and activities of an organisation in an ecology can easily be explained by referring to how it has been optimised by the ecology and is the most fit, or most fitting, to meet the conditions of the environment. But unless empirical data demonstrate that this is the case, there is no need to assume a priori that 'optimisation by environment' is a property of an ecology. It could also be the case that the environment does not optimise species but only eliminates non-viable species from the ecology.[47] To an assemblage mode of thought, 'optimisation' does not explain anything. It can only be an empirical phenomenon that is the result of an assemblage, and as such it is 'optimisation' itself that must be explained. The rigour of the theory of assemblage is simply not to assume that we know what things do *a priori* - which is easier said than done. If ecology of culture is defined as 'the complex interdependencies that shape the demand for and production of arts and cultural offerings,'[48] then at least one a priori assumption is operating: that the ecology *shapes* demand and production alike. If tested against data, the assumption may prove to be a true or false proposition. Interesting as this may be, it is not the purpose of this thesis. Rather, it is to describe how the ecology of culture is assembled and what it does by virtue of how elements are connected in relations of co-functioning. This is as much an ontological concept as it is the name of a method of thinking.

An assemblage is peculiar in that it is characterised by a fundamental tension between *ontological contingency* and *pragmatic necessity*. That is, an assemblage is a definite set of heterogeneous and *mutually independent* elements that become productive when fitted together in a mode that is entirely contingent. No element is bound to any other element by virtue of ontological necessity. In the case of ontologically interdependent systems, like a human body, the opposite is the case, since the system of organs depends ontologically and functionally on each organ (liver failure equals death). In the case of an assemblage, if an element disappears, then the assemblage changes, sometimes substantially, but it does not lead to the assemblage ceasing to exist per se. In ecological terms, it adapts. That is because the assemblage's singular mode of

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[46] This explanation is at work in the population ecology theory of Michael Hannan and John Freeman, "The Population Ecology of Organizations," *American Journal of Sociology* 82:5 (1977).
[47] This argument is put forward by Francisco Varela, Evan Thompson and Eleanor Rosch, *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (1991), 196.
[48] "California's Arts and Cultural Ecology," 8.

doing is an emergent effect of the constituting, mutually independent parts that are all necessary for it to do what it does in this singular manner. The assemblage has no essence, it is only what Deleuze and Guattari called a *this-ness*: a set of particular elements doing something particular. The conceptual tension between ontological contingency and pragmatic necessity grasps something crucial in terms of the mode of analytic thought: in the specific, empirical account of what a given assemblage does, all elements have a part to play given their relation to other parts: every element matters in this specific assemblage. At the same time, there is nothing about this assemblage that is not contingent: the assemblage could be assembled differently.

I try to specify ecology by conceiving ecology as assemblage. In itself, 'ecology' is an overdetermined concept: it has too much meaning. It is a metaphor, it is literal, it changes conceptual components with time, it has become isomorphic with complex adaptive systems, patterns, structures, network. In the end, does ecology explain anything? Yes: it explains that the individual organism is embedded in systems, patterns, structures, networks that sustain and restrain it. But that it does not explain *how* makes empirical inquiry necessary. If you like, thinking ecology as assemblage is a trick for bypassing some of the overdetermined load of the concept in order to get to the job of accounting for how the ecology sustains and restrains life - in this case, the lives of cultural producers. A small example is in order.

Figur 1. Street art in Nykøbing Sjælland

In a gateway in Nykøbing Sj two girls were kissing each other. They were wheat pasted onto a wall; their state of decay corresponded nicely with the distressed surface.

The piece is one small part of the total expression of the main shopping street of Nykøbing; easy to ignore amidst the shops' window dressings, stands, and signs screaming for the attention of consumers with purchasing power. In other passageways of the street, local artists had been commissioned to install artworks that represented or depicted Odsherred: one artist had made ceramic reliefs of the whales that had rummaged in the distant past; another had installed a huge wood carving outlining the shape of Odsherred. In total, nine local professional artists had been commissioned by *Nykøbing Sjælland Handel og Erhverv* to produce works for the passageways; the municipality and the local private foundation *Poul Johansen Fonden* had supported this financially. The works were curated by sculptor Peter Hesk. They were part of a process of developing Nykøbing Sj. - Odsherred's main market town, part of a town development plan that included using art and culture as an instrument. The decision to relocate the theatre had become part of the strategy. The project coordinator in charge of the passageways project was hired by *Nykøbing Sj. Handel og Erhverv*, but she also served as consultant to *Geopark Festival* and had ties with *Odsherred Teater*. The artworks were the result of multiple connections between artists working on a commercial basis, publicly funded cultural organisations, the city, a foundation, and a strategy. The two girls were not a part of the plan, but they were part of the assemblage of artistic expression in that location; they were a 10th work. I do not know who created it. It could have been a local artist. Street art seems to connect culturally with graffiti, with hip hop, punk, skateboards, and urban cultural expressions like Parkour. All forms that were also present in Odsherred. The lines connecting the kissing girls were probably somehow entangled with the lines that had been the commissioned artworks' conditions of reality. The artworks of the passageways did not exist in isolation; they were an assemblage of art and belonged to a larger assemblage of arts and culture.

The example hopefully demonstrates what can be explained or understood by thinking about art and cultural production in ecological terms: those multiple lines and points of interaction that in their own right are simple couplings and relationships attain emergent properties when perceived as an assemblage. They are functioning parts of an art machine, an art machine that is a functioning part of a larger machinic assemblage of culture. An ecology proper. It is my contention that the concept of assemblage does not replace the concept of ecology or makes it redundant: rather, it qualifies it. It is a method for thinking how the ecology exists and an invitation to make empirical inquiry into its mode and means of production. It is true that assembling the ecology does not delete theoretical assumptions altogether. It changes them, I will claim, to the benefit of empirical

inquiry committed to the simple and horrifying idea that we may not yet know what a body can do.[49]

Belonging

The example of the kissing girls and the passageways artworks reveals that a critical part of what it means to belong is to be found in the condition of *embeddedness* which increases the prospects for both short and long term survival.[50] One indicator of embeddedness is *relational density* defined as 'the number of formal relations between the members of a population and key institutions in the environment,' which the members can use to position themselves and to mobilise the resources they need.[51] A non-embedded person would not have the same kind of access to resources. In the case of the art works, an example of a formal relation was the contractual relationship with *Nykøbing Sj. Handel og Erhverv* which consolidated the artists' position within the arts community, provided a monetary income, and helped them forge new relationships. The example also demonstrates that it is not sufficient to understand embeddedness in terms of formal relationships only; the informal relationships are important, too. The artists knew each other, there were personal relationships between the organisations involved, and the process of ideation took place before the project was formalised. If the identity of the street artist were known, there would perhaps also be a set of informal connections that had conditioned the artist's work. When connections are followed outside the boundaries set in the example, we find a web of informal and formal relations. If we trace processes historically, we find that an informal relationship sometimes begets a formal relationship and vice versa. The thesis demonstrates that the relational density of formal *and* informal relations is a condition of the reality of the ecology of culture's capacity for production of arts and cultural offerings.

Embeddedness is an important component in the concept of belonging, but there is more. According to Julia Bennett,

> An ontological belonging arises through an attachment to place created over time, intersubjective relationships to others in the place and inalienable relationships to the materiality of the place... In

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[49] I am indebted to Rasmus Johnsen for pointing to the element of horror in the conceptual apparatus.
[50] Donald Getz and Tommy Andersson, "Analyzing Whole Populations of Festivals and Events: An Application of Organizational Ecology," *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 8:3 (2016).
[51] Joel Baum and Christine Oliver, "Institutional Embeddedness and the Dynamics of Organizational Populations," *American Sociological Review* 57:4 (1992), 540.

order to belong, ontologically, one must understand, in a corporeal sense..., the place (locality), change over time (history) and the local society (community).[52]

To belong, one must 'understand' the wheres, the whens, the whos and whats of the place. In Bennett's research, ontological belonging is as much a matter of caring ethically for the well-being of the place as it is a matter of being able to know how to use it. In ecological terms, all members contribute something to the everyday functioning of the ecology because they know how to live in it. Given Bennett's conceptualisation of ontological belonging, to claim that the artworks in the passageways *belong* to the ecology of culture is equivalent to being able to account for how the artists and their work is *embedded* in a set of heterogeneous relations that have multiple functions and which all enable their creative work in some manner and for how their production of artistic work is contingent upon a *corporeal understanding* of the socio-material intricacies of the place. An analysis of how things belong to the ecology of culture must wrestle with embeddedness and corporeal understanding; it must map the formal and informal relations and the sense of place that sustains life.

It is to place that we now turn.

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[52] Julia Bennett, "'Snowed in!': Offbeat Rhythms and Belonging as Everyday Practice," *Sociology* 49:5 (2015), 956.

CHAPTER 1.3

ODSHERRED

To begin the presentation of Odsherred, a memorable quote:

> Odsherred is the most irregular and peculiar part of Zealand with regards to form and topography.
> One could even dare to assert that north Zealand in which Odsherred is a significant part is a unique
> landscape with the Danish realm.[53]

Uffe Grosen's history of the land reclamation of Lammefjorden tells the founding myth of modern Odsherred, and it is a work that some locals recommended when I asked for reading suggestions. To Grosen, the event of land reclamation is at the core of the integration of Odsherred into the national economy; there is a before and an after.[54] Geographically, Odsherred is located in the north-western part of Zealand. It encompasses 355 km^2 of landmass delineated by 157 km of coastline except at its southern border which runs through mostly agricultural land, roughly following the autoroute 155, the Svinninge-Audebo Canal and with the former mercantile town of Hørve as its gateway. Topographically, the landscape is marked by the movements of the Ice Age that pushed the moraine soil to form the three arches of Odsherred. It is marked by economic forces that in 1873 executed one of the largest land reclamation projects in Denmark, claiming 5,764 hectares of territory from the sea,[55] and it is marked by agricultural practices. Locals often divide the region into the north-western Odden and north-eastern parts Højby, Nykøbing, Rørvig, and Nakke, the western parts along the Bay of Sejerø, the peninsula of Egebjerg on the eastern side, the drained lands of Lammefjorden and the southern parts of Dragsholm and Vallekilde-Hørve. The drawing of Odsherred's southern border corresponds to the Ods and Skippinge deanery's three southern parishes Vallekilde, Hørve and Grevinge. The outline of Ods and Skipping deanery corresponds with the geographical and the municipal delineation.

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[53] Uffe Grosen, *Da vand blev til land. Lammefjordens historie i 140 år* (2013), 19. My translation.
[54] Grosen, *Da vand blev til land*.
[55] *Da vand blev til land*; Kjeld Hansen, *Det tabte land: den store fortælling om magten over det danske landskab* (2008), 50f.

It is not an understatement to say that term 'rural' is as contested and overdetermined as it is naturalised.[56] Instead of defining the rural in either exclusively functional terms that explain the rural as an effect of ways of living by exploiting the land in thinly populated areas, '[r]urality can...be envisaged as a complex interweaving of power relations, social conventions, discursive practices and institutional forces which are constantly combining and recombining.'[57] This is not to deny that particular localities contain geographic specificities, certain socio-economic conditions and ways of life; it is to deny, however, that these can serve as superordinate categories by which the rural can easily be distinguished from the urban. By examining the social relations, struggles and processes, material conditions, and political forces and ideas of a given locality, what 'rural' means in the given situation might be theorised. It has been demonstrated that the rural has been established as the urban's discursive 'other.'[58] In addition to the imagined idyll of the authentically local,[59] a set of properties can be ascribed to the rural: 'out-migration and ageing, lower educational attainment and lower employment rates,'[60] depopulation,[61] richness in social capital based on a culture of voluntarism and cooperation.[62] At the same time, the rural is the site

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[56] Paul Cloke, "Conceptualising Rurality," in *The Handbook of Rural Studies*, ed. Paul Cloke, Terry Marsden and Patrick Mooney (2006), 18: 'it is almost as if the strength of the idea of rurality is in its overarching ability to engage very different situations under a single conceptual banner.' See also, Andy Pratt, "Discourses of Rurality: Loose Talk or Social Struggle?," *Journal of Rural Studies* 12:1 (1996); Chris Philo, "Neglected Rural Geographies: a Review," *Journal of Rural Studies* 8:2 (1992).

[57] Cloke, "Conceptualising Rurality," 24.

[58] Tina Louise Sørensen, "Hinsides udkant. Alternative kunstneriske sanseliggørelser af dansk provins 2005-2015," Ph.D. Thesis (2017); André Jansson, "The Hegemony of the Urban/Rural Divide: Cultural Transformations and Mediatized Moral Geographies in Sweden," *Space and Culture* 16:1 (2013); Susanne Stenbacka, "Othering the Rural: About the Construction of Rural Masculinities and the Unspoken Urban Hegemonic Ideal in Swedish Media," *Journal of Rural Studies* 27:3 (2011); Madeleine Eriksson, ""People in Stockholm are Smarter than Countryside Folks"–Reproducing Urban and Rural Imaginaries in Film and Life," *Journal of Rural Studies* 26:2 (2010).

[59] Pavel Pospěch, Daniela Spěšná and Adam Staveník, "Images of a Good Village: A Visual Analysis of the Rural Idyll in the "Village Of The Year" Competition in the Czech Republic," *European Countryside* 7:2 (2015); David Bell, "Variations on the Rural Idyll," in *Handbook of Rural Studies*, ed. Paul Cloke, Terry Marsden and Patrick Mooney (2006).

[60] Anne Tietjen and Gertrud Jørgensen, "Translating a Wicked Problem: A Strategic Planning Approach to Rural Shrinkage in Denmark," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 154 (2016), 29; Bo Nilsson and Anna Sofia Lundgren, "Logics of Rurality: Political Rhetoric about the Swedish North," *Journal of Rural Studies* 37 (2015); Vanessa Burholt and Christine Dobbs, "Research on Rural Ageing: Where Have We Got to and Where Are We Going in Europe?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 28:4 (2012).

[61] Marlies Meijer, "Community-led and Government-fed: Comparing Informal Planning Practices in Depopulating Regions Across Europe," *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 14:4 (2019).

[62] Gunnar Svendsen and Gert Svendsen, "Homo Voluntarius and the Rural Idyll: Voluntary Work, Trust and Solidarity in Rural and Urban Areas," *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 11:1 (2016); Jens Sørensen, "Testing the Hypothesis of Higher Social Capital in Rural Areas: the Case of Denmark," *Regional Studies* 46:7 (2012); Gunnar Svendsen and Jens Fyhn Lykke Sørensen, "There's More to the Picture than Meets the Eye: Measuring Tangible and Intangible Capital in Two Marginal Communities in Rural Denmark," *Journal of Rural Studies* 23:4 (2007); Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000).

of economic, democratic and sustainable developments,[63] cultural innovation and activity,[64] and immigration from the cities.[65] The 'rural' is not just an overdetermined sign; it is a complex lived reality.

Demographically, in 2017, Odsherred had a population of 33,023 people distributed across 355 km^2, with Nykøbing (5,229 people), Asnæs (2,934), Hørve (2,514), Vig (1,537) and Højby (1,470) as the largest towns.[66] The remaining 19,339 members of the population were inhabiting either farms, villages, or minor towns (Fårevejle, Grevinge-Herrestrup, Rørvig, Egebjerg, and others). During the summer, approximately 100,000 people visit Odsherred—either for the duration of the summer (often called 'fastlæggere' ('sedentaries') by the locals or for a shorter period of time (in local vernacular: 'turister').[67] They stay in one of 26,979 second homes distributed along the eastern, northern and western coastline.[68] Some locals express the opinion that the northern part of Odsherred (Nykøbing and Rørvig) effectively transforms into Copenhagen during summer. 5,721 persons were 1 - 18 years old against 9,229 persons who were 48 - 65 years old, a small comparison to show that the population was dominated by an old and ageing population.[69] Infrastructurally, the region was connected by a railway established in 1899 to serve the new economy of Lammefjorden, by the expressway Route 21 and other smaller roads, and finally by a ferry departing from Odden heading west connecting Odsherred to Århus, and a ferry heading east from Rørvig connecting Odsherred to Hundested and the north-eastern transport routes to the capital. Administratively, Odsherred is a municipality, established in 2007 from the previous municipalities of Dragsholm, Trundholm, and Nykøbing-Rørvig, with its city hall situated in Højby in the northern part. Politically, the region is mostly Social Democratic, Venstre

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[63] Solene Prince, "Rural Authenticity and Agency on a Cold-water Island: Perspectives of Contemporary Craft-artists on Bornholm, Denmark," *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 11:1 (2017); Safania Normann Eriksen and Jon Sundbo, "Drivers and Barriers to the Development of Local Food Networks in Rural Denmark," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 23:4 (2016); Bodil Stilling Blichfeldt and Henrik Halkier, "Mussels, Tourism and Community Development: A Case Study of Place Branding Through Food Festivals in Rural North Jutland, Denmark," *European Planning Studies* 22:8 (2014); Chris Jensen-Butler, "Rural Industrialisation in Denmark and the Role of Public Policy," *Urban Studies* 29:6 (1992).

[64] Richard Hunt, David Townsend, Steffen Korsgaard and Alexis Naar, "Urban Farmers and Cowboy Coders: Re-Imagining Rural Venturing in the 21st Century," *Academy of Management Perspectives* ja (2019); Anne-Mette Hjalager and Grzegorz Kwiatkowski, "Entrepreneurial Implications, Prospects and Dilemmas in Rural Festivals," *Journal of Rural Studies* 63 (2018); Chris Gibson and John Connell, ed., *Festival Places: Revitalising Rural Australia* (2011).

[65] Hans Skifter Andersen, "Explanations for Long-distance Counter-urban Migration into Fringe Areas in Denmark," *Population, Space and Place* 17:5 (2011).

[66] "Facts about Odsherred," Odsherred Kommune, accessed July 23, 2020, Facts about Odsherred

[67] Appendix, A69, Odsherred Kommune, *Kommuneplan 2017-2029 for Odsherred Kommune* (2017), 15.

[68] "Facts about Odsherred," Odsherred Kommune.

[69] "Folketal - Odsherred Kommune," Danmarks Statistik - Statistikbanken 2017.

and Dansk Folkeparti[70]–though all the Danish political parties were represented on the City Council.

Etymologically, Odsherred is composed of 'Ods' which refers to Sjællands Odde, the spit of land in the north-western part and 'Herred' which translates to 'shire' - an older word used to refer to an administrative unit. So 'Odsherred' means 'The Shire that contains Sjællands Odde.' It is a word that in common usage refers to a municipality and a geographically delineated region, but 'Odsherred' also refers to an idea represented by discourses and images. When you listen to locals talking about Odsherred, when you read newspapers, follow Facebook groups, and chat with people informally, you quickly understand that 'Odsherred' means many things: it means all of the geographical, topographical, administrative, political, economic facts briefly mentioned above, *and* it also means a certain atmosphere and ambience, a certain light and weather conditions; it means drink driving on back roads, and bored, marginalised youths; it means organic farms and conventional agricultural industry at odds with one another, and the invasive odour of chemical and organic fertilisers. It means wealthy tourists set against poor locals, it means reliance on cars, and it means derelict houses. It means vibrant villages and communities. It means time, peace, nature, beauty, dwelling. It means a seasonal service economy aimed at tourists, the emigration of resourceful young people, and the immigration of older folk with money to spend. Odsherred is a sign carrying several, often contradictory, meanings. In this way, 'Odsherred' is an imaginary in the double sense of the word. It is both something *imagined,* and it exists *in* images. There is a history of the image of Odsherred that correlates closely with the imaginary of 'Odsherred' and which is different from the discursive representation of Odsherred. While not at odds with each other, they are not at ease either. In the imaginary of Odsherred, landscape and dwelling seem to be the dominant motifs. One of the most prominent examples of this imaginary is the work of visual artists like Sigurd Swane and Karl Bovin who produced paintings depicting the landscape and sites from various locations in Odsherred, but you will also find it in other art forms, in the promotion of Odsherred as an attractive place to visit or settle in, on Flickr, Instagram, Facebook, and on people's smartphones as photographs of picturesque settings encapsulating the sites and atmospheres of Odsherred.

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[70] "The Social Democrats" is a center-left political party, "Venstre" is a center-right political party, and "Dansk Folkeparti is a right-wing political party.

Figur 2. Photo of the rolling hills.

The history of culture is both a history that can be linked to the aesthetic practices of the Bronze Age and to a history of recent origin.[71] Most of the contemporary cultural institutions in Odsherred were established in the second part of the 1900s and only a few notable histories can trace their genealogy further back than to the end of the 1800s: *Vallekilde Højskole*, *Dragsholm Slot*, and the region's churches. Intersecting with these histories are the history of national, regional and local cultural policy making, implementation and administration, a history which has affected the development of cultural practice in Odsherred, for instance in the case of the merger between cultural museums in western Zealand or the establishment of refund structures within the performing arts that gave incentives to collaborate with the educational sector.[72] Other histories intersect, like the history of the hippies and collectivists who moved to the countryside in the 1970s,[73] the history of industrial success stories like Hempel's that gave rise to the Hempel Glass

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[71] "Arkæologi," Museum Vestsjælland, accessed July 23, 2020, Arkæologi

[72] Appendix, E5, interview, Alfred, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred kommune*; E10, interview, Charles Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*.

[73] Gunnar Svendsen, "The Right to Development: Construction of a Non-agriculturalist Discourse of Rurality in Denmark," *Journal of Rural Studies* 20:1 (2004).

Museum in Anneberg,[74] or the history of psychiatric treatment as exemplified in the complex of *Annebergparken* that was originally built and operated as a psychiatric hospital but which has also been the home of *Odsherred Teater* since the partial relocation of the hospital.

Figur 3. Locations of arts and culture organisations

By 2018, there were 1 theatre, 1 cinema, 1 museum of cultural history, 1 art museum (at 2 addresses), 1 glass art museum, 1 museum for psychiatry, 1 dolls museum, 1 traffic museum, 1 community centre at 2 locations and 1 regional library with seven branches, 1 music school, 1 author's school, 1 visual art's school, 2 youth centres and 1 youth culture school, 1 fun park, 1 second hand market, more than 5 venues for episodic concert productions, 2 folk high schools, 3 locations for fine dining, 13 churches, and more than 60 galleries and showrooms. There were 2 annual crafts markets, 6 annual festivals (music, literature, and cultural). There are numerous events all year, though most happen during April to October. There are independent artists working within the visual arts, literature, performing arts, crafts and design. There are approximately 200 associations and though not all of them are artistic or cultural in practice, many are part of a practice of producing culture. Then there is all the ad hoc, illicit and almost secret other stuff happening: street art, graffiti, Parkour, parties, bands.

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[74] "Museets Historie," Hempel Glasmuseum, accessed July 23, 2020, <u>Museets Historie</u>

One of the major densities in the ecology of culture are the visual arts and crafts. In 2017, I counted at least 61 spaces that qualified as either gallery, boutique, or workshop (and sometimes all three). The spaces varied in size and in the type of art they contained. The art forms were predominantly visual arts (oil, acrylic, water colour, mixed media, and drawing) and crafts (ceramics and glass) but also sculpture, woodwork, iron, photo, jewellery, and textiles. The spaces were distributed across Odsherred with a slight majority of locales concentrated in the north-eastern parts of Odsherred. Typically, the gallery was a converted barn, an outhouse, or a workshop. Most galleries were owned by an independent artist (a few were managed collectively) and, with the exception of seven spaces, the galleries served to show and sell the owning artist's works. It was only *PAKHUSgalleriet* and *Gallery Brantebjerg* which exclusively exhibited and sold the works of visiting artists. But even *PAKHUSgalleriet* had partnerships with two artist collectives *Cromisterne* and *Stokrosebanden,* effectively making these groups in-house artists. In other words, the galleries were outlets. The artists had either obtained a degree from a recognized arts education or were educated by a mix of private courses and/or are self-taught.[75] This distinction, supplemented by an artist portfolio of open exhibitions or exhibitions by invitation-only, was the basis for dividing the visual arts community into the group of professionals and the non-professionals. This division was further strengthened by organisations such as *OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked*, *Stokrosebanden*, *Cromisterne*, *Morild*, *AKIO* (most of which were organised formally as associations) as well as by annual events that were either exclusively for professionals or all-inclusive. The annual popular *Pinseruten* was an example of such an event. Established in 1997, it has taken place over the Pentecost weekend when galleries, studios, and workshops have been open to the public. The somewhat 30,000 visitors (official 2017 head counts) could visit artists in their workshops, hear stories from the lives of working artists, and peruse their art works. *Pinseruten* has also been an opportunity to purchase art, and to some artists, it has been a considerable source of income as well as an opportunity to gain exposure. At some point, the non-professional artists were excluded from participating in the official program (which is a printed and online catalogue and route), leading to them organising an alternative program to the official one. The division rearticulated and reinvigorated questions about the nature of art works, or rather, about the 'quality' of art works which continue to mark a tension in the ecology about the complicated issue of how art connects to the question of value - a matter of concern

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[75] Most of the artists I have surveyed displayed their CVs on their webpages.

directed towards an economic question of artists' livelihood, and also towards the conceptual question about what makes an artwork a genuine piece of art.

The outline of the ecology of culture shows an assemblage of commercial, public, and grassroots organisations; that map neither shows the modalities of connectivity, that is, the ways in which these heterogeneous cultural producers are related, connected, entangled, and interdependent, nor does it show the emergent effects that are the result of the activities of the assemblage. To explore the question of emergent effects and ecological response, we turn to one of the major events taking place in Odsherred at the beginning of the 21st century: the reform of the welfare state.

The Structural Reform and the rise of Udkantsdanmark

In the dark times, will there be singing? Yes, there will be singing of the dark times.[76] In his song *Hårde tider i provinsen*, Odsherred-based songwriter Tom E sings:

> Tough times in the province.
> The High street is deserted.
> Closed shops, no one is certain whether they will ever open again.
> Tough times in the province.
> Many beautiful dreams shut down. The newspapers tell of castles in the air that no one really wants to own.
> When the last man has left without anyone to hear what he said and the hope of a future is ruled out, and there is not even anyone to file a complaint.
> Then it is time to leave this place and travel far, far away.[77]

The song portrays a familiar image of the provincial small town in decline: loss of jobs, economic recession, emigration, and a feeling of being left behind in the wake of urbanisation and modernisation. Or so the story went, a story that fitted well with the neoliberal reform agenda of the first decade of the 21st century that succeeded in executing a substantial reform of the Danish public sector and the welfare system it administered.[78] The reforms happened in 2006-2007 and

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[76] Bertolt Brecht, *Poems, 1913-1956* (1998), 320.
[77] Tom E, "Hårde tider i provinsen," *Hårde tider i provinsen* (2018). My translation.
[78] Malene Brandt Winther and Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen, "'The Rotten Banana' Fires Back: The Story of a Danish Discourse of Inclusive Rurality in the Making," *Journal of Rural Studies* 28:4 (2012).

were paralleled by the proliferation of a new, negative-laden discourse on the rural areas that represented them as backwards, in decline, and cost heavy.[79] The parallel was no coincidence.

The countryside had experienced transformations throughout the 20th century: by the start of the century, the rural regions were prosperous and striated with cooperative agricultural businesses, civic associations, folk high schools, and other initiatives that had increased the quality of life of the rural population, and they generally enjoyed a status as the economic driver of the national economy.[80] The peasants had become politically organised, well educated, affluent, and they were sustained by a dense, complex network of cooperatives, in particular' the Danish Dairy Association which had been established across Denmark and which was based on mutual trust and common economic interests.[81] This changed with the processes of technological rationalisation and centralisation of agriculture during the 1950s and 60s which caused dramatic decreases in the number of farms and a movement of emigration by members of the rural population to the towns and urban centres in search for jobs.[82] It was not only the rural economies that were being restructured: the rural life form was destroyed, an experience of disaster.[83] The same period saw urban dwellers move to the countryside, to live in the smallholdings and farms that had been left vacant. They were typically left-wing academics looking for a healthy alternative to the culturally involuted life of the noisy, polluted city: they were not looking to become agriculturalists but to live in the 'natural community' of the village to 'develop', to 'grow,' and ultimately 'emancipate' themselves from industrial and bourgeois society.[84] However significant this movement was for the establishment of a new rural population and forms of life, it was overshadowed by the discourse and practice of industrialised agriculture and centralisation of the apparatus of governance. In 1970, the first structural reform centralised the public sector by reducing the municipalities from 1,108 to 275 and tasking them, alongside the counties, with the

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[79] Winther and Svendsen, "'The Rotten Banana' Fires Back," 469.: '...sparsely populated areas in Denmark appear bereft of any form of capital, be it human, cultural, economic or symbolic, or at least they are depicted like that in the public media where negative terms occur almost as often as neutral - something that was unthinkable 10-15 years ago.'

[80] Gunnar Svendsen and Gert Svendsen, "Measuring Social Capital: the Danish Co-operative Dairy Movement," *Sociologia Ruralis* 40:1 (2000).

[81] Claus Bjørn, Dansk Mejeribrug 1882-2000 (2018).

[82] Claus Bjørn, "Andelstiden. Produktionsanlæg og sociale bygninger" in *De kulturhistoriske interesser i landskabet* (1997), 309.

[83] Palle Ove Christiansen, *Livsform på tvangsauktion?* (1982).

[84] Svendsen, "The Right to Development," 84. Herbert Marcuse's concept of *The Great Refusal* resonates with the ideology of this particular group of urban emigrants searching for a way of life more authentic than that of the standardised mass culture of industrial capitalism. See Jeffry Ocay, "Technology, Technological Domination, and the Great Refusal: Marcuse's Critique of the Advanced Industrial Society," *Kritike: an Online Journal of Philosophy* 4:1 (2010).

operation and administration of schooling, care, infrastructure, and health, in short, the cornerstones of the welfare state.[85]

By 2001, when a new liberal-conservative government took office, 20 years of neoliberal ideology had already dominated governance thinking, and it was time for a second reform, based on a vision of an economically sustainable and effective public sector instead of the version that was believed to have grown too large and was seen as ill equipped to handle the growing complexity of the welfare system.[86] In an attempt to model the public sector in the image of the capitalist firm, the solution was once again centralisation as a means to make the sector more cost-efficient. Four distinct reforms were executed: The Structural Reform of 2007 reduced the number of municipalities to 98 and reconfigured the counties into 5 'regions'; the Quality Reform of 2007 reduced the number of acute hospitals from 56 to 22; the Court Reform of 2007 reduced courts from 82 to 24; and the Police Reform of 2008 reduced 54 police districts to 12.[87] The centralist agenda meant that localities were affected: citizens would now have to travel longer distances in order to obtain the welfare services they funded with their tax money. It was articulated by government as an improvement, particularly with regard to the rural areas that were targeted as particularly cost-inefficient.[88] The political project of structural reform went hand in hand with an equally political articulation of what came to be known as 'Udkantsdanmark' [Outskirts Denmark]: those parts of Denmark that were depicted and imagined as backwards, illiterate, deprived, poor, anti-modern, subject to brain and youth drain, and cultural, socially and economically unsustainable.[89] As articulated, perhaps sarcastically, by the lyrics of Tom E., it was a place that you should want to travel 'far, far away' from.

How did the ecology of culture respond to the Structural Reform of 2007 and the discourse on 'Outskirts Denmark'? To begin with, it is not given that it responded at all. Perhaps there are other things that motivated and other inputs that stimulated the events, developments, and silent transformations that the ecology of culture has endured. Perhaps what is perceived as a cause may not have been a cause and a particular development that appears to be an effect and a response to something specific may only be so superficially. Perhaps to depict a transformation as a response

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[85] Ulrik Kjær, Ulf Hjelmar and Asmus Leth Olsen, "Municipal Amalgamations and the Democratic Functioning of Local Councils: the Case of the Danish 2007 Structural Reform," *Local Government Studies* 36:4 (2010); Karsten Vrangbæk and Terkel Christiansen, "Health Policy in Denmark: Leaving the Decentralized Welfare Path?," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 30:1-2 (2005), 34.
[86] Kjær, Hjelmar and Olsen, "Municipal Amalgamations and the Democratic Functioning of Local Councils," 571.
[87] "'The Rotten Banana' Fires Back," 473.
[88] Indenrigsministeriet, *Kommunalreformen - kort fortalt* (2005).
[89] "'The Rotten Banana' Fires Back," 477.

to something may have been a way for cultural producers to legitimate something that was driven by other motives, and, perhaps, some developments had no discernible motivation at all. They just happened, sometimes slowly, sometimes dramatically. An example is called for. This is an excerpt from an interview with a former director of the library and cultural centre. It concerns the establishment of the cultural centre *Pakhuset* in 2008.

> At the time of the municipal merger, then the music venue *Pakhuse*t...was leased to M. McCoy. The building was divided in such a way that there was a gallery [upstairs] and a music venue [downstairs] and then the library. The library was not built until '89 and then they were all merged. But content wise they were different. There was also an activity centre for elderly people. In 2007, M. McCoy asks for a renegotiation of his leasing contract. He was responsible for the music venue from Friday 4pm to Monday 7am and every night in the month of July. But he could not make it work. He played at all the shows himself and he couldn't make it work, which I understand. If you are to make a living of it. Now, at that time Jonathan Sacco was part time coordinator of those activities that happened during daytime [at *Pakhuset*]...he coordinated the gallery exhibitions and the activity centre, and the daily lending of *Pakhuset* to civil associations. And he was part time employed at the cultural department at city hall. The idea arises, and I dare not guess who, I don't know, where they ask me "what if M. McCoy is not there, couldn't we merge it into one unit? Then you run everything?"...we then received half a million Danish kroner to run the place. But included in that amount there was also some salary to Jonathan Sacco - it could have been someone else, but it was Jonathan Sacco, so of course he continued in the position. In the end it was 450,000 Danish kroner. Well, for this amount of money we were to produce events and I asked to separate [the economy] from the library's so there was a special box named the culture box...The culture box became a budgetary box. We received a large subsidiary to the entire library and culture centre in 2008 [and onwards], but we are allowed to place the amount given in relation to the merger in the culture box, because #1 there is VAT and #2 there are full transfer rights, which municipal institutions do not have.[90]

The gallery and music venue are effectively merged and transformed into a community and cultural centre with an independent economy that allows it to produce events and transfer savings and profits across fiscal years. A new cultural organisation was born. Was this, or is there anything to warrant the assertion that it was, a response to the neoliberal structural reform of 2007? It happened at the same time as the reform was implemented, yet nowhere in this story is it explicated that the reform was a cause or that the construction of *Pakhuset* happened in response

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[90] Appendix, E1, interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

to it. It can be claimed that the construction of the cultural centre took advantage of the new situation; but if the cultural centre was a solution, what kind of problem did it respond to?

CHAPTER 1.4

THE PROBLEM IS…

Change, transformation, and evolution

The reorganisation of *Pakhus*et, the book and its author, the idea to relocate and reorganise the theatre, and the collective enunciation of a special light all belong ontologically to the ecology of culture. To claim that they 'belong ontologically' is to make the argument that they are 'embedded' in the relational, situational, social, historical, environmental context of the place and the time and that they are so to the extent that they would not exist as they do independently of the ecology of culture. Implicit to this line of thinking is also the idea that they are 'products' of their environment, an idea I have sought to foreground by thinking ecologically through the concept of the assemblage. The assemblage is productive. All we need to do is trace the composition of the elements that have been brought into productive relations. In itself, the assemblage concept explains nothing, describes nothing. It is formally empty, though it has many conceptual components. What matters is what is done with it, what it enables us to think, and what it allows us to do. The core working assumption of my inquiry is that the ecology of culture is assembled: a multiplicity—human and non-human—have participated in its processes of assemblage. This makes the ecology a product of labour. It has changed, transformed, and evolved. Sometimes it has happened so slowly and so subtly that its transformations are what Francois Jullien has coined 'silent': indiscernible, imperceptible, yet actual.[91] Other changes have appeared like ruptures, sudden and dramatic reorganisations of the structures of the ecology. This conceptual framework has a set of implications that I will present in what follows.

1. Becoming. The philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari is a process ontology: being is becoming and organisation is organising.[92] To think *ecology of culture* in process terms means committing to the idea that the organisation of cultural production is continuously *in the making* and cannot be said ever to reach a final state. This ontological assumption is at odds with the idea that systems regulate themselves towards a balanced state, sometimes called a 'steady state' or 'homeostasis' in the case of organic, complex, and open systems, and 'equilibrium' in the case of

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[91] Francois Jullien, *The Silent Transformations* (2011).
[92] Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 260ff.

physical and closed systems. It is not opposed to the idea of self-regulation and self-organisation per se, but it *is* incompatible both with the idea that the actual being of a system is actualised in any versions of equilibrium, however dynamic that might be, and with the related idea that a system teleologically works towards such state. In the wake of the emergence of chaos and complexity theories of systems in the 1970s and onward, 'equilibrium' was largely abandoned in system thinking.[93] Deleuze and Guattari's concept of assemblage is compatible with the idea that ecological systems are auto-, and eco-poïetic in so far as this means that they are forever in processes of assembling, re- and de-assembling. The implication is that if the ecology is ever becoming, it becomes meaningless to think about change *if that is conditioned* by a self-identical being that is subject to development, transformation, and evolution. But if a being is not assumed to be self-identical and therefore ontologically stable and is instead undergoing processes of repetition, then *self-identity* is a *continuous process of becoming one-self*.[94] As repetitions occur over time, nothing ever actually becomes exactly itself but can instead be understood as reiterations, citations, even mimicry and simulation; repetition is never identity. This means that the ecology of culture in 2000 is not the same as the ecology of culture in 2018; the ecology of culture is the name given to those multiple processes that interact to assemble an episodic and continuous production of cultural offerings in Odsherred.

2. No base, no superstructure. While this thesis does not directly address neoliberal governance and the rule of the metric and securitization that emerged from the 1980s onwards,[95] it is neither possible nor desirable to leave it out of the account of the situation. There are two extreme ways of reading the situation. One is to conceive of culture as the ideological superstructure that emerges from the capitalist mode of production and in continuation to see the production of cultural offerings as regulated by neoliberal governance technologies; that is to say, in the age of

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[93] Minka Woermann, Oliver Human, and Rinka Preiser, "General Complexity: A Philosophical and Critical Perspective," *Emergence: Complexity and Organization* 20:2 (2018), 1; Prigogine and Stengers, *Order Out of Chaos*; Carl Folke, "Resilience (republished)," *Ecology and Society* 21:4 (2016); David Byrne and Gillian Callaghan, *Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences: The State of the Art* (2013); Jeremy Walker and Melinda Cooper, "Genealogies of Resilience: From Systems Ecology to the Political Economy of Crisis Adaptation," *Security Dialogue* 42:2 (2011); See also James Gleick, *Chaos. Making a New Science* (1987).

[94] The basic argument of Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* [1968] (1994), 201-202: 'Repetition in the eternal return never means continuation, perpetuation or prolongation, nor even the discontinuous return of something which would at least be able to be prolonged in a partial cycle (an identity, an I, a Self) but, on the contrary, the reprise of pre-individual singularities which, in order that it can be grasped as repetition, presupposes the dissolution of all prior identities.' Also, Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy* [1962] (1983).

[95] Jamie Peck, "Preface: Naming Neoliberalism," in *The SAGE Handbook of Neoliberalism*, ed. Damian Cahill, Melinda Cooper, Martijn Konings and David Primrose (2018).

neoliberal capitalism the production of culture becomes neoliberal.[96] This model assumes that culture is an expression of and serves to affirm the political and economic status quo. The other way of reading is to assume that culture and the production of cultural offerings happen in spite of and in resistance to the demands of neoliberal capitalism and governance, particularly to the principles of instrumentalism, utility, and market veridiction to establish the value of culture. Cultural production expresses a community's, or even a people's, way of life; culture is about self-determination and fundamentally at odds with the interest of neo-liberal state capitalism and the for-profit corporation.[97] In either case, such a theoretical framework will frame the interpretation of the production of cultural offerings to be an effect of neoliberal governance. That is taking much for granted. However, I am reluctant to assume that the assemblage of culture at the beginning of the 21st century stands either in compliance with or in resistance to the policies and politics of the neo-liberal state. It should not be assumed a priori but demonstrated a posteriori, if at all. I have assumed a deliberately naïve position and sought to map the assemblage of culture; only subsequently have I sought to analyse how and what the assemblage could be interpreted as responding to. I analyse two such responses: the establishment of the organisation *Ung i Odsherred* as a response to the problem of youth participation in culture and the production of the Local both as a response to the devaluation of Odsherred vis-à-vis the general negative discourse on the rural regions and as a way of organising cultural self-determination. Certainly, neoliberalism looms ominously in the background, but it does not serve as an explanatory framework.

3. Ideography. The knowledge interest that has guided the design and execution of the inquiry is ideographic and descriptive; the interest lies with accounting for the complexity of this case and describing the uniqueness of the ecology of culture in Odsherred. It is the uniqueness that is compelling; its *this-ness*. Odsherred was not strategically sampled as a type or a case[98] with regards to generalisability, but this choice was deliberate and based on the following reasoning: 1) access and enculturation: my professional, and to some extent private, history granted me

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[96] This motif is expressed paradigmatically in Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (2001). Also: Scott Lash and Celia Lury, *Global Culture Industry* (2007); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991).

[97] Examples are Jesse Cohn, *Underground Passages: Anarchist Resistance Culture, 1848-2011* (2015) and Naomi Klein, *No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs* (2009).

[98] Bent Flyvbjerg's classic distinction between normal, critical, paradigmatic, and extreme cases is a ground for working up a sampling strategy. Particularly if the interest is with generalising, the critical case selection is Flyvbjerg's recommendation for how to design a single case study for generalisability. Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12:2 (2006).

privileged access to key organisations, to networks of managers, and to several festivals, artists, and events. It had given me experience with the informal relations that are central to the analysis of complex connectivity, and it had given me corporeal knowledge of the intricacies of the ways of living and what Raymond Williams called 'the structures of feeling;'[99] 2) delineation: an ecology is always analytically 'punctuated' because it is never entirely isolated and always has some degree of connection with larger systems, ultimately the planetary system.[100] Odsherred has some convenient traits that assist in punctuating it nicely: the municipal, the geographic, and the historical all converge on drawing the same territory; 3) vibrancy: a tricky term, but chosen to refer to the capacity of the ecology of culture to create newness, to evolve. Odsherred is a region endowed with a rich cultural history that is kept relevant by an infrastructure of engaged cultural producers across the domains of commercial, publicly funded, and homebrewed culture. The study of the unique is to be differentiated from the study of the special, which stands out in comparison with other similar cases. The unique is interesting in its own right and needs no comparative research design. The unique is what I wanted to account for. So, in summary, considerations regarding access, delineation, and a sense of wonder with the vibrancy of the culture grounded the selection of Odsherred. There is no problem that is immediately given, no core conflict that needs resolving or paradigmatic features that need to be distilled. Rather, I think the most interesting question is quite boring because it is born from the perspective of everyday cultural production. Culture works: the ordinary is functional, *situation normal*. Two questions, then: why does it work, and how? I believe that writing an account of how it works may provide clues to why it works. *How* is the stuff of pragmatics. It is concerned with agency, labour, production; it is occupied with doing. *How does one produce culture? How is one creative? How is culture organised?* Here, the ecological perspective becomes critical to studying cultural organisation because it directs inquiry to the complex and dynamic relations, the supporting infrastructure, and the wider environment that conditions, sustains, and restrains the individual agent and organisation. To think about art and cultural production ecologically means thinking about the milieu that supports an artist as well as thinking about the artist. How culture works means: 'what are the patterns? what are the collective processes of cultural production? What are the conditions of reality?' If it is interesting to describe and analyse how an individual artist or

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[99] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (1977), 128ff.
[100] Ronald Bogue, "A Thousand Ecologies," in *Deleuze|Guattari & Ecology*, ed. Bernd Herzogenrath (2009)*,* 48.

cultural producer does things, it is because paying close attention to their practice is a way of making the larger patterns of the supporting ecology become discernible.

Becoming, assemblage, ideography. Process, production, this-ness. *Land of Light* is a philosophical and empirical inquiry of how culture has been produced in an era of neoliberal governance but without presupposing that culture has been either uniformly against it or unequivocally for it. The research question, then, is one that arises from an interest in mapping the ordinariness of the unique. I ask:

How has the ecology of culture in Odsherred been assembled in 2000-2018?

In the following, I break down each part of the problem statement to lay out its composition and to indicate what will serve as an adequate response.

1. How: This word is an interrogative pro-adverb that is directed at the properties of its referent, the verb 'to assemble.' As an adverb, it qualifies the manner in which something *does* something. 'How' signposts that it is an inquiry into the pragmatic side of reality, those actions that are observable. A how question is descriptive, it should seem sufficient to respond by describing or accounting for an interpretation of a manner of doing something.

2. Has been: The account is aimed at the past and does not claim that it is an account of a contemporary phenomenon. To think with a process ontology carries the methodological problem of studying things that are assumed to be continuously becoming and in the making. It does not make much sense to assume that culture is organised and assembled in a stable, fixed form; rather, it is assumed that organisation of culture is a continuous agency of assembling. Organisation, then, is studied as the historical microprocesses of becoming.[101] There is a difference between asking about the identity of something and asking what it is in the process of becoming. This thesis

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[101] Tor Hernes, "Process as the Becoming of Temporal Trajectory," in *The SAGE Handbook of Process Organization Studies*, ed. Ann Langley and Haridimos Tsoukas (2017), 603. 'Evidently, applying the word 'becoming' sensitizes the reader to the eternal state of being in the making, of not being arrested, of potentially leading to something else, just like the "bulbs" and "tubers" of the rhizome being able to take its growth in a new direction (Chia, 1999). "Becoming" works to sensitize us to what Weick (1995) and Feldman (2000) call organizations as ongoing accomplishments, which suggests how organizations, even in their seemingly stabilized state, are subject to continuous work.' Also: Scott Lawley, "Deleuze's Rhizome and the Study of Organization: Conceptual Movement and an Open Future," *Tamara: Journal for Critical Organization Inquiry* 3:4 (2013); Christian De Cock and Robert J. Sharp, "Process Theory and Research: Exploring the Dialectic Tension," *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 23:3 (2007); Tore Bakken and Tor Hernes, "Organizing is both a Verb and a Noun: Weick meets Whitehead," *Organization Studies* 27:11 (2006).

explores how the ecology of culture has been in a process of becoming, that is, its past actualisations.

3. Ecology of culture: the concept serves to determine that the object of interest is the system of complex connectivity between cultural producers in Odsherred, not Odsherred as such. The distinction is between an ethnography of the ordinary way of everyday life and its aesthetic forms of expression and meaning making on the one hand and on the other a mapping of the production of art and culture as an organised phenomenon. Clearly, the mapped phenomenon is related to the practice of everyday life, but this is analytically set aside in the application of the concept of ecology of culture. While the concept of cultural ecology proposes that human cultures and ways of life are developed in adaptation and response to the material circumstances of a territory, including the systems for aesthetic production, ecology of culture is much narrower in its focus on the system of cultural production.

4. In Odsherred: the delineation of Odsherred is based on the apparent cohesion of the cultural system in the wake of the Structural Reform, the historical determination of Odsherred as a region of a people, and the municipal boundaries which correspond with the publicly funded cultural infrastructure. There are local cultural organisations centred in towns like Vig and Asnæs and artist milieus like the harbour in Nykøbing, in the village Vallekilde, or in Rørvig. To choose Odsherred as the territory is effectively to subordinate these localised cultural organisations and milieus to the larger ecology of culture, even if they are local and organised around meeting local needs. This assumption is derived from my prior knowledge of and experience with arts and culture in Odsherred and is not strictly an a priori proposition: it is exactly how the localised producers have been part of the larger assemblage of culture that is interesting. This is based on the embodied knowledge amassed from my prior practical work.

5. Assembled: 'Assemblage' is a philosophical concept with a set of *specific conceptual components*, *conditions* that need to be accounted for empirically if the concept is to be meaningfully applied, and *implications* for how to conceive of what it means to do inquiry. Its integration in the research question commits the inquiry to think culture in realist-relational terms, conceptualising cultural organisation as an assemblage of *heterogeneous concrete elements* by a *multiplicity* along an *immanent logic* of assembly. As the term 'how' is bound to the present perfect of assemblage as a verb, it implies that the analysis is of the manner in which culture has been assembled, the agency of assembling. The account of the assemblage in its substantive meaning is derived from the analysis of the practical processes of assembling. The concept of assemblage is sourced, and cannot meaningfully be divorced, from the philosophy of Deleuze and

Guattari. At the same time, Deleuze and Guattari likened their conceptual apparatus to a 'toolbox', inviting their readers to use their concepts to think with. This leaves open the methodological task of determining exactly how much of their philosophy is either directly integrated, or indirectly and tacitly implied by employing and applying the concept of assemblage.

6. 2000-2018: there are three reasons for specifying the temporal delineation to begin in 2000. First, the change in national government that happened in 2001 implied a revision of national cultural policy in at least four ways: 1) the prior social democratic government had already proposed to merge cultural policy and business policy to pursue the economic growth of the creative industries, most prominently in the articulation of the inclusive term 'experience economy.' The new government intensified this line of reasoning and pushed for further collaboration between culture, the arts, and business;[102] 2) culture was to be seen as the custodian and mediator of national identity. Cultural history was to be *Danish* cultural history which particularly affected the museum sector but implied all artistic genres. The establishment of a cultural canon in 2005 of the 'best' Danish art was both controversial for what actually made the list and because it was an attempt at using cultural policy to promote an ethno-nationalist, anti-immigration ideology.[103] The canon's neo-national romanticism stood in stark contrast to a society that was struggling to come to terms with its cultural diversity and multi-ethnicity; 3) the new line of cultural policy increased centralisation of cultural institutions and the political governance of culture. One of the major tools in Danish cultural policy in the 20th century was the block grant given by central government to local government to use as they saw fit. This allocation of free funds for local administration was a structural condition for local cultural specificity, which was to be challenged by an increase in earmarked government funding that effectively meant a decrease in local discretion over funds;[104] 4) private cultural funding, also often earmarked, increased.[105] Second, prior to the centralisation of the 2007 Structural Reform, there was already an increase in formal and informal collaborations between cultural institutions across municipal boundaries, most notably amongst the libraries and the museums. The Structural Reform's establishment of the new municipality occurred simultaneously with the Global Financial Crisis

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[102] Kulturministeriet, *Danmarks kreative potentiale* (2000).

[103] Elisabeth Niklasson and Herdis Hølleland, "The Scandinavian Far-right and the New Politicisation of Heritage," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18:2 (2018); Richard Jenkins, "Integration, of the Folk and by the Folk," in *The Question of Integration: Immigration, Exclusion and the Danish Welfare State*, ed. Karen Fog Olwig (2011); Camilla Møhring Reestorff, "Kulturpolitiske kanonkugler," *K&K-Kultur og Klasse* 35:104 (2015).

[104] Bård Kleppe, "The Autonomous World Reversed: Comparing Liberal Policy and Autonomy in the Performing Arts," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 24:3 (2018).

[105] Peter Duelund, "Nordic Cultural Policies: A Critical View," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14:1 (2008).

of 2007-2008; the baseline of the new municipality was economic difficulties and restraints on spending. This affected culture directly and indirectly. Third, the rise of the negative discourse on the rural areas preceded (and legitimated) the Structural Reform; from the outset, the new governance structure culture was thus faced with the problem of how to respond to the negative discourse in tandem with an altered political and administrative landscape and economic difficulties. The reform would provide the municipality with an occasion to inquire into the value of the cultural production it was funding; perhaps culture now needed to articulate its qualities, utility, and relevance. Along the same line, the cultural strategy of 2008-2010 articulated a policy of cross institutionalism, which in the years that followed gave rise to several cross-institutional collaborations and new quasi-formal institutions: the efforts to establish Odsherred as a UNESCO Geopark began in 2010, but it was not until 2014 with the first edition of *Geopark Festival* and with the certification of *Geopark Odsherred* that the first phase of the project was concluded.[106] The establishment of the literature festival in 2014, the new *Folkemødet i Odsherred* in 2017, and other cross-institutional and cross-organisational collaborations that 'flourished' are instances of the impact of the new way of thinking culture that rose to prominence in the years following the reform.

In 2018, I concluded the fieldwork. In the 18-year timeframe, new initiatives and projects had emerged, been consolidated, had become operational, or had disappeared. This allows for the establishment of an annual cycle of culture that can be studied with regard to its patterns of repetition, and the drafting, articulation, and implementation of cultural policy and cultural strategy can be traced.

How to navigate the *Land of Light*

The thesis is structured in five parts: an introduction, a methodological part, a conceptual part, and an analytical part. There is a conclusion at the end.

Part 1: Introduction

Which you have just read.

Part 2: Methodology

This part begins with a chapter that locates the thesis in the philosophy of science and elaborates on the thesis's claim to be a philosophical inquiry. The chapter offers an exposition of Gilles

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[106] Henrik Vejre, "An Analysis of Municipal Planning and Alignment of the Administration in the Process of Creating the Aspiring Odsherred Geopark (Denmark)," *Rendiconti Online Società Geologica Italiana* 28 (2013).

Deleuze's notion that inquiry begins when *thought is forced by something* imperceptible in the world and of Donna Haraway's concept of *situated knowledges*. Chapter 2.2 presents cultural mapping as an inductive, descriptive method and reflects on the distinction between the activity of mapping and a map as an artefact. It presents and describes the use of interviews, participant observation, document collection, and event participation. The chapter concludes with a reflection on research ethics and researcher positionality.

Part 3: Concept

Chapter 3.1 conveys a history of the concept of ecology as it has developed and been used in the social sciences since the beginning of the 20th century: the efforts to integrate an ecological approach in sociology, cultural anthropology, and psychology; the attempts at developing Human Ecology as a separate discipline; the influence of cybernetics and open system theory on ecological thinking in social science, including the development of contingency theory and organisational ecology in organisation theory. The development of ecological motifs in the sociology of the arts is presented as a theoretical precursor to the ecology of culture. The main argument of the chapter is that the concept of ecology undergoes subtle developments over time: key conceptual components, such as 'competition' or 'holism' change meaning, function, or disappear altogether while others emerge, most notably the ecological notion of 'complexity.' The central motif of the relationship between organism and environment remains constant, but its meaning changes with time. Chapter 3.2 explores what it means to commit to thinking in terms of complexity, and it conceptualises the ecology of culture as an assemblage. The concept of the assemblage is structurally composed of the *concrete machinic elements* that are arranged in a set of relations particular to a given *abstract machine* and effectuated by *a multiplicity*. The concept is borrowed from Deleuze and Guattari and is used to theorise a frame of reference that is operationalised for analysis of the empirical data created in the fieldwork. The ecology of culture is conceptualised as *a set of heterogeneous concrete elements assembled by a multiplicity of humans and non-humans according to immanent logics*. Chapter 3.3 of this part operationalises the theoretical framework for analytical purposes. Since the research design was largely based on an inductive and open-ended approach, the theoretical framework did not structure the empirical field work. Rather, it is used to analyse data. The chapter defines the extension of the concept and lays out a set of empirical indicators of the abstract machine, the machinic elements, and the multiplicity, and it articulates the analytical questions directed towards the empirical data based on the theoretical framework.

Part 4: Analysis

Chapter 4.1 analyses the map of interorganisational connectivity, laid out as a typology of *modalities of connectivity* between cultural organisations. The typology is based on synthesising the data constructed from the cognitive mappings produced in 50 semi-structured interviews with members of cultural organisations in Odsherred (all the publicly funded cultural institutions, a sample of private and commercial organisations, a sample of artists, and a sample of civil society associations). The lay-out of the typology describes the nature of each modality of connectivity. Chapter 4.2 presents an analysis of the collective enunciation of the problem of *youth participation in culture* and of a set of cross-organisational assemblages that were aimed at offering solutions to this perceived problem. The empirical material consists of interviews, notes from participant observation, documents, and event participation. The analysis demonstrates how both articulation and cross-cultural initiatives are conditioned by multiple interorganisational connections. The chapter claims that the complex connectivity that emerges as a result of multiple modes of connectivity was a necessary condition for collective agency. Chapter 4.3 presents an analysis of *the production of the Local* as a property that is ascribable to locations, products, and events. The empirical material consists of interview data, documents, participant observations, and experience from event participation. The chapter maps out locality-producing arrangements and analyses how the complex connectivity between cultural and arts organisations conditioned the collective effort to produce the Local.

Part 5: Conclusion

Finally, based on all the above, the conclusion will succinctly respond to the question: *How has the ecology of culture in Odsherred been assembled in 2000-2018?*

Appendix

The appendix contains an index of documents, pictures, sound recordings, artefacts, interviews, experiences, and participant observation and a link for an online archive the different materials. The appendix also contains a list of translations of Danish names into English.

PART 2: METHODOLOGY

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO WRITE
AN INTERESTING SENTENCE?

...to assemble large-scale constructions out of the smallest
and most precisely cut components.
Indeed, to discover
in the analysis of the small individual moment
the crystal of the
total event
Walter Benjamin[1]

Philosophical inquiry

In the canteen at my department, I overheard a senior researcher make fun of a PhD student he had conversed with, because she had said that when she interviewed people, she just 'talked with them.' The experienced male senior researcher told his colleague, another experienced male researcher, that off course you need 'a proper interview guide that reflects a theoretical framework and well-defined questions if you are to do an interview worth anything.' He himself worked mostly with surveys and quantitative data, but he 'also did qualitative interviews.' At the lunch table, worlds clash. The idea that an interview requires an interview guide is rooted in a belief that this will create a better data output relative to the knowledge interest and research objective which in turn are rooted in beliefs about what knowledge is and how to obtain it. Even our choice of words reveals a great deal: do we think of data as collected or constructed? And on it goes: is the experienced male researcher a neutral outsider to the things he studies or a part of the apparatus and the situation? These questions are the subject matter of philosophy of science and methodology, and perhaps also the reasons why researchers clash.

In this chapter, I will present what I mean by the following statement:

Land of Light is a philosophical inquiry.

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[1] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* [1982] (2002), 461.

For reasons that should become apparent, I think that producing a philosophy of science is an account of actual research, not a universal theory of what science is or ought to be. It is to write an account of concrete research that explicates the rationality of those choices that have enabled the construction of data; this goes beyond reproducing an interview guide in the name of transparency and repeatability. It becomes a matter of articulating the ontological and epistemological commitments of research as an attempt at articulating the ideas on being and knowing that follow from those research actions that have actually been carried out. That is because there is a distinction between what we commit to in principle and the commitments that are immanent to what we actually do.

As an example: I have used interviewing as my primary method for creating empirical data. In each interview, as Bakhtin would have it,[2] meaning was constructed throughout the chain of utterances between interviewee and interviewer who took turns at speaking and listening. It was a dialogue, that is, it was through [dia] speech [legein] that the members of the conversation selected and gathered words to represent, reference, and index their understanding of things in response to the utterances of the other. In the conversation there are movements of reiteration; those are repetitions by which a mutual understanding of something is constructed through a collective effort to establish the properties that are contained with a sign or a concept of something. Whatever is referenced appears as a mental and linguistic representation, and perhaps a retained corporeal experience. So when we map organisational connectivity, the interview situation is constructing data on how the interviewee *in the situation* interprets and understands her organisation, how she interprets and understands what it means to be connected, and how the interviewer interprets and understands the interviewee's interpretation and understanding.[3] The material, textual, economic, practical, social, affective modes of connectivity are represented in speech. It follows that these connections *exist* both as mental representations, as components in a conversation, and as the objects of representation, and it follows that there is a difference between using interviews as a technology for constructing knowledge of how interviewees perceive connectivity and constructing knowledge about the actual connectivities. This means, that when I use interview data as a way to map connectivity, my choice of method commits me practically to

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[2] Mikhail Bakhtin, "The Problem of the Text in Linguistics, Philology, and the Human Sciences: an Experiment in Philosophical Analysis," in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Carol Emerson and Michael Holquist (1986).
[3] We can call this *the double hermeneutic.* See Patrick Jackson, "Making Sense of Making Sense. Configurational Analysis and the Double Hermeneutic," in *Interpretation and Method. Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*, ed. Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (2006). Also, Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (1984), xxxiii.

assume that interviewees are truthful and sincere, unless they have a vested interest in not being earnest, *and* that their interpretations are sufficient data to enable me to make a reliable map of perceived organisational connectivity. But it does not follow that their interpretations are true about anything else than their understanding. The questions to ask is not 'was it the right method?', but 'what did it produce?' and 'how does it contribute to inquiry and the construction of knowledge claims?'

This should illustrate that method implicates questions of ontology and epistemology. It should also illustrate that ontological and epistemological commitments imply methods. A positivist would not believe that an interview could be a technology for collecting useful data about connectivity, and a phenomenologist would perhaps quip that if one really wanted to analyse connectivity, one should not ask people about how they appear to them, but seek out the connections as they appear to the researcher. And so on. There is always an experienced male senior researcher in the room to evaluate the choice and to correct the implementation of methods, and there is always someone else who silently thinks he is an idiot.

For these reasons, I think the best way to address the philosophy of science question is to account for actualised actions and their implicit reasons, to draw out the implications and immanent rationality of inquiry, and to critique what knowledge claims can legitimately be formulated on such grounds. The account of actualised action is methodology proper. Chapter 2 *Cultural Mapping as Interpretive Science* accounts for the method of cultural mapping and lays out the technologies and techniques that have been used to enable empirical inquiry. The second part of drawing the realist-relational ontology and situated-objective epistemology that are immanent to the actual inquiry, is the subject of Chapter 1.

To give an account of inquiry

To begin, we may ask: an inquiry of what? The research question in Chapter 1. asks *how has the ecology of culture been assembled in Odsherred 2000-2018?* which commits the thesis to an analysis of a series of practical processes and concrete events by which a multiplicity of individuals, organisations, narratives, norms, values, imaginaries have composed an ecology of the production of cultural offerings in the geographically and politically defined region of Odsherred. However, in order to be faithful to the process of inquiry in its totality, this research question was not specified until the winter of 2019. That is because its articulation was conditioned by the conceptualisation that the inquiry has led to. In other words, the research question is not a hypothetical-deductive statement that guided an inquiry through a series of steps,

each with their protocols and procedures. Rather, the research question is the problem that inquiry has responded to, but which only became articulated towards the end of the process. The research question is the result of inquiry – in a sense, its *end*. The process began much earlier, and it was not guided by a well-defined research question but by a wonder, a surprise, or an astonishment that grew from my practical experience with working as a cultural organiser and a teacher of cultural management and leadership in Odsherred. At the danger of putting words in the mouth of my former self, it was a sense of *vibrancy*. I came to think about culture in Odsherred as vibrant and thriving but wondered what it was that produced such an affect. At the same time, I learned about the region's statistics of health, levels of education, types and sizes of income, and these did not seem to point towards a region of cultural savants - at least that was my prejudice speaking. But it added to my wonder. What made it appear so vibrant to me?

The inquiry began with this encounter with an empirical 'something' that I could neither explain nor ignore but which continued to sit with me in the corner of my mind. This constituted one half of the body of the inquiry. The other part was an engagement with theories of sustainable culture and cultural sustainability, i.e. with ways of conceiving of cultural forms that support and encourage sustainable living and with ways of making cultural production and consumption sustainable.[4] The first part was anthropological, the second part aesthetic, but with no clear distinction. Ways of living imply ways of producing and consuming arts and culture, and vice versa.[5] As a practising artist and experienced cultural organiser I had dragged my share of beer crates to know not only about production practices and applied cultural economics, but also to notice a discrepancy between what I explained to my students as the economic market-value of arts and culture (Pay for streaming music? Not me!) and the experienced values of culture (A world without music? A catastrophe!) to wonder about the properties of sustainable culture and cultural sustainability.

So, I started thinking about cultural vibrancy as an expression of a sustainable ecology of culture. In the project description that led me to this thesis, I committed to the following idea:

> Cultural ecologies, like all ecologies, are complex adaptive systems characterized by resilience,
> vitality and the capability of reproducing themselves, as well as showing signs of global causality,

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[4] The work of the organisation Julie's Bicycle is a perfect example of the practical and ideological interest in sustainable cultural production. <u>Julie's Bicycle</u>

[5] The conceptualisation of the relation between culture as *way of life* and the *production and consumption* of cultural products is one of the cornerstones of Cultural Studies. See Simon During, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, *2nd edition*, ed. Simon During (1993), 1-2.

i.e. systemic response to change that is not reducible to individual subparts (Kagan 2011). They require and acquire resources in order to sustain themselves - resources like money, energy, time, willingness, material objects, attention, care and space. Threats to the stability and sustainability of an ecology occur when the external conditions change (e.g. a rapid decrease in audience volume) or if parts of the system change (e.g. merging several minor museums into one large). When complex adaptive systems experience such changes, they react, they adapt, they reorganize or fall apart.[6]

The excerpt is telling of an attempt at qualifying the empirical 'something' I had encountered and now thought of as the vibrancy of a complex adaptive system. I got the job and got to work. When colleagues asked about my research question, I declared I was making inquiry into the ecology of culture in Odsherred. It was an honest reply, but hardly a research question. It was earnest though and indicative of what is meant by a 'philosophical inquiry': I was trying to grasp 'something' by way of empirical and conceptual fieldwork. I was not doing anthropology, cultural studies, or social science, but philosophy and nothing more. That was because in the end I was trying to grasp that 'something' which I had encountered.

In this chapter, I will proceed to lay out the conditions that are sufficient reasons for the inquiry, that is, the thesis's ontological and epistemological commitments. First, I present Gilles Deleuze's onto-epistemological concept of 'the encounter' followed by Deleuze's take on pragmatic empiricism. I then proceed to present Donna Haraway's concept of situated knowledge, which I use to differentiate the scientific statement which can be *true or false* from the philosophical sentence which can be *interesting* or *not interesting*. The articulation of both scientific and philosophical statements is indicative of ways of knowing; what matters are the different procedures by which knowledge is produced. Chapter 2.2 is devoted to describing and accounting for the method of cultural mapping that I have used to conduct an empirical inquiry of the ecology of culture. In that account I reflect on those processes through which empirical data is translated into abstract material that becomes components of the main conceptualisations of the thesis.

To claim that '*Land of Light* is a philosophical inquiry' means that it is an inquiry into an empirical encounter with something in the world *and* it is an inquiry of philosophical concepts and scientific theories that have sought to grasp, articulate, and explain culture as ecology, as

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[6] Thomas Burø, "Adapting to Change," PhD project description, Copenhagen Business School (2016).

vibrant. Not either-or, but both-and in a kind of centripetal movement towards a point of convergence in the act of conceptualisation.

Something in the world forces us to think

In 1968, Gilles Deleuze published his doctoral dissertation, a Nietzschean attempt at re-evaluating the terms of thought from a logic of identity and sameness to a logic of difference. Deleuze claimed that difference has been thought in terms of identity; difference has been that which strays from resemblance, similarity, the One.[7] With *Difference and Repetition* Deleuze sought to conceive of a thought that thinks via difference, a differential thought attuned to multiplicity, becoming, and creativity. In his collaborations with Félix Guattari, Deleuze would come to call this thought *rhizomatic* by which they understood a system of lines that works conjunctively without any centre.[8] A rhizomatic thought operates by connecting things, by proliferation of distinctions that comes from inserting AND between things. If it is a creative mode of thinking, it is only because the ambition was to conceive an image of thought that could think the multiple as difference, and not as a derivative of the same. In other words, it was an attempt at creating a concept for a thought that was in sync with a world of conceived continuous differentiation, evolution, and creation. A thought of multiplicity.

In *Difference and Repetition* Deleuze contrasted the conceptualisation of true knowledge as *recognition* of what everybody knows, that is, in the end, the common sense of rationalism, with the radical creativity of empiricist thought by which knowledge is born from corporeal, sensual encounters with the world. He wrote:

> Something in the world forces us to think. This something is an object not of recognition but of a fundamental *encounter.* What is encountered may be Socrates, a temple or a demon. It may be grasped in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, suffering. In whichever tone, its primary characteristic is that it can only be sensed. In this sense it is opposed to recognition. In recognition, the sensible is not at all that which can only be sensed, but that which bears directly upon the senses in an object which can be recalled, imagined or conceived. The sensible is referred to an object which may not only be experienced other than by sense, but may itself be attained by other faculties. It therefore presupposes the exercise of the senses and the exercise of the other faculties in a common sense. The object of encounter, on the other hand, really gives rise to sensibility with regard to a given sense. It is not an *aistheton* but an *aistheteon.* It is not a quality but a sign. It is

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[7] Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* [1968] (1994).
[8] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* [1980] (1988), 3-25.

not a sensible being but the being *of* the sensible. It is not the given but that by which the given is given. It is therefore in a certain sense the imperceptible *[insensible]*. It is imperceptible precisely from the point of view of recognition - in other words, from the point of view of an empirical exercise of the senses in which sensibility grasps only that which also could be grasped by other faculties, and is related within the context of a common sense to an object which also must be apprehended by other faculties. Sensibility, in the presence of that which can only be sensed (and is at the same time imperceptible) finds itself before its own limit, the sign, and raises itself to the level of a transcendental exercise: to the 'nth' power. Common sense is there only in order to limit the specific contribution of sensibility to the conditions of a joint labour: it thereby enters into a discordant play, its organs become metaphysical.[9]

I have quoted at length because I believe it is in this paragraph that Deleuze most vividly fleshed out his critical distinction between *the imperceptible which can only be sensed* and *the sensible.* This passage is also an indicator of Deleuze's empiricism. In order to make sense of both Deleuze's empiricism and the passage quoted above, I will pay close attention to the key sentence 'something in the world forces us to think.'

Something

To begin, what is 'something'? Deleuze and Guattari found in Spinoza's philosophy the concept of a body, which is not to be conflated with what we commonsensically understand as a human or animal body. Spinoza was a monist; everything is made from the same substance despite the diverse forms it may take,[10] and so everything that exists is a body: an idea, a wind, a human body. An ecology is a body of bodies. A body has a capacity to affect other bodies and to be affected by other bodies.[11] The meeting between bodies is what Deleuze called an 'encounter'[12]; the encounter between bodies is the fundamental operation of the conjunctive constitution of entities because it is only when bodies affect and are affected that life happens. With Spinoza, Deleuze distinguishes between a state of an affected body, which 'implies the presence of the affecting body,' and a passage from one state to another.[13] This means that a body is either in a given state or in the process of changing to another state. The capacity of a body to affect and to be affected is what Deleuze and Guattari called *puissance* in contrast to *pouvoir*: a body has a 'range of potentials'

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[9] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 139-140.
[10] Baruch Spinoza, *The Essential Spinoza: Ethics and Related Writings,* ed. Michael Morgan (2006), 3-4.
[11] Gilles Deleuze, *Practical Philosophy* [1981] (1988), 49.
[12] *Difference and Repetition*, 144-145.
[13] Deleuze, *Practical Philosophy,* 49.

that may be actualised in concrete situations in conjunction with other bodies that can bring the body from one state to another.[14] 'Pouvoir' refers to actual, concrete and stable 'relations of force.'[15] In English, both terms are translated as 'power.' The 'puissance' of the body is virtual as it refers to what a body may do, but it is only by observing what a body does in its actualised forms that we may begin to understand it. It is a kind of pragmatism, when Deleuze and Guattari state that,

> We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or to join with it in composing a more powerful body.[16]

We do not know a priori the capacities of a body; this is only knowable a posteriori. 'Something' is a body, then; a body that has capacities to affect and to be affected which are actualised in encounters and connections. This means that both the encounter and the body itself are interesting because it is in the encounter with the body that something happens (the logic of conjunction) and because the particularity of the body matters for how the encounter happens and what it brings about.

in the world

Deleuze and Guattari's world is differential: it is only and solely made up of different modalities of matter that assumes different and diverse forms of content and forms of expression that form relations with each other on so many levels of reality and in so many ways of consistency.[17] A body of people form a mass, a group, a gang, a horde, a collective, a community, an army.[18] A body of concepts form a philosophy.[19] The world consists of both those entities that are actualised in concrete modes of existence and of those entities that are virtual, for instance, an entity's non-actualised modes of existence. Both are real, but of course, they appear to the human sensory apparatus in very diverse ways, ranging from the rock-solid tangible to the ghostly ephemeral. But the point is that they are equally real. The implication is that in this ontology of conjunctions

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[14] *Thousand Plateaus*, xvi-xvii.
[15] *Thousand Plateaus*, xvii.
[16] *Thousand Plateaus*, 257.
[17] Daniel Smith and John Protevi, "Gilles Deleuze," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* ed. Edward N. Zalta (2020).
[18] Manuel DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory* (2016), 9ff.
[19] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* [1991] (1994).

not only are there multiple entities but also multiple modes that these beings may assume.[20] Deleuze and Guattari lived in a crowded world. It is within this world of multiples that something is encountered.

forces

The notion of force is related to a body's capacity to affect; when a body is encountered it may bring about an affection in the other body or bodies; we change experiential state like when a cinema audience is seized by sudden horror or a street party suddenly becomes dull to us.[21] We are affected by something. When Deleuze stated that thought is forced, this is a violence suffered by thought; thinking as affection. In this instance, thought is not premeditated or programmatic, it is brought to assume an active state by a body that affects it. Thought did not ask to be brought to think, and we did not ask to be brought to think in such and such form; it was forced as a form of violence executed on someone.

us

What 'us' was Deleuze speaking of? While it is natural to think that 'us' refers to either Deleuze himself or to the community of philosophers, we can also read the sentence as indexing everyone and no one in particular. If so, then the 'us' becomes qualified by 'to think'; it is the activity of thinking that defines what is meant by 'us'. Deleuze's quarrel with common sense in contrast to what he called *para sense*—a mode of thought that does not obey what 'everybody knows'[22]—is that it is ultimately *stupid*[23]; it is the inability to create concepts by which problems are made. Stupidity is not false assumptions, erroneous reasoning or even misinterpretation of facts: it is the abandonment of independent thought. Therefore, the 'us' is the person who thinks as a response to an encounter with something with a particular capacity to affect, which means that 'thought'/'thinking' is neither an automatic response to such encounter nor the only possible determined state of being. To think is a response, yes, and it is forced; but that is only because thinking is among the range of potentials of those affected. This may read as abhorrently elitist, and maybe it is. In other places, Deleuze and Guattari suggested that the feeling of shame in the face of too much stupidity in popular culture is a 'powerful incentive towards philosophy' as it is

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[20] Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism* [1966] (1988).
[21] For an eminent study of affect, see Julian Henriques, "The Vibrations of Affect and their Propagation on a Night Uut on Kingston's Dancehall Scene," *Body & Society* 16:1 (2010).
[22] *Difference and Repetition,* 149ff.
[23] *Difference and Repetition,* 159.

the sense of shame that comes from understanding the depths of one's complicity in systems of exploitation and violence.[24] Thinking is direct action. To do philosophy is to act against 'what is intolerable.'[25] It is therefore a specific 'us' that is forced to think; it is an us that everyone may embody because the only requirement is that one thinks, that is, uses one's mind to develop independent thoughts and perhaps create concepts to grasp the ungraspable.

to think

In Deleuze and Guattari's final ensemble work *What Is Philosophy?* they conceived of philosophy as the practice by which concepts are created.[26] A concept is an assemblage of a finite number of components that are brought into a productive relation by which something has become conceivable that was hitherto inconceivable.[27] This already distinguishes the philosophical concept from common sense concepts; the concept brings something new to the world whereas common sense concepts reiterate something that has already been made known. Common sense ideas can develop from philosophical ideas, like how the common sense idea of the *hidden hand of the free market* developed from Adam Smith's use of the metaphor in *Wealth of Nations*, though absolutely not in the sense in which contemporary mainstream economic thought uses the metaphor and falsely attributes it to Smith.[28] When a philosophical concept becomes common sense and enters ordinary language, it functions as a tool that enables people to think about something in certain ways. That does not make common sense philosophical. That is because philosophy is the very act of creating those concepts, not the practice of consolidating or explaining to common folk how to use them properly. It is up to people to determine how the concept can be best brought to use, as the 'toolbox'[29] that it is. Philosophy is a discrete activity because it consists not in creating 'just ideas' but is composed just of ideas[30], which are not to be judged on whether they are true or not but on whether they are 'interesting, remarkable,

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[24] Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?,* 106-107.

[25] *What is Philosophy?,* 110.

[26] *What is Philosophy?*

[27] *What is Philosophy?*

[28] Gavin Kennedy, "Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand: From metaphor to myth," *Econ Journal Watch* 6:2 (2009), 259: '...modern economists took an isolated metaphor, used rarely by Adam Smith, and in his name invented a wholly misleading belief of how commercial markets function and how people in them necessarily and unintentionally work for public benefit, independent of the consequences of their actions. And they introduced a self-contradictory concept into economics, described as an 'invisible hand explanation', yet it does not explain anything close to the explanatory value offered by economics as a science, even where Smith left it. If anything, it obfuscates everything to which it is applied.'

[29] Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, "Intellectuals and Power," in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice* (1977), 208.

[30] Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues* [1977] (1987), 9.

important.'[31] Science produces knowledge statements which are to be judged by their truth value. Artworks are to be judged by the affects they create. But this is not the case with philosophy.[32] Of course, philosophy has no monopoly on thought or thinking. The point is only to define philosophy as a particular kind of activity, one that may be the result of how a body affects another body. We may be forced to think and to create a concept which may be uninteresting, unremarkable and unimportant, and which may be useless. Or the opposite. But it will be that: just a concept. Nothing more, but that is already a lot.

Philosophy is the practice of creating concepts, and a philosophy is an assemblage of concepts.[33] A concept is a response, it is indicative of an encounter with something that forced thought, and it means that a concept always contains that which it is a response to. Stated differently, it is once a concept has been created that the problem it responds to becomes articulate and discernible. Not the other way round (problem statement, then conceptualisation). Philosophers ask *What is ... ?* only because their concepts enable them to articulate the problem; the answer contains the question. The trouble comes when figuring out what it is that forces thought. For Horkheimer and Adorno it was the question: '...why mankind, instead of entering a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism.'[34] Foucault stated that throughout his work his 'objective...has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects.'[35] At least, that is what Horkheimer, Adorno, and Foucault stated. Within a Deleuzian epistemology it is not altogether given that how philosophers account for what guided their philosophical inquiries is accurate, as their thought was forced by something in the world which could only be sensed. The account is not of the encounter but of the way in which the encounter has found a place on their plane of immanence.

Finally, we can now understand the conceptual distinction between *the imperceptible which can only be sensed* and *the sensible.* The former refers to a situation where a body of something affects us in an encounter which lacks a name or a mental category. It does not have a percept yet,

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[31] *What is Philosophy?,* 82: 'Philosophy does not consist in knowing and is not inspired by truth. Rather, it is categories like Interesting, Remarkable, or Important that determine success or failure.'

[32] *What is Philosophy?,* 201ff.

[33] *What is Philosophy?*, 35: 'Philosophical concepts are fragmentary wholes that are not aligned with one another so that they fit together, because their edges do not match up. They are not pieces of a jigsaw puzzle but rather the outcome of throws of the dice. They resonate nonetheless, and the philosophy that creates them always introduces a powerful Whole that, while remaining open, is not fragmented: an unlimited One-All, an "Omnitudo" that includes all the concepts on one and the same plane. It is a table, a plateau, or a slice; it is a plane of consistency or, more accurately, the plane of immanence of concepts, the planomenon.'

[34] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1944] (1997), xi.

[35] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8:4 (1982), 777.

though it is sensed. The act of creating a concept is an act of trying to develop a percept for the senses. The imperceptible is thus sensed but not known, as it does not give rise to any mental or conceptual image. Strictly speaking, it is nonsensible. The sensible, on the other hand, is meaningful; it is foaming with sense. A mental category has been established, a frame of reference or a concept has been created and made available, which can be brought to use, as a toolbox, in an attempt to understand a given something. When we talk of a percept, we talk of that which is sensed and which has a mental image or concept ready at hand. When in our encounter with something there is no such percept, we are confronted with nonsense, with that which does not make sense. We may ignore it, brush it off, or engage with it. This, the engagement with *what is imperceptible but can only be sensed* is the point of departure for understanding how Deleuze understood his philosophy as an empiricism.

Empiricism

Deleuze famously wrote monographs about philosophical figures: Nietzsche, Kant, Bergson, Spinoza, Foucault. These writings are as much about Deleuze's own mode of thought as they are presentations of revered thinkers and a history of philosophy.[36] Deleuze read them from his own idiosyncratic position (don't we all?), which means that some of Deleuze's conceptual creations happened in dialogue with other philosophers. In his writings on Hume, Deleuze laid out what he considered to be the fundamental tenet of empiricism,

> Empiricism had always fought for the exteriority of relations. But in a certain way, its position on this remained obscured by the problem of the origin of knowledge or of ideas, according to which everything finds its origin in the sensible and in the operation of the mind upon the sensible.[37]

Empiricism is the epistemological doctrine that knowledge is based on the operations of the senses; there are no innate ideas, no universal categories that are not derived from sensual engagement with the empirical world of matter.[38] As a doctrine it comes in different forms, but it is bound by the common denominator of the idea that it is only by examining the sense data that is produced by the senses in their engagement with an external world that any knowledge be produced and any truth claimed.

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[36] Graham Jones and Jon Roffe, *Deleuze's Philosophical Lineage* (2009).
[37] Gilles Deleuze, in *Pure Immanence. Essays on a Life* [1972] (2001), 37.
[38] Peter Markie, "Rationalism vs. Empiricism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 Edition), ed. Edward Zalta (2017).

As the quote above indicates, Deleuze found in Hume's empiricism what he conceptualised as the 'exteriority of relations.' This concept is the key to understanding Deleuze's, and Deleuze and Guattari's, specific take on epistemology. To Deleuze, Hume conceptualised a human nature as composed of relations between ideas.[39] Whenever a causal relation between two things is stipulated, then that is because a human mind has imagined or believed that there is a relation by which one thing is causing an effect in another thing. Take as example a pool ball: we believe that it is one ball hitting the other that causes the second ball to move. To Hume this would be a problematic conclusion since we have not actually observed any such causal relation in itself; we have only sensually experienced the movement of one ball, an encounter, then the movement of another ball. The causal relation is therefore stipulated by the observer, it is a belief. The relationship between these two things exists in the human mind as a causal relation. Hume conceived of the human self as composed of beliefs about relations. There is no core and no fixed self in which innate ideas rest, only sense data and their relations which are the making of the mind itself.[40] This is the exteriority of relations: the relations by which terms are related with each other are never contained within the terms themselves. The construction of a relation between two 'simple impressions' is an operation of the mind that has developed two 'simple ideas' to correspond with the impressions, i.e. the sense data, and which has imagined a relation between them. Deleuze suggested that,

> The real empiricist world is thereby laid out for the first time to the fullest: it is a world of exteriority, a world in which thought itself exists in a fundamental relationship with the Outside, a world in which terms are veritable atoms and relations veritable external passages; a world in which the conjunction "and" dethrones the interiority of the verb "is"; a harlequin world of multicolored patterns and non-totalizable fragments where communication takes place through external relations.[41]

Empiricism is thus the doctrine that not only are simple ideas derived from simple sensory impressions but also that complex ideas are derived from sensory impressions in conjunction with the capacity of the mind to imagine how things are related to each - or to be precise, how an idea derived from sense data is related to another idea to form a complex idea. Ideas are atoms, but in order to create a world they must be connected. Here, the Spinozist concept of bodies with

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[39] Deleuze, *Pure Immanence,* 39.
[40] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* [1739] (1968), 17ff.
[41] *Pure Immanence*, 38.

capacities to affect and be affected enters the conceptual apparatus: it is only when bodies are related that anything happens, and it is only when a body is affecting or affected that we may perceive what it does, what it *can* do. The argument is subtle, the consequences far reaching. Since our understanding is based on sensory input and given that the capacity of a body is only revealed in its concrete relations with other bodies, we actually cannot claim to know exhaustively the being of a body. Any given body may connect with another body to produce a novel result. This re-evaluation of the category of 'being' in favour of the category of 'doing' is similar to Nietzsche's conception of *being as doing*[42] - the being of a body is expressed only through what it does, its *puissance*. It is an empiricist pragmatism: we only ever know what a body can do by making inquiry into how its capacities are expressed in its concrete connections with other bodies. It is in their co-functionings that their beings are discernible. This is a rhizomatic mode of thought:

> Thinking *with* AND, instead of thinking IS, instead of thinking *for* IS: empiricism has never had another secret...A multiplicity is only in the AND, which does not have the same nature as the element, the sets or even their relations.[43]

In summary. When something in the world forces us to think it is because we encountered a body or a set of bodies. Some concepts force us to think, while other concepts do not constitute an encounter but offer explanations or a proper name for a phenomenon. In the absence of a percept and a concept that is ready at hand, to understand we must construct a concept of the imperceptible. This is the meaning of Deleuze's empiricism. Think conjunctively to construct concepts to understand what you have sensed.

From the above we can abstract an ontological commitment:

1) It is a *realist* ontology in the sense that the external world exists outside the mind and mental categories of the sensing subject.

2) The real is composed of the virtual, the intensive, and the actual, which are *modalities* of being - the *virtual* is a being's range of possibilities, the *intensive* is that which a being is in the process of becoming and the *actual* is a being's concrete state. But as Deleuze's universe is one of *becoming*, that is, one of perpetual change, a world in flux, where even the seemingly stable is also in processes of becoming, we only ever encounter *the intensive* as we only ever encounter

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[42] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* [1887] (2006), 26.
[43] *Dialogues*, 57.

entities that are in the process of becoming and never fully actualised states of being - and the *virtual*, we simply do not encounter as it has no corporeality by which it can affect and be affected. 3) The real is both a virtual chaos and actual order, that is, there is a movement by which *somethings* are made from chaos when multiple lines become assembled in points of intensity. It is by virtue of the concrete assemblages that things come to function. The world is made up of relations between singularities, which again are made up of other singularities; it is multiplicity. We may never really know what a body can do until we have experienced it; neither may we know what a body essentially is as that would be the same as knowing all of its capacities which are defined by its exterior relations. We may only know what a body does, how it concretely functions.

We can therefore abstract the following epistemological commitments:

1) It is a subjective and positional epistemology, because we only ever get a sense of something from a given position and relative to our sensory apparatus.

2) It is a nominalist epistemology because concepts only ever refer to empirically sensed objects and phenomena, and even virtual ideas are developed from empirical, particular sensings (concepts are names, they name the event).

3) It is a partial epistemology as there is no God's eye view from the outside, all sciences are rooted in partial perspectives from where they 'see.'

4) As we are in the world we are affected by the real bodies we encounter. We use our faculties for sensing to register and perceive the real bodies we encounter which gives way to creative acts when we try to conceptualise and make sense of them.

5) There is a difference between our sensory being in the world and how we cognitively process what we sense: while common sense may offer readymade percepts and concepts by which the bodies of the world ought to be coded and signified, practicing philosophy, science, and art tasks the philosopher, the scientist, and the artist with engaging in creating concepts, functions, and percepts.

6) Epistemologically, this means that we know things only by sensory experience coupled with the creative acts of interpretation and thinking *or* by employing opinion, common sense, or established scientific explanations, philosophical concepts, or artistic affects. To say that *we know something* is to say that we used some kind of mental resource to understand and explain something that was corporeally sensed.

In a discussion of Deleuze's epistemology Strathausen claimed that:

> Knowledge is always more or less local, more or less comprehensive depending on who observes and what is being observed. Particularly in the life sciences, there is always a tension between the first-person and the third-person observer, because no view hails from nowhere. There can be no scientific realism without an observer, and the observer's view is always limited, partial, and subject to restrictions—all living (organic and social) systems are.[44]

Epistemologically, it makes little sense to settle for a position that does not see the production of scientific statements and philosophical concepts as always positioned, limited, partial, and restricted, but Deleuze remained consistently vague with regard to the epistemology of his philosophy, preferring to ontologise questions regarding knowledge.[45] Therefore, I now turn to Donna Haraway's standpoint theory of 'situated knowledges' to position the thesis. Deleuze and Haraway are not easy bedfellows, but common to both is a post-human, relational ontology of material-semiotic actor-objects; that is, their universes are populated by entities with agency of their own, and common to both is also the idea that inquiry is situated, embodied, and sensory.

Situated knowledges

Haraway's seminal essay 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective' (1988) was an attempt at re-conceptualising objectivity from a feminist knowledge interest. It claimed that,

> Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see.[46]

A scientist is a person, and the tools, technologies, and skills she uses are always tied to a particular body, and science is conducted from somewhere, by someone, and at some time that brings the scientists and the object of knowledge *into connection* with each other. What Haraway termed the 'God Trick' is a reference to both the positivist and relativist theories of science; only God can assume a view from nowhere and can be said to be disinterested, neutral, and therefore, *objective*. The positivist ideal is a God's eye point of view. But relativist and social constructionist theories of knowledge that claim that science is another name for the product of power relations, discursive formations, and hegemonic apparatuses of knowledge productions also employ a God Trick because they make universal claims about the nature of knowledge, without positioning the point

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[44] Carsten Strathausen, "Epistemological Reflections on Minor Points in Deleuze," *Theory & Event* 13:4 (2010), 9.

[45] Strathausen, "Epistemological Reflections," 8.

[46] Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges. The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14:3 (1988), 583.

from where they observe, think, and speak.[47] Instead, science is immanent to a position from where a sensory apparatus operates conjoined to the enabling practices, technologies, and tools - all conditions of knowledge production.[48] The principle of response-ability means to make oneself accountable for how one has learned to see something in a particular way and from a particular perspective, from a position of viewing and sensing.

> Positioning implies responsibility for our enabling practices. It follows that politics and ethics ground struggles for and contests over what may count as rational knowledge. That is, admitted or not, politics and ethics ground struggles over knowledge projects in the exact, natural, social, and human sciences. Otherwise, rationality is simply impossible, an optical illusion projected from nowhere comprehensively.[49]

To position, to give an account of one's enabling practices is both a matter of research ethics and the ethics of research, that is, the 'struggle' over what is to be considered rational knowledge grounded in sound, accountable science practices. Popper's concept of *falsification* was part of a struggle to demarcate science from pseudo-science (and not from non-science as such),[50] just like the principle of *reproducibility of experimental results* is another hallmark of science.[51] Both are universal principles, and both have been contested, yet they remain useful tools for thinking carefully about how to conduct research and to make research accountable to a wider community of scientists. Haraway's concept of situated knowledge is a contribution to the demarcation of science because it calls scientists to explicate, or to be able to explicate, the position from where they inquire to the community of scientists they belong to.

Situated knowledges are about communities, not about isolated individuals. The only way to find a larger vision is to be somewhere in particular. The science question in feminism is about objectivity as positioned rationality. Its images are not the products of escape and transcendence of limits (the view from above) but the joining of partial views and halting voices into a collective

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[47] Haraway, "Situated Knowledges"

[48] "Situated Knowledges," 581. Haraway used *seeing* as the metaphor for science, but effectively, all the senses can be said to become part of an apparatus of scientific inquiry.

[49] "Situated Knowledges," 587.

[50] Karl Popper, "Science as Falsification," in *Conjectures and Refutations 1* (1963), 33-39. A scientific statement can be shown to be false by testing it against data. A pseudo-scientific statement cannot be falsified, but it can be verified. Popper's favorite examples were psychoanalytic theory and Marxist dialectic materialism.

[51] Colin Camerer et al., "Evaluating the Replicability of Social Science Experiments in Nature and Science between 2010 and 2015," *Nature Human Behaviour* 2 (2018).

subject position that promises a vision of the means of ongoing finite embodiment, of living within limits and contradictions—of views from somewhere.[52]

Haraway's take on epistemology is subtle. It conceptualises scientific objectivity as the act of committing to the position from where scientific inquiry is made; a position which imposes constraints *on* inquiry. When it is acknowledged that knowledge is embodiment and situated, and grasped as contingent upon those practices that enable us to know in a specific manner because we have learned to use our senses in combination with particular technologies, then it becomes possible to establish objective knowledge. Thus, objectivity is contingent upon response-ability, the ability to give accounts of how one has constructed a knowledge claim and on what grounds. Methodology is the natural extension of epistemology, as empirical research methods are technologies for specific ways of sensory engagement with empirical phenomena; to interview is a technology for listening to a voice as a signifying sound vis-á-vis the meaning of words, the use of the voice, the dynamics of silence, of speed, pitch, the choice of verbs and pronouns; to record an interview is a technology for listening to the event of an interaction between parties in the pursuit of shared understanding; transcribing a recording is a technology for transforming auditive sense data into ocular sense data that are readable (and searchable). The recommendation that interviews be transcribed might be sensical with regards to a desire for *reading an interview as a text*, but the embodied and situated ways of knowing that came with the auditory sense are *lost* in transcription unless they are retained as a corporeal memory, or the recording is used to supplement the text. Epistemology is the natural extension of methodology because the methods of inquiry restrain the knowledge claims that can legitimately be articulated; based on a transcribed interview we can legitimately claim to know that the speaker produces words and forms sentences that refer to her understanding of states of affairs, situations, or events, but we cannot know whether that understanding is accurate, true, or even truthful; based on a recording we can legitimately know other things, and in situ we can know yet again other things. The epistemological point is that because methods are technologies for sensing and enablers of knowing, it is the detailed exposition of the application of method and the process through which data are constructed, translated, transferred, and become the subject of knowledge claims that is at the heart of epistemology. The only way to account for what it means to know anything.

I believe that philosophy of science should be an account of actual inquiry and its assumptions. Therefore: *Land of Light* is a philosophical inquiry that commits to the empiricist principle that

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the origin of its knowledge claims is sensory. It is philosophical because it has created concepts (e.g., *modalities of connectivity, the production of the Local, youth participation in culture)* to name phenomena that emerged in an empirical inquiry that applied a set of qualitative methods to map and describe Odsherred's cultural ecology of complex connectivities. Those concepts are constructions of thought, like data are constructed by the actual application of methods. All knowledge claims are situated and positioned; they are the result of thick description and interpretive analysis of the constructed data. The only way to approximate research *objectivity* is to account for the process of inquiry (techniques, technologies, embodiment), so that readers and scientific peers may judge it; as it is interpretive, it is fundamentally *subjective* in nature. Finally, the ontology of *Land of Light* is *realist-relational*; the actual exists as multiple interrelated bodies endowed with capacities to affect and be affected among which the body of the researcher can be counted. Thus, a philosophy of science reveals that *Land of Light* is subject to two judgments: are the knowledge claims true? Are the concepts interesting? I have sought to treat the construction, processing, and interpretation of data with care, fairness, and accuracy in order to make them as truthful as possible. This means that statements that assert a given state of affairs are rooted in either an interview, a document, an observation, or an experience making them only as truthful as you and I permit perceptions to be. In the conceptualisation of data, I cannot claim to produce propositions that are true by corresponding to a fact. That is because conceptualisation is synthesising assertions rooted in data to form composites and abstracting properties to create conceptual components. If they are true, it is only because they are coherent, that is, consistent with other components of the concept they connect with. That is another way to claim that the truth of descriptive observation statement of facts does not imply that concepts derived from them are factually true. As they are concepts, we now ask pragmatic questions: 'how do they work?', 'of what can they speak?', 'what do they enable us to grasp?', and ultimately: 'are they interesting?'. Conceptual knowledge differs from factual knowledge not so much in the degree of abstraction and decontextualisation but rather in the change of the evaluative register of truth and relevance: from correspondence to coherence, from accurate to interesting.

So, how does one write an interesting sentence?

If you want to write an interesting sentence, apply the following syntax to your proposition:

What is accepted as x is actually non-x

Then proceed to substantiate how that proposition is warranted. Murray Davis claimed in his 'sociology of the interesting' that an interesting sociological statement is one that demonstrates a discrepancy between the level of phenomenology and the level of ontology, that is, a statement that lays out that things are not what they seem to be and not how we routinely go about thinking they are.[53] To illustrate: the emergence of the discourse of the outskirts has been shown to be directly linked to neoliberal policies of centralisation of the public sector and the welfare system. That's interesting, unless, of course, we already took it for granted. But if it is a case of the interesting, it is because it reveals that the negative properties associated with the outskirts are not necessarily properties of those stigmatised regions, but are properties ascribed to them by a political apparatus using a particular discourse to legitimate organisational and administrative reforms of the Danish welfare system. This indicates that an interesting sentence is revelatory of the ontological fabric.

Sentences that are successful at being interesting are the ones making us rethink the things that we take for granted,[54] and therefore, interesting sentences have the power to make us rethink how we think that we think. To Deleuze and Guattari, if a philosophical concept is found to be interesting, it is because it startles thought, it provokes thought, enables thought. Is an encounter with an interesting concept not an encounter with something that forces thought? An interesting sociological theory and an interesting philosophical concept have in common that they are ontological propositions first and are only secondarily epistemological. That is because they are concerned with articulating *the intensive*, that is, with being. They are statements about the nature of the world, not statements about how we know the world, and to be interesting they must change the world *as we know it*. Interesting sentences reconfigure knowledge and recalibrate the tools used to study the actual; they are attacks on received wisdom. If an epistemological proposition is interesting, it is only because it leads to a new ontology.

Land of Light is an analysis of an organisation of cultural offerings. Following Davis,[55] the general proposition left at the end of the inquiry can be formulated as follows: what appeared to be a loosely coupled set of cultural institutions and organisations, associations, and artists in Odsherred, has actually been a set of complex connections between a multiplicity of actors which have enabled the multiplicity of actors to bring newness to Odsherred, to reproduce itself, and to

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[53] Murray Davis, "That's Interesting: Towards a Phenomenology of Sociology and a Sociology of Phenomenology," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 1:4 (1971).
[54] Davis, "That's Interesting".
[55] "That's interesting".

become capable of self-organising. What appeared phenomenologically as a *disconnected array* is ontologically a *connected assemblage* for continuous cultural production.

CHAPTER 2.2

CULTURAL MAPPING AS INTERPRETIVE METHOD

What is a map?

The history of social science is rich in maps.[56] From the Chicago School of Sociology's beautiful, handcrafted maps made to represent the socio-economic characteristics of Chicago neighbourhoods[57] to the maps created by Schaeffer[58] and Augoyard[59] to represent the rural and urban landscapes as they appear sonically, maps play a part in representing the findings of social inquiry. Maps are used to illustrate, to document, to demonstrate, to show. They translate.

We can draw a distinction between mapping and map making: 'The physical creation of maps which embody the 'world-view' [of societies] is the process of *map-making*. This can be distinguished from the mental interpretation of the world which is termed *mapping*.'[60] 'Map' refers to both the perceptual act of mapping and the creative act of making maps that represent mappings, and to the artefact 'a map.' Maps neither mirror nor exhaustively represent the world but document how people perceive the world. What goes on the map is determined by how we interpret the world. Broadly defined, a map is 'a symbolized image of geographic reality, representing selected features or characteristics, resulting from the creative efforts of cartographers and designed for use when spatial relationships are of special relevance.'[61] This definition contains five components: *symbolised image, representation, creative effort, cartographers, utility*. A picture of a landscape taken from a bird's-eye view does not constitute a map, but add an 'X', *et voilá,* a treasure map. The picture may be an iconic sign in the Peircian sense,[62] but not until the symbolisation is present does it become a map. A symbolic sign refers

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[56] Alan MacEachren, *How Maps Work. Representation, Visualization, and Design* (1995).
[57] Terry Nichols Clark, Daniel Silver and Stephen Sawyer, "City, School, and Image: The Chicago School of Sociology and the Image of Chicago," *Institutions and Imaginaries* (n.d.), 31-46. Robert Owens, "Mapping the City: Innovation and Continuity in the Chicago School of Sociology, 1920–1934," *The American Sociologist* 43:3 (2012). Some of the maps: <u>Mapping Chicago</u>
[58] R. Murray Schaefer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1994).
[59] Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue, *Sonic Experience: A guide to Everyday Sound* (2005).
[60] Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn, *Mapping: Ways of representing the world* (1997), 3.
[61] International Cartographic Association, *Achievements of the ICA, 1991-95* (1995), 1.
[62] Charles Sanders Peirce distinguished between three distinct kinds of sign: the icon that works by resembling that which is signified, the index that works by 'pointing to' that which is signified, and the symbol which signifies by way of convention. Pierce's semiotic was different, and some would say more elaborate, than the semiology of Ferdinand de Saussure who did not distinguish types of signs and did not connect signs to epistemology and ontology. Charles Sanders Peirce, "Semiotic," in *Collected papers I-VI* (1958), 274-302.

to its object by means of convention; it requires that a community collectively agrees upon the meaning of a given symbol.[63] The landscape we find on a map is an interpretation, in a metaphorical sense the community *authors* the landscape as a text that can be read. The symbols add meaning that trained readers know how to read. X marks the spot. Maps are interpretations, both in the process of their making and in the way they are read by those who know how to read. Can we remove the image but retain the symbols? If so, a map can then be redefined as a collection of symbols, as *signs encoded with meaning*. X marks the spot.

To think about maps as a collection of encoded signs implies several things. First, it draws attention to the encoding procedure. A code is made, a convention is established and put to use in an encoding procedure. Take, as a simple example, the sign 'X' which has several meanings (signature, unknown variable, multiplication, Malcolm X, the X Men, etc.). X can be used on a map as a code for marking where the treasure is buried. Those who are able to understand what the 'X' means effectively share the ability to read the code as the code is intended to be read.[64] The encoding procedure draws on a convention, then, for using 'X' to make an indication. To be precise, 'X' works both as a conventional symbol and as an index of a buried treasure. It is because it is used indexically that it becomes conventional, and it is only indexical if you know how to read the code. Maps 'are a cultural text.'[65]

Second, encoding and decoding are conditioned by what Stuart Hall has called *decoding positions*.[66] Since encoding and decoding are determinate but mutually independent moments in the process of making meaning,[67] it is perfectly possible to imagine a sign encoded with a certain meaning and decoded with another. Hall identified three positions of decoding: the *dominant-hegemonic* position, where a procedure of decoding 'operates inside the dominant code'[68] effectively to decode the code as intended and get the message; a *negotiated* position where encoding 'operates through...particular or situated logics'[69] where a reader may adapt the meaning of a sign relative to her situation and interest, but without misrecognizing how a dominant-

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[63] Peirce, "Semiotic," 274-302.

[64] 'It is not, then, that maps don't need to be *de*coded; but that they are by and large *en*coded in signs as readily interpreted by most map readers as the simple prose into which the marks are translated on the legends themselves.' Denis Wood and John Fels, "Designs on Signs/Myth and Meaning in Maps," *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 23:3 (1986), 56.

[65] John Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and* Geovisualization 26:2 (1989), 7.

[66] Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Popular Culture: Production and Consumption*, ed. C. Lee Harrington and Denise D. Bileby (2001), 123-132.

[67] Hall, "Encoding/Decoding", 125.

[68] "Encoding/Decoding," 131.

[69] "Encoding/Decoding," 131-132.

hegemonic reading would understand things. Finally, an *oppositional* position from where the decoder 'understand[s] both the literal and the connotative inflection given by a discourse but...decode[s] the message in a *globally* contrary way.'[70] In this instance, the intended meaning is confronted by reinterpreting this meaning to signify something else entirely.

To exemplify: a previous slogan used by the municipality to brand Odsherred said 'Odsherred: tid til livet.'[71] In a dominant-hegemonic position this would be decoded as meaning that Odsherred is a place where you can enjoy life at your own pace, where we value the good life, and, perhaps, it is a place where you can retire from the humdrum of working life to spend time doing what is really important to you.[72] A negotiated decoding would perhaps see it is an involuntarily comical pun that Odsherred is a place for retired folk running out of time.[73] An oppositional position could decode it as indicative of a (perceived) political prioritization on attracting the so-called 'grey gold' by working to transform Odsherred into a recreational zone for retired affluents. Decoding positions have in common that they rely critically on what Roland Barthes called a 'mythology', a *map of meaning*, or a classification system immanent to any given culture and used by its members to make meaning out of signs, meaning that may differ given the economic, social, political, cultural, and subcultural frameworks available.[74] The polysemy of any sign is the condition to this differentiation in meaning making – polysemic insofar as no sign is fixed on a connotative level. On the contrary, the sign is open to different readings despite the dominant cultural order's establishment of its own preferred readings.[75]

Third, while the procedures of encoding and decoding that ascribes meaning to signs highlight the codes in themselves, to think of maps as a collection of codes also implies that the act of *collecting* the codes is a trivial but necessary aspect of making maps. A collection betrays the world view of the collector, because what goes on the map is an expression of what is considered relevant by that map-making person or institution. Maps rarely explicate what they choose to omit, and nor do they state the interest that regulates the selection of what enters the collection of codes.[76]

Fourth, and this is perhaps the most problematic part of this take on maps; maps considered as collections of codes de-emphasize the spatial arrangement of codes in favour of a positional

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[70] "Encoding/Decoding," 132.
[71] Translation: 'Odsherred. Time for the life'
[72] This reading is based on my casual conversations with locals.
[73] This reading is based on my casual conversations with a newcomer to the region.
[74] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (1957); Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text* (1977).
[75] "Encoding/Decoding," 128.
[76] Dorling and Fairbairn*, Mapping*, 66ff.

arrangement of codes. That maps are thought to be spatial in nature is not incorrect, but they are so because of the way they represent spatiality by how they position things to create a visual space between them, as opposed to the idea that maps mirror a spatial reality. The distinction between a spatial and positional ordering is crucial to establishing what can count as a map or a map-like object.[77] Take as an example how a map made to represent the *modalities of connectivity* (fig 1) relative to a singular organisation in the ecology of culture positions different kinds of codes for connectivity relative to each other: this makes a map of the spatial distribution of modalities of connectivity as perceived by the members of the cultural organisation. Each interviewee has had his/her connections geographically located, resulting in a body of singular maps. These maps are collated and used to create the map of *modalities of connectivity*. This map is concerned with representing different modes of connectivity as they are positioned relative to each other, effectively constituting the perceptions of ecological members on how to be connected.[78]

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[77] *Mapping*, 3.
[78] Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (2000).
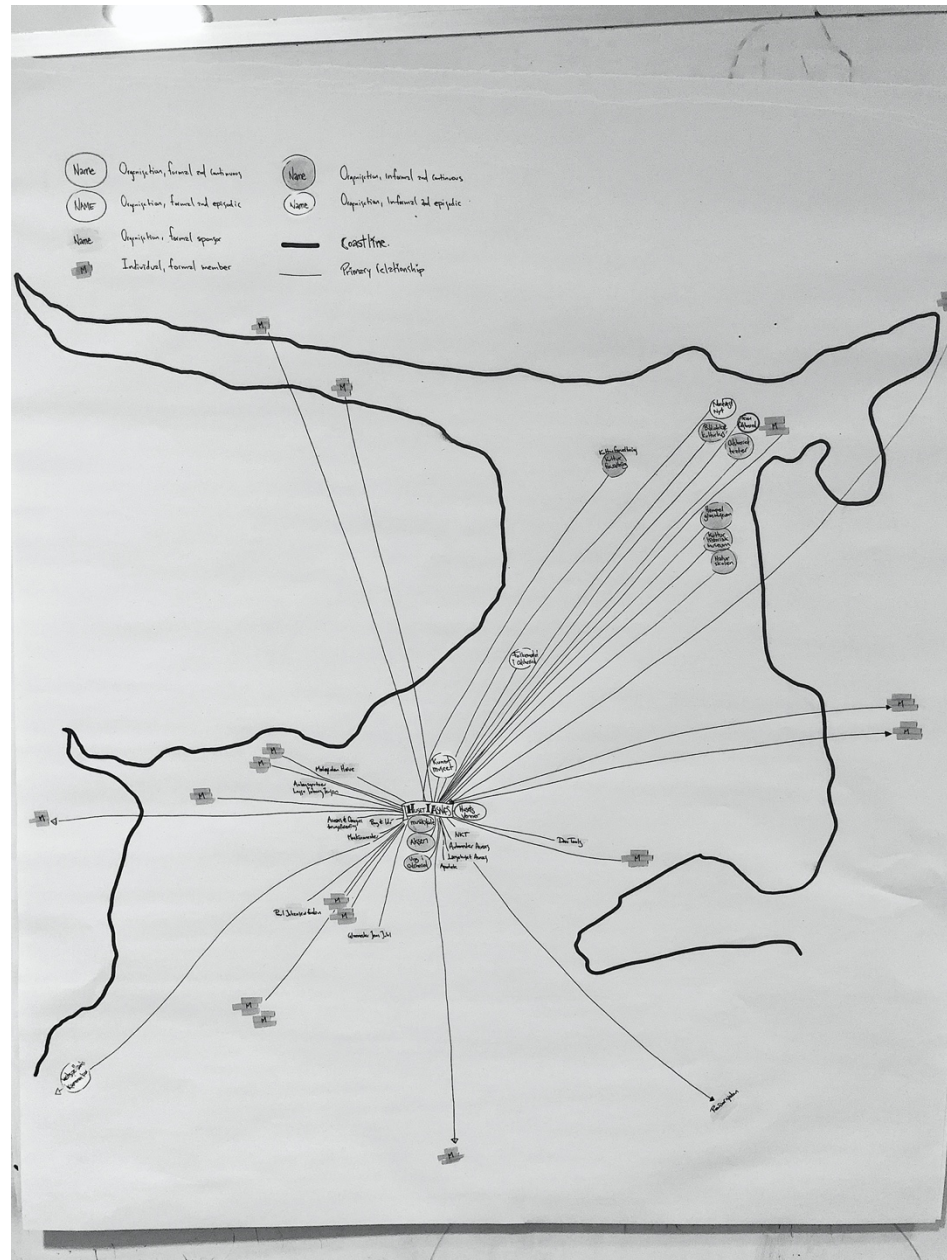
Figur 4. Geographical map of the locations of relations (Huset i Asnæs)

To conceptualise maps as a collection of codes should not obscure what make maps distinct from other objects of representation. Thus, the broad definition of a geographical map, when read through the notion of codes and positionality, retains the notion of a 'symbolized image,' but instead of representing a 'geographic reality,' maps represent a spatialised reality, one of differentiated positions that makes a territory of meaning. Maps represent an interpretation of a space that is not necessarily geographic in nature. Conceptual spaces, affective spaces, taxonomic spaces: they can all be mapped and represented on a map. What makes maps distinct from other forms of representation is the spatial, territorial object and the craftsmanship that go into creating

maps that represent spatiality. A travelogue is thus distinct from a map; the travelogue represents movement through space and spaces, while the map represents the spatiality of spaces. Text, photography, sound recordings, and observations may play a part in mapping out discrete elements, but, insofar as they do not represent the spatiality of such elements, they are not maps. Even juxtaposing two elements, like two paintings, does not constitute a map of visual art, even if juxtaposition demonstrates their affective, aesthetic, and other kinds of differences. This requires that the juxtaposed elements are set in a scene whereby differences are made *positional*. This scene is what I refer to as *the situation*.

The composition of the situation

A map is a set of statements about what a situation contains; the map states how a situation is composed of particular elements that are positioned in various kinds of relationships to other elements. The situation is then thinkable as both the *presupposed conceptual boundary work* that demarcates the extension of a set of related concrete elements, and it is a *derived a posteriori effect* of the mapping of this set of elements. To illustrate, take the case of the village Vallekilde, located on the southern edge of Odsherred. When inquiring into the cultural scene in Vallekilde, the reply 'there is a special spirit here'[79] is often offered. A thorough mapping of this 'special spirit' demonstrates how it is an arrangement of cultural tangibles and intangibles: novel architecture, visual art, sites of Christian worship, social practices, stories, and the presence of the 150 years old, vibrant *Vallekilde Højskole*. Inhabitants are able to locate spirit, while simultaneously expressing its ubiquitous nature.[80] The presupposed situation is the concept of culture as located in Vallekilde; the derived situation is the map of spirit.

The elements that compose the situation are those 'selected features or characteristics' that are relevant in order to understand the particular 'spatial relationships' of a given situation. This means that a map should be read carefully and with attention to how the selection and mapping of elements betrays the interest of the mapmaker and the utility of the map.[81] A map is as much a representation of interests as a representation of a state of affairs. The situation is not synonymous with the state of affairs, but a representation of what is perceived as a state of affairs and the elements that are perceived to count as relevant facts. It turns out, even a positivist map is an interpretation.[82]

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[79] Appendix, E51, Interview, Inhabitants, Vallekilde Mapping #2.
[80] Thomas Burø and Oleg Koefoed, "Organising Spirit," *forthcoming* in *Culture and Organization* 27 (2020).
[81] *Mapping*, 70-71.
[82] Wood and Fels, "Designs on Signs/Myth and Meaning in Maps," 56.

What is a map, then? It is an image that uses codes to represent selected elements of a situation, resulting from the creative efforts of cartographers and designed for use when positional relationships between those elements are of special relevance. These properties enable a map to be used as an 'orientation device.'[83]

What is cultural mapping?

In *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry*, Duxbury, Garett-Petts, and MacLennan introduce cultural mapping in the following manner: 'Cultural mapping, broadly conceived, promises new ways of describing, accounting for, and coming to terms with the cultural resources of communities and places.'[84] There are three important signposts in this quote: 'description', 'accounting for' and 'coming to terms with', each distinct and worth paying close attention to.

Description is the activity of translating a complex reality into a delineated and less complex representation. Descriptions represent a situation. Consider the following example:

> At 6 p.m. in the afternoon, the bells of Korskirken and Vallekilde kirke toll. If you are midway between them, they will be heard as tolling in concert, poly-rhythmically, a harmony emerging from the interaction between the two notes, immersing the village in sound. The tolling signifies the end of the working day, kids will know it is dinnertime, and the transition to evening has been announced.

This is a description of a situation. It contains a set of elements. At first it reads as a simple situation: a village, evening, church bells. But read a bit more closely, and the situation is enlarged: there are markers that constitute the boundaries of the village as a discrete, sensible entity; there is a middle and a periphery; two churches in one village indicate two Christian creeds present in the village; there is a rhythm of everyday life that alternates between working hours and hours of free time, day time for labour, evening time for leisure. The description does more than depict what we could call the purely denotative[85] level of church bells and village. It goes on to describe elements that belong to the situation but exist in a connotative manner: the rhythm of everyday life, the religious and cultural history of the village signified by both the two singular acoustic territories and the unified territory demarcated by the sound of the bells in concert. By describing what belongs to the situation, the description maps the situation. It also constructs the situation.

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[83] I am indebted to Rasmus Johnsen for this formulation.
[84] Nancy Duxbury, William Francis Garrett-Petts and David MacLennan, "Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry: Introduction to an Emerging Field of Practice," in *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry* (2015).
[85] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image".

Describing the situation via other elements would alter the situation, the implication being that the description of something is not making statements that correspond to the facticities of a given situation. Rather, the situation exists in its description. This is not to claim that what is described does not have an existence of its own. It is to claim, however, that description is a tool for representation, for making something *re*-present in another form. A description is a text, but it is not the amassment of words that makes a text but the property of legibility that necessarily conditions textuality. Legibility points to a reader, someone able to read. In this sense, the text is always already social in nature.

To count is never a simple matter, as counting is conditioned by giving an account of what to count, what to account for. The word 'account' carries several references that intersect to form the composite meaning of the word: there is the narration of a story or an event; there is a reporting; a providing of an explanation or reason for something. An account is also a formal entity in banking and business systems. To give an account of something oscillates between the extremes of entertaining storytelling and formalised reporting. Also, there is an ethical dimension to giving an account, a question of responsibility. As Judith Butler suggests: 'We start to give an account only because we are interpellated as beings who are rendered accountable by a system of justice and punishment.'[86] In this sense, the condition of giving an account is the state of being accountable, of being able to assume responsibility when called upon to do so. Here, Butler is concerned with how we give an account of ourselves. I will argue that to give an account of anything is always related to a question of being accountable for how we make that account and being accountable for our responsible relationship to what we have made an account of. To be accountable pertains to that aspect of responsibility that has to do with being *able to respond*, and, even further, with being *willing to be able to respond*. In this sense of the word,[87] assuming responsibility is to make oneself accountable for something and to commit to give an account of something. Set within this understanding of accountability, mapping as a way of 'accounting for...the cultural resources of communities and places' is both a matter of describing and counting, as well as a matter of accounting for how we 'learn to see what we see.'[88]

Finally, mapping as cultural inquiry is a way of agreeing on what the cultural resources in a community and place are. This aspect of mapping is perhaps the most political dimension, as agreeing that something is a resource could also activate particular rights, ground calls for support,

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[86] Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (2005), 10.
Which draws on Donna Haraway's concept of 'response-ability'. Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (2008).
[88] "Situated Knowledges," 583.

or problematise how such resource should be managed, and by whom. The process of mapping may bring contested spaces to the fore, highlight conflicting interests, or challenge local wisdom about what things are.[89]

Cultural mapping, then, is a way of describing, of accounting for, and of coming to terms with the cultural resources of a community and a place. Cultural mapping can be defined as 'a process of collecting, recording, analysing and synthesizing information in order to describe the cultural resources, networks, links and patterns of usage of a given community or group.'[90] What types of methods are to be used is an open question. Markusen et al.'s mapping of the arts and cultural ecology of California is based on quantitative methods, while Holden's mapping of the ecology of culture in the UK is largely based on interviews, to name two central and methodically differing texts in the literary body on ecology of culture.[91] Mapping is not committed to either quantitative or qualitative methods. The selection of methods depends entirely on what counts, on what should go onto the map. A cultural mapping includes both elements that are tangible like 'physical spaces, cultural organizations, public forms of promotion and self-representation, public art, cultural industries, natural and cultural heritage, architecture, people, artefacts, and other material resources,' and elements that are intangible like 'values and norms, beliefs and philosophies, language, community narratives, histories and memories, relationships, rituals, traditions, identities, and a shared sense of place.'[92] The concept of culture considers a diversity of beings as cultural. Making a map that would represent this diversity of cultural entities would be making the ontological claim that such is the composition of the nature of culture.

We can be more specific though. The mapping of the things that 'do' the culture of a place entails '...mapping the intangibilities of a place (e.g., stories, histories, etc.), those aspects that provide a "sense of place" and identity to specific locales, and the ways in which those meanings and values may be grounded in embodied experiences.'[93] A cultural mapping '...aims to capture those elements that are not easily counted or quantified but are key to understanding a place and how it is meaningful to its residents and visitors.'[94] At the heart of culture is meaning—the intelligibility and value of things. The resources vary that members of a culture can mobilise in

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[89] Kathleen Scherf, "Beyond the Brochure: An Unmapped Journey into Deep Mapping," in *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry*, ed. Nancy Duxbury, William Francis Garrett-Petts, and David MacLennan (2015), 346.
[90] Sue Stewart, *Cultural Mapping Toolkit* (2010), 8.
[91] Ann Markusen, Elisa Barbour and William Beyers, *California's Arts and Cultural Ecology* (2011); John Holden, *the Ecology of Culture* (2015).
[92] Duxbury, Garrett-Petts and MacLennan, "Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry," 2.
[93] Alys Longley and Nancy Duxbury, "Introduction: Mapping Cultural Intangibles," *City, Culture and Society* 7:1 (2016), 5.
[94] Longley and Duxbury, "Introduction," 5.

order to make such meaning of place. The intangible elements in a culture are as much a necessary part of a culture than those elements that can be touched, seen, heard, smelled, and tasted. The nature of an intangible such as a popular story renders it ontologically other to a tangible such as a book of stories; the popular story exists *in* speech when told, in *the way* it is listened to by listeners and *in* the memories of people when remembered. Told by different people, the story exists *in* different versions, some enjoying more hegemony and popularity than other versions. A popular story may contain something that members of a community consider to be *a truth* about the community, even if the story is *a fiction*. The intangible popular story may also be part of the tangible book of stories, in which case the nature of its being is multimodal: spoken, listened to, remembered, written, read. A thing may exist in a multiplicity of ways but nevertheless belong to the same situation alongside other forms of beings. Insofar as it is important to the members of a culture, it is an element to be accounted for. The concept of culture necessarily becomes inclusive when members use a wide array of things as resources to assign meaning to life.

What is thick description?

I understand cultural mapping as interpretive inquiry, one that accounts for cultural phenomena by making descriptions that are rich in their attention to detail and thick in their pursuit of meaning. Clifford Geertz launched the semiotic concept of culture as a 'web of signification' and cultural anthropology as an interpretive science in *The Interpretation of Cultures*.[95] Geertz understood the proper object of cultural inquiry to be the meaning of what is said and done, and 'interpretation' to be the proper name for such a science. This seminal work is perhaps most famous for the development of the concept of *thick description*, a term that travelled to Geertz from English philosopher Gilbert Ryle. Ryle's philosophical interest in ordinary language led him claim that in order to understand the meaning of something, one would have to understand how something is meaningful to the people for whom it is meaningful.[96] His example, replicated by Geertz, is of the two boys and the wink:

> Two boys fairly swiftly contract the eyelids of their right eyes. In the first boy this is only an involuntary twitch; but the other is winking conspiratorially to an accomplice. At the lowest or the thinnest level of description the two contractions of the eyelids may be exactly alike. From a cinematograph-film of the two faces there might be no telling which contraction, if either, was a

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[95] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).
[96] Gilbert Ryle, "The Thinking of Thoughts. What is Le Penseur Doing?," in *Collected Papers, vol. 2*, ed. Julia Tanney (2009).

wink, or which, if either, was a mere twitch. Yet there remains the immense but unphotographable difference between a twitch and a wink. For to wink is to try to signal to someone in particular, without the cognizance of others, a definite message according to an already understood code.[97]

The ability to understand the distinction between a wink and a twitch does not rely on how accurately we can describe the contraction of the eyelids but on whether we know what it means to wink to someone. If we know what winking means to those involved in the business of winking, not only can we make a distinction between a twitch and a wink, we can also understand the distinction between expression and content, between sign and meaning in situ. The cultural anthropologist makes a living from enculturating herself in the life world of people, so she can actually learn to know the difference between a wink and a twitch. At this point, she can make a thick description that lays out what the said and the done means to people.[98] In other words, she has learned to read the signs in the same manner as the ordinary folk, and this enables her description of culture to go beyond the 'thinnest level.' At this point, a crucial detail: that she has learned to read the signs effectively means that she has learned how these ordinary folk interpret the signs to make things mean. She has learned to interpret, but she has not uncovered a stable structure of meaning. She has learned a way of doing meaning.

Thick description has the qualities of being descriptive, interpretive, and it relies on a professional community of practitioners.[99] How does one respond to the claim that this is not a science in any conceivable sense of the word? Geertz's reply, 'You either grasp an interpretation or you do not, see the point of it or you do not, accept it or you do not'[100] was as cheeky as it was profound. What it means to 'grasp an interpretation' involves not only the individual's ability to understand, and perhaps agree with, a given interpretation of a state of affairs, it is also indicative of the individual researcher's reliance on a community of other researchers working in the same field, using the same methodology, and with the same kind of problems. The merits of an interpretation are to be tested against the views of such a community of practitioners that the researcher belongs to. The institution of peer-to-peer criticism is but one example of how to get or not get an interpretation: your peers will get your interpretation if they agree that it works.

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[97] Ryle, "Thinking of Thoughts," 494. Quoted at length because it is such a lovely paragraph.
[98] Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 19.
[99] Dvora Yanow, "Neither Rigorous nor Objective? Interrogating Criteria for Knowledge Claims in Interpretive Science," in *Interpretation and Method*, ed. Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (2014), 114.
[100] *Interpretation of Culture*, 24.

How is a map thick description?

I like to think of the maps I create as thick description. Each map is the end product of a process of inquiry into what certain words and doings mean to people engaged in saying and doing stuff. Each map is named by the concept that orders the categories of elements that go onto the map. The categories are developed through the analytic practice of interpreting the data, and, in this sense, the concepts are 'ways of summarising data.'[101] The definition of the concept is restrained by the condition that 'what goes into the collection [of elements] the definition has to cover governs the kind of definition we come up with.'[102] In other words, even if the concept ultimately orders the elements as conceptual intensional[103] components, the process of creating the concept is dependent on the type of data that is created. Though abstract in nature, the concept is born from empirical research that builds a mass of data from which to build a curated collection of data. To understand the collection of data as *curated* is to stress that the process of selecting what should count as relevant data is neither arbitrary nor purely methodical. It is a matter of judgement; inspired by the process of examining data *and* informed by habits of mind, one makes a decision on what should count as relevant. Each concept is thus created from a curated collection of elements; what goes onto the map are those elements subsumed under the order of the name.

The map of modalities of connectivity represents the various ways in which people, places, and organisations are connected to each other. The map does not so much show a network mapping of who is related to what or whom as it shows a taxonomy of connectivity. It orders, conceptually, how things are thought to be bound to each other. One form of connectivity is via *membership* to a formal network of professionals, another is via *amicable relations* between people. Asking data the question 'what does it mean to be connected?' produces a set of signifiers of what could count as connectivity, often showing subtle, but important distinctions between forms. There is a difference between two people from different organisations knowing each other's names, position, field of expertise, and interests and two people knowing each other well enough to ask for a favour. The distinction is obviously the nature of the relationship (*knowing by name and face; professional friendship)*. What goes on the map, then, are those two distinct forms of relationships each with their sets of reciprocity, mutual expectations, and experience. The map of modalities of connectivity is the end product of an interpretive inquiry of what it means to be

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[101] Howard Becker, *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think About Your Research While You're Doing It* (2008), 109.
[102] Becker, *Tricks of the Trade*, 112.
[103] This is not a spelling mistake: 'Intensional' refers to how conceptual components relate to each other. See Thomas Højrup, *State, Culture and Life-modes: The Foundations of Life-Mode Analysis* (2018).

connected, the elements on the map are a representation of the forms of connectivity that shows when interpreting the data.

What goes on the map is highly condensed and abstracted data, yet it still describes the meaning of things. Meaning is contained in each element. In this sense, the map is thick description. Unpacking that meaning takes place in the analytical narrative, which is to say that the map does not stand alone; it is supplemented by a body of text that has as its purpose the explanation of what the elements on the map mean and to provide examples that illustrate, in rich detail, what is contained in a category.

How does something go onto the map (process of translation)?

Real places are never on any map, the map is 'not the territory.'[104] Maps are representations and should never be confused with the realities they purport to represent, yet that reality somehow ends up being translated onto the map. To illustrate, I will lay out in some detail a process of translation. Drawing on the mapping of modalities of connectivity, I will account for the process of translation from complex reality to represented reality. First, there is a presentation of how I have used the qualitative method of interviewing followed by an account of how I have analysed the empirical data through various forms of mapping that has ultimately aimed at abstraction.

The interview

I was interested in understanding the connectivity of the ecology of culture in Odsherred, so I contacted a variety of members of this ecology of culture. As can be seen from the table below, I interviewed the directors of all the publicly funded organisations (in some cases also employees, and in some cases, they were group interviews), the commercial cultural organisations, and the civil cultural associations in Odsherred. Finally, I interviewed a group of professional artists and young people: both groups sampled for variety. I generally sampled cases to produce a 'maximum variation'[105] group of cultural members. Much of the recruitment happened during fieldwork, and I stopped interviewing when I judged that producing more interviews would not add substantially new knowledge about the nature of complex connectivity, even if it had added nuance to my understanding of the variety of cultural offerings. In total I conducted 51 interviews. As suggested by Schaefer and Alvesson, I have tried to practice 'epistemic modesty' by acknowledging that when it comes to using informants as sources to make accounts of events, their recollection will

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[104] Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (2000), 455.
[105] Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12:2 (2006), 229.

always be somewhat flawed, incomplete, situated, and probably selective. [106] I therefore refrain from making 'robust knowledge claims' about events. This does not mean that the data produced is of poor quality or useless: it means that I take what respondents say to be truthful and sincere but that there is a degree of uncertainty in the accuracy of their accounts that I have not been able to discern.

Publicly funded cultural organisation	18	of which 12 were solo
Commercial cultural organisations	5	of which 3 were solo
Cultural associations	12	of which 6 were solo
Artists	7	of which 7 were solo
Youth	9	of which 4 were solo

Figur 5. Number of interviews per group of informant types

I prepared an interview guide[107] that was generally aimed at a cognitive mapping of the interviewee's professional relationships with other organisations.[108] I would ask them to draw the connections and to describe the nature of the relationships. As an example, in one interview, the interviewee drew 'kulturledernetværk' and went on to explain:

> We are members of a network called the cultural managers network. We meet and ideate and update each other on what we de do. It is a forum where collaborations are established where each of us can join.[109]

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[106] Stephan Schaefer and Mats Alvesson, "Epistemic Attitudes and Source Critique in Qualitative Research," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 29:1 (2020), 39: 'Epistemic modesty tackles source-critical issues head on, and provides less robust and more reflective and cautious empirical knowledge claims, perhaps in favor of bold interpretations and novel ideas.'

[107] Appendix, H1-H3, interview guides.

[108] Cognitive mapping is '…a process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of phenomena in their everyday spatial environment.' Roger Downs and David Stea, "Cognitive Maps and Spatial Behavior: Process and Products," in *Image and Environment*, ed. Roger Downs and David Stea (1973), 8.

[109] Appendix, E11, interview, Romanov, *Huset i Asnæs*.

Figur 6. Cognitive mapping of connectivity

By asking interviewees to map connectivity this naturally moves to the foreground of consciousness. Sometimes, the interviewees would ask questions to clarify and to be able to answer the question ('is it only locally?', 'is it only people I have worked with, or also people I know?', 'is it only other cultural organisations?'). This attunement to an object of interest was also a way of mildly enforcing conceptualising on the interviewee's perception of reality, as the questions claimed that it is meaningful to refer to relationships and to connections, and further, that they are *particular* kinds of relationships and connections, despite the fuzziness and inclusiveness that followed from not offering distinct and precise definitions of what I meant by the terms.

The interview is the epitome of qualitative research methods in organisation studies.[110] To interview is a method for producing data that expresses the particular opinions, perceptions, and knowledges of interviewees; interview data is the expression of a mind and a body talking from within the particular constraints and inducements of the interview situation, an interpersonal

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[110] Dustin Bluhm, Wendy Harman, Thomas Lee and Terence Mitchell, "Qualitative Research in Management: A Decade of Progress," *Journal of Management Studies* 48:8 (2011), 1877.

relation with its own particular inequalities of power and entitlements.[111] During fieldwork in 2017-2018, I used the semi-structured, ethnographic interview, as the predominant form of interviewing, but I have also made use of informal interviews and hanging out. According to James Spradley, an ethnographic interview is distinguished by the following: 1) The interviewer is intent on understanding how the interviewee understands the 'cultural scene' she belongs to, by interpreting how the interviewee uses a symbolic order to make sense of her lifeworld;[112] 2) A series of questions that alternate between descriptive (can you describe how you produce a theatrical play?), structural (can you describe and explain the professional relations at the theatre?), and contrastive (can you explain the difference between 'site specific' and 'black box' theatre?).[113] By alternating, a detailed understanding of the mental categories the informant uses to organise, interpret, and mediate her knowledge and her sense of her world is produced in situ, which the interviewer can record by what Gerard Forsey calls 'participant listening.'[114] To listen is the act of intentional hearing:

> Sounds constantly enter my ears, bounding around in there, declaring their interest even if I am not listening...the fact that I do not listen to them consciously or willingly does not mean that these sounds do not shape the reality as it presents itself to me...Listening produces a sonic life-world that we inhabit, with or against our will, generating its complex unity. Sound involves me closely in what I see; it pulls the seen towards me as it grasps me by my ears.[115]

When hearing is directed intentionally towards a sonic source, we listen. When our listening is actively engaged in interpreting, understanding, and constructing the entire situation, we are *listening to something*; this is active, deep listening.[116] This mode of listening is a productive agency; when we listen deeply, we are implicated in constituting the sonic objects that we perceive—we do not merely pay attention to a sonic object in our acoustic environment, but we

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[111] Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (2009); James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium, "Inside Interviewing," in *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, ed. James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium (2003), 3-32.; Robert Dingwall, "Accounts, Interviews and Observations," in *Context and Method in Qualitative Research*, ed. Gale Miller Robert Dingwall (1997); Lena Aléx and Anne Hammarström, "Shift in Power During an Interview Situation: Methodological Reflections Inspired by Foucault and Bourdieu," *Nursing Inquiry* 15:2 (2008)
[112] James Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979), 50; 60.
[113] Spradley, *Ethnographic Interview,* 60.
[114] Gerard Martin Forsey, "Ethnography as Participant Listening," *Ethnography* 11:4 (2010), 567.
[115] Salomé Voegelin, *Listening to Noise and Silence: Towards a Philosophy of Sound Art* (2010), 11.
[116] Stephen Louw, Richard Watson Todd and Pattamawan Jimarkon, "Active Listening in Qualitative Research Interviews," *Proceedings of the International Conference: Research in Applied Linguistics, April* (2011); Pauline Oliveros, *Deep Listening. A Composer's Sound Practice* (2005), xxiii.

engage with the acoustic environment of a situation, construct it as a meaningful entity *to us*.[117] Cohen and Rapport argue that ethnography and the ethnographic interview are fundamentally about listening:

> Above all, [ethnographers] listen …. we may not listen with sufficient care, or … we may listen somewhat selectively. Notwithstanding these failings, we try to listen, and make sense of what we hear; and, until we have and can show good reason for doing otherwise, we take what we hear as the expression of the speaker's consciousness. The sense we make of it is also, of course, an expression of our own consciousness.[118]

The interview, then, is more than asking questions that prompt answers from interviewees that can be carefully read in their transcribed form to reveal the truth of things. The interview is what Jenny Helin conceives of as a situation of 'dialogic listening': the members of the conversation collaborate to establish meaning through a chain of speaking-listening-speaking-listening through which the consciousness of the other is made present in the form of the sense produced to ascribe meaning to things,[119] a mode of listening that may become deep and construct additional data. For instance, take a simple example: by listening deeply, I could sense the different acoustic ambience between interviews conducted in office spaces and those conducted in studio spaces: the former appeared sonically 'cold' because the empty walls made hard surfaces upon which sound resonated in a different manner than upon the walls of studio spaces where sound resonated 'warmly' with the organic surfaces of shelves, paper, wood, plants. This yields data that might enrich the analysis because it shows that office space and studio spaces are particular operational localities within the ecology of culture.

The protocol that structured the interviews contained only few thematic research questions: how does the informant/the organisation do what she/the organisation does? What is the purpose of what she/the organisation does? What resources does she/the organisation mobilise to do what she/the organisation does? And finally, what other organisations/people is she/the organisation connected to? The final research question is the part that formally mapped out connectivity as understood by the informant. These questions framed the conversation, and often they served to inspire the interviewee curiously to explore her own organisational circumstances and conditions.

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[117] Voegelin, *Listening to Noise and Silence*.

[118] Anthony Cohen and Nigel Rapport, "Introduction: Consciousness in Anthropology," in *Questions of Consciousness*, ed. Anthony Cohen and Nigel Rapport (2003), 12.

[119] Jenny Helin, "Dialogic Listening. Toward an Embodied Understanding of How to "Go On" During Fieldwork," *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 8:3 (2013).

I found that it mattered if the cognitive mapping initiated the interview rather than end it: interviewees that had already mapped their organisational connectivities would cite these as resources with more precision than the ones who concluded the interview with the cognitive mapping. This, I believe, demonstrates the extent to which the interview is a co-construction of meaning, but it is not an argument for the interview having been manipulated. Rather, the interview makes the interviewee and interviewer mutually sensitive to the topics of the conversation and therefore more carefully attuned and prone to paying attention to the finer details.[120]

The drawing of the cognitive map of connections that the interviewee produced is photographed and collected with the permission of the interviewee.

Recording

The interview is recorded. This translates the interview from being a situation happening in *this* place, at *this* moment, with *these* people and including *all* the situation's small emotions, gesticulations, movements of bodies, and senses of mutual cooperation and face-keeping to becoming a recording of sound, a digital capture of the situation's sonic dimension. Although I used a Zoom 4H recorder to make high quality ambient recording in WAV quality that enabled the recording to capture ambiences and fine acoustic details, this does not record the situation in its fullness. The sound file is transferred onto a computer, named, and indexed.

Transcribing

The entire recording or relevant parts of it was/were then transcribed. This translated sonic matter into visual matter, from one sense to another. The manner of transcription is a matter of convention and/or aesthetic taste, or it is rooted in a researcher's particular requirements.[121] Some transcriptions do not include pauses or changes in pitch, others include transcriptions of everything audible; *what* one chooses to transcribe is a matter of distinguishing between what is relevant and what is not, and *how* one chooses to transcribe what is relevant is a matter of deciding upon how to represent it.[122] For instance, I use the code ↗ to represent rising intonation, often

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[120] James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium, *The Active Interview* (1995).

[121] Celia Roberts, "The Politics of Transcription. Transcribing Talk: Issues of Representation," *Tesol Quarterly* 31:1 (1997), 16; Christina Davidson, "Transcription: Imperatives for Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Research* 8:2 (2009).

[122] Tom O'Dell and Robert Willim, "Transcription and the Senses," *The Senses and Society* 8:3 (2013), 319: '...sounds (usually utterances) are moving from the realm of audio vibration to text on the page. Transcription is, in other words, a special practice that is dependent upon a series of micro-mobilities whose organization can be argued for in different

happening in relation to a question. I do not use question marks, as they are not heard as changes in intonation are. Sometimes how we say something matters as much as the literal meaning of the words: rise in volume (vol↑), change in pitch (pit↓) or in timbre, such as when people smile while speaking (🙂), can affect the meaning of what is said. An example how to indicate laughing while speaking:

> It is a giant task as an [art] mediator, to be able to create that sense of comfort and "I trust you" even if I don't understand anything😀.

Transcription involves questions that may appear to be superfluous, particularly if your transcription is not intended for, e.g. conversation or linguistic analysis. But they may be important details that affect the manner of transcription as a translation into a visual, readable form.[123] The transcription from recorded sound to written form contains multiple opportunities to make errors: mistaking words that sound similar, omitting negations, and misinterpreting words.[124] It is therefore generally recommended that the person interviewing and the person transcribing is the same person, which is not always possible. I have *not* used transcripts as a replacement for listening to the recording: the recording is the primary analytical object, and the transcription is made to make it easier to search in the contents of the interview, and to represent it in the thesis. I prefer to listen deeply over reading, to make notes of and analyse the sound recording. I have chosen to transcribe in full only half of the interviews and transcribe relevant parts of the rest - a decision made once I understood which parts were critical to the analyses.

Other methods

The cultural mapping employed methods other than interviews to produce data. During fieldwork, I used participant observation and listening; I experienced events; I collected documents, artefacts, and natural objects; I took photographs and sound recordings; and I kept a diary. In the following, I will present each method in turn.

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ways depending upon the scholar's ambition with the outcome of the transcription process (such as the rhythm of ethnopoetics or the illumination of power structures via discourse analysis). But it is also a practice that has to a large extent trapped the "scientific imagination" into a fixation upon letters. In doing this, it is highly dependent upon the spatiality of the page and the manner in which flows of utterances can be represented to convey a conversation's/interview's performative elements. Empty space on the page is as important as the spatial arrangement of black symbols.'

[123] Mary Bucholtz, "The Politics of Transcription," *Journal of Pragmatics* 32 (2000).

[124] Kristen Easton, Judith Fry McComish and Rivka Greenberg, "Avoiding Common Pitfalls in Qualitative Data Collection and Transcription," *Qualitative Health Research* 10:5 (2000).

Participant observation and listening

During fieldwork, I participated in a set of processes that I had already become familiar with during the years 2012-2016 when I worked in Odsherred. I was already enculturated in these practices, but I chose to participate in order to observe and listen to practice. I participated in a minor festival production by students at *Vallekilde Højskole*; I participated in the production of *Folkemødet i Odsherred* in 2018; I participated in two meetings between the cultural managers, in an evaluation of *Odsherred Teater*; and finally, in a cross-municipal workshop with the library.[125]

Participant observation and listening are methods for learning a particular practice so as to be able to understand its mechanics and meanings (doing stuff yourself) while being able to observe and listening to others in practice (also doing stuff). To illustrate, I participated in the production of *Folkemødet i Odsherred* 2018 in the following manner: I was initially asked if I wanted to be a talking head in a debate with the chair of the cultural committee concerning art in Odsherred. I agreed to this. This meant I had to *coordinate practical details* by mail, conduct a *telephone meeting* with the moderator of the debate and *speak* at the event. At the same time, I had organised a collaborative effort with *Vallekilde Højskole* to collect local folk stories, tall tales, and anecdotes at *Folkemødet i Odsherred*. This meant *coordinating* a division of labour, *designing* the practical manner of collection with students, and *participating* in an organiser's meeting at *Den Rytmiske Højskole* during which organisers were introduced to each other, the event program was revealed, and organisers could ask the general coordinators questions. It meant *directing* the students at the event, *evaluating* the project, and *gathering* the stories they had collected. The combination of the debate and the story collecting project meant that I would experience *Folkemødet i Odsherred* as more than a regular audience member; I would participate and could observe practices related to its production first-hand. I took notes of what I saw and made audio recordings of the organiser's meeting and during the event itself. Coordination, telephone meetings, speaking, organising, designing, organiser's meeting, directing, evaluating, and gathering are some of the mundane practicalities involved in contributing with a subevent to a large, cross-organisational, citizen-involving local democracy event. This allowed me to understand what it means to contribute, and it gave me an opportunity to observe visually and listen to other contributors and to the general coordinators.

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[125] Appendix, F and G, list of participant experience and participant observation.

The data produced by participant observation and listening were embodied knowledge of practice and descriptions of others' practices. These data could be used to complement the data produced in interviews where interviewees talk about event production, collaborative projects, or any of the practices which I had embodied knowledge of or had observed.

The role of the insider-researcher is tricky. While the methodological and epistemological debate surrounding the ethnographic researcher 'going native' in the pursuit of enculturation is concerned with the loss of her detached stance and objectivity in the process, the problem of the insider who conducts research 'at home' is that she is already a 'native' and in the know.[126] The insider-researcher's problem is to describe and objectify what they know and to make the familiar sufficiently alien to themselves in order to discern its uniqueness.[127] I have tried to address the problem by producing thick description of the production practices I know by participation and observation. By *thick* I mean to describe both the observable actions and their implicit logic. For illustration, I present a description of practice: how to organise a concert.

> The artist was booked 6 months in advance. This was common practice and due to the demand for the artist and the time to promote the concert properly. It was scheduled for a Sunday afternoon concert, in the early autumn days of September, because it is piano based improvised music perfect for a calm listening experience. In order to formalise the agreement and make parties mutually accountable, a contract stipulating a fee, mode of payment, catering needs, and duration of the concert was drawn and signed. A document containing biographical details and a photography was received to use for promotional use. To promote the concert a poster was made and distributed locally: the libraries, the theatre, the folk high schools, the cultural centres. A press release with a photo was sent to the local newspapers and a set of Facebook based advertisements. On the day of the concert, the room was cleared of things to create a minimalist set design with little visual noise to distract the listeners, and an impromptu bar serving coffee, tea, apple cake and red wine was constructed in the adjacent room to make a little extra earnings and to give guests a nice experience. The prices were set low to accommodate the largely young crowd. The artist was catered to and she had a small backstage room with fruits, snacks, drinks: happy artist usually means better performances. A piano tuner had tuned the piano as per request of the artist. The audience arrived, bought drinks and went to the concert room to sit. The artist went on stage and played the agreed

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[126] Kirin Narayan, "How Native is a "Native" Anthropologist?," *American Anthropologist* 95:3 (1993); Teresa Brannick and David Coghlan, "In Defense of Being "Native": The Case for Insider Academic Research," *Organizational Research Methods* 10:1 (2007), 59-74.

[127] Sierk Ybema and Frans Kamsteeg*, "*Making the Familiar Strange: A Case for Disengaged Organizational Ethnography," in *Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*, ed. Sierk Ybema, Dvora Yanow, Harry Wels and Frans Kamsteeg (2009).

duration. At the end, the audience clapped and then left. The room was cleaned and put back in order. The artist packed her stuff and left with a greeting. During the following week the artist fee was paid, and the artist thanked, inventory was restocked, an economic report was constructed, and the concert was evaluated.

The practice description accounts for those observed actions that are involved in organising a concert. Most of the actions are generic to a concert, but there are always variations (for instance, going from a 100 pax to 500+ pax concert involves additional tasks). The practices involved in staging a concert can easily be extended to staging a performance like a reading, a monologue or other forms of performative arts - each with their subtle variations in practice- and less easily to practices involved in producing a film or writing a book. Methodologically, participant observation and listening are ways to produce descriptive data of practice.

Documents, artefacts, natural objects

I distinguish between *documents*, which are texts written with the intent of preserving and/or communicating a specific state of affairs, and *artefacts*, which are objects produced with the intent of expressing an emotion, a perception or simply as pure aesthetic, and *natural and found objects*, which are objects produced in nature. I am interested in all three types of things albeit for different reasons.

Documents are sources of information regarding how particular people understand and relate cognitively to a particular situation or problem; it is a historic document that can be read with regards to how specific decisions are made and reasoned at a specific point in time.[128] They are also texts that can be read with an interest in the rules governing particular types of documents in terms of style, vocabulary, disposition, and argumentative structure.[129] Take as example the minutes of a meeting. The text is structured as a sequence of data: title, date, participants, absentees, agenda, comments, and decisions. These documents are ripe with details worth paying careful attention to, like the composition of the agenda: what is given priority is typically among the first points, and given that the meeting operates with a set time frame, placing an item at the beginning allows participants to spend more time and energy on that particular point. The minutes can also show how participants contest as well as agree on certain topics. If several sets of minutes are juxtaposed, then it is possible to discern patterns in who participates with what interest and in

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[128] Paul Atkinson and Amanda Coffey, "Analysing Documentary Realities," in *Qualitative Research*, ed. David Silverman (2011), 79.
[129] Atkinson and Coffey, "Analysing Documentary Realities," 83ff.

what decisions. I have collected agendas, minutes, evaluations, reports, prospects, funding applications, budgets, fiscal statements, and email correspondences from the years 2012 - 2016. Other sets of document are posters, festival programs, flyers, homepages, Facebook, press releases, and interviews. A third type of document are newspaper articles, reviews, and letters. Gathering the documents is a mix between already having them in my personal archive or in my email correspondences, asking for them, or, in the case of public documents, downloading them. Some of the documents are sensitive, and some are confidential. With regards to the documents I already had as a consequence of my practical engagement, research ethics calls for obtaining consent from the people and organisations involved as I was not initially given access to these documents as a researcher but as a confidential participant.[130]

Artefacts are sources of a different type of data. They are tokens of how particular people express aesthetic preferences, sensitivities, perceptions, and affects. The production of artefacts follows a diversity of techniques and disciplines: painting, printing, ceramics, prose, film, montage, composition, and others. The artefacts are both professionally and amateur produced artworks like a handmade ceramic cup, an oil painting, or a book of fiction, and they are aesthetically expressive artefacts like a poster, a balloon from a set design, a book about architecture in Odsherred, a bottle of local white wine, or a carrot from a farmer. The artefacts are either already collected from my time as participant, given to me by interviewees, or collected by purchase or free sample during field work.[131]

Natural and found objects are a third type of sources of information but one that relates to how people relate to their surroundings. Some artists use objects like driftwood found on the beach, while yet other types of artefacts are made from new wood or from stones. Some festival events consist in collecting and eating wild herbs and plants. The natural ecology is composed of waters, beaches, agricultural land, forests, and city/townscapes, and the culture relates to these. For this reason I collected various types of natural and found objects, like stones, plants, and metal objects.

Photography, sound recordings, diary keeping

In this study photography, sound recordings, and keeping a diary are used mostly for memory work, i.e. for documenting sensations and not per se as methods for intentionally collecting specific objects. I take photographs of events, people, places, sights, and there is no apparent pattern in what I document using photography. However, the photographs work to assist me in

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[130] Appendix, A, list of documents.
[131] Appendix, D, list of artefacts.

mapping things *and* in sensitivising myself to the visual aesthetic of culture. One particular aspect which I have been exploring is how culture and nature blend as well as stand radically apart. Most culture is confined to the built environment, and only in recent years have events become site specific to natural environments. Photography documents such development.[132]

Sound recordings are much more intentional in character. Typically, the recordings are ambient and aimed towards documenting the sonic ambience of a particular site. One of the initial points of interest is what I call the sonic landscape and what you can discover through paying attention to how sounds are produced and distributed. One marked sonic effect is apparent: sounds are compartmentalised. In other words, outside the villages and towns most sounds are either birds, winds, insects, agricultural machinery or cars (in the distance and not the urban drone). Here, you can hear far-away sounds, and this makes for a vast open sonic space. It is experienced as quiet, though it is merely few sounds distributed across much space. In the towns, the typical sounds are voices and cars. With regards to music and the sonic arts, there are rhythmic music, opera, chamber music, occasionally even orchestral music, choirs, church music, singer songwriters, and electro acoustic compositions. All of these forms are confined to particular spaces and time slots, and even more so in a festival context. The interesting point is that the sonic arts are restricted to specific sites with the effect that they are only experienced if one seeks them out and that the general sonic landscape appears as quite non-diverse and quiet. What I gather from studying cultural organisation through the method of listening and audio recording is that the sonic arts are organized along a limited temporality in contrast to the visual arts that are organized along a more permanent temporality. When listening to the music of the ecology an order in things appears.[133]

Diary keeping is intensely personal and introspective. Yet, I still include it as a method because it is a way of documenting how I have been affected in particular situations by cultural experiences as well as how I have been affected as a participant. The diary is not so much a source of capturing observations as it is a source for documenting personal affects. I have kept a daily diary since the winter of 2015, using Evernote as platform. Thus, the diary is searchable. A specific kind of diary entry is the 'philosophical field note,'[134] notes that are concerned with the interplay between an empirical phenomenon and its conceptualisation. Some of these philosophical field notes have been instrumental to developing the conceptual apparatus.

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[132] Appendix, B, list of photography.
[133] Appendix, C, list of sound recordings.
[134] Sarah Bridges-Rhoads, "Philosophical Fieldnotes," *Qualitative Inquiry* 24:9 (2018).

Sonic culture [August 21st, 2018]. Again, I notice how quiet Odsherred is. The sonic landscape is wind, farming machines, cars in the distance, the train, birds, insects. If I go to Nykøbing in the daytime, there are human voices in the pedestrian street. I don't experience that in the other towns, they are quiet. Obviously, there is music in the culture: cover bands, acoustic singer-songwriters, jazz, choirs, opera, classical music. So, the art forms exist, and they are organised. They don't stand out though and don't dominate culture. Visual arts, crafts, ceramics and the sculptural dominate. It fascinates me because sound is part of creating space and with so much quiet there is so much sonic space. You can hear long distance; the space is defined by distinct sounds. It would be wrong to talk about silence, because there is sound and there are patterns in that sound. But it is quiet. Soft spoken, distinct and well regulated. If I only listen to the landscape of music, then that landscape is well ordered, and music is placed in determined spaces at determined times. It is as if the manner in which music plays and sounds is an expression for the orderliness of the culture.

Mapping

When I concluded the field work, I had developed three ideas that I wanted to pursue: 1) How was connectivity present in the data I had constructed - interview, observation, document, and experience data alike; 2) What was the role of 'youth' in the ecology of culture; 3) I wanted to pursue the hypothesis that 'the Local' was a particular phenomenon produced by culture. Connectivity, youth, and the Local emerged from thinking about experiences in fieldwork, observations, from sensations, from dwelling with data, from getting absorbed by a detail. Ideas emerged like Walter Benjamin's 'lightning flashes'[135] to be followed by the long haul of analysis. With these three ideas in mind, I started making maps.

The Messy and the Ordered maps

The very first step in creating a map is accepting that it will not be pretty to begin with. The first draft is 'shitty' in Hemingway's terms, or as coined by Adele Clarke, it is a *messy map*.[136] The first map is an attempt at naming what the situation contains without any attempts at systematising. The perimeters of the situation are immanent to the situation in the sense that it is only once the situation is constituted that its perimeters are analytically deductible and empirically discernible. They are never given a priori, even if the situation is an analytical concept; the situation is a formally empty concept employed for analytical objectives. Mapping out the situation is a way of making it known, implying that mapping effectively creates the situation at hand and establishes

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[135] Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 456: 'In the fields with which we are concerned, knowledge comes only in lightning flashes. The text is the long roll of thunder that follows.'
[136] Adele Clarke, *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn* (2005), 270.

the boundaries within which elements can be said to belong. The messy map is the plotting of everything known about the situation as it appears in memory and as it emerges in the data. The messy map finds its natural conclusion when seemingly nothing new goes onto the map. This map is neither structured nor composed. The position of elements is deliberately arbitrary to avoid using the spatial position as an indicator of any hierarchy or causal relations. Some of the items brought to the page are composites; while they may later need to be decomposed for analytical purposes, they appear in the data in their composite form and therefore go on the messy map as such. The messy map is a point of departure in that it presents the elements, but not their ontological status, relations, or positions.

In order to proceed the next step is then to draw a map that orders the objects into different ontological categories by asking how each element can be said to exist. Other helpful questions are: 'Is there a category that contains this element?', 'What is the referent of this element?', 'To what does this element belong?' The ordered map provides a categorised overview of the elements of the situation.

Figur 8. Messy Map

Figur 7. Ordered map

In a sense this is an analytical operation of interpreting elements by labelling, naming, and categorising them along lines that are conceptually, not empirically, informed. The ordering does not translate the elements but organises them into discrete categories. Take as an example the category of 'organisation': the element 'UiO' is labelled and understood as an organisation which is an interpretation of the phenomenon. Nothing, however, is imported conceptually to the element that was not already contained in the data and therefore the categories should be thought of as nothing but ordinate meta-concepts.

The relational and the positional map

The next step is to draw a map that shows relationships between elements. This implies decomposing composites, undoing categories, and selecting illustrative data from the ordered map (i.e. a quote, an artefact, a document). Lines are drawn between elements on the map, each line representing a relationship. Each such relationship is made subject to a detailed description in a memo (also known as memo'ing), a technique which suggests that making relational maps is as analytical as it is time consuming.[137] It is a meticulous inquiry into the relations between elements—something that can easily be overlooked when mapping things. Memo'ing has the additional processual benefit of producing text that may be used for the write-up of the dissertation. An example of a memo reads as follows:
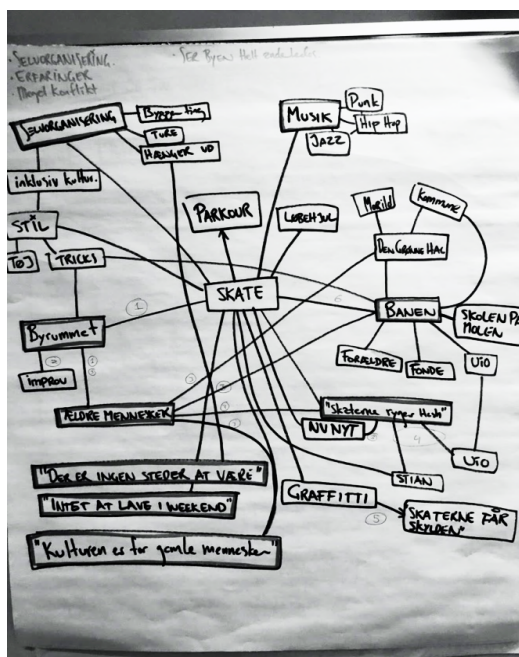
Figur 9. Relational map, skate #4 Ung i Odsherred

UiO is aware of the skate community. Both because they are an active group that organises itself and does stuff, because skating is related to the various forms of urban cultural forms like parkour, roller blades etc., and because they have a reputation for smoking hash, and for being a nuisance to older people. I am unsure to what extent UiO have been involved in the process of creating the skate park in Nykøbing. It seems like the primary relationship between skaters and UiO is that the houses are hang outs. Frank Castle is a well-known person to the skaters.'

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[137] Clarke, "Situational Analysis".

The map is now rich in detail: it maps and describes the relations between elements. The mapping now attains the quality of thick description.

The next map is positional, and it is difficult to compose. For illustration, consider the complicated example 'LANDET – *Should I Stay or Should I Go*? It was a theatrical production, a museum exhibition, and a youth engagement research program co-produced by *Odsherred Teater*, *Odsherred kulturhistorisk museum*, and *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhus*. The map of youth participation in culture positions *LANDET* as a common reference point, not as an event that took place in the years 2010-2012. This is because *LANDET* is used by several interviewees as an illustration of co-production, of local relevance, of novel processes of creativity, of site specificity, and of how cultural institutions reworked their imaginary of the local by engaging with young people. In Bent Flyvbjerg's term, it is used as a *paradigmatic case*[138] of what is called 'sammenskudsgildet,'[139] which in itself is an ambiguous denominator as it draws on the notion of 'chipping in' while practically, the *LANDET* production was not only the result of various cultural agents contributing to a common project. It was a costly and research-intensive process of creative labour that demanded the focused attention and expertise of professionals working in different fields (theatre, museum, library). It relied on a grant from the Danish Art's Council, a committed and functional technical-practical infrastructure of all parties involved, and organisational willingness and permission to participate (the library is regulated directly by the city council). Yet, without omitting or glossing over these intricacies in the project, *LANDET* is still used by members of the ecology of culture to exemplify the ethos of contributing to the common cultural good, and it is used as an example of how culture can engage with the local community to produce novelty, value, and meaning. *LANDET* goes on the map, positioned as a common point of reference and set in relation to the contested empirical term 'folkelighed.'[140]

The commercial and artistic success of *LANDET*, its socio-political effects, and its legacy point to a particular way of understanding 'folkelighed.' It also questioned the opposition between 'fine' art and 'crude' arts, between high arts and popular culture. The project imbued the term 'folkelig' with a different sense and raised the issue of the general 'folkelighed' of culture. Enfolded in *LANDET* is a normative notion of how to think the cultural institution as engaged with a locality, its people and its concerns, as well as an incarnation of a heuristic ideal of cross-aesthetic

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[138] Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings about Case-study Research".
[139] Translation: The 'potluck party.'
[140] A difficult, polysemic word. It translates as 'popular,' and has several senses: 'populist'; 'pop'; 'for the people'; 'by the people', and even the negative 'anti-elite.'

collaboration. *LANDET* goes on the map, as does 'folkelighed.' Each needs to be qualified by being coded to ensure that each is read for what it represents. Therefore, on the map *Youth Participation in Culture* they are both ordered under the category of *relevance.*
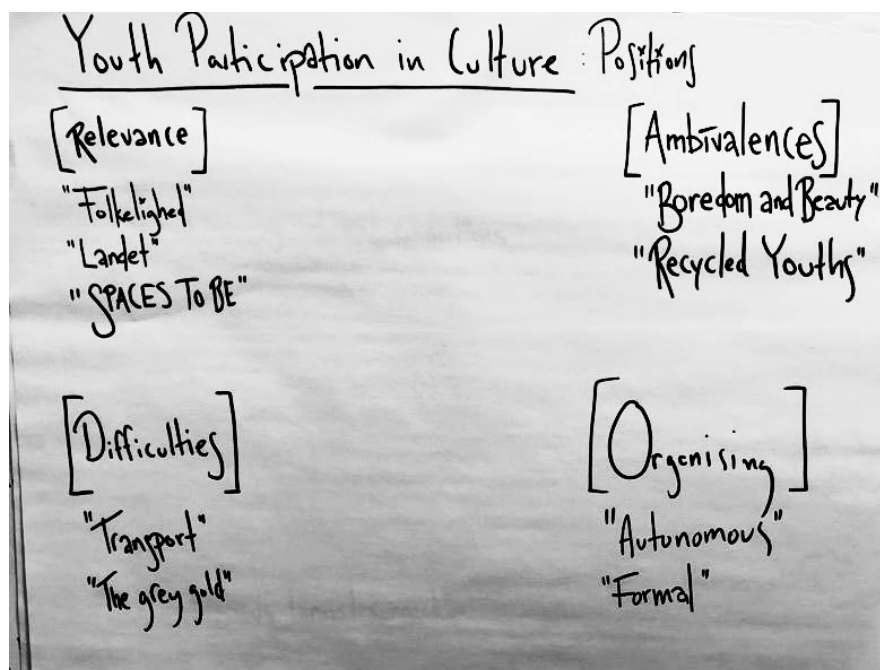
Figur 10. Positional Map of Youth participation

The positional map is the final map in the series. Contained within it are multiple successive analytic movements that have inquired into the complexities of the situation, complexities that do not all go on the map directly but mostly as part of a coded sign. The maps in this volume are 'symbolised representations' of selected parts of the ecology of culture, each sign-symbol an assemblage of multiple elements. Making maps in the presented manner is then both a mode of analysis *and* a way of representing analytic findings, meaning that the production process in itself is part of the analytic design of the inquiry at hand.

Conceptualising

Some of the categories that are created through mapping are organised as components in a concept. This translates the categories into conceptual components, which again is a step up in the level of abstraction. The *modalities of connectivity* is a concept composed of several categories of ways of being connected, developed by messy, ordered, situational, and positional mapping procedures until it was possible to establish conceptual components.

Thinking about treating and interpreting data as forms of translation is heavily indebted to Bruno Latour's account of a process of translation within a fieldwork of soil sampling.[141] The text *Circulating reference: Sampling the soil in the Amazon Forest* follows a process of sampling soil and takes us through a series of translative moments through which a soil sample is transformed from concrete soil to abstract sample. The key argument is that the process of translation necessarily reduces the 'locality, particularity, materiality, multiplicity, and continuity' of the data alongside its travel towards abstraction, but that the data is amplified in its 'compatibility, standardization, text, calculation, circulation, and relative universality.'[142] Complexity is not lost in translation but contained in abstraction. In a reckoning with 'our philosophical tradition', Latour states that what 'realists, empiricists, idealists, and assorted rationalists' fail to understand is that 'phenomena are what *circulates* along the reversible chain of transformations, at each step losing some properties to gain others that render them compatible with already established centres of calculation.'[143] A scientific text does not simply refer to a phenomenon by simple correspondence, and neither is it arbitrary nor restrained to only speaking about *das ding für uns*; by the practices of translation, a scientific text 'truly speaks of the world.'[144]

What does one know from reading a map?

We are all practising semioticians. We cannot not decode the signs we have learned to read. We read the world as a text. The map is a curated collection of signs for trained readers to read: what can one know from reading a map? This question raises a double inquiry: what can one know specifically as well as generally from reading a map, and what does it mean to know something? In the end, we cannot separate the two questions except analytically, but they are distinct concerns. Reading: one encounters the signs distributed across the face of the map; we know that this is because someone has placed them there. The signs stand for something; this too we know to be the result of someone producing the signs, and we know what the signs signify if we know how to decode the meaning encoded in the sign. There is a code then, this too we know. There is a legend, a set of keys listing the meanings of signs, often a graphic form translated into a linguistic description. To read, we need to master the keys. The map can be read as a collection of statements about matters of fact. A line on the map decodes as a road; hence, we know there is a road.

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[141] Bruno Latour*, Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (1999), 24ff.
[142] Latour, *Pandora's Hope,* 71.
[143] *Pandora's Hope,* 71. *Italics* in original.
[144] *Pandora's Hope*, 61.

Now, this is where the trouble starts. We only know that there is a road if we trust that the sign represents the actual state of affairs of a real road. Maps only work, it appears, if we believe that they are in fact representing facts. Is there a road? We can't decide from reading the map. We cannot know that the map represents facts unless we are justified in believing that the map at hand is actually representing a fact. If a map is thought of as a curated collection of statements, then the problem is to ascertain that these statements are true. To decide, we can submit the statements to tests, and we can decide whether we believe the map maker to be credible. The question of what makes a map believable resonates with all scientific disciplines: each scientific institution is conditioned by its inherent methods and practices that enable it to produce what it considers to be true statements about the world. All scientific disciplines are faced with the same burden of proof with regard to credibility, solved by each in their own manner. A map as a true statement about a given fact leads to the problem of what it means to know; in this case, what it means to know what the map maker knows and what it means to know what the map reader knows.

Knowledge and knowing

For the last five years, I have been looking at a map of Odsherred. I believe I learn something from looking at what is only a visual representation of certain facts: the borders between land and sea, the built environments of town and village, roads, railways, forests, and fields. If I synthesise my reading of the topographic map with the demographic data, the political data, and the historical data I have collected, I also learn that not only am I looking at a landscape, I am also looking at population densities, composition, and class; I am looking at what is now a political entity—the municipality of Odsherred since 2007—that still contains traces and leftovers from when there were three municipalities (Trundholm, Dragsholm and Nykøbing-Rørvig), and before 1970, 11 municipalities. If I review the political orientation of mayors since 1970, I understand that the region is mostly social democratic, tending towards right wing liberal. I am looking at a distribution of cultural organisations throughout time. If I go back to the time before the World Wars, I know that the churches, organised in 13 parishes were important cultural institutions. The folk high school in Vallekilde played a part too. I only know this by synthesising historical data with the map; reading the map in itself does not provide these data. I do not know what it all meant or how it worked. The point is that the map as a technology, supplemented with other types of data derived from other types of technology, allows me to create knowledge, and also curiosity: e.g. what role did the churches play? What did the establishment of a folk high school in the southern part of the region mean? I also learn that the region is mostly farmland and that key

publicly funded cultural institutions are located in the principal towns of Nykøbing Sjælland, Vig and Asnæs. In itself that is interesting and begs the questions: How so? And on it goes. In itself the map means little without the ability to read it and supplement it with various types of raw and interpreted data and knowledge. I read the map with bodily stored experiences of being physically in the territory. For instance, it was on a locality on a bright summer's day, where I sensed the golden fields and the smell of the sea surrounding me east and west, that I understood why such a strong part of the region's cultural history and contemporary cultural life is visual art. Every site is a motif, it seems. Or when I used an old cranky bicycle to transport myself from north to south, through the hills and against the headwind and rain, and had a very immediate understanding of the people's high dependence on cars for mobility. Add other tactile, auditory, visual perceptions (perhaps taste and smell too: wild berries and apples; manure) to your reading of the map, and your understanding is already much richer. Knowledge is then synthetic - both with regards to the types of senses used and the types of data produced.

You read a map. What you know is contingent upon one of the three distinct truth modalities of the statements that the map makes about the world: 1) Does the sign as statement correspond to the fact, does it adequately represent the object-thing, does it 'speak the true'?[145] 2) Does the sign as statement constitute a graspable interpretation based on a consistent and coherent interpretive inquiry that will be accepted by peers because it is 'in the true'?[146] 3) Does accepting the sign as a true statement have any 'bearings' on our practical comportments, agency, and deliberations? The reader will recognise that what are framed as 'truth modalities' are typically presented as 'theories of truth'[147], that is, mutually incompatible conceptualisations of what truth is. They are incompatible, they do not speak of the same. The correspondence theory of truth articulates itself along the relationship between statement and referent, between the sign and its object.[148] This is concerned with the extensional logic of concepts. The coherence theory of truth is concerned not with the relationship between statement and referent but with the consistency of the sets of statements made about the object.[149] This is a logic of intensionality. The pragmatic

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[145] Etienne Balibar, ""Being in the True?" Science and Truth in the Philosophy of Georges Canguilhem," *Décalages* 2:2 (2016).

[146] Balibar, "Being in the True?"

[147] See e.g. Liv Egholm Feldt, *Philosophy of Science: Perspectives on Organisations and Society* (2014), 60ff.

[148] Richard Fumerton, *Realism and the Correspondence Theory of Truth* (2002); David Lewis, "Forget about the 'Correspondence Theory of Truth'," *Analysis* 61:4 (2001); Marian David, "The Correspondence Theory of Truth," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2016).

[149] Donald Davidson, "A Coherence Theory of Truth and Knowledge," in *Epistemology: An Anthology*, ed. Ernest Sosa, Jaegwon Kim, Jeremy Fantl and Matthew McGrath (2000), 124; Jonathan Cohen, "The Coherence Theory of Truth," *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 34:4 (1978).

theory of truth is concerned with the practical implications of accepting any given statement about any given object as true.[150] It is a logic of implied action. Though they all speak of truth, they do not address the same problem. If knowledge is some form of justified true belief, then it matters how the belief is true. Whether by correspondence, logical consistency, or by practical effect, to claim that one knows something from reading a map is equivalent to believing that the map is telling the truth.

Research Ethics

I would like to present four ethical problems that I have wrestled with: Recognition, friendships, the status as practitioner-researcher, and political misuse of the research findings.

Recognition

In my interviews I have obtained the informed consent of interviewees. The purpose of the interview was made clear, my interest and perceptions were stated, and they could say things off the record (which has stayed off the record!). Interviewees were informed that they have the right to withdraw their participation in the project. I informed them that they would be anonymised in observation of standard practice of research ethics but that I could not protect them from being recognised. All accepted the conditions. However, during my analysis, I have wrestled with the issue that some interviewees appear in my research as both public and private personae. As it is in the nature of the analysis to trace connectivities and relations that go across formal and informal lines, professional, personal, and private lines, I have found it difficult to protect those public persons from having their informal and personal connections recognised locally. The artists are particularly vulnerable, as their works carry signatures, and if the analysis is to go into depth with the ecological belonging of an individual, recognisable artwork, then an artist's statement would no longer be anonymous, as they would be recognisable. I have tried to alleviate this problem by refraining from foregrounding persons who are recognisable too easily or by asking for their permission when I have been in doubt. Further, in a few instances I have not been sure if the actions interviewees have committed to doing were legal (which I have then omitted to prevent them from unknowingly incriminating themselves), and there are also a few instances of persons accusing other named persons of foul play. Juicy stuff, but omitted to protect people.

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[150] Richard Rorty, "Representation, Social Practice, and Truth," *Philosophical Studies* 54 (1988).

Friendship

A few of the persons I have used as interviewees are also friends. Our friendships meant that they trusted me and shared details that other interviewers might not have been entrusted with. However, even if they knew that I interviewed them in my capacity as a researcher, they might have engaged with me as a friend and shared things with the friend that they would not have shared with the researcher.[151] Lines blur. I have sought to respect the boundaries of friendship by not using data that I believe they have shared with the friend only. Fortunately, I have not experienced any situation where research interest went against the interest of my friends, or vice versa. However, I would be wary of employing 'friendship as method'[152] in future research, as I have found it difficult to navigate this boundary and potentially to expose friends to harm or hurt.

Practitioner-researcher

Finally, the movement from a position as practitioner to researcher is not just tricky in terms of having to flesh out practical knowledges[153] but also because a practitioner accesses insider knowledge that a researcher might not be permitted to learn such as secrets or sensitive data.[154] I have documents in my possession from my time as employee that I have not used in this research because I know that I would not have obtained permission to retrieve or view them had I asked as a researcher. I have knowledge of events that were definitively not criminal, but nonetheless they were highly sensitive in nature; I chose to not write about these events, because the people involved could easily be identified and their standing in the community could be harmed.

Another issue is management decisions that I have disagreed with as an employee. I wanted to write about those decisions that seemed to be analytically relevant, but I realised that I was motivated to include them in the thesis because I was actually holding a grudge. Though I struggled to distance my personal feelings from my understanding of the matters, I concluded that I was not able to detach myself and decided to not include any of them.

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[151] Nic Beech, Paul Hibbert, Robert MacIntosh and Peter McInnes, "'But I thought we were friends?' Life Cycles and Research Relationships," in *Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*, ed. Sierk Ybema, Dvora Yanow, Harry Wels and Frans Kamsteeg (2009).

[152] Lisa Tillmann, "Friendship as Method," in *In Solidarity: Friendship, Family, and Activism Beyond Gay and Straight* (2015).

[153] Ybema and Kamsteeg, "Making the Familiar Strange"; Mats Alvesson, "At-home Ethnography: Struggling with Closeness and Closure," in *Organizational Ethnography. Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*, ed. Sierk Ybema, Dvora Yanow, Harry Wels and Frans Kamsteeg (2009).

[154] Heidi Collins and Yvonne McNulty, "Insider Status: (Re)framing Researcher Positionality in International Human Resource Management Studies," *German Journal of Human Resource Management* 34:2 (2020).

Politics

The way in which the ecological framework collapses art and culture into a single system can be used for unintended political ends. When I initiated the research project, I was concerned with the risk that my research could end up doing harm in at least two foreseeable ways: 1) at a local and a national level, the research could be used as 'evidence' that a resilient ecology of culture will be capable of adapting to decreased funding, which could lead to a policy of increasing connectivity between cultural organisations to increase resilience with the long term aim of decreasing overall funding. While it may be true that in the face of decreased funding the ecology of culture would adapt and continue to produce cultural offerings, then individual artists and cultural producers would suffer in each their own ways which are not discernible at the level of the ecology. 2) The analysis of the function of informal relations could be an argument for increasing governance with cultural organisations, that is, in the name of accountability and transparency organisations could be subject to regulations intended to curb informality which could harm the culture of cross-organisational collaboration and connectivity. It is not necessarily a trade-off but could easily be so. I am aware that these two scenarios are speculative, and I have not done anything to prevent any of them. Yet, they have been serious ethical concerns, and will become relevant when the research is to be disseminated in media and relevant recipients in politics.

PART 3: CONCEPT

CHAPTER 3.1

A HISTORY OF ECOLOGY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

> *Only that which has no history can be defined*
>
> Friedrich Nietzsche[1]

This chapter provides a brief history of ecological thought in social science. Though heavily indebted to and inspired by Koselleck's *Begriffsgeschichte,*[2] Skinner's *intellectual history*[3] and Foucault's exposition of Nietzsche's *genealogy,*[4] the chapter does not commit wholeheartedly to any of these conceptual approaches. I have, however, been borrowing notions from each: I believe 1) that conceptual readings should pay attention to how conceptual articulations are embedded in the milieus of their intellectual time and place, and 2) that tracing the history of a concept is not a search for its true, originary meaning but should be a careful description of how the concept has developed, often in tandem with the problems it has solved or articulated.

I have chosen to begin the theoretical exposition with a conceptual history because it allows the theoretical framework to be based on a texture of historical layers; conceptual components have changed meaning, weight, position, function; some have disappeared, while some have replaced others. It is not a history of discontinuities, sudden ruptures and reversals: too much endures. But neither is it a history of absolute continuity; there are certainly transformations occurring in the concept. Some conceptual components, such as 'holism' that were en vogue at some point in time have been silenced almost completely and hardly appear in the contemporary ecology of culture literature. At what point, how, and perhaps why did some conceptual components change their role and place in the concept, and when we draw the conceptual intensionality should we make a distinction between tacit, omitted, and redundant components? What was their function? Why were they silenced, or how were they forgotten? What were their impacts on the concept as a whole, and how did the concept transform in the wake of their disappearance? I have collected a body of texts from sociology, psychology, cultural

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[1] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* [1887] (2006), 84.
[2] Reinhart Koselleck, "Begriffsgeschichte and Social History," *Economy and Society* 11:4 (1982).
[3] Quentin Skinner, "A Genealogy of the Modern State," *Proceedings from the British Academy* 162 (2009).
[4] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Countermemory, Practices, Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald Bouchard [1971] (1977).

anthropology, and organisation theory that have the concept of ecology in common although in some texts the concept only plays a minor role. This body of texts is not a complete collection, but a set of samples. The important thing has not been to create an exhaustive genealogy of ecology in social science but to describe and account for a conceptual heritage that ecology of culture draws on. I suggest that the chapter is read as a story of ecological thought in the social sciences and humanities.

The story is told in a largely chronological order. It begins in the middle of the 19th century, at the birth of *Ökologie* in biology and social science. From there it continues to trace the emergence and use of the concept in North American sociology, psychology, geography, and cultural anthropology in the first half of the 20th century. The influence from systems theory and cybernetics on ecological thinking in the 1940s and 1950s will then be presented. The chapter lays out how 'ecology' appeared slowly in organisation theory, from being the 'outside' of organisation found already in 1939 in Roethlisberger and Dickson's study of the Hawthorne plant, to the 'population ecology' of Hannan and Freeman and the 'organisational ecology' of Eric Trist in the 1970s. The first half of the chapter concludes by presenting how the emergence of complexity and chaos theory challenged certain core assumptions of ecological thought. The second half of the chapter traces how ecological notions have been introduced and integrated in the sociology of arts and culture, concluding with the body of texts that use 'ecology of culture' as a conceptual framework.

I selected the texts that have gone into the construction of the story by a simple method. First, I initially consulted a set of reference texts: Gerald Young's masterly review of human ecology (1974) in the first half of the 20th century, Gareth Morgan's classic *Images of Organization* (1986), Liu and Emirbayer's study of 'ecology' (2016), and Andrew Abbott's *Linked Ecologies*.[5] From these I sought out, and selected, the texts that were referenced. I began by selecting texts that are regarded as seminal, like Howard Becker's *Art as collective action*.[6] Once I had a set of core texts, I expanded my archive by mapping texts that reference seminal texts. An example comes in Edward Kealy's article *From Craft to Art: The Case of Sound Mixers and Popular Music* which makes reference to Becker.[7] This method helped me build a body of texts. Second, I repeated the

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[5] Gerald Young, "Human Ecology as an Interdisciplinary Concept: a Critical Inquiry," in *Advances in Ecological Research, vol. 8*, ed. Amyan MadFayden (1974); Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization* (1986); Sida Liu and Mustafa Emirbayer, "Field and Ecology," *Sociological Theory* 34:1 (2016); Andrew Abbott, "Linked Ecologies: States and Universities as Environments for Professions," *Sociological Theory* 23:3 (2005).
[6] Howard Becker, "Art as Collective Action," *American Sociological Review* 39:6 (1974).
[7] Edward Kealy, "From Craft to Art: The Case of Sound Mixers and Popular Music," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 6:1 (1979), 3.

method when I built the archive of texts that constitutes the literature on ecology of culture. I began with John Holden's *Ecology of Culture*[8] and moved backwards, examining the reference works of other texts and expanding my selection as new texts were referenced. It is interesting that the literature on ecology of culture rarely makes reference to the literature on human ecology or to the ecological organisation theory that I have traced. Ecology of culture seems to be a theoretical field disconnected from the endeavours of human ecology and the attempts at thinking ecologically in the social sciences.

An explicit caveat: to begin the theoretical exposition with a historical account is not equivalent to ascribing a sort of teleological movement to said history, as if the concept has now finally arrived at an optimal and fixed state, the form that it was unfolding since the beginning. There is only a concept that changes with time as it has been articulated and employed to solve contemporary problems at hand.

Human ecology

It was the German scientist Ernst Haeckel who coined the term 'Ökologie' in his *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen* in 1866.[9] It was only seven years after Darwin had published *On the Origin of the Species,*[10] which, in the words of Sears, had made 'any thought of life as something apart from environment…impossible.'[11] Haeckel formed 'Ökologie' from the Greek words 'oikos' ('house') and 'logos' ('word', 'order', 'reason'), which makes 'Ökologie' mean the 'order of the house.' Ökologie was not immediately integrated in biology; the phrase 'economy of nature' was used by botanists until it was replaced by 'ecology' at the 1893 International Botanical Congress.[12] The word 'economy' is coined from 'oikos' and 'nomos' ('law'), meaning the 'law of the house.' Ecology and economy were closely related concepts but did not refer to the same 'house.' Ecology referred to nature while economy referred to the human household – both literally and as a metaphor for society; in both cases, it was a matter of how scarce resources were managed and allocated. Economy was modelled on the science of Newtonian physics,[13] which meant that economy adopted and integrated the notion of 'equilibrium' from physics, i.e.

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[8] John Holden, *The Ecology of Culture* (2015).
[9] Mark Burgin, "Principles of General Ecology," *Proceedings* 1:148 (2017), 1.
[10] Charles Darwin, *The Origin of the Species* [1859] (1911).
[11] Sears 1970 quoted in Gerald Young, "Human Ecology as an Interdisciplinary Concept: A Critical Inquiry," in *Advances in Ecological Research, vol. 8*, ed. Amyan MadFayden (1974), 4.
[12] Emanuel Gaziano, "Ecological Metaphors as Scientific Boundary Work: Innovation and Authority in Interwar Sociology and Biology," *American Journal of Sociology* 101:4 (1996), 879.
[13] Philip Mirowski, *More Heat than Light. Economics as Social Physics, Physics as Nature's Economics* (1991).

the idea that a physical system has a state where it is in balance and at rest.[14] If such system is exposed to shock by external forces or is brought out of balance, it will regulate itself to re-establish its equilibrium state or attain a new equilibrium state given the nature of the shock. It was the naturalist Carl Linnaeus who, in the 18th century, had brought forth the conceptualisation of an *economy of nature* which contained the idea that natural systems inherently seek towards an equilibrium state where resources are circulated and consumed to the benefit of all species.[15] From the economy of nature grew the concept of the economy of human societies: Margaret Shabas has demonstrated how the development of economics as a distinct, social science in the early 19th century emerged from an understanding of economic phenomena as properties of natural, physical systems.[16] The notion of equilibrium migrated to economics from physics. Perhaps it also migrated to ecology. In the science of ecology, a notion of an equilibrium state would emerge that resembled that of physical systems and from that the recurrent ecological imagery of a system seeking its own state of balance was born.

Biologists were not the only ones thinking ecologically. In the interwar years, a group of Chicago-based sociologists produced a body of work that attempted to establish human ecology as a discipline, a theory, and a methodology. Vivienne Palmer's *Student Manual* for sociological field studies expresses succinctly the ecological thinking of the Chicago sociologist:

> The ecological area is the product of: (1) the natural physical environment, the topography of the land; (2) the physical structures-roads, transportation routes, various types of buildings, etc., which man has added to the landscape; and (3) the economic organization - the trade centres, the usage, and the price of land….ecology is thus the meeting ground of geography, especially human geography, and economics; but it deals with only one phase of these two sciences, with that phase which studies the economic and geographic factors which *affect the distribution and segregation of population.*[17]

What are the 'factors that affect the distribution and segregation of a population'? In the first recorded text to employ the term 'human ecology'–Park and Burgess's *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* from 1921–the nature and 'natural order' of human community is conceptualised as

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[14] Margaret Shabas, *The Natural Origins of Economics* (2005), 92; Michael Plischke and Birger Bergersen, *Equilibrium Statistical Physics* (1994); Eric Beinhocker, *The Origin of Wealth: Evolution, Complexity, and the Radical Remaking of Economics* (2006), 17ff.

[15] Carl Linnaeus, "Oeconomy of Nature," in *Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Natural History, Husbandry, and Physick*, ed. Benjamin Stillingfleet (1762).

[16] Shabas, *Natural Origins of Economics*.

[17] Vivienne Palmer, *Field Studies in Sociology: A Student's Manual* (1928), 64. *Italics* added.

based on 'competition', 'conflict', 'accommodation,' and 'assimilation.'[18] 'Competition' is a recurrent motif in the writings of the pioneers Park, Burgess, McKenzie, Anderson, and Lindemann: it was conceived of as an ecological force that was fundamental to the dynamic of the community and a necessary condition for the establishment of a state of social and economic equilibrium.[19] To Park, the city's state of equilibrium was affected by the population's competition with each other for space and resources.[20] In his seminal book *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (1925), Park conceived of the city as a social organisation that continuously establishes its own order, based on what Burgess conceptualised as 'silent, but continuous ecological forces'[21] that worked to distribute people of the city into zones of segregation by residence and occupation.[22] The ecological thinking of the Chicago sociologists in the 1920s understood equilibrium as a natural order that was neither intentional, strategic, nor just. To Anderson and Lindemann, the ecological problem for human communities 'is to discover how far this double rule of biology, this dual bionomic process (increase of the species when the change in habitat is favourable and decrease when the change is unfavourable) applies, and to what extent it influences the life of cities.'[23] A change in the habitat could be patterns of migration, economic growth or recession, the rise of new industries, i.e. a change in anything that could be related to the population's livelihood as a whole. They linked this 'dual bionomic process' to processes of specialisation, by which labour is divided, to the competition for space by which the city is segregated into communities. They understood both as effects of or responses to, increased population growth within the same space. To Roderick McKenzie, the human community tends to develop in cyclic fashion. Under a given state of natural resources and in given condition of the arts the community tends to increase in size and structure until it reaches the point of population adjustment to the economic base...Whatever the innovation may be that disturbs the equilibrium of the community, there is a tendency toward a new cycle of adjustment.[24]

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[18] Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1921).

[19] Nels Anderson and Eduard Lindemann, *Urban Sociology: an Introduction to the Study of Urban Communities* (1928), 35.

[20] Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigations of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment," in *The City*, ed. Robert Parks and Ernest Burgess (1925), 17.

[21] Ernest Burgess, "Can Neighborhood Work Have a Scientific Basis?," in *The City*, ed. Robert Parks and Ernest Burgess (1925), 150.

[22] Burgess, "Can Neighbourhood Work have a Scientific Basis?," 147.

[23] Anderson and Lindemann, *Urban Sociology* (1928), 33.

[24] Roderick D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," *American Journal of Sociology* 30:3 (1924), 292.

The ecological 'approach' to studying the city and the human communities would pay attention both to how the population adjusts to the natural resources available and to the division of labour (the 'economic base'), and it would study and map already existing patterns of urban segregation and economic organisation as equilibrium states.[25] Human ecology was both a theoretical apparatus and a methodology. As a theory, human ecology was nomothetic in ambition and nature as it sought to establish the universal laws that regulate human communities.[26] Ironically, it was the methodologically idiographic studies of Chicago communities that made up the majority of the work in the 1920s and 1930s.[27]

Though there was reference to animal and plant ecology in the works of Park and Burgess,[28] it would be inaccurate to state that the development of ecological thought in sociology happened by appropriating only concepts from biology.[29] Concepts such as *division of labour*, *social organisation*, *adjustment*, and *self-regulation* were already present in the works of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Emile Durkheim, which were widely referenced by the Chicago sociologists.[30] As argued by Emanuel Gaziano in his careful study of the scientific boundary work involved in establishing human ecology in the interwar years, it is more accurate to think of ecological thought as developing in parallel to biology and sociology. Sociologists certainly employed biological concepts as metaphors to think with, just as biologists employed concepts from sociology, but they were adjusted to fit into already established frames of disciplinary thought.[31] The sociologists of the Chicago school were prolific in their writing and research in the 1920s. By the 1930s, there were endeavours in other fields such as geography, psychology, and cultural anthropology to integrate ecology.

If it is correct that the fundamental concern of ecological thought is to describe and explain the relation between organisms and environments, then Brunswick and Tolman's

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[25] On the use of mapping, see Robert Owens, "Mapping the City: Innovation and Continuity in the Chicago School of Sociology, 1920–1934," *American Sociologist* 43 (2012).

[26] Nicolas Entrikin, "Robert Park's Human Ecology and Human Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70:1 (1980).

[27] E.g. Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (1923); Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (1927); Harvey Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side*, (1929); Paul Goalby Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (1932). See also Martin Bulmer, "The Methodology of the Taxi-Dance Hall: an Early Account of Chicago Ethnography from the 1920s," *Urban Life* 12:1 (1983).

[28] For example, reference to Eugenius Warming and Martin Vahl, *Oecology of Plants: an Introduction to the Study of Plant-communities* (1909); William Wheeler, *Ants, Their Structure, Development, Behaviour* (1910); Frederic Clements, *Plant Succession* (1916).

[29] Louis Wirth, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology* 50 (1945), 483-488.

[30] Gaziano, "Ecological Metaphors as Scientific Boundary Work," 881.

[31] Young, "Human Ecology as an Interdisciplinary Concept," 12.

conceptualisation of the 'causal texture of the environment' qualifies as an early text of psychological ecology. Brunswick and Tolman were concerned with understanding how psychological effects are caused by the environment.[32] By ascribing causality to the texture of the environment as opposed to identifying singular causes, they solidly embedded the human organism in a life world and aligned psychology with ecological sentiments. They simultaneously addressed the problem of psychological research design.[33] The psychologist Kurt Lewin brought psychology into the field and also used the term 'ecology.'[34] Lewin and his colleagues sought to design studies of human behaviour in their natural setting: in a study of aggressive behaviour they studied the environmental conditions of school children and observed how changes in the environment had effects on their behaviour. The findings were complicated: even minor changes affected behaviour significantly; yet, understanding exactly why such changes had causal effects was difficult to establish.[35] There was, however, sufficient evidence to support the claim that 'social climates' had an effect on behaviour:

> The factors named as sufficient to warn against any "one-factor" theory of aggression. Here, as in regard to any other behaviour, it is the specific constellation of the field as a whole that determines whether or not aggression will occur. In every case one has to consider both the driving and the restraining forces and the cognitive structure of the field.[36]

Aggression was a product of the specific constellation of the whole, but it was not possible to determine exactly what caused it. Rather, in order to describe and explain the occurrence of aggression, one would have to pay close attention to what Lewin called the 'field at a given time.'[37] The psychological field is a situation extended in a particular time and a particular space wherein an individual is affected by some, but not all, of the social and physical processes of her environment.[38] While this is not an explicit commitment to idiographic research design, the complicated nature of the field did call for careful situational analysis and case studies.[39] The citation from Lewin points to concerns of ecological thought that go beyond psychological

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[32] Edward Tolman and Egon Brunswick, "The Organism and the Causal Texture of the Environment," *Psychological Review* 42:1 (1934).
[33] Egon Brunswik, *Perception and the Representative Design of Psychological Experiments* (1956).
[34] Kurt Lewin, "Defining the 'field at a given time'," *Psychological Review* 50:3 (1943), 306.
[35] Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippit and Ralph White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour in Experimentally Created "Social Climates," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 10 (1939).
[36] Lewin, Lippit and White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behaviour," 297.
[37] Lewin, "Defining the 'field at a given time'".
[38] "Defining the 'field at a given time'," 306.
[39] Kurt Danziger, *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research* (1994), 176.

research and that continue to be an issue of ecological thought: deciding if, when, how, and how much environment determines the behaviour of the organism and the commitment to methodological holism. The former can be considered a recurrent problem in ecological thought; already in 1938, Milla Alihan had criticised the Chicago sociologists for ascribing too much weight to the environment at the expense of individual volition and collective agency.[40] This criticism was to be raised repeatedly against ecological thought.

There were attempts to solve the conundrum: in 1935, the interdisciplinary board of the Social Science Research Council asked the cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead to head a study of cooperation and competition among 'primitive peoples;' in 1937, the study was published, and Mead summarised the surprising findings,

> …[C]ompetitive and cooperative behaviour on the part of individual members of a society is fundamentally *conditioned* by the total social emphasis of that society, ...the goals for which individuals will work are culturally determined and are not the response of the organism to an external, culturally undefined situation, like a simple scarcity of food.[41]

Human culture determines human cooperative and competitive behaviour. It is via culture that people make sense of the environment and determine how to behave sensibly. What counts as competition in one culture might not do so in another. This cultural anthropological inquiry engaged with the problem of the relation between organism and environment by inserting culture as a form of intermediary and thus conceptually dislocating the force of determination by proposing that humans are only *conditioned* by nature but *determined* by their own culture.

Reflection: methodological holism

In both Mead and Lewin there are traces of methodological holism: to Lewin it is the field as 'a whole' and to Mead it is the 'total social emphasis' that need to be accounted for in order fully to explain behaviour. Methodological holism is the doctrine that it is possible to conceive of a whole that is composed of, but not reducible to, a multitude of parts and which is something in itself.[42] 'Culture' is an example of such a composite whole[43], and its most extreme form is Edward Tylor's conception of culture as 'that complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals,

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[40] Milla Alihan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis* (1938).

[41] Margaret Mead, "Introduction" in *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*, ed. Margaret Mead (1937), 14. *Italics* added.

[42] Julie Zahle, "Methodological Holism in the Social Sciences," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Zalta (2016).

[43] Donald Hardesty, "The Ecological Perspective in Anthropology," *American Behavioral Scientist* 24:1 (1980), 107.

customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.'[44] Culture is composed and performed by individuals acting in concert, yet, it is supra-individual: it is shared with other individuals but not conditioned by the behaviour of any individual person. Though she might die, her culture would not. Methodological holism commits to the idea that there are properties of that whole which cannot be reduced to, or explained by reference to, its constituent parts. The whole is simply excessive. By contrast, we find methodological individualism, which would commit to the doctrine that it is only scientifically sound to describe and explain what can be positively observed and measured, which corresponds with the idea that aggregate social phenomena are nothing more than the sum of individual action and ideas. The whole is simply accumulative. Ecological thought has struggled with the question of methodological holism: though it may be perfectly theoretically sound to claim the existence of a given ecological whole, it may be methodologically difficult or impossible even to study the ecological whole *as a whole*. The whole is bound to be derivative.

The work of the human ecologist Amos Hawley is an example of holistic thinking in ecology. In his 1944 article *Ecology and Human Ecology*, Hawley critically reviewed the early works of human ecology in sociology, geography, and cultural anthropology and defined ecology as the 'study of the morphology of collective life in both its static and its dynamic aspects.'[45] The ecological unit of analysis is the population, and the particular form that it assumes is an effect of how it has adjusted and adapted to its environment:

> ...out of the adaptive strivings of aggregated individuals there develops...an organization of interdependencies which constitutes...a coherent functional entity.[46]

The form of population and its relation to its environment is an organised set of interdependencies; it is a 'coherent functional entity' and a whole.[47] Viewed critically from a position of methodological individualism, the statement that the population is 'organized, or in the process of becoming organized'[48] is very difficult, if not impossible, to test and verify, or better falsify, given that the organisation of the population as a whole is not observable in its totality but only extrapolated from observations of its constituent parts.

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[44] Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, vol. 1* (1871), 1.
[45] Amos Hawley, "Ecology and Human Ecology," *Social Forces* 22:4 (1944), 403.
[46] Hawley, "Ecology and Human Ecology."
[47] "Ecology and Human Ecology," 403.
[48] "Ecology and Human Ecology," 403.

Hawley launched a critique of the role competition played in the conceptual apparatus of the early works of human ecology. There was no empirical evidence to support the notion of competition as an ecological force driving the organisation of the ecology; rather, Hawley contended that the employment of competition stemmed from human ecology's use of biological concepts.[49] However, even in nature competition is not foundational:

> ...mutual aid is just as fundamental and universal as opposition has been abundantly shown in numerous field and laboratory studies of plants and animals.[50]

Competition did not cease to be a component in the conceptual apparatus of ecological and human ecological thought; the theoretical revisions of the 1940s were but the first to question the proper role of competition in ecological thinking. It had been constructed theoretically as a fundamental ecological law in the works of Park, Burgess and McKenzie, and in Hawley it was relegated to the status of being one regulative mechanism among others. Perhaps the weakness of the concept of 'competition' was that it was first and foremost a theoretical construct, not an empirical finding.

Ecological thought prevailed in sociology, geography, psychology, and anthropology in the years after World War II. The Chicago school had been an inspiration for and a source of a massive production of ecological studies,[51] but by the end of the 1940s it had dissolved, its mode of ecological thinking rooted in the spatial configuration of the city was reconfigured in urban sociology to what John Bruhn characterised as 'analytical considerations of functional interrelationships which make up urban community and society.'[52] Gerald Young claimed, in his meticulous study of ecological thought,[53] that:

> If there is one thing that runs through sociological human ecology from the beginning to the present, it is the importance of "organization" as a fundamental principle, a unity threaded throughout the history of sociology and human ecology.[54]

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[49] "Ecology and Human Ecology," 400.
[50] "Ecology and Human Ecology," 401.
[51] James Quinn, "Topical Summary of Current Literature: On Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology* 46:2 (1940). Quinn lists 347 publications, many of them studies of the city of Chicago or made by researchers affiliated with the University of Chicago.
[52] John Bruhn, "Human Ecology: A Unifying Science," *Human Ecology* 2:2 (1974), 115.
[53] Young, "Human Ecology."
[54] Young, "Human Ecology," 14.

Here, organisation is a principle, not a law. Sociology described and analysed how human communities were organised, and it brought this insight to ecological thought. This contribution to ecological thought articulated a core conceptual problem, namely the task of determining and defining the ecological unit.[55] The relationship between organism and environment is the key ecological motif, but: does the human community stand for 'organism' and if so, what is the environment to which it adjusts and adapts? One attempt to answer this question is found in Bailey and Mulcahy's examination of the problem of 'scope' in human ecology.[56] The main argument of the article is that it is feasible to integrate two units of analysis by conceiving of them as levels of ecology: the sociocultural ecological unit of individual action is microecological and the so-called 'neoclassical' ecological unit of population - the ecological complex[57] - is macroecological. By thinking about defining *levels of analysis,* Bailey and Mulcahy resonated with Urie Bronfenbrenner's take on ecological psychology: there are ecological problems and effects that appear and are observable at microscopical, mesoscopical and macroscopical levels.[58]

The relation between humans and their environment had been a concern in cultural anthropology since the start of the 20th century.[59] The ecological aspects of culture[60] were a recurrent explicit concern of anthropologists working to describe and explain how cultures equip their members with means to make sense of and cope with the conditions of their environments.[61] Julian Steward employed the term 'cultural ecology' in his *Theory of Culture Change* from 1955:

> Cultural ecology differs from human and social ecology in seeking to explain the origin of particular cultural features and patterns which characterize different areas rather than to derive general principles applicable to any cultural-environmental situation…the problem is to ascertain whether the adjustments of human societies to their environments require particular modes of behaviour or whether they permit latitude for a certain range of possible behaviour patterns.

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[55] Donald Cartwright, "Ecological Variables," *Sociological Methodology, vol. 1* (1969).

[56] Kenneth Bailey and Patrick Mulcahy, "Sociocultural Versus Neoclassical Ecology: A Contribution to the Problem of Scope in Sociology," *The Sociological Quarterly* 13:1 (1972).

[57] Otis Duncan, Leo Schnor and Peter Rossi, "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology* 65:2 (1959).

[58] Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development," *American Psychologist* 32:7 (1977).

[59] Young, "Human Ecology," 19; Hardesty, "Ecological Perspective in Anthropology".

[60] Roderick Sayce, "The Ecological Study of Culture," *Scientia* 32:63 (1938).

[61] Robert Netting, "A Trial Model of Cultural Ecology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 55 (1965); Robert Netting, "Agrarian Ecology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1974); Marshall Sahlins, "Culture and Environment: the Study of Cultural Ecology," in *Horizons of Anthropology,* ed. Tax Sol (2017); Paul Bohannon, *Social Anthropology* (1963), 208-228; Morris Freilich, "The Natural Experiment, Ecology and Culture," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 19:1 (1964); June Helm, "The Ecological Approach in Anthropology," *American Journal of Sociology* 67:6 (1962).

Phrased in this way, the problem also distinguishes cultural ecology from "environmental determinism" and its related theory "economic determinism" which are generally understood to contain their conclusions within the problem.[62]

The aim was not to produce universally applicable laws that describe the relationship between man and environment at any given time and in any given space as such description would always be particular. Cultural ecology was concerned with describing how cultures are adjusted to their environments but without subscribing to any form of determinism. Steward developed the notion of a *cultural core* which is that part of a given culture where the 'relationship between functional ties and natural setting is "crucial."'[63] The cultural core is that part of a culture which exhibits the necessary behaviour patterns developed to cope with the conditions of the natural environment. This allowed Steward to make a distinction between those functional interdependent aspects of a culture that are developed as adjustments to the environment and those that are not. This conceptualisation of cultural ecology was a way to think carefully about the interrelationship between the exploitative and productive behaviour patterns of a given human culture and its environment, without committing to the kind of environmental determinism that would conceptually deprive humans of their volition.[64]

In opposition to Steward's position, Vayda and Rappaport called for a systems approach to exploring the relations between culture and environment. This would involve accounting for feedback mechanisms:

> ...There presumably are feedbacks operating between social factors and ecological adaptations, and it [is] necessary to look for circular or reticulate relations between effects and causes rather than for simple one way linear cause-to-effect sequences.[65]

Vayda and Rappaport challenged Steward's conceptualisation of cultural ecology by employing the concept of feedback mechanisms by which populations continuously respond adaptively to the conditions of their environments.[66] The concept of feedback was a result of the conceptual

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[62] Julian Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (1955), 36-37.

[63] Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution. The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (1966), 6-7; Mary Helms, "On Julian Steward and the Nature of Culture," *American Ethnologist* 5:1 (1978).

[64] Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*; Julian Steward, "Cultural Ecology," in *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*, *vol. 4*, ed. David Sills (1968).

[65] Andrew Vayda and Roy Rappaport, "Ecology, Cultural and Non Cultural," in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: Essays in the Scope and Method of the Science of Man*, ed. James Clifton (1968).

[66] Aletta Biersack, "Introduction: From the "New Ecology" to the New Ecologies," *American Anthropologist*, 101:1 (1999).

work of system theories and cybernetic thinking that had emerged in the 1940s and 1950s and to which we now turn.

Organisations are systems

A central text in systems theory is von Bertalanffy's *The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology* from 1950,[67] which defines properties of open systems. A system, minimally defined, is a group of interrelated and interacting entities; it is a set of interdependent differences. Von Bertalanffy was concerned with the properties of *open* systems in contrast to *closed* systems. The latter are systems that have no interaction with their environments and which show tendencies towards equilibrium states and entropy. The former are systems that interact with their environments, for instance, by importing energy. All living organisms depend on sustenance sourced from their environments; they are open systems that constantly interact with their immediate surroundings. Von Bertalanffy demonstrated that open systems show tendencies towards a 'steady state', described as 'a time-independent state where the system remains constant as a whole and in its phases, though there is a continuous flow of the component materials.'[68] Equilibrium and steady state are not synonyms: equilibrium is a static state where no exchange of energy within the system happens because all relevant forces in the system balance each other out. Steady state is a dynamic state, where the multiple forces in a system are constantly regulated to maintain a given balance. In living systems, this is called 'homeostasis.' Open systems, including living systems, regulate themselves constantly to attain steady states. Think of the increased heart rate and the sweat that breaks out when running: this is the body regulating itself to maintain its functional steady state in the event of increased activity. Increased heart rate to pump more oxygen to the muscles, sweat to prevent the body from overheating. To von Bertalanffy, self-regulations 'are general properties of open systems.'[69] In order to regulate itself, an open system is dependent upon feedback mechanisms by which the system detects an internal change or an external change and employs a measure in response. If a living organism detects a change in its sustenance base, a response may be to lower metabolism to maintain a steady state; the feedback mechanism is the entire sequence of detection-response. The concept of feedback mechanism was central to the cybernetic movement that emerged in the late 1940s, most notably associated with Norbert Wiener's *Cybernetic: Or Control and Communication in the Animal and*

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[67] Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and Biology," *Science* 3 (1950).
[68] von Bertalanffy, "Theory of Open Systems," 23.
[69] "Theory of Open Systems," 24.

Machine from 1948.[70] As the title indicates, cybernetic theory was concerned with the role of communication in a system's capacity to control and maintain itself. To Wiener, and cybernetic thinking in general, communication meant *transfer of information.[71]* A feedback mechanism was thus any mechanism by which a system is transferring, processing, and responding to information. System theoretical and cybernetic notions of circular, systemic feedback mechanisms informed Vayda and Rappaport's take on cultural ecology. If the relation between human cultures and the environment was analysed by using the concept of the feedback mechanism, then it would be possible to conceive of and theorise the relation as dynamic and bilateral. Cultural ecology would move beyond the tedious theoretical impasse of deciding whether environment determined man, or vice versa, simply because culture and environment make an open system composed of and regulated by multiple feedback loops. Vayda and Rappaport's mode of thinking was a sign of the times; their mode of ecological thinking demonstrated how insights from cybernetic thinking, systems theory, and general ecology had become part of cultural anthropology. In 1974, Gregory Bateson published *Steps to an Ecology of Mind,* one of the most striking examples of systems theory in cultural anthropology.[72] It was not only in the study of culture, however, that the open, and exceedingly complex, system appeared as a metaphor to think with.

In 1966, Marius Blegen published *The System Approach to the Study of Organizations* which began with the claim that it was 'at present fashionable to study organizations as open systems.'[73] Blegen referenced the open system theory of von Bertalanffy, the cybernetics of Wiener, Beer[74], and Ashby[75], and the administrative studies of Emery, Trist, Simon and March[76] as exemplars that conceptualised the organisation as an open system. The novel aspect was the *open* part of 'open system,' for since the beginning of the 20th century, organisation studies had imagined, studied, and conceptualised the organisation as a system.[77] In 1939, Roethlisberger and Dickson had defined an industrial organisation as a social system:

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[70] Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetic: Or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (1948).

[71] Some of the early models of communication stem from the conceptual and engineering work of cybernetic theory, for instance: Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (1998).

[72] Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology* (2000).

[73] Hans Marius Blegen, "The System Approach to the Study of Organizations," *Acta Sociologica* 11:1-2 (1966), 1.

[74] Stafford Beer, *Cybernetics and Management* (1964).

[75] William Ashby, *An Introduction to Cybernetics* (1961).

[76] Fred Emery and Eric Trist, *Socio-Technical Systems* (1959); Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behaviour. A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations* (1961); James March and Herbert Simon, *Organizations* (1958).

[77] Richard Scott and Gerald Davis, *Organizations and Organizing: Rational, Natural and Open Systems Perspectives* (2015).

The parts of the industrial plant as a social system are interrelated and interdependent. Any changes in one part of the social system are accompanied by changes in other parts of the system. The parts of the system can be conceived of as being in a state of equilibrium…[78]

In the organisation they studied, the Hawthorne industrial plant in Chicago, they had discovered a formal organisation based on a 'logic of efficiency' and an informal organisation based on 'a logic of sentiment.'[79] Together, the formal organisation of managers and the informal organisation of workers formed a social system. It was, however, a closed system. Though it was observed that there was an outside that affected the system, as the workers brought sentiments and problems from home to the plant,[80] the system was conceptualised as delineated by the physical boundaries of the plant.

By 1967, the organisation had become *complex*, because it was differentiated by specialised functions that interacted. To Lawrence and Lorsch,

An *organization* is defined as a system of interrelated behaviors of people who are performing a task that has been differentiated into several distinct subsystems, each subsystem performing a portion of the task, and the efforts of each being integrated to achieve effective performance of the system.[81]

Conceptually, the organisation had now acquired a 'complex environment' which it sought to order as a means to 'cope with it effectively.'[82] One of the findings of Lawrence and Lorsch was that the feedback mechanisms used by the 'Science, Market, and Technical-Economic subsystems' to retrieve and produce information from the environment, as their respective indicators of organisational performance, had different temporalities and different kinds of quality.[83] Acquiring reliable and valid feedback in the science (i.e. research and development) division could be a matter of years, while the market division could expect reliable feedback from their markets within weeks. The organisation that Lawrence and Lorsch conceptualised was complex because its relationship with the environment contained multiple feedback loops of differing temporalities and because it was increasingly differentiated by functions. It was no

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[78] Fritz Roethlisberger and William Dickson, *Management and the Worker* [1939] (2003), 172.
[79] Roethlisberger and Dickson, *Management.*
[80] Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (2003), 101-106. I thank Thomas Lopdrup-Hjorth for bringing this to my attention.
[81] Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch, "Differentiation and Integration in Complex Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 12:1 (1967), 3.
[82] Lawrence and Lorsch, "Differentiation and Integration," 5.
[83] "Differentiation and Integration".

longer a closed system, and it was set in a relation to its environment in a manner that resembled the ecological problem of organism and environment; it was situated, configured to cope with the demands of the environment. In the period between Roethlisberger and Dickson's *Management and the Worker* and Lawrence and Lorsch's *Differentiation and Integration in Complex Organizations*, the organisation had become an open system in interaction with a surrounding environment. Lawrence and Lorsch's, preceded by Woodward's *Management and Technology,*[84] and Burns and Stalker's *The Management of Innovation,*[85] were early works in a mode of organisational inquiry that conceptualised organisational structure as *contingent* upon the demands of the environment. The organisation was an open system that adapted and adjusted like an organism, its particular form inseparable from its particular environment. In ecological terms, organisations would adapt and adjust themselves to *fit*. *Contingency Theory* became a dominant theoretical position in the 1960s and 70s,[86] and though it did not identify itself as ecological in nature,[87] it did nonetheless resonate with the foundational ecological problem of describing and explaining the morphology of the organism vis-à-vis its dependency on its environment. Not surprisingly, it was met with the criticism that the theory favoured environmental determinism over the self determination of the organisation and its managers.[88] Furthermore, the notion that organisations varied according to their environment was challenged by evidence that suggested that there are only a limited number of structural forms that organisations may assume.[89]

The systems approach to studying organisation and the contingency perspective have common reference points. According to Blegen,

> An organisation, viewed as an open system, may be characterized by concepts such as wholeness (a change in one part causes a change in at least some of the other parts), it shows growth, differentiation, adaptation, hierarchic order, control, competition, direction, and other traits characteristic of biological organisms.[90]

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[84] Joan Woodward, *Management and Technology. Problems and Progress in Technology* (1958).

[85] Tom Burns and George Stalker, *The Management of Innovation* (1961).

[86] Christian Knudsen and Signe Vikkelsø, "Contingencyteori" in *Klassisk Og Moderne Organisationsteori*, ed. Signe Vikkelsø and Peter Kjær, (2014), 137.

[87] Peter Blau, "A Formal Theory of Differentiation in Organizations," *American Sociological Review* 35:2 (1970); Peter Blau and Richard Schoenherr, *The Structure of Organizations* (1971); Alfred Chandler, *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise* (1962); John Child, "Organizational Structure, Environment and Performance: The Role of Strategic Choice," *Sociology* 6:1 (1972).

[88] Knudsen and Vikkelsø, "Contingencyteori," 145.

[89] Henry Mintzberg, "The Structuring of Organizations," in *Readings in Strategic Management,* ed. Clive Bowman and David Ash (1989).

[90] Blegen, "System Approach," 19.

Cybernetics and open systems theory had enabled organisation theory to reconceptualise the organisation from a closed, rational system to a situated, open and increasingly complex system that interacted adaptively with its environment through feedback mechanisms. It resembled ecological thinking, but it was Aldrich, Pfeffer, Reiss, Hannan, and Freeman who developed an explicitly ecological organisation theory.[91] They adopted concepts from evolutionary biology and ecology and applied them to the study of organisations. The main argument was that it was the ecology that optimised and selected the organisations that were most fit to meet the demands of the environment.[92] It was not incorrect to state that organisations choose their structures in response to their perceptions of the demands of the environment, but this did not explain why organisations succeed or fail. *Competition* between organisations that *adapted* to and were *selected* by the environment could explain why some organisations would survive and succeed while others perished.[93]

Hannan and Freeman based their theoretical framework on the work of the human ecologist Amos Hawley and used 'explicit competition models to specify the process producing isomorphism between organisational structure and environmental demands, and … niche theory to extend the problem to dynamic environments.'[94] The organisational ecology was conceptualised as being composed of five layers: individual members of organisations, subunits, individual organisations, populations of organisations, and communities of populations of organisations.[95] A population of organisations was 'all the organizations within a particular boundary that have a common form. That is, the population is the form as it exists or is realized within a specified system.'[96] The challenge of population ecology was to use the concepts of competition and selection as the ecological mechanisms that explain how populations of organisations are regulated and maintained in 'equilibrium' states.[97] Not only will organisations compete with other organisations for the finite resources they need to sustain themselves, but whole populations of organisations will compete with other populations of organisations. The

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[91] Michael Hannan and John Freeman, "Environment and the Structure of Organizations," *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal*, (1974); Howard Aldrich and Jeffrey Pfeffer, "Environments of Organizations," *Annual Review of Sociology* 2:1(1976); Michael Hannan and John Freeman, "Population Ecology of Organizations," *American Journal of Sociology* 82:5 (1977); Howard Aldrich and Albert Reiss Jr., "Continuities in the Study of Ecological Succession: Changes in the Race Composition of Neighborhoods and Their Businesses," *American Journal of Sociology* 81:4 (1976).
[92] Aldrich and Pfeffer, "Environments of Organizations".
[93] Hannan and Freeman, "Population Ecology," (1977).
[94] "Population Ecology," 933.
[95] "Population Ecology," 933.
[96] "Population Ecology," 936.
[97] "Population Ecology," 939.

organisations that are '*less fit* to the environmental contingencies will tend to be eliminated.'[98] Population ecology was nomothetic in kind; it was concerned with formulating laws that explained the dynamic relationship between organisations by way of referencing to the optimising behaviour of the environment. The combination of 'competition', 'selection,' and 'equilibrium' provided a theoretical framework that explained why some organisations prevail over others: the organisations that are the most isomorphic to the environment are selected by the environment.[99]

In the same year as Hannan and Freeman's *Population Ecology of Organizations*, Eric Trist published *A Concept of Organizational Ecology*.[100] Since the early 1960s, Trist had collaborated with Fred Emery on creating an increasingly ecological mode of organisational thought. In 1965, they had published their theory of the 'causal texture of the environment' as a framework for presenting four distinct types of organisational environments: the placid-random; the placid-clustered; the disturbed-reactive; and finally, the turbulent field.[101] Moving from static to dynamic environments, the turbulent field would be the most complex and from an organisational perspective, the most demanding. As they phrased it, 'the "ground" is in motion' in turbulent environments.[102] This type of environment would be characterised by a 'gross increase in [the organisation's] area of *relative uncertainty*'[103] due to three factors: first, an organisation may become so large that the scale and impact of its activities may produce 'autochthonous' effects in its environment which in return affect the operations of the organisation; second, the level of interdependency between the organisation and society, legislation and public regulation rises as a direct effect of organisational strategy; third, organisations depend increasingly upon research and development to acquire competitive advantages.[104] The *turbulence* of the organisational environment is as much due to the activity of the organisation as it is caused by its competitive relationship with other similar organisations in the field. The environment is in a state of change, challenging the organisational structure and ability to respond adequately. In 1975, Emery and Trist published *Towards a Social Ecology: Contextual Appreciations of the Future in the*

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[98] "Population Ecology," 940. *Italics* added.

[99] "Population Ecology," 943.

[100] Eric Trist, "A Concept of Organizational Ecology," *Australian Journal of Management* 2:2 (1977).

[101] Fred Emery and Eric Trist, "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," *Human Relations* 18:1 (1965).

[102] Emery and Trist, "Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," 26.

[103] "Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," 26. *Italics* in original.

[104] "Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," 26.

Present.[105] They argued that the 'open system' should be the new 'root metaphor'[106] of organisation theory and claimed that organisations were positioned in a world that had moved 'beyond the steady state':[107] in a world in transformation and marked by increasing uncertainty, organisations must learn to adapt. Trist continued this line of thought and developed the term *organisational ecology* to

> ...refer to the organizational field created by a number of organizations whose interrelations compose a system at the level of the whole field. The character of this overall field, as a system, now becomes the object of inquiry, not the single organization as related to its organization-set.[108]

Organisational ecology reoriented attention from organisational behaviour and structure in the light of, and response to, its individual environment, onto the 'domain' created between organisations as an effect of their individual and collective behaviour and interrelationships, whether that be competitive or collaborative. The environment contained other organisations; it was an ecological system.

The population ecology of Hannan, Freeman, and Aldrich, and the environmental and organisational ecology of Emery and Trist are examples of how organisation theory appropriated and reworked concepts from general ecology and evolutionary biology. They are also striking articulations of how the key problem of the relation between organism and environment raised by biologists, human ecologists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and psychologists had become a central concern to the study and theory of organisation. Finally, both are exemplars of how the figure of *complexity* was being developed in ecological thought across disciplines: the effects of systems theory, cybernetics, and perhaps also of an increasing ability to observe, compute, and explain complexity meant that not only organisation theory but also ecological thought in general were beginning to use the concept of complexity as a new foundation for thought.[109] If it is true

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[105] Fred Emery and Eric Trist, *Towards a Social Ecology: Contextual Appreciations of the Future in the Present*, (1975).

[106] Richard Mason, "Towards a Social Ecology: Contextual Appreciations of the Future in the Present: Review," *Contemporary Sociology* 6:4 (1977).

[107] Donald Schön, *Beyond the Stable State: Public and Private Learning in Changing Society* (1973), 13.

[108] Trist, "Concept of Organizational Ecology," 162.

[109] Examples in organisation theory: David Parker and Ralph Stacey, *Chaos, Management and Economics: The Implications of Nonlinear Thinking* (1994); Ralph Stacey, *Complexity and Creativity in Organizations* (1996); Ralph Stacey, "The Science of Complexity: An Alternative Perspective for Strategic Change Processes," *Strategic Management Journal* 16:6 (1995); Richard Leifer, "Understanding Organizational Transformation using a Dissipative Structure Model," *Human Relations* 42:10 (1989), 477: 'Despite the significant differences in terms of predicted outcome, however, both [strategic choice and ecology] clearly make the same assumptions about system dynamics, namely, that successful systems (individual organizations/ whole populations) are driven by negative

that the world was becoming ontologically more complex, it is perhaps equally true that it was also becoming increasingly epistemologically complex.

Sociology, ecology and philosophy of the arts

The first paper explicitly to introduce a concept of ecology in the study of the arts and culture is John Passmore's *The Ecology of the Arts* (it was published in 1976 but had already been presented in 1972).[110] The article first appeared alongside publications from A.D. Hope's *Suggestions for a Study of the Ecology of the Arts* and Donald Brook's *How Shall the Arts Flourish?* and was subsequently published as a journal article. The occasion for the original volume in which Passmore's article first appeared reveals how ecology of culture as a field of study related to the development and administration of cultural planning, policy, and funding: the papers were commissioned by the Australia Council for the Arts as part of cultural political deliberations on new kinds of support systems for the arts. In order to assess the potential impact of subsidising the arts, a particular kind of problem was articulated: How do the arts work? The question 'what is art?' became subordinated to a fundamentally sociological interest that addressed matters of organisation, production practices, career paths, and economic structures. In his contribution, Passmore asked:

> The problem before us can be put thus: Is it possible to determine the conditions under which the arts flourish, in the sense in which the biologist can determine the conditions under which a species of plant or animal will flourish?[111]

Exploring the necessary and sufficient conditions under which the arts may *flourish* requires defining what is meant by using the analogy to plants; the arts are not a species, and certainly not plants. Passmore resolved the problem by asking how an artist might make a living from art: as a commercial artist, a sponsored artist, a hobby artist.[112] This analysis embedded the artist as a particular kind of labourer in an economic and institutional environment and brought attention to some of those factors that conditioned the practices of an artist. Conceptually, Passmore reiterated the ecological motif by embedding the artist in relations to her environment and exploring the nature of these relations.

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feedback processes toward predictable states of adaptation to the environment. The dynamics of success are therefore assumed to be a tendency toward equilibrium and thus stability, regularity and predictability.'
[110] John Passmore, "The Ecology of the Arts," *Quadrant* 20:6 (1976).
[111] Passmore, "Ecology of the Arts," 23.
[112] "Ecology of the Arts."

A.D. Hope concluded his paper by stating that although there was a philosophy of art, a psychology of art, a history of art, and a technology of art, the systematic study of economies, sociology, and 'comparative ecology' of art was lacking, which prevented a study of arts 'in relation to their total environment.'[113] Hope challenged the direct application of biological concepts and instead suggested to think in sociological terms. The environmental conditions of the arts could be understood as a 'climate of opinion' to the arts: particular places would be *favourable* to particular arts and *unfavourably* to others.[114] Further, in each generation, artists seemingly have to reformulate their role within their particular societies and in their artistic milieus; younger artists have to 'break away' from the formats and doctrines of the older generation in order to be novel (and rebellious),[115] which compares to the phenomenon of ecological *succession* by which one species replaces another. An ecological study should also explore the *economic and material conditions* of art production; as the production costs of artforms differ greatly, it is crucial to map the kinds of means of productions and reproductions that are available to the kinds of artist and artforms in a particular place.[116] There is *competition* between artists, between different artforms, and between the arts and other forms of enjoyments, for 'available money and interest...and time...' of consumers. Finally, an ecology of the arts should study the *internal organisation* of an artform and its *capacity to adapt* to change.[117] There are two important elements in Hope's prolegomenon to an ecology of the arts: first, the sketch of a formal and universally applicable frame of reference calls for case studies of particular, situated ecologies of art. It would be a *comparative* science and not necessarily nomothetic in nature. Second, a chief reason for this is that the bio-ecological 'principles of balance and interaction' have not been sufficiently demonstrated to apply to human communities.[118] In other words, as it is still uncertain whether the same principles apply, their employment in social studies should be handled with care.

Unrelated and prior to these occasional papers, Arthur Danto had published *The Artworld,*[119] which contributed to a theoretical debate within the philosophy of art and aesthetics.[120] The key argument of *The Artworld* is that for a work of art to be a work of art, it has to be designated by

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[113] A.D. Hope, "Suggestion for a Study of The Ecology of the Arts," in A.D. Hope, John Passmore and Donald Brooke, *The Ecology of the Arts*, Occasional paper/Australian Council for the Arts (1979), 8.
[114] Hope, "Suggestion for a Study," (1979), 6.
[115] "Suggestion for a Study," 6.
[116] "Suggestion for a Study," 6.
[117] "Suggestion for a Study," 7.
[118] "Suggestion for a Study," 5. Hope quoted Julian Steward as evidence.
[119] Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," *The Journal of Philosophy* 61:19 (1964).
[120] Timothy Binkley, "Piece: Contra Aesthetics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 35:3 (1977).

someone as a work of art.[121] The ability to identify a work of art as such presupposes a theory of art which makes art works identifiable as art.[122] Danto, along with Dickie,[123] effectively reallocated the property of an artwork from being an intrinsic property–its essential *artness*–to being the performative act of ascription of artness.[124] This act is entirely contingent; it is conditioned by the conventions of a theory of art which in sociological terms is an *art institution*. *Artness* is a 'social property;'[125] an artwork presupposes an artworld[126] in which and by which it can be recognised as a work of art. Danto and Dickie's conceptions of art were criticized for being an insufficient definition of art, either because it was simply false to claim that an artwork presupposed a theory of art or because their definition would include creations that are not generally *appreciated as art*, as actual artworks *if* the theory of art enables them to be conceived as art.[127] However flawed their conceptualisation of art, the concept of *artworld* served to highlight the social conditions and nature of artworks and art, summarised primarily in the concepts of 'convention' and 'institution.'

The artworld concept was picked by the sociologist Howard Becker, who was himself an accomplished piano player and thus enculturated in the performing arts. The concept became the centrepiece of Becker's seminal contribution to the sociology of art, the 1982 *Art Worlds* which conceptualised art as 'collective action', a concept Becker had already developed by 1974.[128] Becker had also worked out a social typology of artists[129] and a clever conceptual distinction between 'art' and 'craft' as a matter of ideological not pragmatic boundary setting.[130] In addition to the experience from the bars of Chicago, Becker's conceptual framework combined insights from empirical studies of art with a pragmatic sociology of labour.[131] An art world,

> ...consists of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic
> works which the world, and perhaps others as well, define as art. Members of art worlds coordinate
> their activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings

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[121] Danto, "Artworld," 579.

[122] "Artworld," 580.

[123] George Dickie, "What Is Anti-Art?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 33:4 (1975).

[124] Ted Cohen, "The Possibility of Art: Remarks on a Proposal by Dickie," *The Philosophical Review* 82:1 (1973).

[125] Cohen, "Possibility of Art," 70.

[126] Spelling wise, I observe the distinction between Danto's 'artworld' and Becker's 'art world(s)'.

[127] William Kennick, "Theories of Art and the Artworld: Comments," *The Journal of Philosophy* 61:19 (1964).

[128] Howard Becker, *Art Worlds* (1982); Howard S. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," *American Sociological Review* (1974).

[129] Howard Becker, "Art Worlds and Social Types," *American Behavioral Scientist* 19:6 (1976).

[130] Howard Becker, "Arts and Crafts," *American Journal of Sociology* 83:4 (1978).

[131] For instance, Milton Albrecht, James Harwood Barnett and Mason Griff, *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*, (1970).

embodied in common practices and in frequently used artefacts…we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants.[132]

A group of concepts: *coordinated activities*, *shared conventions*, *common practices*, *network of cooperative links*. There is an extensive division of labour and specialisation within an established art world, the performing artist is only one among the many participants necessary for the production of art works - whether they be material, performative, or even conceptual. The artwork is not merely embedded in a socio-material context; it is conditioned, constrained, and produced in and by the collaboration of a number of specialised labourers, each performing their 'bundles of tasks.'[133] To produce a vinyl record with recorded music, a series of professionals are involved: the composing musicians and performers; the recording engineers; the sound mixer; the mastering engineer; visual artists and graphic designers; operators of a pressing plant. Each and every step is in itself conditioned by the materials and technologies involved: musicians have instruments made by professionals and bought in music stores; the recording engineers make use of studio facilities and microphones, etc. Things are interdependent, too: if a composing artist has a special composition in mind, say, a long-form composition, she is practically constrained by the vinyl format, which can only fit so many minutes of music onto a vinyl record, and a sound mixer is dependent upon the recording engineer's choice of recording spaces, microphones, and recording techniques.[134]

Becker's conceptualisation of art worlds is not an explicit attempt at defining an ecology of the arts. However, there are both interesting conceptual similarities between Becker's sociology of art and ecological thinking and distinctly alternative ways of thinking about the nature of culture. The notion of *interdependency*, so central to ecological thought, resonates with Becker's *established network of cooperative links*; the ecological concept of *differentiation* by *specialisation* resonates well with *division of labour*; the very idea of positioning the artwork as conditioned and produced by complicated and interwoven networks of participants, functions, and a technical-material infrastructure seems analogous to the organism-environment configuration of ecological thought. In contrast to much ecological thinking, Becker's artworld does not establish regulating principles per se: the much referenced and reiterated concept of *competition* is not absent in Becker's work, but it is not foundational and does not enjoy the same status as a

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[132] Becker, "Art Worlds," 34-35.
[133] "Art Worlds," 9.
[134] This illustration is based on my own personal practical experience as a musician.

regulative principle.[135] Instead, *shared conventions* are regulators, which have immanent rationalities; any regulating principle seems to grow from the art world itself, and they cannot be deduced speculatively and a priori. This fundamentally changes the frame of reference from imagining an ecology driven by the forces of competition, conflict, and dominance, to a social organisation based on the particular conventions of a given artform. Becker's 'art worlds' is a way of thinking about art as a product of collective agency that does not presuppose any collective body; rather, the collective body is made through its practices.

In the years leading up to the publication of *Art Worlds* in 1982, there was a development of sociological and cultural studies that embraced the conceptualisation of art as collective action. Studies of such diverse research interests as visual art,[136] sound mixers,[137] the relationship between box-office and repertoire selection in opera,[138] the relationship between crowd and performer in folk music,[139] the Simplex structure of studio recording musicians,[140] female participation in the production of culture,[141] Hollywood film composers,[142] "revolutionary art,"[143] political theatre in Poland,[144] production organisations,[145] and pottery[146] are examples of research that understood art as the product of collective action and that emphasised relations of interdependence in art production. Though these studies resonate and are compatible with ecological thought, they are not–just like Becker is not–exemplars of research committed to an explicit ecological framework.[147]

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[135] "Art Worlds," 362.

[136] Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (1981); Michael Mulkay and Elizabeth Chaplin, "Aesthetics and the Artistic Career: A Study of Anomie in Fine-Art Painting," *Sociological Quarterly* 23:1(1982).

[137] Edward Kealy, "From Craft to Art: The Case of Sound Mixers and Popular Music," *Sociology of Work and Occupations* 6:1 (1979).

[138] Rosanne Martorella, "The Relationship between Box Office and Repertoire: A Case Study of Opera," *Sociological Quarterly* 18:3 (1977).

[139] Clinton Sanders, "Psyching Out the Crowd: Folk Performers and Their Audiences," *Urban Life and Culture* 3:3 (1974).

[140] Richard Peterson and Howard White, "The Simplex Located in Art Worlds," *Urban Life* 7:4 (1979); Richard Peterson and Howard White, "Elements of Simplex Structure," *Urban Life* 10:1 (1981); Roger Pemberton, "Studio Musician," *Music Educators Journal* 63:7 (1977).

[141] Gaye Tuchman, "Women and the Creation of Culture," *Sociological Inquiry* 45:2-3 (1975).

[142] Robert Faulkner, "Dilemmas in Commercial Work: Hollywood Film Composers and Their Clients," *Urban Life* 51 (1976).

[143] Judith Adler, ""Revolutionary Art" and the "Art" of Revolution: Aesthetic Work in a Millenarian Period," *Theory and Society* 3:3 (1976).

[144] Jeffrey Goldfarb, "Theatre behind the Iron Curtain," *Society* 14:1 (1976).

[145] Paul DiMaggio and Paul Hirsch, "Production Organizations in the Arts," *American Behavioral Scientist* 19:6 (1976).

[146] Anita Sinha, "Control in Craft Work: The Case of Production Potters," *Qualitative Sociology* 2:2 (1979).

[147] It should be noted, en passant, that Pierre Bourdieu's critique of Becker's emphasis on the cooperative aspects of art worlds at the expense of their internal power struggles could also be extended to ecology of art. See Nick Herd, "Bourdieu and the Fields of Art in Australia: On the Functioning of Art Worlds," *Journal of Sociology* 49:2-3 (2013).

Another development that deserves a brief (too brief!) mention is the rise of the kind of cultural studies associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. Founded by Richard Hoggart in 1963, the centre initially aimed at studying the culture and conditions of the contemporary English working class,[148] but it quickly broadened its analytical gaze towards studying popular culture as a composite of positions and subjectivities of class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality.[149] In a sense, it is a story of how the conception of culture as a 'whole way of life,'[150] transformed into conceiving culture as an ever fragmented, situated, and localised result of people's constructions of identity, meaning, and belonging.[151] Further, it is also a story of how such naturalised binaries as high art - popular culture, civilised - savage, 1st world - 3rd world became exposed as contingent upon structures of classism, racism, and colonialism.[152] Though not a unified field, it was generally the case that Cultural Studies was thinking with a Marxist distinction between base and superstructure, which implied that culture was conditioned by the economic structures and means of production of late-capitalist societies in Western Europe.[153] But, at the same time, cultural studies also made inquiry into what people actually do with the artefacts of mass culture. From this perspective, studying how people watch television, read the newspaper, or enjoy popular music became an inquiry into local receptions and uses of culture *and* a study of ideology, power, and resistance.[154] The cultural studies approach is interesting for many reasons, but from an ecological perspective its interest lies in its basic assumption: if it is correct that economic organisation conditions culture and is foundational to it, then, viewed ecologically, this corresponds to the ecological phenomenon of specialisation by division of labour. Conceptually, economic organisation of the means of production becomes the environment that culture is functionally tied to, conditioned by, and adapting to, as argued by Steward and other cultural anthropologists. Because the economic base determines the cultural superstructure, the economic organisation is *external* to culture, but is expressed by it ideologically as a means to manufacture popular consent to the dominant model of exploitative

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[148] John Corner, "Studying Culture: Reflections and Assessments. An Interview with Richard Hoggart," *Media, Culture & Society* 13:2 (1991).

[149] Simon During, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Studies Reader,* ed. Simon During (1993).

[150] Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy. Aspects of Working Class Life* (1957).

[151] During, "Introduction."

[152] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (1983); Raymond Williams, "Culture is Ordinary" [1958], in *Cultural Theory: An Anthology,* ed. Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy (2011); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1979); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (1987).

[153] John Storey, "Cultural Studies: an Introduction," in *What Is Cultural Studies? A Reader,* ed. John Storey (1996).

[154] David Morley, *The Nationwide Audience* (1980); Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding", in *Popular Culture: Production and Consumption,* ed. C. Lee Harrington and Denise D. Bileby (2001).

capitalism.[155] However, Cultural Studies simultaneously emphasised that only empirical studies could actually determine how people receive, use, and produce culture, which makes the argument for conceptualising culture as ideology difficult to maintain in its unilateral, Gramscian form. As Ashcroft, Griffith, and Tiffin phrased it in relation to the field of post-colonial literature which had also made its way into Cultural Studies, then 'the Empire Writes Back.'[156] The subaltern peoples of the British Empire had responded: Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* was first and foremost a portrait of the hybridisation of English and Indian culture, a claim that no culture is pure.[157] Perhaps, Cultural Studies' greatest contribution to ecological thought was that it demonstrated the fluidity, the composite and complex nature of ordinary culture. Culture had certainly lost its national romantic innocence, if it ever had any.

Reflection: the unit and the metaphor

Two problems seem to stick to ecological thought as it has been expressed in sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, organisation theory, and ecology of the arts throughout the 20th century: methodologically, the difficulty of establishing the proper ecological unit of analysis; and theoretically, a certain undecidability with regards to whether the central concepts of the science are to be taken as *metaphorical* or *literal constructs*.

The ecologist Cartwright stated that '...results obtained in ecological research depend, to a considerable extent, on the way the ecological unit is defined.'[158] The imagery of organism/ relation/environment invites several possible suggestions for an ecological unit of analysis: the *relationship(s)* between organism and environment(s);[159] the organism *as an aggregate* of individuals conditioned by its environment; properties of the *population*;[160] the *regulatory mechanisms* and *principles* of an ecology;[161] the activities of organisms,[162] or even the ecology as *a total whole*.[163] As no clear disciplinary consensus has emerged, the 'ecological unit' is a contested and open-ended concept. This is not a major problem for individual studies that identify

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[155] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (2001).

[156] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (2003).

[157] Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses* (1988). See also, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994), 321ff.

[158] Desmond Cartwright, "Ecological Variables," *Sociological Methodology* 1 (1969).

[159] Bruhn, "Human Ecology," (1974), 112.

[160] Aldrich and Pfeffer, "Environments of Organizations," 81.

[161] Hannan and Freeman, "Population Ecology," 938.

[162] Hawley, "Ecology and Human Ecology," 403.

[163] Andrew Vayda and Bonnie McCay, "New Directions in Ecology and Ecological Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4 (1975), 299.

as ecological and employ ecological concepts; it is a problem insofar as any comparative analysis can be made, or any unified disciplinary frame of reference and theory can be established.

Metaphor or literal concept? To some, it is a fundamental theoretical problem that human ecology is constructed on concepts borrowed from evolutionary biology. Alihan,[164] Wirth,[165] and Hawley[166] are examples of texts that criticized the epistemological nature of the central concepts of human ecology; borrowing concepts facilitates the uncritical or unreflexive transfer of properties from the domain of biology onto the domain of human communities, where it may lead to constructing hypotheses on misleading, or even fundamentally false, assumptions. Others, like Gaziano, conceded that fundamental concepts of human ecology had been transferred from biology onto human ecology but that they had been reworked to fit and not merely been applied without discretion or consideration for their suitability in a new theoretical context.[167] Foster and Clark's subtle, but profound, criticism points to the problem of *double transference* of ideas from society unto nature, and then from nature back upon society.[168] They cite 'competition' as a case: in a bourgeois society, competition is a real phenomenon given the liberal, capitalist structure of property relations and a market economy that establishes and pits not only classes but also individuals against one another in a struggle for sustenance. If nature is understood in the image of society, that is, if the biological conceptualisation of nature employs the property of competition that is transferred from society, then nature is not only anthropomorphised, the biological science of nature is also aligned politically with the values and properties of bourgeois society. When sociology transfers the property of competition from nature unto society, the notion is naturalised, that is, the phenomenon of competition now comes to reflect a *natural order of things* and is no longer contingent upon the political economy of liberal society. Reality is greenwashed; the political economy becomes a natural state of affairs.[169] Obviously, double transferences are more troublesome than single transferences of properties, not just regarding the value neutrality of science (if one ever believed in such a thing) but also because they are more difficult to identify. The conceptual apparatus of early human ecology could very well be constructed upon such constituent naturalisation of the political and socio-economic conditions of North America.[170]

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[164] Alihan, *Social Ecology: A Critical Analysis*.
[165] Wirth, "Human Ecology".
[166] Hawley, "Ecology and Human Ecology," 400.
[167] Gaziano, "Ecological Metaphors as Scientific Boundary Work".
[168] John Foster and Brett Clark, "The Sociology of Ecology: Ecological Organicism versus Ecosystem Ecology in the Social Construction of Ecological Science 1926-1935," *Organization and Environment* 21:3 (2008).
[169] Foster and Clarke, "Sociology of Ecology," (2008).
[170] Liu and Emirbayer's comparison of the concepts of 'field' and 'ecology' indicates that this might be the case. See Sida Liu and Mustafa Emirbayer, "Field and Ecology".

On the opposite side of the argument we find those who consider their concepts to be literal, for whom an 'ecology' is a genuine phenomenon. Hannan and Freeman stated that '...some readers of an earlier draft have...treated our arguments as metaphoric. That is not what we intend.'[171] Ecology is the name of a phenomenon not reserved to biology but which extends to other aspects of the world, either because 'ecology' is a formally empty concept, a synonym for system, like Bateson's 'ecology of bad ideas,' which can be applied to everything because a system or because an ecology is a heuristic device.[172] Or because ecology expresses something substantial about the nature of a particular aspect of the world. In either case, whether it be a metaphor or not, the conceptual history is a story of how the intensional dimension of the concept of ecology has reordered the relationship between conceptual components and it is a story of what, extensionally speaking, the concept can legitimately be applied to.

Implicit here is a genuine philosophical concern with the ontological status of the ecology and the epistemological relationship between concepts and the referential status of their contents. Is the ecology and the ecosystem a real entity, or is its ontological status contingent upon how it is mentally, socially, and linguistically constructed by the science of ecology?[173]

Ecology of culture

The cursory outline of the history of the concept of ecology in social science should serve to demonstrate that when 'ecology of culture' entered studies of arts and cultural organisation, it was generally not a novelty to think ecologically. The language, categories and concepts of ecology had been developed and refined in both the ecological and the social sciences for nearly a hundred years. Also, 'ecology' had served political and ideological purposes that had often been at odds, or even contradictory.[174] 'Ecology' had been mobilised to justify social Darwinism,[175] racism,[176] population eugenics[177] as well as social democracy.[178] In Laclau and Mouffe's terms, 'ecology' is perhaps best understood as an empty signifier; the historical trajectory of the concept is a story

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[171] "Population Ecology," 961.

[172] Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, 492.

[173] "Sociology of Ecology"; John Smith and Chris Jenks, "Complexity, Ecology and the Materiality of Information," *Theory, Culture & Society* 22:5 (2005).

[174] Peder Anker, *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895-1945* (2009).

[175] Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (1997).

[176] cf. John Bews, *Human Ecology* (1935); Jan Smuts, *Africa and Some World Problems* (1930).

[177] cf. David Starr Jordan, *The Human Harvest: a Study of the Decay of Races Through the Survival of the Unfit* (1907).

[178] cf. Randolph Hester, *Design for Ecological Democracy* (2006).

of struggle for hegemony of meaning.[179] There is one way to makes sense of the story: 'ecology' designates both a well-defined theoretical field that had its historical *Ursprung* with Darwin, Haeckel, and the plant and animal ecologists of the late 19th century and that subsequently developed into the specialised branches of contemporary ecology, *and* it designates a concept that has migrated from 'ecology proper' to other sciences, as a useful metaphor or as a literal descriptive concept for theorising about matters pertaining to the human animal and its life worlds. At the heart of this story, scientific interest has lain with studying the relationship between an organism and its environment. There is another way to tell this story : 'ecology' designates a mode of thought that has emerged slowly throughout over time, articulated and specified by so many dissertations and scientists and that has resonated with the works of Darwin, Haeckel, Clement, Odum, Tansley, and others, because at its heart was the idea that everything is connected. Ecology is an exploration and application of that idea, but ecology did not invent it. It resonated with it. At the beginning of the 21st century, in this story, 'ecology' designated a transdisciplinary mode of thought that is rooted in the idea of global connectivity and ontological entanglement.[180]

The emergence of ecology in the study of the arts and of culture can be related to both narratives: in the first, ecology of culture is an example of yet another import and application of a version of ecology proper to a social and human science and its subject matters. In the second, the ecological study of art and culture is a mode of thinking organised production of cultural offerings in terms of complex connectivity that was both expected and overdue. In either case, ecology of culture is a way of theorising that uses the notion of complex connectivity to make sense of the arts and of culture. Contemporary ecology of culture is conceptually loaded wherever it goes even if it does not articulate the full extent of its conceptual heritage and its intrinsic problems. But I think it would be inappropriate to conclude that in the 'rush to apply' the concept of ecology, the troubled history of the concept is simply glossed over. I would instead suggest reading the emergence of the concept within the field of studies of organised arts and culture as both a continuation of the endeavours to think organisation in ecological terms and as an attempt at conceptual innovation. Regardless of which conceptual story is told, what matters is not so much the general proposition that arts and culture are embedded and sustained by an ecology that

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[179] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2014).
[180] Timothy Morton, *The Ecological Thought* (2010); Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (2007).

emerges as a result of complex connectivity among cultural producers and consumers, what matter is to explore empirically what this means.

THE ASSEMBLAGE

The definition of ecology of culture as 'the complex interdependencies that shape the demand for and production of arts and cultural offerings,'[1] resonates with the historical textures outlined in the previous Chapter and raises two distinct sets of conceptual questions: the first set inquires into 1) what is contained within the notions of 'complex' and 'interdependencies'?; 2) what is meant by the distinction between 'demand for' and 'production of'?; 3) what justifies the distinction between 'arts' and 'cultural offerings' and finally?; 4) how do complex interdependencies 'shape' the demand for arts and cultural offerings? The second set addresses 5) whether such ecological concepts as *system*, *heterogeneity* and *differentiation*; *dynamic pattern* and *processes*, *flows*, *creativity*, *permeability* and *responsiveness*, *emergence* and *emergent properties* are implicit or absent in this definition?; 6) whether this definition enables empirical inquiry: what are the *indicators* of complex connectivity, how the *analytical units are constructed and delineated*, and how are they *sensible*? In this Chapter, I phrase the question along an ontological line of inquiry: *How is the ecology of culture?* To answer this question, I make use of the concept of the assemblage[2] as created by Deleuze and Guattari throughout their collective works *Anti-Oedipus*, *Kafka*, *A Thousand Plateaus* and *What is Philosophy?*

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[1] Ann Markusen, Anne Gadwa, Elisa Barbour and William Beyers, *California's Arts and Cultural Ecology* (2011), 8.

[2] Since Brian Massumi's translation of *A Thousand Plateaus* it has been common to use the English term 'assemblage' as a translation of the French word 'agencement.' In, "What is an Assemblage?," *SubStance* 46:1 (2017), 22., Thomas Nail pointed out that this is not without its difficulties: the meaning of *agencement* is 'a construction, an arrangement,...a lay out'. This is derived from the verb *agencer:* 'to lay out, to arrange, to piece together.' (Larousse: 'Disposer, arranger un ensemble de sorte que ses éléments soient exactement adaptés les uns aux autres et que le tout réponde au mieux à sa destination'). The French term *assembler* means 'the joining or union of distinct things; bringing or coming together in a coherent whole, harmoniously' (Larousse: 'Réunir des choses distinctes pour les faire aller ensemble, pour former un tout cohérent, harmonieux'). The French term *arranger* means to 'put objects in a fitting order', (Larousse: 'Mettre des objets, quelque chose dans l'ordre ou la disposition estimés convenables, satisfaisants'). There are thus effectively three distinct French terms: 'agencement,' 'assemblage,' and 'arrangement'. To translate *agencement* with 'assemblage' and *agencer* with 'to assemble' runs the risk of displacing the meaning of the term from 'a lay out' to a 'union.' The distinction is not merely stylistic, it has ontological ramifications: the *agencement* is a fragmented whole, the *assemblage* is a union. However, in accordance with conventions I use the English term 'assemblage' for *agencement*.

The exteriority of relations

To begin, if Deleuze and Guattari rearticulated the ecological problem of the relationship between organism and environment, it is because their ontology is entirely relational.[3] There are elements that form functional relations with one another.[4] What is an *assemblage*? There are several ways of articulation. In *A Thousand Plateaus*,

> We will call an assemblage every constellation of singularities and traits deducted from the flow– selected, organized, stratified–in such a way as to converge (consistency) artificially and naturally; an assemblage, in this sense, is a veritable invention.[5]

In *Kafka*,

> An assemblage...has two sides: it is a collective assemblage of enunciation; it is a machinic assemblage of desire.[6]

In *Dialogues*,

> It is a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy'.[7]

These articulations may appear to be unrelated. Indeed, Manuel DeLanda has argued that Deleuze and Guattari never formalised a genuine theory of the assemblage, but rather used the French term 'agencement' ad hoc.[8] This might be an accurate description. However, there are common properties of the assemblage. If an assemblage is defined as a set of heterogeneous singular elements that are functionally interconnected and that produce emergent properties at the level of the assemblage as a whole, then 'co-functioning' is a first necessary and sufficient condition of

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[3] Ronald Bogue, "A Thousand Ecologies," in *Deleuze|Guattari & Ecology*, ed. Bernd Herzogenrath (2009), 43: 'Clearly, Deleuze and Guattari are not ecologists engaged in the interdisciplinary scientific study of organisms and their surroundings, but their thought about nature is decidedly ecophilosophical.'
[4] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia, vol. 2.* [1980] (1999), 71: 'What we call the mechanosphere is the set of all abstract machines and machinic assemblages outside the strata, on the strata, or between strata.'
[5] Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 406. The rest of the passage reads: 'Assemblages may group themselves into extremely vast constellations constituting "cultures," or even "ages"; within these constellations, the assemblages still differentiate the phyla or the flow, dividing into so many different phylas, of a given order, on a given level, and introducing selective discontinuities in the ideal continuity of matter-movement.'
[6] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka. Towards a Minor Literature* [1975] (1986), 81.
[7] Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues* (1977), 52.
[8] Manuel DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (2006), 4-5.

any assemblage. The singular elements of an assemblage are ontologically independent from one another,[9] in other words, they do not need to be part of an assemblage to be what they are. The relations between elements are exterior to the elements themselves. This is the second necessary and sufficient condition of the assemblage: its elements are singular 'self-subsisting fragments.'[10] On its own, a singular element has describable properties (e.g. a colour, a chemical structure, a behaviour, etc.). When pieced together with other singular elements, it may actualise hitherto unknown capacities that depend upon the unknown capacities and known properties of other singular elements.[11] Co-functioning singularities produce emergent effects that are neither reducible to nor an aggregate of the properties of the constituent parts; what an assemblage does is contingent upon the collective capacities actualised as a function of how elements are pieced together.[12] This is the third necessary and sufficient condition of the assemblage. Ontological heterogeneity is the fourth condition: an assemblage is composed of 'qualities, things, relations...languages, words, meanings'[13]. Without the heterogeneity the assemblage would not *do* anything. Just think of the philosopher's classic example of a chair: it is more than pieces of wood (ontologically homogeneous elements) because it is the particular arrangement of skill, tools, materials that produces the chair. The ontological heterogeneity is what makes the concept particularly suitable for grasping phenomena that are of a complex nature and the particular nature of an event: both can be mapped by making an account of what the elements do/did in relation to one another, without granting causal priority *a priori* to any particular element because the heterogeneity of the constellated elements leaves the nature of their functional relationship to be a completely 'open ended collective.'[14] Every assemblage makes a territory,[15] it inevitably takes up a place somewhere, no matter the size and its spatial configuration. The assemblage occurs in a milieu: a context from which the elements of the assemblage are sourced and to which the assemblage belongs,[16] even if it is not determined by the environment since the logic of assemblage is entirely immanent to the assemblage itself. These are the fifth and sixth conditions:

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[9] Ben Anderson, Matthew Kearnes, Colin MacFarlane and Dan Swanton, "On Assemblages and Geography," *Dialogues in Human Geography* 2:2 (2012), 177.

[10] Nail, "What is an Assemblage," 23. In its own right, the singularity may be an assemblage, too.

[11] DeLanda, *New Philosophy of Society*, 11.

[12] Colin MacFarlane, "The City as Assemblage: Dwelling and Urban Space," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (2011), 653.

[13] Ben Anderson and Colin MacFarlane, "Assemblage and Geography," *Area* 43:2 (2011), 125.

[14] Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter. The Political Ecology of Things* (2010). Bennet analyses the heterogeneous elements that compose the arrangement known as the Northeast Blackout of 2003: the behaviour of electrical currents, business models, human decisions, security systems, chance fires.

[15] *Thousand Plateaus*, 39ff, 503.

[16] *Thousand Plateaus*, 49-52.

territoriality and immanent logic. The assemblage is temporal: it occurs at a specific time and has a particular longevity. The former is related to the conditions of the milieu in which is it assembled; there are conditions of reality that would have to be satisfied for a given assemblage to emerge at a given time in history.[17] The latter is related to the particular dynamics of the assemblage: at what speed does it work, change, and exploit elements and resources? While an assemblage may last for hours, it may also encompass the long duration of 'whole "cultures" or even "ages".'[18] Finally, the ninth necessary and sufficient condition is that the assemblage is assembled, it is created; it is an 'invention'. There is always someone and/or something that has assembled it. These agents are parts of the assemblage.[19] Below, the concept of the multiplicity that performs the assembling is presented in more detail. Here, it is sufficient to state that assembling agents are both human and non-human. The concept of the assemblage includes a diversity of events and organised phenomena within its conceptual reach; yet, to be applicable, there are nine conditions that will have to be satisfied: 1) relationship of co-function, 2) singular elements, 3) emergent effects, 4) ontological heterogeneity, 5) territorial specificity, 6) immanent logic, 7) historical specificity and 8) particular finite temporal durance, and 9) agents of assemblage.

Thus, an 'assemblage is both the provisional holding together of a group of entities across differences and a continuous process of movement and transformation as relations and terms change.'[20] It is 'all the elements of a non-homogeneous set [that] converge, making them function together.'[21] Above, I have fleshed out necessary and sufficient conditions. Now, I will present the basic structural elements of an assemblage: the *concrete machinic elements,* the *abstract machine*, and the *assembling multiplicity*. Think of a building: there are building blocks, ways of assembling them, and people assembling them to form a building. Or think of trees, plants, soil, nutrients; think of their relations and the multiple forces necessary to assemble them as a forest. The assemblage is a concrete and real composition of elements; mapping it is always an empirical task.

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[17] Think again of Nirvana: there were certain necessary conditions for Seattle's Grunge assemblage to be formed. For instance, a set of live music venues, recording studios, the Sub Pop record label, a group of particular musicians and sources of inspiration ranging from the hardcore punk rock of Black Flag to the flamboyance of Led Zeppelin.
[18] *Thousand Plateaus*, 406. For a discussion of the differences in temporal dimension of Deleuze and Guattari's 'assemblage' and Michel Foucault's 'dispositif,' see Paul Rabinow, *Anthropos Today* (2003), 56.
[19] Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 81.
[20] Anderson and MacFarlane, "Assemblages and Geography," 177.
[21] *Dialogues*, 39.

The structure of assemblages

I will use the following made-up example to facilitate the presentation of the completely abstract terms: at a museum, two pictures are placed on a white wall. They are arranged to hang next to each other; the principle regulating their relation is 'juxtaposition.' The viewer, in her disinterested aesthetic stance, may compare them, view one in light of the other, or interpret them as a set. Juxtaposition suggests but in itself neither imposes on the viewer nor exhausts the sense in which the curator has assembled them. Imposition requires the exhibit label with the name of the artist, the title of the piece, specifications of material (e.g. 'oil on canvas'), and perhaps a commentary. To complete the analysis, we should perhaps specify the embeddedness of the pictures in an exhibition at a museum, and perhaps also account for the general theory and history of art that allows the museum to exhibit this as visual art; we should include an account of the artist(s), their oeuvre, and the present works. Two specific pictures arranged on white wall, a disinterested aesthetic stance and a specific viewer, text boxes, a specific museum, an art theory, an affective experience: this is an assemblage of concrete elements. There are four relevant questions to ask of this specific assemblage: 1) What are the concrete elements doing, given their modes of relation with other elements? 2) What is the immanent logic to this particular set of relations among these particular concrete elements? 3) Who, perhaps what, assembled them? 4) What is the assemblage doing? In Deleuze and Guattari's terms, the first concerns the *concrete machinic elements*; the second concerns the *abstract machine*; the third is the *multiplicity*. The fourth is concerned with the act of *creating* a concept of the event that the assemblage expresses.

Concrete machinic elements

In the example of the paintings, a set of concrete elements is assembled: the paintings, the text box, the white wall. An art theory, a supposedly disinterested stance, the museum as institution and as a building are part of the assemblage. The assemblage exists as ontologically heterogeneous elements composed to form a whole from fragments. If we call this particular assemblage 'the practice of looking at visual art at an art museum,' we subordinate the particular assemblage by generalising it as a common practice. If we call it 'Thursday, October 12, 1994, 11.52 AM, Martin Møller is bored by two landscape paintings,' then the particular assemblage is an event. With the generalised assemblage, if we insist on a general name because we want to designate a general practice, we should consider adding more concrete elements: perhaps the standards for viewing art in a museum, or the ways in which teachers, parents, and museum staff train people to behave appropriately in the white space of visual art. But that is already making many presuppositions.

With the assemblage as an event, we should perhaps include a sensation: boredom. In either case, the assemblage changes by adding an element.[22] Had we removed an element, for instance a viewer, the assemblage would also change. This tells us something fundamental about the nature of assemblages: their elements are all necessary and sufficient conditions. There is no superfluous element, any addition or subtraction will cause the assemblage to change, to *deterritorialise*. Notice the difference between the two assemblages: the former refers to a repetitive phenomenon, to a practice that can be assumed, reiterated, disciplined, organised, scheduled, planned, counted, and quantified. In other words, a practice that exists as *a form* in itself. The latter is an event, *an embodiment*. The form may become performed, and repeated performances may become a general form.[23] Both assemblages can be said to exist, but they are not in any way the same kind of entity: one is concrete form, the other is concrete doing. The emphasis on *doing* is the key to understanding why Deleuze and Guattari use the term *machinic* to capture both the elements and the workings of an assemblage. They were fundamentally seeking to replace the self-conscious, reflexive human subject as the principal agent of action with a multiplicity of points of production in which the human subject is only a part. The concept of desiring-machine was laid out in *Anti-Oedipus*:

> It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts...What a mistake to have ever said the id. Everywhere it is machines—real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections...Hence we are all handymen: each with his little machines...Something is produced: the effects of a machine, not mere metaphors.[24]

As the title indicates, Deleuze and Guattari were writing against psychoanalysis and any mode of thought that takes its departure from individual subjects as the acting subject.[25] A machine is not a self-conscious and acting subject. A machine is a collection of functionally coupled elements that produce something but only when coupled to another machine that may actualise it in a particular way. In our example, the exhibition is a machine that couples with a human crowd—another machine—to be actualised as an art exhibition; but coupled with a bunch of kids on an

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[22] *Thousand Plateaus*, 8. 'An assemblage is precisely this increase in the dimensions of a multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections'.

[23] *Thousand Plateaus, 52-53.*

[24] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus* [1972] (1984), 1-2. The desiring-machine was abandoned in *A Thousand Plateaus*, but the motif of functional relationship between elements remained.

[25] Francois Dosse, "'Psychoanalysm' under attack," in *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives* [2007] (2010), 183ff. Lacan, in particular.

excursion—another kind of whimsical machine—the exhibition may become actualised as a learning site and/or a playground. There is no essence in the machine; there is only what it produces in connection with other machines. In *Kafka* we read: 'That which makes a machine, to be precise, are connections, all the connections that operate the disassembly.'[26] There are rules for connecting and disconnecting: a machine produces in in conjunction with other machines; it continuously enters and leaves assemblages because in itself it is merely a set of inert elements, *even if the elements are human.* Humans also need to connect with other machines to actualise a given production. In the ontology of Deleuze and Guattari, humans are not given priority, they are machinic assemblages of matter amongst other assemblages of matter.

Abstract machine

Simply, the abstract machine is the meaning of the assemblage. Every assemblage is composed in a particular way, and Deleuze and Guattari called the rules for the particular composition the *abstract machine*.[27] It is the diagram of the machinic assemblage, a blueprint for how to assemble, except that it does not exist prior to the assemblage but is immanent to it.

> The *machinic assemblage* is something entirely different from the abstract machine, even though it is very closely connected with it….in every respect, machinic assemblages *effectuate* the abstract machine insofar as it is developed on the plane of consistency or enveloped in a stratum. The most important problem of all: given a certain machinic assemblage, what is its relation of effectuation with the abstract machine? how does it effectuate it, with what adequation?[28]

The diagram is a result.[29] The abstract machine emerges–in steps, in mutual presupposition with the concrete elements that it relates to one another in a specific manner. In our example: the generalised practice of viewing art in a museum is a an abstract form, its own kind of assemblage following its own set of rules; *Martin Møller bored with viewing art...* is an event that may incorporate this form, but it would be a mistake to conflate the abstracted form with the abstract machine. Both are real but exist in different ways. The abstract machine is the set of rules for composing functional relations between concrete elements: to insist that the abstract machine is

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[26] *Kafka*, 81.

[27] *Thousand Plateaus,* 70. 'The abstract Machine exists *simultaneously* developed on the destratified plane it draws, and enveloped in each stratum whose unity of composition it defines, and even half erected in certain strata whose form of prehension it defines.'

[28] *Thousand Plateaus*, 71.

[29] Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* [1986] (1998), 37: 'What do we mean here by immanent cause? It is a cause which is realized, integrated and distinguished in its effect.'

immanent, is to claim that it is always real. It is a real abstraction, effectuating real relations. The abstract machine and the concrete assemblage are co-evolutionary or co-emergent, neither precedes the other. One may never know what an assemblage may do; only an empirical enquiry can establish its co-functioning mode of being in the world. Some assemblages are of an established, consolidated and predictable nature; after all, the art museum will most likely be there tomorrow like it was there yesterday. These assemblages, perhaps by composition, perhaps by chance, are stable and enduring - of course until they de-assemble, deterritorialise. The abstract machine is the rules for the composition and decomposition of the concrete assemblage that envelops it. An abstract machine is always enveloped in a concrete situation. Though abstract, it has a time and a place.

Deleuze and Guattari distinguished four major abstract machines relative to the assemblages they embody: the *territorial* that designates assemblage by way of 'supple segmentation' of people, places and practices according to proper usage.[30] The abstract machine of the *state* assemblage that subordinates all elements and makes them resonate together, and establishes a vertical hierarchy that connects its concrete elements in order to control them,[31] to bring them to produce in measured fashion and, as James C. Scott argued, to make flows legible and quantifiable by overcoding them into discrete units.[32] The *capitalist* abstract machine that assembles concrete elements according to the logic of equivalence by which uncoded, unqualified elements are turned into quantities that can be exchanged. Anything in the *capitalist* assemblage can become a quantity or become commodified. What matters is how concrete elements become disengaged from one assemblage's extant connections, like the practices of social life, the work of imagination, or the elements of culture, to be assembled into a capitalist production apparatus and turned into generic quantities.[33] The *nomad* assemblage is distinguished by an abstract machine that does not essentialise, control, or quantify. Instead, it situates. People, places, and practices become assembled according to the needs of a situation and its members. In some respects, the nomad assemblage is anarchic: it is those intensities that occur when people are determining its problems and its sense of self and place through direct action that qualifies elements as unique

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[30] *Thousand Plateaus*, 208-209; "What is an Assemblage?," 20ff.
[31] *Thousand Plateaus*, 433.
[32] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998).
[33] *Thousand Plateaus*, 454ff.

parts of *this* situation.[34] None of these assemblages are to be found in pure form; they are mixed up with each other.[35]

Multiplicity

An assemblage is composed in accordance with the rules of the abstract machine, and the abstract machine is incorporated in the interrelated concrete elements. There is always someone or something actually composing the assemblage: a multiplicity.

> ...a machine is never simply technical. Quite the contrary, it is technical only as a social machine, taking men and women into its gears, or, rather, having men and women as part of its gears along with things, structures, metals, materials.[36]

Like the abstract machine, the multiplicity is immanent to the assemblage, and it does not exist as this particular multiplicity outside the assemblage it composes. As with the abstract machine and the concrete assemblage, the multiplicity is not prior to but is constituted through the productive labour of composing the concrete assemblage. Consider once more the example. A multiplicity: curator, custodian, director of the art museum, technical administrative staff, the viewer. These are concrete people. They each have a proper name. As part of the assemblage, they form the composing multiplicity, and they are no longer singular people. They are general functions in the assemblage defined by what they do and the parts of the assemblage they bring into relation with other parts.[37] The multiplicity curates, manages, directs, administers, views. Without the activity of the multiplicity the assemblage would not be composed. In everyday life, a person, a concrete 'I' enters so many multiplicities that compose assemblages; every time, this 'I' becomes other–a general function–even if this 'I' does not sense its becoming. A multiplicity is anything that acts as an agent of composition; sometimes animals, insects, and other organic lifeforms may be the multiplicity, sometimes they are concrete elements. The critical distinction is between a concrete machinic element that does something when connected to other machinic elements and a multiplicity that makes them connect. Multiplicity, abstract machine, and concrete assemblage are the structural components of the concept of assemblage.[38] The example of viewing visual art at a museum is a simple illustration of a concrete assemblage that may refer to a specific event and to

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[34] *Thousand Plateaus*, 471.
[35] "What is an Assemblage?"
[36] *Kafka*, 81.
[37] *Kafka,* 84.
[38] "What is an Assemblage?"

a cultural salient form of content and form of expression, a proscription or a shared way of doing things.

The *collective assemblage of enunciation* is a concept for thinking how territories express themselves.[39] The term 'express' is carefully chosen. 'Life,' according to the vitalist tradition that Deleuze belongs to, is understood in its multiple forms as *expressive*. A singular life is an expression of itself.[40] An assemblage always claims a territory which becomes expressive through the way in which matter is concretely assembled. When matter becomes concretely assembled, it acquires a vibrant agency that is enabled by the manner in which elements relate. Vibrancy is not a synonym for 'alive.' Rather, vibrancy is what Jane Bennett calls the 'agency of assemblages'[41]: the propensity of any concrete assemblage of matter to do something, to be active in some manner. An assemblage makes the territory it claims expressive by virtue of how it codes the 'particles-signs' emitted by the territory it claims into a system of signs.[42] Emission becomes expression when coded. Think of coding as the act of ascribing meaning to something by giving it a name; you only know what a name means if you know how to decode the coding system it effectuates. A code is conventional and corresponds roughly to Peirce's symbolic sign. Coding pertains to uncoded formed matter (i.e. 'this is a *stone*'), overcoding pertains to adding new code that either supplements or effaces existing code (i.e. 'this is a *weapon*').[43] If there is meaning, it is because

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[39] *Thousand Plateaus*, 39ff. I read the entire chapter on *The Geology of Morals* as an exposition of how the territory comes to express itself.

[40] Gilles Deleuze, *Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza* [1968] (1990). As Deleuze also understood Life in the Bergsonian sense as actualisation of virtuality, there is a distinction between 'expression' and 'actualisation.' It is tempting to think of expression as semiotic and actualisation as physical materialisation, the latter prior to the former. But while expression is semiotic, understood as the agency of emitting signs, it is clearly more than that: it is a concept for how a singular life becomes and acts in the world as a self-contained entity that unfolds, or actualises the virtual, that which it *may* be and *may* do. Expression is therefore always an actualisation of a potential or a capacity; it designates the singular manner in which a given life becomes what it is. Actualization is a technical term designating the process of becoming something. On 'Actualisation', see Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism* [1966] (2011), 94. On 'pure immanence' see Gilles Deleuze, *Pure Immanence: Essays on a Life* (2001), 3-7.

[41] Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 20ff; though 'new materialism' appears to be congruent with the metaphysics of Deleuze and Guattari, there is an important distinction. Take as example Karen Barad who understands matter as ontologically entangled, which implies that singular entities are ontologically dependent on other singular entities to be what they are. This effectively dislocates what the spinozist Deleuze and Guattari aimed at conceptualising with the machine concept: that we may never know what a body can do as it acquires capacities in its interactions and interrelations with other bodies. To Barad, entities "intra-act." This metaphysical distinction has implications for how practical assemblages are understood, even for how to understand what may count as an assemblage. See Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway– Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (2007); Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza. Practical Philosophy,* [1970] (1988), 17ff. See also: Serge Hein, "The New Materialism in Qualitative Inquiry: How Compatible Are the Philosophies of Barad and Deleuze?" Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies 16:2 (2016); Karin Murris and Vivienne Bozalek, "Diffraction and Response-able Reading of Texts: the Relational Ontologies of Barad and Deleuze," International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 32:7 (2019).

[42] *Thousand Plateaus*, 72: 'The Matter of the Plane, that which occurs on the body or plane (singular, nonsegmented multiplicities composed of intensive continuums, emissions of particles signs, conjunctions of flows)´.

[43] On the symbol sign, see Charles S. Peirce, "Semiotic," in *Collected Papers I-VI* (1958), 274-302.

there is code and a system of codes. This relates to what Deleuze and Guattari called a 'double articulation.' In every territory, *forms of content* and *forms of expression* emerge;[44]

> The reason that the assemblage is not confined to the strata is that expression in it becomes a *semiotic system*, a regime of signs, and content becomes a *pragmatic system*, actions and passions. This is the double articulation face-hand, gesture-word, and the reciprocal presupposition between the two. This is the first division of every assemblage [sic]: it is simultaneously and inseparably a machinic assemblage [sic] and an assemblage [sic] of enunciation. In each case, it is necessary to ascertain both what is said and what is done.[45]

The form of content is a concept for the manner in which a given subject matter is actualised as a coherent entity, and the form of expression grasps that expression is always subject to a particular way of making sensible expression. The agency of an assemblage is the production of a system of actions and the production of a system of signs of a given territory. We may do well to dislodge what we assume to be a territory. Form of content and form of expression are relative to the territory to which they belong.[46] Every territory has its sensible forms of content and sensible forms of expression, its own patterns of behaviour and procedures of *coding* and *overcoding* which condition how matters come to mean something. Ontologically, a territory is dynamic, it is neither in chaotic flux nor a cemented structure. It evolves, transforms, vibrates; it becomes. This quality of a territory gives occasion to distinguish between *the now* of the territory, that which it is, and its *actuality*, that which it is in the process of becoming.[47] In its now, its presence, the territory as assembled matter has a relative stability in the functional relationships between elements. Deleuze and Guattari call this *stratification*, *segmentation*, and *striation,* different concepts for different problems of the stabile territorial assemblage. *Stratification* is a concept for how the territorial elements are layered unto each other, literally speaking, from simple forms onto composite complex forms.[48] A person is a layer of matters. *Segmentation* is a concept for the

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[44] *Thousand Plateaus*, 40: 'God is a lobster, or a double pincer, a double bind.'

[45] *Thousand Plateaus,* 504.

[46] *Thousand Plateaus*, 40ff. 'He used the term *content* for formed matters, which would now have to be considered from two points of view: substance, insofar as these matters are "chosen," and form, insofar as they are chosen in a certain order (*substance and form of content*). He used the term *expression* for functional structures, which would also have to be considered from two points of view: the organization of their specific form, and substances insofar as they form compounds (*form and content of expression*)', 43. Note: 'He' is Arthur Conan Doyle's fictional character Professor Challenger–here, Challenger is a pseudonym for Deleuze and Guattari.

[47] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* [1991] (1994), 112.

[48] *Thousand Plateaus*, 40: 'Strata are layers, belts. They consist of giving form to matters, of imprisoning intensities or locking singularities into systems of resonance and redundancy, of producing upon the body of the earth molecules large and small and organising them into molar aggregates. Strata are acts of capture…'

division of the territorial social order into various coded or overcoded groups, be it on grounds of economy, political beliefs, ethnicity, gender, and so on.[49] *Striation* is a concept for the organisation and arrangement of space as an expression of power and of a will to control and regulate what space is, what space does, and who can use it.[50] Stratification, segmentation, striation: concepts for thinking organisation as each concept in its own way conceptualises how matter is functionally assembled in relation to other matter, as an order of things. A territory is organised, and an organisation is territorial. Matter is continuously made to mean and to belong to territories. This has implications for how to think organisation: on the temporal hand, the duration of concrete, existing organisations calls for a way to conceptualise assemblages as capable of achieving a kind of stability that permits them to endure if the concept of assemblage is to be used to conceptualise organisation.[51] Simultaneously, the contingent nature of the arrangement calls into question what it means to endure as an organisation, or rather, what it is that endures in enduring organisations. On the spatial hand, the sheer volume of some organisations, the multisite nature of multinational corporations, or the autonomous cell structure of militant non-state organisations ask if it is meaningful to conceive of these as singular assemblages, while the concept of the assemblage challenges if it is meaningful even to think of such organisations as discreet organisations in the first place. Temporality and scope: only an empirical inquiry can determine how an assemblage has been able to endure and attain a given size. It is not a presupposition that any assemblage endures and grows. In other words: in a world composed of contingent and differentiated assemblages that erupt, change, disarrange, the challenge is to explain what appears to remain the same. It is order that needs to be explained.[52]

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[49] *Thousand Plateaus,* 208ff. 'We are segmented from all around and in every direction. The human being is a segmented animal. Segmentarity is inherent to all the strata composing us. Dwelling, getting around, working, playing: life is spatially and socially segmented.'

[50] *Thousand Plateaus*, 474ff. Power is here understood as 'pouvoir' (capacity) in contrast to 'puissance' (force).

[51] Manuel DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory* (2016), 9ff.

[52] On the question of the ontological unstable, even ephemeral nature of assemblages, Elizabeth Povinelli suggests: 'If we understand assemblages as composed not of an event that creates a kind of thing but a series of barely or un-perceptible quasi-events, then we think something is enduring because we can't see or don't experience the constant wobbling, not enduring nature of various entity-ishes connected across any given terrain. So again: *the endurant is not a thing that endures but the creativity of keeping in place something that is constantly changing*. Clearly this is a paradox. But my colleagues have always stressed this paradox. Nothing can ever be kept in place but can only be attended to. That this takes a constant mutual orientation among things that cannot be things except within this mutual orientation and aren't because no one can know how far they stretched nor if they have leaked – things like sand or ocean spray or radioactivity and chemical contamination. They refuse the psychotic olive branch continually extended to them – tell us what you are in essence above and beyond separate from the world you are inhabiting.' Elizabeth Povinelli, Mathew Coleman and Kathryn Yusoff, "An interview with Elizabeth Povinelli: Geontopower, Biopolitics and the Anthropocene," *Theory, Culture & Society,* 34:2-3 (2017), 182. *Italics* added.

Opposed to such organisational concepts is the *line of flight*. It conceptualises those instances and situations where matter leaks through the cracks of order.[53] The line of flight is easily read as an emancipatory concept. But if it is so, it is because emancipation is a process of disordering, breakdown, and release. It is useful to compare Gregory Bateson's concept of schismogenesis,[54] the self-amplifying feedback loop, to the line of flight: both create ruptures and novel becomings in a system. The line of flight is also a concept for organised phenomena. Deleuze and Guattari state that societies 'are not defined by their contradictions, but by their lines of flight.'[55] The lines of flight most radically bring about change and newness in the territory, which is how it is a concept for the mutations and creativity of organisation: it is contingent upon the stratifications, segmentations, and striations from which something slips. If there is a tragic note, as suggested by Antonio Negri[56], in *A Thousand Plateaus*, it is because it is as much a philosophy of vibrant life as it is an account of the many ways in which life is directed, captured, ordered, arrested, repressed, and eventually brought to a halt. After all, a line of flight always risks becoming a line of death, 'the passion of abolition.'[57]

Collective assemblages of enunciations, then, are those coded signs expressed by the multiples of the territory, that is, by the various forms of matter that populate the territory: humans and non-humans. I think that the collective enunciation should not be understood as the total expression of the territory. Rather, it should be understood as those expressions of the territory that have collective character. There is a difference. A territory may contain several collective enunciations as it may contain several collectives that express themselves.

At this point, it is appropriate to consider if, and if so, *how* the concept of the assemblage is helpful in building a more useful, or at least, a more interesting conceptualisation of the ecology of culture than the concepts of ecology that are already available? If the theory of assemblages does not add to, or reorient, ecological thought, why use it? After all, using concepts and theories should make a *difference* with regards to what can be grasped or explained. Consider the following statement: Markusen, Gadwa, Barbour and Beyers's 'complex interdependencies'[58] are exactly the real relations among concrete elements, arranged along an immanent logic of composition. A

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[53] *Thousand Plateaus*, 9, 88-89, 270.
[54] Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* [1972] (2000), 126-127. Deleuze and Guattari owe more to Bateson than they let on. See Robert Shaw, *"Bringing Deleuze and Guattari Down to Earth through Gregory Bateson: Plateaus, Rhizomes and Ecosophical Subjectivity," Theory, Culture & Society* 32:7-8 (2015).
[55] Gilles Deleuze, *Negotiations* [1990] (1995), 171.
[56] Deleuze, *Negotiations*, 171.
[57] *Thousand Plateaus*, 229.
[58] *California's Arts and Cultural Ecology*, 8.

mode of relation can be qualified by dependency whereby a concrete element is dependent on the mode by which it is related to other concrete components in order to *do* what it *does*, though not to *be* what it *is*. The point of the machine concept is to underscore that things have no essential being or identity; the machine is defined by what it does, what it produces, and it only works when coupled with other machines. The machine depends on both its particular arrangement of components and on its relations with other machines to produce; its conditions of reality are the capacity for things to connect with other things.

This mode of thought may sound reminiscent of Bateson's concept of a 'pattern that connects,'[59] in the sense that the assemblages of multiple machines of various sizes and duration form a pattern when aggregated or conceptualised as a grand assemblage. This is not coincidental: Bateson is woven into the fabric of Deleuze and Guattari's thought.[60] The very concept of the *plateau* is inspired by Bateson,

> A plateau is always in the middle, not at the beginning or the end. A rhizome is made of plateaus. Gregory Bateson uses the word 'plateau' to designate something very special: a continuous, self-vibrating region of intensities whose development avoids any orientation toward culmination point or external end.[61]

If Deleuze and Guattari shied away from committing to a pattern that connects (a *grand* abstract machine), it is because they were concerned with establishing a *rhizomatic mode of thought* that emphasised multiplicity, unpredictability, bifurcations, and becomings over the fixation of the pattern.[62] Indeed, the 14th plateau of *A Thousand Plateaus* is devoted to conceptualising a distinction between the smooth space (the open space which is not predetermined) and the striated space (which is woven to regulate activity and distribute multiplicities into defined and discreet orders of organisation).[63] If the pattern is only the striated space of repetition, what about the difference that occurs because of the movements and becomings of the smooth spaces? Stated differently, if the ecology of culture is conceptualised as a pattern of striation composed of multiple productive assemblages that repeat themselves, then, conceptually, the problem of newness, development, and transformation presents itself. What is newness (i.e. *difference*) in a

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[59] Gregory Bateson, *Mind and Nature. A Necessary Unity* (1979).
[60] Shaw, "Bringing Deleuze and Guattari down to Earth."; Céline Lafontaine, *"*The Cybernetic Matrix of 'French Theory'," *Theory, Culture & Society* 24:5 (2007).
[61] *Thousand Plateaus*, 21-22.
[62] *Thousand Plateaus*, 22-23.
[63] *Thousand Plateaus*, 474 - 500.

repetitious pattern (i.e. *sameness*)? One answer is that even that which appears to be sameness is in itself difference. This takes us back to Deleuze's *Difference and Repetition*, a work dedicated to developing a metaphysics of difference as opposed to a metaphysics of identity and sameness.[64] There is a distinction between the individuated and the particular state of an empirical given, that is, a *concrete this-ness,* and the unindividuated and non-particular matter from which the given is formed. An empirical given neither references a transcendent platonic idea nor actualises from its own transcendent possibility. Rather, from pure difference, what Deleuze calls the differen*t*iated, matter is formed into empirical, differen*c*iated entities, and it is these entities that enter into assemblages:[65]

> How does actualisation occur in things themselves? Why is differenciation at once both composition and determination of qualities, organisation and determination of species? Why is differenciation differenciated along these two complimentary paths? Beneath the actual qualities and extensities, species and part, there are spatio-temporal dynamisms. These are actualising, differenciating agencies. They must be surveyed in every domain, though they are ordinarily hidden by the constituted qualities and extensities.[66]

From a metaphysics of difference follows an ontology of multiplicity. Everything is a singularity no matter the extent to which it is governed by the general such as physical laws or genetic codes. Thinking from singularity (as a differentiated entity, an event), what becomes the object of critical explanation are those things that repeat themselves, those things that become organised, consolidated, fixed. That they should exist cannot be taken for granted; what must be explained is how it has come to be that they have attained such ontological stability that enables us to take them for granted in our everyday lives. The ontology of Deleuze and Guattari reverses the relationship between form and matter: if matter assumes a form (grassroots, the many), rather than being subsumed by a given form (State, the one), then the world is composed of infinitely differen*c*iated entities. Repetition follows from difference. A thinking that embraces such ontological multiplicity tasks itself with accounting for that which is concretely differen*c*iated, the agencies of differen*c*iaton, and that which repeats.

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[64] Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* [1968] (1994).
[65] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition,* 207-14. Notice the distinction between 'differen*t*iated' and 'differen*c*iated': 'Whereas differentiation determines the virtual content of the Idea as problem, differenciation expresses the actualisation of this virtual and the constitution of solutions (by local integration)', 209.
[66] *Difference and Repetition,* 214.

To Deleuze and Guattari, the elements in an assemblage are self-consistent and self-sustained singularities. They work as differen*c*iated *fragments* in a whole, because they are functionally tied or related given their place in the assemblage. Such a singular fragment may be an assemblage in itself. If we conceive of the ecology of culture as assemblage, the ecology of culture contains multiple assemblages, each a set of multiplicities assembling concrete elements and drawing an abstract machine, *and* if in itself the ecology is an assemblage composed by a multiplicity of assemblages, *then* this would be consistent with the notion of complexity that runs through the writings on ecology of culture. Complexity designates a state of affairs composed of multiple interrelated non-linear causal relationships. It is difficult, if not impossible, to predict how elements in a complex system condition and affect one another, and how the system as a whole behaves and develops.[67] A change on the part of an element or in a relationship between parts may have dramatic, minuscule, or perhaps no consequences: the point is that it is not possible to quantify or qualify a priori how the system develops. The concept of assemblage offers a framework for exploring complexity by asking empirical questions: *what* is arranged, in *what way*, by *whom*, and *what does it do*? That is so because the objects of analysis are particular, empirical, individuated entities, and we would be jumping to conclusions if we thought we could deduce a priori what they do. The only way in which that would be permissible would be under the condition that the nature of the entity was governed by the general. But if we cannot assume a priori that an ecology of culture, or culture, or a social system for that matter, is governed by the general, then we would have to demonstrate the rule of the general either by abstracting it from empirical data or by developing and testing hypotheses against empirical data. If we commit only to describing the ecology of culture as an assemblage, we have committed to a rather simple point of departure: matter is assembled according to a given logic, and this assembled matter produces something. This simple frame of reference does not offer an explanatory resource, it offers only a reference for structuring an analysis of data.

The commitment to think the ecology of culture as assemblage points to a method of mapping the real relations of the abstract machine and the concrete elements that are assembled by a given multiplicity *and* mapping the kinds of assemblages that are the concrete elements in the composition of the ecology. Empirical mapping is essential since we do not know 'what a body can do' before we have made inquiries, that is, described it or tested it. In other words, the claim that the function of 'complex interdependencies' is to 'shape the demand and production of arts

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[67] Sacha Kagan, *Art and Sustainability: Connecting Patterns for a Culture of Sustainability* (2011), 98ff.

and cultural offerings'[68] is both inclusive and bold. Based on the ontology of assemblage this would either indicate that the ecology is so stable and routine in its composed organisation and pragmatics that it is known, by now, *what it does* and *how it does it*, or it is a speculative claim, a theoretically based hypothesis using 'demand,' 'production,' and 'offering' as self-evident functions of the ecology's multiple assemblages. But how these assemblages work on a microscopic level, and what kind of molar order they compose at the level of the ecology is exactly what needs to be mapped and conceptualised. It cannot be taken for granted. For instance, what does it mean to say that an art museum produces and offers art exhibitions or that there is a demand for art exhibitions? How, when, where, and by whom are such production, demand, and offering 'shaped'? The art museum assemblage produced an exhibition, an occasion to peruse visual art; perhaps there was an intention to engender affective states in the engaged peruser. Given his eventual boredom, this was achieved, and we would thus have explained what the exhibition did. It included boredom in the assemblage. This is different to working on the a priori assumption that a viewer has a particular aesthetic experience or an affective experience at all. To know, we must inquire empirically to understand how an assemblage actually works.

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[68] Markusen, Gadwa, Barbour and William Beyers, *California's Arts and Cultural Ecology,* 8.

CHAPTER 3.3

THE LEAP TO APPLICATION

Operationalisation, application, use. Concepts enable thoughts and inquiry; they allow us to name and grasp certain aspects of the real in a specified sense and to describe and explain phenomena. Devices for ordering chaos, they make sense of things. When we create or select a concept, it becomes as a tool for working on the fabric of the real, it enables us to do something, somewhere.

A distinction: one the one hand, there is the problem of the instruction manual that lays out the practical rule for how to use a specific concept. On the other hand, there are the indicators of the phenomenon that the concept grasps. When it is said that theory makes us 'see,' it is of course both a metaphorical 'seeing' and a literal seeing. That is because theories and concepts enable inquiry to describe, order and analyse empirical phenomena *as* something; when it is said that we *see* something *as* something through theory, what is meant is that theory is a kind of perceptual 'lens' that enables the sensory apparatus to perceive and interpret in a certain manner. A person utters a group of words; it can be conceived and explained *as* a story. The collection of words is *seen as narrative* because the collection of words exhibits a set of observable properties such as a particular syntagmatic structure, a plot, developments, and so on. Metaphorically, to *see* it *as* narrative, a number of conceptually explicated necessary and sufficient conditions need to be satisfied. But we also see, literally. This means that our ocular sense has been enabled to observe in a certain manner and to look for certain things. What we have 'learned to see' are in this case those observable properties that are associated with what a narrative is. We see a person speaking to a group of people; we observe the social event of storytelling by observing how the speaker uses words and how the listeners react. If we read a transcribed version of the event, we may also literally see the narrative in the written text. The application of theory and concept is part of an apparatus of matter, practices, and ideas that enter into a functional relation; it constructs data because it enables to see in specific ways, either metaphorically or literally, or both. It is the instruction manual that matters. It lays out proper use, and it establishes indicators of attention.

Indicators

Indicators are important. Many of those concepts that are accepted as interesting and true grasp phenomena that are not directly observable in themselves.[1] The psyche, the social division of labour, culture, organisation: none of these phenomena are entirely visible. Instead, there are indicators, or what Carlo Ginzburg called 'clues'[2] of the phenomena that are observable. In the case of organisation, there are indicators that point to organisation because they are the result of organisation. Such indicators are indexical signs: bundles of tasks, modes of communication, conventions for decision making, work routines, the office, the workshop, the storage facility, and, above all, the fact that someone provides beans for the universally present and existentially vital coffee machine. These exist as they do because they are the result of organisation. When we 'see' organisation metaphorically, it is because we literally see things, signs, that are understood as being indicators of organisation. The coffee machine is a good example. Unless we assume that the procurement of coffee in a work space is a result of pure stochasticity, then we can ask who refills the machine, who refreshes the stock of beans, calls the mechanic when the machine is broken, how the acceptable price, quality and standard of beans is determined; we can ask how that bundle of tasks is defined, distributed, and governed. We can ask who in the workspace does *not* take on these tasks. As argued by Susan Leigh Star, it is when we inquire into such 'boring' matters of infrastructure that we confront not just organisation but perhaps also more 'exciting' objects: problems, inequalities, power.[3] The construction of the ordinary in all its quiet horror. Indicators can only serve as indicators if they have been defined as such, which is dependent on the conceptual apparatus or the theoretical frame of reference. We can only see something as index of something else when that something else is defined. Thought is forced to think: what is that which I sense? The smell of coffee as indicator of organisation.

Instruction manual

How to use a concept is intimately coupled with indicators. The application of concept attunes inquiry to something, *and* it establishes what can serve as its observable properties. Attunement, in this context, is the process by which inquiry is sensitised to the extensional logic of a concept, that is, those empirical phenomena for which the concept can speak or to which it can be applied.[4] In this instance, science seems to be at its most God-like: it points to something, names it, defines

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[1] I thank Christian Frankel for this point.
[2] Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of a Scientific Paradigm," *Theory and Society* 7:3 (1979).
[3] Susan Leigh Star, "The Ethnography of Infrastructure," *American Behavioral Scientist* 43:3 (1999).
[4] See Thomas Højrup, *Dannelsens dialektik: etnologiske udfordringer til det glemte folk* (2002), 129ff.

it, and includes it in an order of things.[5] Then it proceeds to inquire by asking questions that are specified by the conceptual apparatus. It means that the instruction manual for how to use a concept for empirical research details what questions are to be asked of empirical data. In a seminar on strategy, a leader tells a story, the employees listen and engage with the story as the leader wants. The researcher observes employees in breaks muttering critical and dismissive words about the strategy and the leader. If we are interested in organisation, we might ask questions about the context and the function of storytelling; if we are interested in storytelling, we might ask how the story narrates the organisation. The instruction manual enables inquiry by specifying questions and establishing observable indicators of those phenomena we are grappling with.

This inquiry uses the assemblage concept to make an inquiry into the ecology of culture. In itself, ecology is a toolbox of concepts, but as I have chosen to think with assemblage, it is not ecology but assemblage that must be applied. When committing to the concept of assemblage I am concerned with positioning my work in the tension between what Elisabeth St. Pierre calls the social scientists' 'leap to application' of philosophical concepts as analytical categories for the interpretation of empirical material without reflecting on the empiricism of the philosophy they draw on,[6] and what Jackson and Mazzei call 'thinking with theory.'[7] Such ecological phenomena as emergence and emergent effects, non-linear causality, and relations of interdependence are effectively made the object of analysis, but it happens through an analysis of modes and events of assembling. What I call 'modalities of connectivity', 'the problem of youth participation,' and 'the production of the Local' are conceived as ecological phenomena that are effects of concrete assemblage, and the ecology of culture is conceptualised as an assemblage of people, places, practices, signs, and concrete resources. To think of the ecology and those things that take place in the ecology as assemblage is particularly helpful when it comes to developing an instruction manual and articulating indicators of the ecology of culture. In this sense, the application of the assemblage concept is an artifice, a helpful tool.

The assemblage is composed of three main structural components, which each in their own right can be transformed into a set of indicators and analytical questions.

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[5] Lulu Miller, *Why Fish Don't Exist: A Story of Loss, Love, and the Hidden Order of Life* (2020).
[6] Elisabeth Adams St. Pierre, "The Empirical and the New Empiricism," *Cultural Studies <–> Critical Methodologies* 16:2 (2016), 111.
[7] Alecia Y. Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei, *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research – Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives* (2012).

The concrete elements of assemblage and the agents of assembling. If a cultural offering has been produced, it is indicative of someone who has laboured to assemble concrete elements in relations of co-functioning. A practical–formal as well as informal–relation is an indicator of someone who has laboured to assemble concrete elements. A planned event is an indicator of someone who has laboured to assemble concrete elements. Those events that are not planned, but simply occur, are of course also the product of concrete elements that are made to connect in particular ways. Particular signs that are regular in their mode of enunciation are indicative of processes by which concrete elements are assembled to produce an expression, a discursive formation, a semiotic property, or an imaginary. The outline of these indicators show that what can count as an indicator is manifold; because assemblage theory is a general ontology it is strictly speaking all-inclusive. For this reason, it requires a specification: the analysis is concerned with *cultural* offerings, that is, the engagement with aesthetic experiences of music, theatre, literature, visual arts, cinema, architecture, craft, design; and with skate, Parkour, and other cultural expressions. Sports were excluded early in the process, which in hindsight was a mistake as sports are as much a mode of cultural expression as are the arts. They were excluded because I did not think of sports as aesthetic experience and because I did not see how the ecology of culture organised sports offerings. There was an infrastructure in place for those activities. However silly a distinction in practice, it is nevertheless an analytical distinction that has served to specify the kind of indicators of concrete assemblages of the production of cultural offerings. Look for aesthetic expression, inquire into to its manner of production, and you will find an assemblage of elements.

The abstract machines. They are much more difficult to discern. That is because they are immanent to the assemblages and are rarely articulated. The analysis could interpret formal contracts and operation agreements as indicators of the immanent rationalities of assemblages, and indeed, I have done so. But as assemblages do not always produce what people claim or believe they do, another way to determine indicators of immanent rationality is to interpret what is done as an indicator of the diagram. The assemblage produces *this* because it is assembled in *that* mode. The danger of this line of interpretation is that it grants the act of assemblage too much power to determine that the result of assemblage corresponds with the intended results of the assemblage. So much could have interfered: an election, a financial crisis, a storm, a reform, the whims of a new minister of culture. But perhaps it is worth considering if thought is not too obsessed with drawing boundaries when it thinks the historical, concrete production of cultural

offerings as entirely detached from other elements that might connect. That the *Vig kultur og fritidscenter* burned to the ground in 2012 was not desired or expected, yet it became a concrete element in the assemblage of cultural offerings. As any event producer knows, the weather is a very concrete element of any outdoor event. Thus, if analysis permits the inclusion of a multiplicity of heterogeneous elements as part of the concrete, historical assemblages, it becomes much more difficult to use the concrete results as simple expressions of the abstract machine. By inviting chaos, linear causality must go. This, therefore, calls for specification: by abstract machine is meant *the diagram* of the concrete assemblage, not the purpose or intent.[8] To reach the abstract machine, we first need to construct and read the diagrams of assemblages. Below I have drawn a diagram of a singular event and a diagram of a recurring festival organisation.

In summary, the application of the concept of assemblage is an act of translating a set of components into a set of questions of the data that has been constructed by empirical inquiry. To the highest degree possible, these questions aspire to be pragmatic questions that can be answered by descriptive accounts of things observable, those things that a conceptual apparatus has rendered observable to the eye of the observing metaphorical and literal gaze.
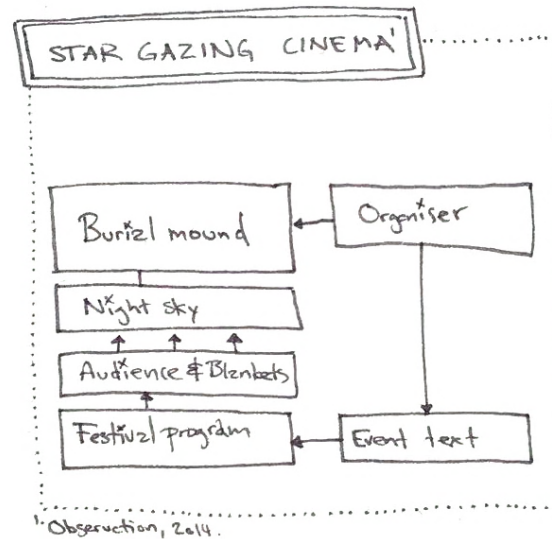
Figur 11. Star Gazing Cinema

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[8] See Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* [1986] (1998), 34: 'The diagram is no longer an auditory or visual archive but a map, a cartography that is co-extensive with the whole social field. It is an abstract machine. It is defined by its informal functions and matter and in terms of form makes no distinction between content and expression, a discursive formation and a non-discursive formation. It is a machine that is almost blind and mute, even though it makes others see and speak.'
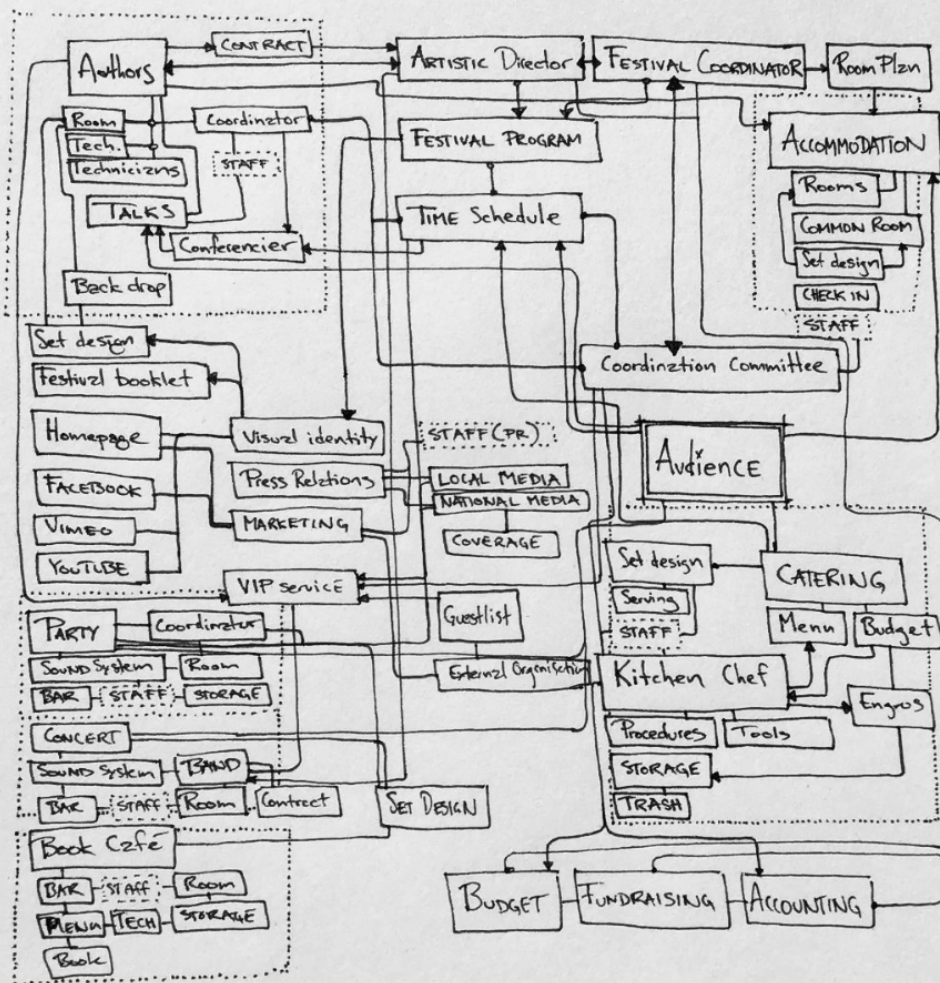
Figur 12. Diagram, Litt Talk Festival

Instruction manual for the use of assemblage

To use the concept, there are seven distinct questions to ask. They do not need to be asked in the same order as listed here. Each question pertains to an aspect of the assemblage under study and is answerable by examining interview talk, observation data, and/or practice and experience-based knowledge. The purpose of following these instructions is to be able to account for how something happened, in contrast to identifying what it was or why it was.

1. What elements were practically necessary for the production of a particular cultural offering?
2. How were concrete elements assembled?
3. What did the assemblage of concrete elements do when they co-functioned?
4. Who or what connected concrete elements?
5. When were they assembled?
6. Where were they assembled?
7. How was a concrete assemblage related to other assemblages?

To exemplify with the event *Star Gazing Cinema*.

1. A burial mound, a sky, an idea, an audience, an organiser, a festival, an event text, snacks, blankets, a date, a time.
2. The organiser decided to frame gazing at stars as a cinematic experience. He lived close to a burial mound and decided to use that as the site. He wrote an event text, decided on a date and time, and submitted it as an event to *Geopark Festival* 2014. The organiser bought snacks and drinks on the day. As instructed, the audience brought blankets, which they unfolded and placed themselves upon in order to gaze at the night sky.
3. The audience gazed at the stars as if it was an art event.
4. The organiser assembled the elements in an event design which the event actualised.
5. On July 26th, from 10.45pm - 04.00am.
6. At the burial mound *Barnet*, in the vicinity of Vallekilde.
7. It was one event among hundreds of other festival events. The printed and online festival program, and the attending audience related the event to other festival events. Also, the event related to the village Vallekilde and, of course, the owner of the festival which was the municipality of Odsherred.

The response to these questions should strive towards being descriptive and accounting only for what has been either observed, heard, or sensed through direct experience, or by listening to interviews, reading transcripts and documents. Be cautious, try to avoid the lure of causal explanations.

INTERLUDE: NINE VIGNETTES

CERAMIC CUPS

The two cups are placed on the kitchen table next to the coffee waiting to be French pressed. The cups are ceramic. One is painted in a dark warm red, the other pitch black. The inside shows the colour of the clay. They are five centimetres tall. Containing roughly two decilitres, they are perfect for longer coffee breaks but less suited for espressos or lattes. They have a delicate raw feel to them: texturally, the surface is glazed yet slightly grainy. They seem porously thin and feel robust in the palm of one's hand. The cups bear lines from the hand throwing in a subtle way, as a statement of their nature of their origin as the product of a craft, something made by hand, each cup carefully thrown, shaped, painted, glazed, fired. The cups do not hide the manner of their making. You pour the coffee, steam erupts from the cup as the bitter liquid fills the space. You grab the cup. It is now warm, absorbing the heat from the coffee. But not too hot to hold. You sip, the edge of the cup against your lower lip. That delicate raw feel again. The red cup and the black cup are works; they stand out next to the other industrially designed cups in your cupboard. Do they have aura as Benjamin would have it? Do they shine as Heidegger would say? Perhaps. They certainly do not make a fuss. Rather, they have a calm elegant simplicity to them. You'd like to think of them as rural, but you know that is only because you know they were made by a ceramic artist in a village in the countryside.

Difference and repetition, but mostly repetition. A ceramic crafts(wo)man needs to produce the works she is selling so her creative work involves a particular sequence of actions. She starts at nine in the morning. She often plans a day ahead, so she already knows what works are to be created. This makes a list. She weighs the clay and starts hand turning. She listens to Podcasts, music or sometimes just the quiet of the workshop. She goes on for as long as she can stand it physically. She takes breaks, sometimes on her own, sometimes she meets with a neighbour who is also a ceramic crafts(wo)man. She includes other tasks to make sure her workflow is diversified. Sometimes she needs to turn, and dry wet clay works from yesterday, sometimes she needs to decorate, or glaze works. Firing happens in the basement. It often happens at night because she procrastinates going down there, into the tedious lightless world of the basement. Loading the kiln with works for firing can take hours, sometimes five to six hours if there are many small pieces. She enjoys emptying the kiln; though she knows more or less how the works turn out, there is still the slight surprise of action, and sometimes she experiments with new techniques. Weighing, hand turning, drying, turning, packing, decorating, glazing, burning. "What makes this particular cup a work?", she replies "the combination of the process of production and aesthetic expression". She has been working as a ceramic craftswoman since the late 70s and it is as much a life as it is a living. Her works have an audience, people buy them. They ask: "Can I wash them in the dishwashing machine?"

CINEMA

You arrive at the cinema on foot or by car. The front doors are made of glass, and they open onto a hallway of posters advertising the feature films and their run times. The ticket is purchased at the ticket counter next to the candy store. Behind the counter, a poster imitating Raphael's *School of Athens* shows Fellini directing Indiana Jones, Batman, Laurel & Hardy, John Wayne, Steve McQueen, Marilyn Monroe, C3PO & R2D2. Rest assured, you are in the company of cinephiles. You wait and anticipate the experience to come: an adventurous movie, a comedy, perhaps an intellectual meditation, maybe even a re-run of a classic you know but have never seen on a screen. You enter the dim lights to find your seat, equipped with popcorn, a bag of sweets, and Coca Cola. You endure the commercials and trailers, and then darkness descends upon the room and the movie begins. In order to watch a movie, you need to use your sense of sight and hearing. Cinema is not filmed theatre; it is visual art, a sequence of moving images. It is syntagmatic, it postpones meaning until the end credits appear. You are trained though, you have seen many movies, and you recognize the narrative structure: *point of no return, escalation, climax* and so on. You know. Yet, you enjoy watching the movie, even the silly ones. You leave the cinema by the exit doors next to the screen. The evening air is fresh.

The film distribution company has a list of feature films. The cinema choses its repertoire from this list, only occasionally selecting a movie for screening by other channels. A festival or a special screening, perhaps. The cinema is organised legally as an association, it has a board responsible for the management of the cinema and for the staff involved. These days everyone works without any pay. There are multiple tasks: administration, politics, press, economics, advertising, membership registration, candy store, technical staff, newsletter, children's cinema club and senior cinema, community management, training, counting money, security, keeping the address list of members and services up to date, rental, posters, interior design, Facebook management, and coordination with the cinema café. The cinema shows movies every day, all year round save December 24th and 31st. Some movies only have a single run, perhaps only to a few spectators. But there are also block busters. The Cinema is supported financially by the municipality, but the revenues from tickets and the candy store are essential. The Cinema has been continuously active since 1948; it is the only one in Odsherred. The cinema association dreams about building a second and a third hall, so they can show more movies.

FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

The day begins with breakfast in the dining hall, then morning assembly. A song, a presentation by a student, announcements. You go to class to study writing, film, radio, journalism, game design, or maybe cultural management. Or something else. Lunch in the dining hall. Then class again, this time maybe its sports, American TV series, cooking class, crafts, or philosophy. You still feel a little tired. It got late yesterday. Coffee and cake help for a while. After class, you go for a walk with a friend. You have kitchen duty at 5pm, tonight is vegetarian day which means that some of the students go for pizza instead. There is a lecture in the evening, a journalist is talking about his career. There have been all kinds of guests throughout the semester, but you never really get used to seeing a famous person in the dining hall. After the lecture, you hang out with some of the others and talk about the lecture. On some nights, a group of people watch movies while others are busy in the workshops, messing about. Some play board games. Some of the musicians are in the rehearsal space. On other nights, people get drunk, secretly. On the weekends, there is always a party and communal hangover. At the beginning of the semester there was so much socialising that you got exhausted simply from being with other people. Now, in the middle of the semester, things have found a rhythm and a routine. Some of your fellow students often go home to visit friends and family over the weekend, but you stay at the school. You sense how quickly it all happens and you want a taste of everything.

A folk high school is a boarding school, students live and study there. They study all kinds of subjects, some oriented towards practical skills, others academic in nature. But they have in common that there are no exams and no grades. You learn for the sake of learning and for personal development. There is a headmaster, a deputy headmaster, a group of full-time or part-time teachers, and technical-administrative staff. Students can, and perhaps should, engage with all of these because part of the pedagogy is that learning is more than academic and practical skills, it is also the ability to cultivate curiosity and the capacity to be part of a group. Typically, a student is between 19 to 21yearsold. They stay at the folk high school for a semester, typically 5-6 months. Each student pays a fee for her stay. This is matched by the state. In legal terms, a folk high school is owned by a *skolekreds* and governed by a school board. It is a private organisation though the finance structure effectively makes it entirely dependent on public funding. Folk high schools are also cultural organisations: they put on events, support the creation of art and cultural expression, and sometimes local artist earn part of their living from teaching there.

There is a tension, even a paradox, at the heart of the folk high school pedagogy; on the one hand, it is committed to the idea that democratic citizens can think and make decisions for themselves. On the other hand, it is committed to the idea that this capacity must be cultivated. That it is egalitarian and elitist at the same time is a productive tension felt in class and the school's social life; a tension that has been central to the folk high school movement for more than 150 years.

POSTERS

The two-dimensional rectangular square form contrasts with the landscape's organic forms, lines, and depth. It occupies the foreground now that you are up close to it, but before, back when you were walking along the road, or biking, or in your car, it formed part of everything. The orange engaging with the green of the shrubbery, the trees, and the blue of the sky. Up there, several metres above the ground attached to the streetlamp posts, it advertises a piece of the future to come. It is a promise, an invitation, maybe a coming nuisance, or even a problem. This poster is orange, it depicts a group of white human figureheads. The faces are surrounded by white letters forming legible sentences: *Folkemødet i Odsherred.* Two other sentences index time: *lørdag den 8. september kl 10 – 17,* and location: *Den Rytmiske Højskole.* At the bottom, an *Odsherred Kommune* logo, also in white. There are more posters like this one, in streetlamps all over the region. This particular poster has been here for weeks, you've passed it ever so often. It is not until now, when you have stopped to inspect it from an immobile position, that you notice that the figure heads are shaped as comic book talk boxes. They are all talking heads.

How does one put up a poster? There are at least two ways to do it: the right way and the wrong way. The right way includes asking the company *SeasNVE* who owns the streetlamps for permission to use them for advertising and also asking the department of roads and parks for permission. The poster must not be placed too far ahead of the event, some say no more than two weeks, but maybe it's three weeks. The posters must respect the distinction between land zone and city zone, and they are not supposed to be seen in the land zone. The posters can be printed on a special cardboard material or pasted onto other types of materials. You'll need a ladder of sorts to get yourself to the adequate height to use a set of strips to attach the poster to the light stand. You'll need a car, too. And a whole lot of patience. When the event is over, you must make sure to remove every poster from every location. Should it be the case that a poster has slipped, you must pay it a visit in order to fix it or remove it as posters are not to appear as trash in the roadside. There are some roads where posters are not permitted: the freeway and the expressway cutting across the land. If you dare, expect to be fined.

GEOKIDS

Photo credit 1. Claus Starup

In 2013, Anne-Marie Donslund teamed up with local ceramic artist Martin Nybo to establish what was to become the four-year project *Geokids* that ran from 2014 - 2018. The idea was to mediate the *Geopark Odsherred* to children and in the process expose children to the workings of a professional artist. Each school child would sculpt a head made from clay, which would then be fired and mounted on a stake. The heads would be arranged next to a burial mound, as an eerie installation. To do this, the children had to learn to work with clay under the supervision of Nybo and Henrik Boe and they would learn about the cultural history of Odsherred, learn about local food products and the landscape. After a pilot test in 2013, the project became operational in 2014, financed by the Danish Arts Council and the municipality of Odsherred. It involved *Naturskolen*, *Museum Vestsjælland*, all the state and public schools in Odsherred, and the artists Martin Nybo and Henrik Boe. Donslund served as project manager. When it was concluded in 2018, the project had cost approximately 500.000 kroner and 3.500 school children (and their parents and grandparents by association) had been through the creative process and learned about *Geopark Odsherred*. A massive success in mediating an otherwise ephemeral topic. The Queen of Denmark and Princess Marie had also visited the projected.

The mayor was pleased.

SMK

The room is packed with half-drunk and excited bodies. Laughter, stares. Small groups. In the corner, a band has set up their equipment on the floor. A drum-set, a bass amplifier, percussion, and a PA-system. The singer addresses the crowd. It gathers close. The bass strikes a few aggressive notes of a riff: the sound is a filthy midrange roar. The drums and percussion kick in. It's on. There are words now, incomprehensible, the PA distorts everything. The veins on his throat reveal how much he pushes his vocal cords. By the end of the short, upbeat song, the room is dancing. You can't really tell the finer details of musicianship or song crafting, but it rocks. Now, the singer is mixing with the crowd, screaming. His torso is bare, glistening with sweat. There is a vulnerability to his demeanour. The music is a wonderful load of abrasive trash, *Talking Heads* meets *Synd og Skam* meets thirty years of condensed punk rock history. No place for macho men here. People are laughing, smiling; it doesn't matter so much whether you like that kind of music or not. What matters is the affect in the room. Energy, force, desire. The sense of urgency: better run fast, the old world is biting your heels. By the end of the set, things are a rubbish heap. The band has done what they came to do.

It was the bass player who wrote the songs and basic riffs, but everyone contributed. They had met at *Vallekilde Højskole* in 2013 and formed the band SMK. The name was an abbreviation for both *Statens Museum for Kunst* (National Gallery of Denmark) and *Sut mig, Kim* (Blow Me, Kim!). They had their musical references laid out and quickly started writing songs in the rehearsal space in the basement of the folk high school. Band practice is for learning how to play the music; the delivery, the groove. Punk rock is a kind of music that needs to be urgent, so the band collectively had to learn how to push the beat and how to play hard on their instruments, forcing them to sound distorted. The personal and emotional lyrics were written in Danish.

Towards the end of their stay at *Vallekilde Højskole*, SMK recorded the nine songs they had composed. A musician at the school mixed it. They were self-released on cassette and digitally on the streaming platform Bandcamp. On the cover of the album, there were two hairy ball-like shapes with a vertical Dannebrog on top. Unmistakably a phallic shape. The album was called 'Danmark.' Safe to say it was far from national romantic.

LANDSCAPE

From your viewpoint you can hear at least two sets of church bells mark the transition from day to evening. It is late October, and nuances of green, yellow, brown, orange, and red colour the sunset landscape in front of you. Hills, trees and the ocean beyond. Woodlands and farmlands. The old folk used to make mounds for the dead nobility. The landscape is marked with these signposts of death and memory and wealth.

It is midwinter and freezing calm. The air is crisp. The sun hangs low on a clear cerulean sky. The snow muffles sound, yet in the distance the horn of the regional train is audible. From here you can see the white stretching onwards, on the horizon is the spit of land that marks the end of things. At least 25 kilometres: that is how far you can see. Things are hibernating.

The fog has filled the reclaimed lands as a spectral remnant of the time before the dams. For a brief moment of this mid-August morning, the waters have re-entered their old domain. It will be a warm day, with only a gentle breeze and fleecy clouds. But until then, in the morning chill, you see lines of trees make hedges between fields of wheat, oat, and rye, all plots of land cultivated, managed, and capitalized.

Strange giants have taken hold here. Those packs of windmills along the southern edge, in the flatlands, facing the western wind, are as much a part of the landscape as the mounds, the roads, the rolling hills, and the quaint little groups of houses with names like Bøsserup Huse, Stokkebjerg, and Unnerød. They are signs of demarcation. They seem like majesties. The flocking birds are homing in on their territories.

There is a set of particularly scenic points in the landscape. Some of the most prominent are located along the ridges of the moraine soil hills, and it seems like the old folk also considered them scenic. At least they chose these sites for burial mounds. From sites like Vejrhøj, Esterhøj, and Maglehøj there are 365-degree views of the landscape and of the ocean to the west. Each point has been equipped with a set of stairs making them accessible to most people. There is also a stand, offering information on the burial mound or the specificities of the site. If you own a smart phone you can scan a QR code that will offer further informational engagement with the setting. While Geopark Odsherred is responsible for the semiotic framing of the site, either the municipality or the landowner is in charge of the maintenance of the infrastructural dimensions: the stairs, the weeding chore. At least, someone does it. There are also less elevated points like the southern edge of the Garden of *Vallekilde Højskole* where you can gaze at Svinninge Vejle, or the end of Tuborgvej that runs through the fields in a straight line. The landscape is cultivated: fields and forests are regulated and exploited for commercial purpose. The reclaimed lands of Lammefjorden, Sidinge fjord and Svinninge Vejle stand as testimonies to the triumph of the technology and engineering that enabled a small group of businessmen to engage in the reclamation of 5,500 hectares of sea land in 1873.

PAINTING

It is violent. A vertical rectangle divided horizontally along the middle. The top part is a layer of broken white that barely covers a sublayer of red colour, splattered with lines, like stains across a white wall. The bottom part is deep red. A betanin-coloured sphere seems to be rising, or setting, over the sea of blood. A human figure is swimming, one arm in the process of making a stroke. Or, maybe it is raised as a call for help, one last attempt to escape drowning. Petitioning the empty sky. A rectangular brown shape is floating or sinking at the bottom of the painting. But that is reading the painting figuratively, as if it's telling a story or signifying something. Interpreting visual art was one of your finer competencies when you were a teenager, though usually, you arrived at the same generalized conclusion: existential dread.

This painting has been in your life for five years. You have looked at it often, sometimes carefully paying attention to a detail, but mostly taking in its totality. The red has always caught your eye, it pulled you in, pulls you in, like it puts massive weight on the painting, pulling its weight downwards. You have noticed that the painting explores balance: The two slabs of colour create a common, ordered space evenly divided between top and bottom which is countered by the uneven weight of colours. It does not bring the composition out of balance but posits a subtle tension at the heart of order. The more you dwell with the painting and learn to appreciate its different dimensions, the more you understand that what has drawn you to it is that it is unresolved. It explores the tensions that opposing forces create: colour contrasts, smooth and striated spaces, foreground and background, lines and mass, living and drowning.

You find yourself returning once again to your favourite teenage frame of interpretation.

She graduated from Danmarks Designskole in 1996, specialising in mural techniques. She has explored different themes and techniques since. Ceramics, painting, montage. She created a series of works where she applied pencil, carbon, graphite, gold foil and silver, liquid watercolour and shellac to paper. She has exhibited all over Denmark, and made a life and a living from art.

'Dear Thomas, I hope this will make sense,' she writes in a text message. She explains how she works. Creation demands immersion and the ability to let go. The visual artist has to control a process of creation with the proficiency that her profession has granted her, she must apply her skills, tools, knowledge, and experience to direct the process of creation. At the same time, she must have confidence that the process will take her somewhere new or unknown. Often there are no words for this place, certainly not before the beginning of the process. The good works are often found there, rarely when she knows the result from the outset. 'Inspiration to the next step lies within the labour,' she says, 'and in that which I do not know yet.'

CARROT CAKE

The bistro at Dragsholm Slot is sparsely populated at this time of day. Only few of the tables are being served, but later this will perhaps change. After all, it is a popular place. It is early autumn; bright blue sky, and the surrounding trees retain the last traces of summer. From your seat you can see fields stretching out. Inside, wooden floors and chalk white walls. It feels like an old place. You ordered the minor indulgence of coffee and cake, and it has arrived. French press and a quadrant sized carrot cake with a frosting of orange sea thorn freshly harvested at the beach. You dig in. It is over too soon, but it was good while it lasted. The cake is rich in taste, not too sugary, but still sweet, and the orange berries are sufficiently sour to be a perfect complement. Are those carrots from Lammefjorden?

Recipe
350 g sugar
240 g carrot, grated
250 g flour
3 g soda
3 g baking soda
3 g cinnamon
190 g grape seed oil
3 fresh eggs
50 g walnuts
25 g pumpkins seeds

Icing
Fresh cream cheese
Icing Sugar
Carrots with top
– tiny sea thorn

Mix ingredients well and pour in a greased baking tin. Bake the carrot cake in the oven at 165° Celsius until you can stick a knife in without anything sticking to the blade. Decorate the cake with fresh cream cheese mixed with some icing sugar, and top it with tiny, new carrots. Sprinkle with malt crumble and sea thorn.

Malt crumble
100 g hazel nut flour
100 g wheat flour
70 g malt flour
30 g sugar
70 g beer
30 g butter

Mix ingredients in a food processor, spread out on a baking tray and roast in the oven at 120°Celsius for 40 minutes or until crispy.

Figur 13. Map of Modalities of Connectivity

PART 4: ANALYSIS

MODALITIES OF CONNECTIVITY

In order to prepare the reader for the following chapter, I ask you to imagine, for a second, a world where organisations have no relations with one another. In this world, organisations are closed systems, guarded by well-defined borders that constitute a clear inside and a clear outside. In this world, every organisation is in fact an island. Let the image sit for a moment. Then proceed.

Cups of coffee

I will begin the chapter by narrating a set of relations that exemplify what I call 'modalities of connectivity.' The story represents a mapping of the dynamic relationships between *Odsherred Teater*, *Vallekilde Højskole*, and the author of the book that had entered the world. The story begins in 2010, when the newly arrived headmaster of *Vallekilde Højskole* received a phone call from the director of *Odsherred Teater*. They conversed and proceeded to meet up for a cup of coffee. It was a personal custom of the director to contact new managers of local organisations: he would welcome them to Odsherred and share his view on culture in the region.[1] Historically, there already had been a relation between the theatre and the school in the shape of an arrangement whereby the students would go in a group to the theatre to attend a performance. The school would pay for discounted tickets.[2] This meant that a formal relationship in the shape of a transaction connected the two organisations. There was no written agreement between the two parties that bound them to any ongoing, fixed arrangement, so it was episodic in nature. Things changed with the arrival of the new headmaster in 2010. The school had seen a decrease in students for a number of years and it was on the verge on bankruptcy.[3] The new headmaster initiated a reinvention of the school and prioritised developing a five-year strategy that included a commitment to make the organisation a 'central catalyst for cultural experiences in the municipality and the region.'[4] Practically, this meant that the headmaster would reach out to several organisations in Odsherred

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[1] Appendix, E10, interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[2] Appendix, E6, interview, Gwen, *Odsherred Teater.*
[3] Appendix, E32, interview, Bruno, Brian, Grace, Erica, *Vallekilde Højskole.*
[4] Appendix, A53, Vallekilde Højskole, *Strategi 2011 - 2015, revideret 2014* (2014), 13.

and develop partnerships, project collaborations, and strengthen the connections with the ecology of culture in general.[5] One of these connections was with the theatre. The director recalled,

> I remember that until Reed arrived, I believe I had been down at Vallekilde somewhere between five and seven times during all the years I had been in Odsherred….Suddenly, I was there once every bloody week. Suddenly, we were dealing with a power dynamo there.

'Down at Vallekilde': *Odsherred Teater* is located at the northern end of the region, in Nykøbing Sjælland and in close proximity to half a dozen cultural organisations. *Vallekilde Højskole* is at the southern edge of the region that borders with the municipalities of Kalundborg and Holbæk. Between the two organisations, there are 31.5 kilometres, equivalent to half an hour by car: the director and the headmaster would be eating kilometres to meet for conversations, to argue, and develop ideas. Already, the director of the theatre was used to meeting regularly with other cultural managers to discuss common problems. The 'power dynamo' was interesting because it was an educational institution with a deep cultural history that had made it appreciative of the arts. Moreover, the headmaster was as creatively minded as he was an experienced strategist with a background in the Danish Broadcasting Corporation where he had developed the youth department and launched several successful programs. There was a new exciting kid in town. Hungry for action.

To illustrate: in 2011, the theatre and the folk high school had become part of the group of cultural organisations that had assembled to develop a regional art and culture festival. That group was motivated in part by the success of *LANDET – Should I Stay or Should I Go?*, and the idea was aligned nicely with the municipality's cultural policy of cross-organisational collaborations.[6] The group was meeting but going nowhere. It was ridden with internal dissensus with regards to what the festival should be, for whom and how it should be organised: some wanted it to be an assembly for and by professional artists, others wanted a festival that showcased local culture, and yet others wanted something entirely new to emerge.[7] To solve the conundrum, some of the involved parties decided to establish a steering committee and hire a festival director who could be tasked with creating and developing the festival organisation and identity, fundraise for it, and make it operational. The initial steering committee comprised of the director of the tourist agency, the coordinator of the libraries and community centres (who also served as chairman of *Vig*

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[5] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, Bruno, Brian, Grace, Erica, *Vallekilde Højskole*.
[6] Appendix, A1, Odsherred kommune, *Kultur og Fritidsplan 2008 - 2010* (2007), 10.
[7] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; Appendix, E39, interview, J. Jones, *ceramic artist*.

Festival), the director of the cultural department, the director of *Odsherred Teater*, and the headmaster of *Vallekilde Højskole*. The theatre and the folk high school were now informally connected by their membership of a steering committee that had established no contractual bindings between any parties. The first task was to apply for EU funding for what the committee described as a 'regional' festival that would 'place Odsherred on the cultural map.'[8] They received 285,000 kroner in funding on the condition that they could match the sum granted. At the time, *Odsherred Teater* was involved in a project with five other regional theatres in Denmark. It was called *Kunsten ude på kanten*[9] and its purpose was to explore the effects of using regional theatres as centres for and drivers of cultural festivals in the provincial and rural districts.[10] The theatre's involvement had granted it 240,000 kroner from the Danish Arts Council, a grant which the theatre channelled into the festival economy. There was now some liquid capital and a pledge of funding once the project was successfully executed. The steering committee's second task was to hire a festival director. There was not enough capital to establish a full-time position, but there was enough for a part-time position. The following set of elements were then assembled: the headmaster hired a person[11] who was to serve a dual function as teacher of event management at the school and as manager of the festival. It was a full-time position: the school would formally pay the full salary and then be reimbursed for the part that concerned festival management when the festival was completed and the full grant was paid out from the EU. The theatre had agreed to act as the legal host of the festival, which meant that the festival's or its new manager would formally have two bosses: one in the south, one in the north. The relationship between *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Odsherred Teater* was now augmented by a formal connection in the form of a contract that stipulated a specific delivery and a transaction. What was to be called *Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013* was defined as a project, so the connection was episodic even if it only were to last for two years.

It is time to introduce the author, in detail. He worked from his home in Vallekilde, in an office in a repurposed barn, overlooking the family's garden of apple, pear, and fig trees and with a view of the farmlands of Svinninge Vejle. He used a computer and a word processing program to write his books. A journal for handwritten notes. Extensive research by avid reading, travelling and

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[8] Appendix, A7, Ministeriet for Fødevarer, Landbrug og Fiskeri, *Ansøgningsskema om tilskud til projekter vedrørende etablering af nye arbejdspladser og attraktive levevilkår i landdistrikterne, Odsherred Kulturfestival* (2010).
[9] Polysemic name. A literal translation is: 'The art at the edge' and 'the art at the outskirt's.
[10] Erik Exe Christoffersen, "Egnsteatret som tværkulturel igangsætter, 2011 – 2014," *Peripeti. Tidsskrift for Dramaturgiske Studier*, June 6, 2011.
[11] That person was I. It was my point of entry to Odsherred and the ecology of culture.

interviewing people. He has a master's degree in folkloristics from the University of Copenhagen. The living room of the house was furnished with literature, mostly fiction: Lagerlöf, Kafka, Jensen. Being a reader, the local library in Hørve was an important resource. It was an unmanned division of the central library, one used one's social security number to access it and borrow books, games, music and so on. The nearest manned library was 11.1 kilometres away, or 13 minutes by car and 22 minutes by public transport (if the bus and the trains were on time). The Hørve library was an easy bike ride away. When the library announced, in 2016, that the Hørve department would be shut down for budgetary reasons, a swift direct action in protest was organised and executed: a group of citizens, including the author and his spouse, would borrow all the books in the library and use a trailer to transport them home. A librarian recalled:

> The mayor was furious because he thought that it was something that we had orchestrated. We knew nothing. We had no idea that they did this. I can tell you that I was affected right? Like "holy shit, there are some people who believe that this is worth fighting for", right? But I also thought that it was a great stunt.

It was clever. The citizens used the semiotics of the borrowing figures to render their need visible. If a system is ruled by quantification, use large numbers: the Hørve library remained operational. The author's relationship with the library was multi-faceted. Not only a user, the author's work was part of the collection. The annual cheque that came from the library royalty accounted for roughly 10% of his annual income in 2015-2017.[12] So, in a sense he was sustained financially in part by the local library. He had also had occasional collaboration with the library: a reading, a talk, or a commissioned work. Such activities created sources of income: while the royalties from publishing books accounted for respectively 15%, 6% and 2% in 2015-2017, the fees generated by lectures and teaching in the same years made up 27%, 24% and 36% of income. A book meant talks about the book; as an accomplished author, he could teach others how to write. It is as if his books were simultaneously artworks, promotional material and proof of authenticity, a well-documented element in the composition of artist's income structure.[13] As an example of Danish magical realism, his work was read nationwide in gymnasiums, generating annual *Copy-Dan*

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[12] The author had kindly summarised his annual income for me to see. The size of the library royalty depends on how many times a book is borrowed.

[13] Trine Bille, "Creative labor: Who are they? What do they do? Where do they work? A Discussion Based on a Quantitative Study from Denmark," *Careers in Creative Industries* (2011). Also, Neil Alper and Gregory H. Wassall, "Artists' Careers and Their Labor Markets," in *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, *vol. 1* (2006); Hans Abbing, *Why Are Artists Poor?* (2008).

royalty checks (23%, 11%, 10% of his annual income in 2015-2017). The author also made an income from serving as artistic director of *Litt Talk Festival* at *Vallekilde Højskole*. The festival had taken place the first weekend of February since 2012. Every year, he would assemble a program and curate a line-up of Danish authors who would deliver 20-minute talks about their creative methods and their take on literature. It was his responsibility to secure funding from the Danish Art's Council for their fees, and to guarantee a sufficient level of artistic quality of the festival in general. *Vallekilde Højskole* hosted and funded the festival in part: it was both a marketing device for the school's classes on creative writing and a way to brand itself as a place for literature: teachers, aficionados, former students, librarians, members of cultural organisations would participate in the festival, and in this sense, the artistic director of the festival would be responsible for placing Vallekilde on the 'literary' landscape.[14] When the 2017 edition of the festival was completed, he left the position because he felt the workload did not match the size of his fee and it was time for a change.

Though writing is a solitary practice, the productive relationships of this author tell the story of a cultural labourer who is far from isolated. Ecologically, there are two striking elements: 1) In terms of economic sustenance, the author directly produced some of his income from working episodically and on a project basis with local organisations. These transactional and formal relationships had sometimes been brought about by informal relations of friendship or association, but it is not a consistent trait. For example, he had had working relationships with *Odsherred kulturhistorisk museum* or *Regionstoget* that had been purely formal. The ecology of culture could partially sustain him as a writer and literary producer; 2) Embeddedness was more than economic integration: it meant artistic inspiration, productive and reciprocal relationships, and access to material and immaterial resources. Sometimes, it was functioning as a connective tissue for other people's relations. Imagine if there were no library, no theatre, no cultural or art museum, no gymnasium, no folk high school, no municipal department of culture, or a bookshop willing to have local, nationally renowned authors in stock. The literary infrastructure would then be gone. In other words, the ecological structure supporting the literary labour of this author included several organisations that did not seem at first glance to be of literary nature, but which were connected with literary production in multiple ways. To a large extent the ecology of culture provided the monetary, material, immaterial, relational, infrastructural resources this author

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[14] Jens Fisker, Grzegorz Kwiatkowski and Anne-Mette Hjalager, "The Translocal Fluidity of Rural Grassroots Festivals in the Network Society," *Social & Cultural Geography* (2019), 11.

needed. During the 13 years he has lived in Vallekilde, he has authored five novels and made a life and a living of literature. This is indicative of an ecology of culture favourable to his kind of literature.

Thus, the author was another element of the assemblage. In 2012, he connected formally with *Odsherred Teater* in relation with the production of *Odsherred Kulturfestival*: he wrote the audio story *Fremtidsspor* and one of the theatre's in-house actors narrated it. At the third edition of the *Litt Talk Festival* in 2014, the same actor would perform a reading of Selma Lagerlöf's *Gösta Berlings saga*. The author, serving as artistic director, could utilise the relations between *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Odsherred Teater* to put on an event within the festival. The informal and formal relations between the two organisations had formed a tissue that enabled the production of an event that in itself produced more connective tissue. At the fourth edition in 2015, the theatre director would perform a part of a staged reading of Maja Lee Langvad's *Find Holger Danske*. The local author, in his own right, was both an element in the assemblage and an agent of the assembling multiplicity.

What kinds of connections existed between *Odsherred Teater*, *Vallekilde Højskole*, and the author? If the staged readings, narration, artistic direction, guest teaching, co-production, co-employing, steering committee, workshops, a cup of coffee, a phone call are the connectors, then most of them are *episodic* in nature. They have fixed timeframes, albeit of very different durations. They are also a mix of *formal* and *informal*, as there are both contractually based relations (co-production, co-employment, teaching, artistic direction, voice acting) and interest driven points of connectivity (workshops, steering committee, staged reading). At this point then, we can already abstract at least two distinct modalities of connectivity: *formal-episodic* and *informal-episodic*. Additionally, there are professional friendships, like the one that developed between the theatre director and the headmaster. Given the frequency of their meetings, they developed a friendly relationship. Certainly, it was sustained by the formal connections they had established, but in itself, it was a *continuous*, informal relation that began with a phone call, a cup of coffee and also attending many of the same meetings and gatherings of cultural managers. An argument for a recursive relation could be made: the informal-episodic connections enabled formal-episodic connections from which emerged an enduring informal relation that made further formal-episodic easier to establish. Connectivity begets connectivity. We can thus abstract a third modality of connectivity: the *informal-continuous* kind and from that abduct a *formal-continuous* modality of connectivity (like the one between the municipality and the theatre, see below). Finally, and I think this is crucial: we can distinguish between *passive-latent* and *active-manifest* states of

connectivity. If you have a professional friendship or simply know someone, like the author, who by 2014 had got to know the actor, it may be conceptualised as a passive-latent connection that may become active and manifest by, say, an invitation to partake in an event, or a query for assistance. Most of the connections that I have mapped out have this quality. They move back and forth between passive/latent and active/manifest states. Few remain constantly active or constantly passive: the former are mostly formal, continuous connections of which there are few, and the latter wither in the absence of social maintenance and rarely make it unto the map. The relationship between *Odsherred Teater* and *Vallekilde Højskole* gradually went from active and manifested in formal, episodic collaborations and sustained by a sense of enduring, professional informal friendship to a passive/latent relationship as the headmaster and the school in general participated less and less in inter-and cross organisational collaborations with other local cultural institutions in the years 2016-2018. Such a relationship may be activated by a phone call, a cup of coffee or a new offer of group discount on tickets for a theatrical performance.

The story illustrates that the connections referred to when trying to apply embeddedness as 'relational density' to data are multiple and of heterogeneous natures. It also illustrates that both the multiplicity that is assembling the ecology of culture and the assembled elements are heterogeneous. Organisations, individuals, events, money, applications, positions, functions. Cups of coffee. In this chapter, I will describe the *four major types of modalities* of connectivity that I have abstracted from the analysis of my empirical data. In each, I will specify the active-passive or manifest-latent dynamics, as they play different roles in each modality. Each description should be read as a layout of the conceptual components that compose the concept, which inevitably is of an abstract nature though derived from empirical matter. Finally, the reader might have noticed that the chapter began with an illustration. It is a map of the connections I have traced, and it constitutes the visual part of the analysis. Each line connects two points and marks a relationship as described by interviewees. The following is an analysis of this set of connections.

Formal-continuous

I define a formal relation as a relation specified in explicit terms. Two friends may formalise co-ownership of a car by describing the specific nature of the relation. This does not make their friendship formalised, but it describes and explicates a particular part of their relation to each other. Likewise, two cultural organisations may be on good terms, but not until they specify the relationship by describing its contents in explicit terms is it a formal relation. A contract is a

document that describes the terms of a binding agreement between parties: this is a document formalising a relation.

Municipal institutions and self-governing organisations

Musikskolen, *Ung i Odsherred*, the sports and swimming facilities in Asnæs, Vig, Højby and Nykøbing Sjælland, *Odsherred biblioteker og kulturhuse*, *Odsherred Teater*, *Odsherred Museum*, and *Naturskolen*, all had formal-continuous relation with Odsherred kommune. *Musikskolen* and *Ung i Odsherred* were municipal institutions with their own boards, budgets and governed respectively by *lov om musik*[15] and *lov om ungdomsskoler.*[16] The sports facilities and the library and community centres were also municipal institutions that answered to the cultural committee and had management discretion over daily operations.[17] *Odsherred Teater*, *Odsherred Museum* and *Naturskolen* were self-governing organisations with operating agreements with the municipality[18] that stipulated the nature of the agreement between the municipality and the organisations. For instance, the agreement with *Naturskolen* says that the school was to deliver some 220 nature trips to children annually as part of its operations,[19] and the agreement with *Odsherred Teater* stipulated that the theatre was obliged to produce two theatrical productions annually.[20]

These formal relations are active and continuous in the sense that even if the operating agreements are subject to planned routine renegotiation and renewal, there is no set or expected end date. The assemblage of these organisations composed a stable, reliable, and foreseeable publicly funded cultural infrastructure that was distributed both geographically across the region and across the recognised art forms of theatre, music, literature, and visual arts. The cinematic arts can be added to the assemblage of active formal-continuous relations due to an agreement between the association *Vig Bio* and the municipality that owns the building in which the association operates. The agreement permitted the cinema to not pay rent.[21] The cinema was established in 1948 and operated as a commercial cinema until 1985, when it was set up as an

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[15] Appendix, A74, Odsherred Musikskole, *Vedtægter for Odsherred musikskole* (2018).

[16] Appendix, A58, Odsherred Kommune, *Styrelsesvedtægt/ Ungdomsskoleplan for Odsherred kommunale ungdomsskole: "Ung i Odsherred."* (2014).

[17] Appendix, A50, Odsherred Kommune, *Organisationsdiagram* (2014).

[18] Appendix, A67, Odsherred Kommune og Kalundborg Kommune, *Egnsteateraftale vedr. Odsherred Teater 2017-2020,* (2017); A72, Museum Vestsjælland, *Museum Vestsjælland Samdriftsaftale* (2018); A79, Byrådet, *Beslutning vedrørende Naturskoletilbud efter august 2019 - genoptagelse* (2019).

[19] *Beslutning vedrørende Naturskoletilbud efter august 2019 - genoptagelse* (2019)

[20] *Egnsteateraftale vedrørende Odsherred Teater* (2017).

[21] Appendix, E33, interview, Wilson W., *Vig Bio.*

association,[22] the same year the municipality of Trundholm purchased the building. The agreement with the municipality began in 2006. There was another informal agreement between the former municipalities of Trundholm, Dragsholm and Nykøbing-Rørvig: one cinema was deemed sufficient for Odsherred, so there was no reason to support other initiatives. This informal policy, combined with rent exemption, was an indirect way of subsidising the daily operation of Vig Bio and has helped create conditions for continuous production of high quality and professionally executed cinematic offerings in the ecology of culture. The assemblage of this particular heterogeneity of organisations is indicative of one function of the diagram: to secure and sustain public accessibility to diverse cultural offerings in the form of aesthetic experiences and aesthetic learning. At the library, the people could borrow books to read; they could enjoy music, theatre, cinema, and if they felt like it, then the art museum hosted a fine collection of visual art. Simultaneously, the assemblage also produced a set of offers of aesthetic education: in 2008, *Forfatterskolen for unge i Midt- og Vestsjælland* was created to offer training in creative writing to interested youths in *Kulturregion Midt og Vestsjælland;*[23] the publicly funded *Billedskolen* offered children training in visual arts; *Musikskolen* offered musical training; the association *Odsherred Ungeteater* offered drama lessons and had formal relations with *Odsherred Teater.* There has been no consistent organisation of training in filmmaking though there have been initiatives, the latest being *Filmlandet* and *Vig Bio*'s collaboration with the project *Film og Animation* at *Kulturregion Midt- og Vestsjælland.* The immanent logic of assemblage is that the ability of the population to participate in culture is a common good, a logic that does not seem to sit well with the general developments of national cultural policy that since the mid-80s have reorganised the system of cultural funding and rearticulated the logos of cultural policy, broadly speaking.[24] We shall return to this topic.

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[22] An 'association' is an organisation of people that pursue or cultivate a common interest. An association is governed by a set of statutes that stipulates the purpose, management, working order, etc. It is a legal entity and it can be set up as non-profit, for profit, political, social, sports, cultural and can receive public funding.

[23] The cultural region is a formalised agreement between the municipalities Kalundborg, Slagelse, Sorø, Lejre, Holbæk, Ringsted and Odsherred. *Forfatterskolen for unge i Midt og Vestsjælland* is hosted by and operates in the municipality of Odsherred, Forfatterskolen for Unge.

[24] Peter Duelund, "Nordic Cultural Policies. A Critical View," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14:1 (2008), 12: 'After the Second World War, cultural policies in the Nordic countries have generally been included in the idea of state subsidised welfare. As such, these policies result from a balance of individual liberty and collective political regulations. According to Nordic ideas of social welfare, cultural policy should ensure both freedom of artistic expression and equal access for everyone to art and cultural products.'

Art markets and brochure stands

There are other active formal-continuous connections. Some are repetitive in nature: the art gallery *Pakhuset* had agreements with the associations *Stokrosebanden* and *Cromisterne* that consisted in productions of annual exhibitions of visual art;[25] the art association *Morild* rented a municipally owned warehouse every year for their annual collective exhibition;[26] and *Ovnhus Kunsthåndværkermarked* rented a grass field by the harbour in Nykøbing for their annual craft market.[27] The organisation *Team Odsherred*, a subsidiary of the tourist agency, publishes a brochure entitled 'Kunst og kultur i Odsherred' [arts and culture in Odsherred]. It works as a marketing publication which the public can pick up from the 60 brochure stands that were positioned across the region at hostels, restaurants, cultural organisations, and other public places.[28]

Figur 14. Brochure stand

In 2018, the brochure was a 56-page odd size booklet printed in full colour on thick, glossy paper. The centrefold is a map of Odsherred that laid out 66 locations which one could visit to experience

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[25] Appendix, E1, interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; E2, interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*.
[26] Appendix, E27, interview, Ora, Nora, Zora, *Kunstnersammenslutningen Morild*.
[27] Appendix, E30, interview, Anne, Bella, Duke, *Ovnhus*.
[28] Appendix, E9, interview, Niles N., *Kunst og kultur, Team Odsherred*.

arts and crafts, exhibitions, culture, museums, and the history of art. Of the 66 locations, all had paid for an advertisement in the booklet. The booklet presented short feature articles with five of the galleries, artists, and associations that also advertised. The booklet was to be ready for Easter, when people start prepping their second homes for the summer season. To be ready in time, the process of assembling the contents of the brochure happened in November 2017.[29] It kicked off with an open meeting held by Team Odsherred and a general email to previous advertisers that listed prices and deadlines. The timeline meant that advertisers needed to know what they were advertising early on: to some this amounted to opening hours, an address, and photography of an artwork, while others who produced events would need to know the exact dates and contents of the program. The brochure, alongside other publications from Team Odsherred, is part of the annual rhythm of culture and a central part of the cultural infrastructure, as it mediates arts and cultural offerings to locals and tourists alike. Most cultural organisations, independent artists, and arts associations have used the booklet to advertise throughout the years, but of course some leave and new ones join. There was an odd kind of continuity: the connections between Team Odsherred and the individual advertisers were strictly speaking not continuous in a formalised sense since the agreements were bound to the respective year's publication, but the connection to the ecology of culture at large was continuous. The brochure was an infrastructural element that connected places, people, and practices.

Benches, rubbish bins, and other useful things

Materials connect organisations, and sometimes materials create organisations. For instance, the annual *Vig Festival*, the largest cultural event in the region, was legally set up as a non-profit, charitable association which meant that it had to distribute all its surplus revenue as charity, and it could not own inventory.[30] The festival *rented* the material infrastructure it needed to produce the festival, including the festival grounds. Part of that rented material was owned by *VF Ejendomme A/S*,- which was a limited liability company set up to give or grant *Vig Festival* reliable access on non-market terms to the materials it needed. The commercial foundation *Vigfonden* owns 100% of the stock of *VF Ejendomme*. The formal-continuous connections between *Vigfonden*, *VF Ejendomme A/S* and *Vig Festival* were an arrangement that enabled the festival practically to access, but not legally own, its material infrastructure. As we shall see, this arrangement benefitted other cultural organisations, as it enabled them to borrow or rent materials

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[29] Interview, Niles N., *Kunst og kultur, Team Odsherred.*
[30] Appendix, E34, interview, John, Adam, Everett, *Vig Festival.*

cheaply from *VF Ejendomme* A/S. Such circulation of resources is a crucial element of the immanent logic of the ecology. Another example of the connective quality of materials, is the Steinway grand piano that lived at *Odsherred Musikskole*. The annual *Odsherred Kammermusikfestival* and *Odsherred Musikskole* had a joint leasing contract on the majestic instrument. The director of *Odsherred Musikskole* (who is also the chairman of the chamber music festival) said,

> We have a Steinway grand piano which the festival co-finances...you can say that it is the condition for us to buy it, right? We have it on a leasing contract and the festival simply pays a fixed sum of the leasing expense [pause] and you can say that for the festival it is...the festival saves money because it is cheaper for the festival to pay what we have agreed than it is to rent a grand piano at, for instance, Juhl-Sørensen for the occasion, and you also know what instrument you have at hand.[31]

This practical arrangement was a simple way of organising around a common need, and it was not a isolated incident. That the director and chairman are the same person may be interpreted as a factor that facilitated the establishment and sustained the maintenance of the arrangement. The connective properties of persons is something that I will return to, but at this point, I would like to highlight one aspect of the connective function that some persons may have: persons who move between a variety of domains within the ecology of culture may recognise common needs and then use their decision rights, given to them by their organisational position and authority, as a power to assemble elements and connect organisations formally and informally. That is, to connect things one must have knowledge and the ability to do so. There is always some kind of power at work.

Joint labourers

An organisation may solve a task that belongs to another organisation. One example is the task of marketing and brand maintenance in the cases of *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Den Rytmiske Højskole*: both had established formal-continuous relations with their respective alumni associations, which meant that, in the case of *Vallekilde Højskole*, the student association would be represented at the schools' boards[32] and that the student associations in both cases would task themselves with organising, in collaboration with the schools, gatherings for alumni (parties, communal dining,

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[31] Appendix, E20, interview, Ben U., *Musikskole.*
[32] Om Vallekilde - Bestyrelsen

trips to the school, courses at the school, etc.)[33]. The associations organised the respective alumni. In the words of the headmaster of *Den Rytmiske Højskole,* the former students are part of a 'food chain'[34] that eventually may feed back into the school's operations (e.g. through a student who earned a degree in Music Management and started teaching at the school) and that informs the school's knowledge of which organisations former students attend after their time at the school. While *Den Rytmiske Højskole* does not promote its long courses as preparatory to the tests at the conservatory or musicology, knowing where students go after their stay is helpful when working out the marketing strategies. The statutes of *Vallekilde Elevforening* states that one of the associations purpose is to 'promote the reputation' of *Vallekilde Højskole* and 'support initiatives for former, current and future students'.[35] In both cases, the association performs two organisational tasks: it directly organises the alumni, and it indirectly markets the school through its activities and the alumni. If these tasks were to be performed by an organisational member, it could easily be a full-time position; instead, the task is solved by a secondary association that is formally connected to the primary organisation. The same kind of arrangement existed between *Pakhuset* and the volunteer association that ran the bar during concerts:[36] between *Odsherreds Museum* and *Odsherred Museumsforening* and *Detektorforeningen*, between the library and the local historical associations; between *Huset i Asnæs* and *Husets venner*. This kind of formal-continuous connection helped accomplish organisational tasks.

Members' overlapping roles

Finally, organisations may be formally connected by members' roles overlapping. For instance, the director of *Odsherred Teater* served as vice-chair of the board of *Den Rytmiske Højskole* while the mayor of the municipality of Odsherred served as chair. Clearly, both did not formally represent their respective organisation, so it is inaccurate to understand this as a formal connection between organisations. However, since it is *by virtue* of their respective positions and associated competencies that they were elected as board members, the formal connection between *Den Rytmiske Højskole* and these specific individuals connects the organisations they belong to by association. I include this kind of connectivity in the formal-continuous modality, because the real effect is that it connects organisations by a person-specific formal relation.

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[33] A list of events can be seen here: Vallekilde Elevforening - Facebook Events and here: Elevforeningen for Den Rytmiske Højskole. Appendix, A57, Vallekilde Højskole Elevforening, *Vedtægter, 15. maj 2014* (2014).
[34] Appendix, E14, interview, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole.*
[35] Appendix A57, Vallekilde Højskole Elevforening, *Vedtægter, 15. maj 2014* (2014).
[36] Interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

I have described the following kinds of active-manifest, formal-continuous connections between organisations: publicly funded cultural organisations may either have an operations agreement with the municipality or answer directly to the municipality; publicly funded organisations may have agreements with associations that grant the associations ongoing or repeated episodic use of publicly owned facilities, and these are agreements governing genuine repeated collaborations, co-productions, or co-ownership; commercial and not-for-profit associations may regularly complete operational tasks for other organisations; members from one organisation may perform an ongoing task in another organisation. A special case, which I have not mentioned, is *connectivity by right:* civil society associations[37] have the right to book and use rooms at the library and community centre. The library and community centre and all the associations that are registered in the municipality share this passive/latent formal-continuous kind of connectivity that is governed by law and becoming manifest whenever an association exerts this right.

Stability, rhythm, and infrastructure

A pragmatic question: if we bracket off any notions of intent or policy rationale, then what does this particular assemblage of active-manifest formal-continuous connections do? It does at least three things: 1) It produces stable cultural offerings; 2) It creates cultural rhythms; 3) It creates cultural infrastructure. A cultural offering is peculiar in the sense that viewed exclusively as an offering, that is, as a supply, it does not necessarily' meet any demand. Demand for theatre or cinema or music is not a given; it is made, a matter of cultivation. An example taken from the world of literature is the change in librarian practice. A librarian recalled:

> ...we had a concept in the old days–'at læse en låner op' [literally: to read a user of the library up]...I have worked with that concept...it meant, whenever someone came looking for a good book then you offered, you conversed, we had what we call 'the librarian conversation'...that is a tool we use, it is about questioning people without insulting people in order to discern their level and this is both when it comes to whether we are looking for Pixie books or PhD-theses. 'Where is this person?' If we are to help them attain the information they need. This also applies with regards to literature: are you into Viktoria Holst or are you into Dostoyevski? ehm and we roll out this librarian conversation over unsuspecting users who are exposed to this and then we find such and

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[37] E.g. the association *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening*, that is set up to organise and take care of local historical documents, book and use rooms at the library and community centre in Asnæs. Appendix, E13, interview, Barbara, Rebecca, *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening*.

such book that we believe is at level with the user and which we find to be good for the user - even if we think that is not 'good literature.' I would say it in this way: the part concerning that it is 'not good literature,' that has disappeared from our profession, but it was still there when I received my education. We know good literature and bad literature. So, what we are doing here is old-fashioned, the idea was to create a relation with this user that was sufficiently good so that you with time 'upread' the user, so the user read Dostoyevsky because that was good literature. We don't do that anymore...now, we try to match people where they are, 'I think this is good for you right now.' We don't place any evaluation and I'm relieved because when I read science fiction and comic books, I could figure out that it's not 'good literature.' So, it was a huge problem for me to upread people.[38]

The change is subtle but substantial. The former 'old-fashioned' practice was a practice where the librarian used knowledge of a user and an established relation to facilitate a developmental process and to qualify the demand for a particular taste in literature. Contemporary practice uses knowledge of the user and a relation to service a demand and given taste in literature. In both cases, the library was and is a supplier of literary offerings, but the approach to the construction and cultivation of taste has changed from an elitist to a liberal perspective. Despite the change in methods, the library is a producer of stable cultural offerings, which also applies to the other organisations with formal-continuous connections to municipality and state.

The cultural rhythm is made by the annual, bi-annual, quarterly, monthly and weekly repetitions of planned events and activities happening at specific times and locations; it is a beat conditioned by the stability and reliability of its 'hits'. Rhythms are formal. Aside from formality as stated agreement and fixed terms, formality is a matter of formal properties that have become proper by repetition, that is, because something has been repeated a sufficient number of times which allows its traits to become stable referents, citable and reiterable. As any musician knows, a rhythm quickly settles as the backbone of a song. Musicians also know that when the speed of the rhythm is changed, it affects the properties of the song but leaves the rhythm formally intact. This allusion to music is not simply an attempt at a clever metaphor. It is a conceptualisation of those repetitions whose temporal organisation becomes a pattern in the ecology; some at the level of months (fig. 16) and some at the level of years (fig. 15). Recognising a pattern is akin to a gift of prediction. Formal organisation, after all, is a way of reducing uncertainty by planning future tasks. Ecological rhythms emerge from formal-continuous connections.

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[38] Interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total count	Increase in %
2018		1		1	2	3	9	4	4	3	1	2	30	7,14
2017		1		1	1	5	9	4	3	2	1	1	28	7,69
2016		1		1	2	3	9	4	2	2	1	1	26	4
2015		1		1	2	3	8	4	2	2	1	1	25	4,17
2014		1		1	1	4	9	2	2	2	1	1	24	4,35
2013		1		1	2	3	9	2	2	2		1	23	4,55
2012		1		1	2	3	8	2	2	2		1	22	4,76
2011				1	1	4	8	2	2	2		1	21	10,53
2010				1	1	4	8	1	2	1		1	19	5,56
2009				1	2	3	7	1	2	1		1	18	5,88
2008				1	2	3	6	1	2	1		1	17	0
2007				1	2	3	6	1	2	1		1	17	0
2006				1	1	4	6	1	2	1		1	17	0
2005				1	2	3	6	1	2	1		1	17	6,25
2004				1	2	3	6	1	1	1		1	16	0
2003				1	1	4	6	1	1	1		1	16	0
2002				1	2	3	6	1	1	1		1	16	0
2001				1	1	4	6	1	1	1		1	16	0
2000				1								1	2	

Figur 15. Rhythm of events that repeat annually.
The figure shows increase in the number of repetitive events 2000-2018 and shows the density of events throughout the year
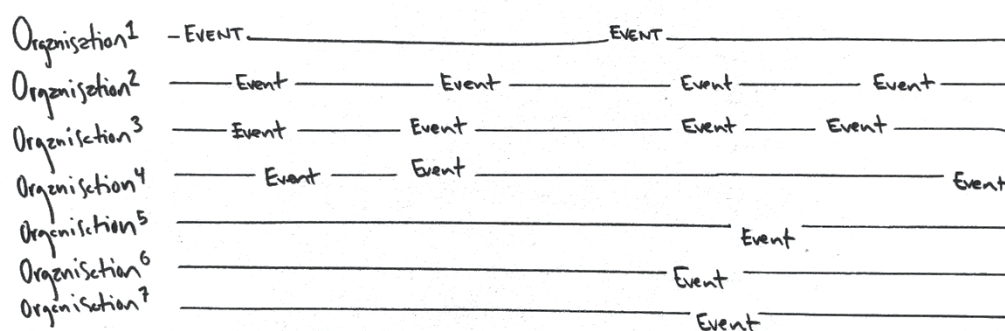
Figur 16. Rhythm of events that repeat monthly

Finally, the stable formal-continuous connections create an infrastructure that allows all sorts of things to circulate through the ecology: people, ideas, things. Sure, the infrastructure is analytically augmented by taking into account other modalities of connectivity, but take as a simple example how students at *Den Rytmiske Højskole* move once per semester to *Odsherred Teater* to attend a performance.[39] This arrangement, similar to the arrangement between *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Odsherred Teater,* is a simple example of how formal-continuous connection is an infrastructural condition for movement between two organisations. The students could organise such a trip on their own, but this particular formal agreement between *Den Rytmiske Højskole* and *Odsherred Teater,* repeated every semester, creates an infrastructural pathway that makes the transport of students more likely, predictable, and budgetable.

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[39] Interview, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole.*

Formal-episodic

If the musical metaphor of rhythm is to be extended to the next modality of connectivity, then perhaps the emergent effect of formal-episodic connectivity (in tandem with informal episodic ones) is syncopation, subdivision and underscoring. That is because formal-episodic connections condition the production of cultural offerings that are novel in quality and which do not in themselves create ecological rhythms or infrastructure, but rather exploit the existing infrastructure and add texture to the set of events already happening. When added to this pattern, complexity grows.

Eventcollaborations, single

In the evening hours of April 21st, 2012, concerned citizens in Vig called the Emergency Response Centre in Holbæk. They had seen a young man down by the train station; he was carrying a baseball bat that had nails in it. The bat and the young man's face had blood stains all over them. In another part of town, a car was parked in the middle of the road - doors open, hazard lights flashing in the night. The Emergency Response Centre sent an ambulance, which was intercepted by...a Zombie - ragged, rotten, and gory. The Zombie explained to the ambulance drivers in its most polite way that the situation was under control; it was an event, and no one was hurt anywhere. It was all makeup - including the young man down by the train station. The Zombie acknowledged that it would perhaps have been prudent to notify someone somewhere that the event was happening, so as not to cause concern. The ambulance drivers concurred and took off, swallowed by the darkness on the edge of town. The zombie remained, grinning.

That night, the event *Zombier i provinsen* was in production: it was a collaboration between *Vallekilde Højskole's* event management students, Vig Bio, and the Copenhagen- based film festival CPH:PIX. George A. Romero's classic zombie movie *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) was screened in Vig Bio, which was dressed up for the occasion as a makeshift stronghold: windows boarded up, blankets, emergency lights, canned foods, and popcorn all over the floors. The largely Copenhagen-based audience arrived in a coach; they had to walk from the train station (greeted by the young zombie slayer) through town to the cinema while being chased by a dozen miserable zombies. After the movie screening, the cinemagoers could feast on greasy spareribs in the cinema foyer before leaving with the coach, chased out of town by a horde of the flesh-eating living dead. The event management students' task was to produce and manage the event (and act as zombies), and also to promote the event; the cinema was to provide the location and the technical infrastructure to screen the movie; the film festival was to promote the event as an

integrated part of their *on location* movie screenings and rent the movie. The event was supported financially with a 15,000 kroner grant from the municipality. *Zombier i provinsen* is an example of a *single event collaboration* between cultural organisations.

Single event collaborations are one-off events, they have a specified start and end time, and they involve a division of labour between organisations with the purpose of producing an event. The entire project process can be divided into the phases of ideation and conceptualisation, pre-production, production, and post-production. The project collaboration might begin at various stages of the process; sometimes the concept is already in place when an organisation is teaming up with another organisation and sometimes organisations have agreed to collaborate and begin the ideation phase together. In any case, it is the interorganisational division of the tasks and labour that go into the event that matter. Organisational members may relate with each other between organisations at various points in the process, for example for the joint marketing of an event involving communication officers coordinating their efforts[40] or something as simple as one member of an organisation unlocking and opening a door for a member of another organisation in order to access a piece of equipment. The connection between organisations is both formal and social - like it is with the formal-continuous connections, the only difference being the episodic nature of the collaboration.

Eventcollaborations, sequential and repeated

An example of a sequential or repeated eventcollaboration could be *Kirkelyd*, which was a collaboration between *Korskirken* in Vallekilde, *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013*. The purpose of the collaboration was to produce a series of adventurous electronic sonic events in the church throughout the first half of the year culminating with the final performance during the festival in late July. The project was partly funded by a grant from the Danish Art's Council. The church would offer itself as location; *Vallekilde Højskole* would curate and engage with a set of artists and provide the technical infrastructure. Marketing would be a joint effort. The collaboration would be built upon already existing connections between the neighbouring *Korskirken* and *Vallekilde Højskole*, most prominently by virtue of the priest serving as member of the school's board. However, in the project collaboration, it would be the priest, the students, and the event management teacher who would make up the human elements of the formal connection between the organisations. The church space, a sound system, a lightning

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[40] Interview, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J., *Odsherred Teater.*

system, a set of posters and flyers, a Facebook page, and, finally, the artists and their equipment were the material elements in the assemblage. This means that there is a distinction to be made between the stipulated contents of an agreement binding organisations together and the actual multiplicity doing the labour of assembling the elements. One is between organisations, the other is between people.
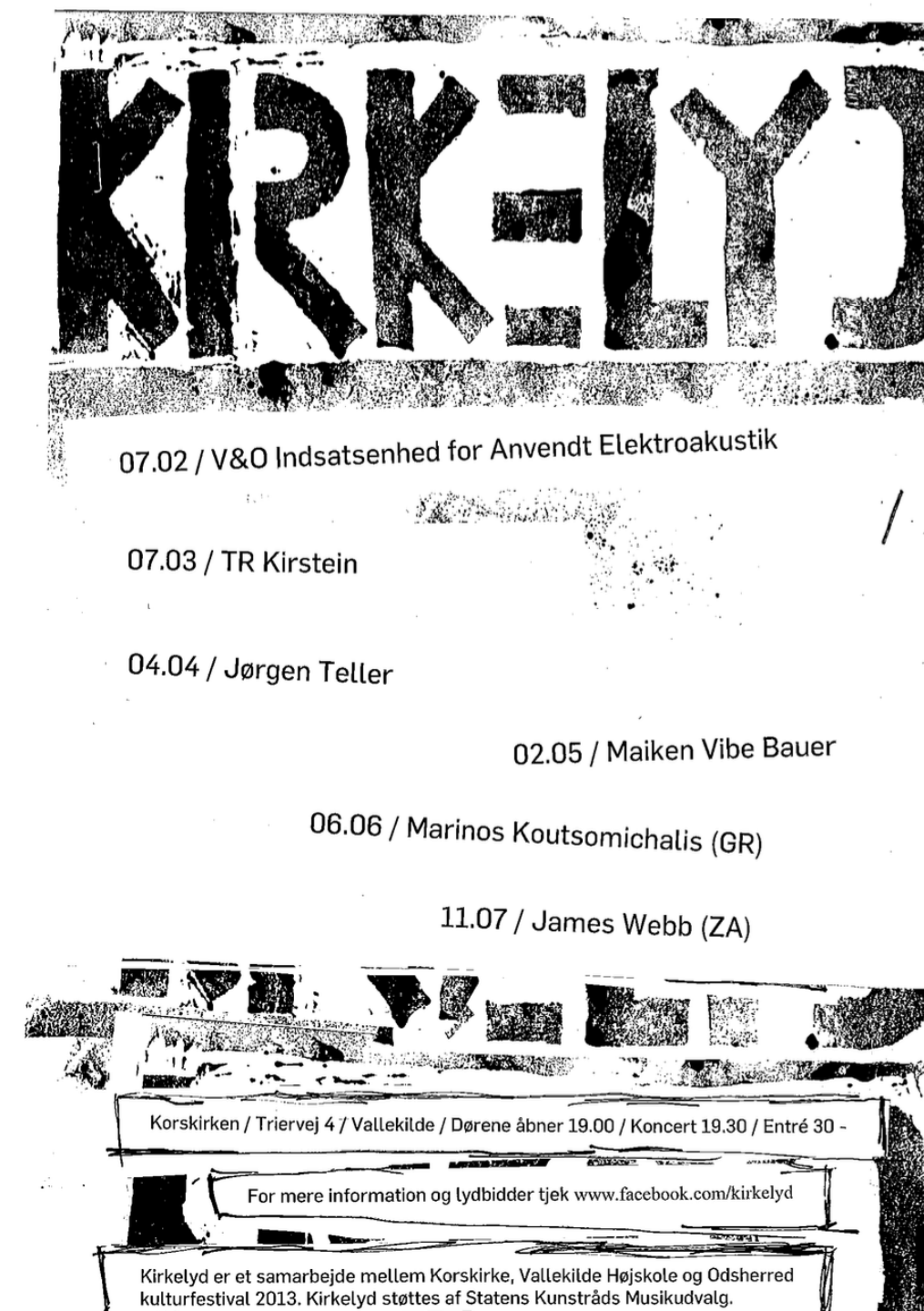
Figur 17. Kirkelyd, poster

The association *Drauget*, established in 2007, specialised in arranging folk music concerts. Informally, *Drauget* and the publicly funded *Pakhuset* had divided the municipality between them as a kind of decentralised regional music venue catering for jazz, folk, and pop music.[41] *Drauget* operated in the southern part of the region across half a dozen locations (*Aksen*, *Korskirken*, *Medborgerhuset i Hørve*, *Café Ayse*, *Vallekilde Højskole*, *Grevinge kirke*) and produced ten to twelve concerts per season which runs from September to June. Effectively, *Drauget* is the only genuine concert promoter in the south. The association owns a small PA system, a light system, and a backdrop; they are funded in part by the municipality and the Danish Arts Council, and the rest of their expenses they manage to cover with the revenue from ticket sales and bar sales. *Drauget* is a stable cultural organisation due to the regularity of their event productions, but their mode of production involves a fundamental operational uncertainty because they have to make concrete arrangements with venues from concert to concert: when they book an artist, they simultaneously have to book a venue. Given that each place has its own ambience and atmosphere, it is not always easy to match an artist and a location. For instance, the venue *Aksen* is suitable for a concert with a larger audience, but it 'is not cozy'; the lecture hall at *Vallekilde Højskole* has a great ambience, but it is rarely available anymore due to 'growth in student size and the increased activities at the school', and *Café Ayse* is great for 'small, intimate concerts.'[42] *Drauget*'s event production is repeated and based on episodic agreements with venues, hence making them an organisation managing a set of formal-episodic connections.

Connectivity by transaction of tangible resources

Single, sequential, and repeated event productions are kinds of formal-episodic connectivity that in some cases oscillate between active-manifest and passive-latent states. Another kind of connectivity is by transaction of tangible resources where one cultural organisation buys a service or a good from another organisation. Here is a simple example,

> Huset i Asnæs has their programs, their work lists and those kinds of things; they have those printed here...right? But that is exactly what we charge them for. It is concrete. It is a concrete service that we sell, right? I mean, it is the number of times the printing machine is running that we are paid for...[43]

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[41] Appendix, E25, interview, Erica, *Drauget*.
[42] Interview, Erica, *Drauget.*
[43] Interview, Ben U., *Odsherred Musikskole.*

'Here' is at *Musikskolen* that is located but a stone's throw away from the art gallery *Huset i Asnæs*. The two organisations are neighbours, and though they also have informal points of connection, the purchase of prints is a formal-episodic connection regulated by a transactional logic: x number of prints cost y amount of money, *here is an invoice*. The transactional connection applies to situations where an organisation purchases an artwork or a performance from an artist, for instance, when the municipality commissions artworks from artists or buys craft from local artisans to use as gifts or prizes.[44] There is an economic transaction involved when the library hires an author to do a lecture or when a festival hires a band to play a concert but also, as the quote indicates, when cultural organisations buys services from each other - often in parallel with other kinds of interorganisational relations. The municipality buys a facilitated workshop held at the theatre or at one of the folk high schools; a graphic designer employed at one organisation designs a poster for another organisation and charges for that service. An example of a longer project period that is still of a transactional nature, is the project *Go! Local*, which was a collaborative project between the municipality and the revitalised *Ung i Odsherred*. It aimed at fostering and growing a group of resourceful youths to become cultural entrepreneurs and organisers. The project purchased the labour of two employees from *Vallekilde Højskole* and used them as project members; an example of the distinction between a precarious, freelance cultural labourer hired on a project basis and an already employed cultural labourer hired to work temporarily for another organisation.

Another kind of transactional connection is that between artist and craftswoman and art and craft market. Particularly prominent are the *OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked* and *Odsherred kunstdage i Pinsen*. *OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked* is an annual event that was established in 2008. It is legally set up as an association, the statutes stating that the purpose is to 'produce a crafts market named *OVNHUS Marked* at the harbour in Nykøbing Sjælland' and 'contribute professionally to the cultural level of activity in Odsherred.'[45] The market takes place in high summer. It is located on a grass field by the harbour, right next to what is known as *Kunstnerbyen* (the artist's town), a group of private homes, workshops, and galleries owned by professional artists, surrounding a kiln or furnace house ('ovnhus' in Danish) where ceramic works are fired. The market is well established as an annual event, and it draws a large number of visitors - both those looking for an experience and those with money to spend on high quality craftwork. To

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[44] Appendix, E40, interview, Kevin MacTaggert, *ceramic artist.*
[45] Appendix A81, Ovnhus, *Ovnhus vedtægter* (2019). My translation.

participate, an artist must apply and go through an assessment process by a jury composed of four professional craftspeople. If successful, the artist must then become a member of the association and pay a fee to participate. The market covers textile, wood, metals, ceramic, leather, and other kinds of craft, making it appealing to a variety of tastes. The connection is transactional because the craftswoman buys access to a market that is both effectively organised and intensely communicated, giving the craftswoman exposure and opportunity to sell her works.

The same transactional logic is at work in *Odsherreds kunstdage i Pinsen* - an annual art and craft event happening on the weekend of Pentecost when the workshops, galleries, and studios are open to curious visitors (and to purchasers). The artist applies in September and pays a fee to participate in the event if accepted by the jury. This event, like *OVNHUS kunsthåndværkermarked* has several thousand visitors,[46] and to some artists and craftswomen, the revenue from the event is a substantial part of their annual income. When asked about the number of visitors during the event, artist K said,

> K: I believe it is hundreds, right? I don't know if it's more than five hundred because I actually think it is through the course of these three days. There is a lot of people coming through. This year it was a little less...I don't know why, if it was the weather. But there has been a lot of people in town.
>
> Burø: Do you have an idea as to the size of your turnover? A loose estimate?
>
> K: It is circa a third of my annual turnover.
>
> Burø: Wow.
>
> K: mm. So, it is important.[47]

Three days of open workshops and boutiques is equal to one third of the annual turnover. I do not know if this ratio can be generalised to what other artists and craftswomen generate from participating in the event, but those I have interviewed confirm that they perceive it to be an important event, both in terms of direct sales and in terms of engaging with future and former buyers.[48] Artist Jessica Drew said that even if she was not part of the official program in 2018, she would still receive visitors who 'wanted to see what she is producing at the moment.'[49]

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[46] Interview, Niles N., *Kunst og Kultur, Team Odsherred.*

[47] Appendix, E37, interview, K, *ceramic artist.*

[48] Interview, Kevin MacTaggert, *ceramic artist*; Appendix, E36, interview Jessica Drew, *ceramic artist*; E37, K, *ceramic artist*; E39, J. Jones, *ceramic artist*; E41, Sean Cassidy, *sculptor*; E27, Ora, Nora, Zora, *Morild*; E30, Anne, Bella, Duke, *Ovnhus.*

[49] Interview, Jessica Drew, *ceramic artist.*

Both *OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked* and *Odsherred kunstdage i Pinsen* are organised as markets, and this implies a transactional kind of connectivity between the participating artists and the organisations. The artists purchase not only *access* to the event and its marketing platforms (online, posters, brochure[50]), they also purchase the *meaning* of the event. In both cases, there is organisational work that is performed to assure the perceived quality of the markets by guarding who can participate and who cannot. The assessment process is a process of curation and it effectively qualifies a given artist or craftsperson as a professional artist or craftswoman. It is like a proper performative speech act. How to define professional art and how subsequently to delineate in praxis what is professional artwork from what is— in the words of a manager of a gallery—'decoration' is a tricky business. The artist CK explained what makes an artwork,

> Burø: What is a work?
>
> Roxy: When I think about an artwork then it is a work that has an art professionalism or a...it is a term that we use, I mean, you can say there are music and then there genuine works and I think it must possess...it is when it has a quality that is more than a line on a piece of paper, but if that line on a piece of paper has a quivering or an investigative art professionalism then we start talking about a work.
>
> Burø: Now we sit here and look at some works...how are they works?
>
> Roxy: When I look at them then I am past whether I like them or not. And you can say that in reality that is what we often experience with our guests [at the gallery]. The first you do is to say, 'I don't like that' or 'no, I could never have that hanging at home in my living room' and that is an ok criterion. I do that myself if I am out looking for something for my living room. But if we are talking about a work as a work, then it doesn't matter whether you like it or whether you want it hanging over your sofa, 'the orange and the violet doesn't match' and that sort of thing...ehm...then it is more a matter of asking 'what is she investigating?' 'How has she made a composition?' 'What is that tension?' 'What technique is she using?'...Those are the kinds of questions that she [the artist] is investigating. Then I can say next that I think it is a work, but it is an uninteresting work, or I don't like that chord, or it doesn't do anything for me. That does not equal that it is a bad work or not a work at all. It just means that it is a work I don't understand or...but it is really hard to say, because in reality I am rarely in doubt when I see something, well, that is not entirely true, but I usually quickly see that this is not a bloody work or this has no art professionalism.[51]

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[50] Interview, *Kunst og Kultur, Team Odsherred*; interview, Anne, Bella, Duke, *Ovnhus*.
[51] Appendix, E11, interview, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs*.

I have quoted at length because I think the interview sequence is indicative of the difficulty of defining what makes a work and distinguishing between art and decoration. At the heart of things, an artwork is distinguished from a non-artwork by the property of 'art professionalism/ 'art proficiency'[52] which is a property of the artwork. How to discern that property is difficult to explain, but in praxis CK can tell whether something has the property of an artwork or not. This is not because of CK's taste, it is because CK is an art professional and knows how to appreciate art as art. This is crucial. In this case, as in the case of the *OVNHUS Marked* and *Odsherred kunstdage i Pinsen*, the implied difference between lay people and professionals is that the latter have the training to recognise the 'artness' of art. This explains the screening process: it is a boundary regulation mechanism ensuring the integrity of the market and preserving the discretionary capacity of the organisers to determine the ontological quality of something as an artwork. Without the screening process the distinction would not be discernible by lay people, which means that artworks and non-artworks would be discernible only by personal taste. If lay people cannot recognise high-quality art because they cannot recognise art as such, then the high prices of professionals become suspect and subject to scrutiny. *Why this price?* When the jury reviews the CVs of applicants and uses their own art professionalism to assess the subjected works, they thus effectively exclude non-professionals and ascertain the ontological status of the items as proper art and craftwork. From there on, guests can apply their personal taste, assured that the prices do indeed reflect the high quality of the professional who has produced them.

Connectivity by transaction of intangible resources

While the logic of assemblage is formal-episodic transactional at the level of relations between artist and organisation, the emergent effect at the level of ecology is that the arts and crafts markets have been stable, enduring contributors to the rhythmic pattern of culture. The same applies to some of the other events and festivals taking place in Odsherred: *Kulturnatten i Asnæs*, *Honkey Tonk Town*, *Geopark Festival*, *Folkemødet i Odsherred*, and *Litteraturfestivalen* are all organised in the same manner. A small, lean administrative team that handled marketing, coordination, and process management, and a body of diverse producers ranging from single individuals to entire organisations contributing with content. The logic of assembly is formal-episodic but not based on and regulated by a monetary transaction. The producers do not purchase access to a market but contribute content that observes the given thematic frames of the festival. Certainly, some

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[52] In Danish: 'Kunstfaglighed'.

producers treat the collaborative festival framework as constituting a market: they have cultural offerings and experiences for sale. But for many producers, their motivation to contribute comes from a range of sentiments: local pride, a sense of commitment and solidarity, opportunity of recruiting new members for their associations, excitement. This means that there is another kind of connective logic at work which I call *connection by transaction of intangible resources contribution*. It could be argued that it is still a transactional logic but one in a monetary transaction has been replaced by some other entity of value. However, if the transactional logic is defined by something that is *concretely exchanged* in the form of money for access and rights, then what is concretely exchanged in the contributive connective logic is the opportunity to contribute and be part of an event or a festival in exchange for, well, contributing. The coordinator of *Geopark Festival* 2018 said,

> Geopark Festival is a community. I couldn't do the Geopark Festival on my own. It is all the organisers who do it. I only coordinate. You know how much work there is in that, right? But it is all the organisers who make the festival and they have the desire and they must also have that desire. I mean if they only do it for the money then I don't believe there is the same soul in it.[53]

Desire. The people who organise events contribute because they desire to do so, not because they are 'in it for the money.' The quote comes from a part of the interview where we discussed the position of professional artists within the framework of the festival, whereby the latter is organised by a logic of contribution, in contrast to a logic of commission or booking. This has enabled the festival since 2015 to compile a program with hundreds of events, much activity with only a lean festival budget for coordination and community building, marketing, and the production of the opening ceremony.[54] Structurally, the real costs related to producing the festival's program are paid by the individual producers as well as potential revenues. The distribution of the real festival economy across producers and organisations, especially given the extensive reliance on volunteer, unpaid labour and organisations that contribute events based on their regular operational funds, makes it difficult to access the actual size of the festival economy. Artists, who make their living from producing and selling art are neither volunteers nor capable of relying on continuous funding like public institutions. So, in case they contribute with an event of their own volition, they are professional artists labouring without fees to produce cultural offerings, unless of course they manage to generate a revenue from the event or find other ways of financing their event. This

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[53] Appendix, E12, interview, Daisy, *Geopark Festival.*
[54] Observation and interview, Daisy, *Geopark Festival.*

particular group get squeezed or prevented from participating unless they accept that there is no funding available for them in the arrangement or submit to the market conditions of the economic structure. The assumption is, however, that the artists that do contribute, do so out of 'desire'.

Desire: is this a reason to investigate what can meaningfully be included in the concept of a transaction? Apart from a monetary transaction, can such intangible phenomena as 'meaning,' 'satisfaction,' 'legitimacy,' 'joy,' and 'desire' also be objects of transaction, for instance, when an artist produces an aesthetic experience to the festival in exchange for the meaningfulness of contributing? This requires engaging empirically with the variety of reasons for contributing and conceptually with the idea of transaction itself. I will present two empirical examples of reasons to contribute: The first example is the contribution of the association *Odsherred sangskriverklub* to the festival. The association is composed of songwriters, started with the purpose of stimulating and supporting songwriters and song writing in Odsherred. The association had experienced a decline in member activity and attendance at its events but was invited to participate in the first edition of *Geopark Festival* in 2014. In the end, the association participated under the title *Geosange - Stensikre hits* [Geosongs - Rock solid hits], which was a collection of songs written for the occasion and performed at various sites throughout Odsherred: in burial mounds, private homes, bunkers.[55] To the songwriters, contributing was an occasion to write and perform new songs. In her PhD dissertation on the festival, Paya Hauch-Fenger cites an email correspondence which is telling of the creative impetus driving the songwriter's willingness to participate,

> Dear x. Geopark Festival sounds so exciting! And when I read about it, an idea spawned immediately in my head: local songwriters are to compose songs about the geo-landscape, nature, etc and perform the during the festival (...) I would very much like to act as coordinator of project GeoMusic. (...) that was my input, Hi from ML.[56]

Organising, writing, and performing *Geosange - Stensikre hits* reinvigorated the association in the process. According to the members I interviewed, this was a desired effect and one of the reasons why the group of musicians chose to contribute in this particular manner.[57] The hope that exposure would attract new songwriters to the association was also a reason. There were thus three motivational factors: the opportunity to be creative with a purpose, organisational reinvigoration,

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[55] Paya Hauch Fenger, "Festivalen som prototype: CoDesign af en Geopark," PhD thesis (2018).
[56] Fenger, "Festivalen som prototype".
[57] Appendix, E29, interview, Martin, Michael, Marius, Samuel, *Odsherred sangskriverklub*.

and exposure to potential new members. These intangibles are the contents of the formal connection between the festival and the association.

In 2016, *Odsherred Teater* contributed to the festival with an original theatrical production: *Velkommen til Twin Peaks* ['Welcome to Twin Peaks']. It was an oddity and deserves a bit of explication. It was a theatrical adaptation of David Lynch and Mark Frost's classic horror-camp TV show *Twin Peaks* although it did not stick with the show's narrative at all, but instead adapted the very uncanniness of the fictitious small-town in the Pacific Northwest and applied it to the Zealandic Northwest. The performance started in a community centre where the audience could eat donuts and drink 'damn fine coffee', while being introduced by a local (the poster lady) to her particular relationship with the series, and to what we were to experience next: a tour through Odsherred filled with stories, characters, and Lynchian darkness. Then the audience were divided into cars and were brought into the evening landscape. The drivers used references to *Twin Peaks* to tell a local story while taking the audience to different locations to meet someone with something to say. Then the audience was picked up by a new set of drivers who took them to a new location and new stories: a widow, a gang, a teenager, a horse lady, a former chief psychiatrist treating the criminally insane. So many stories, so many lives and places. The performance was sold out and drew audiences from Copenhagen, enticed by the opportunity to experience what the producers called 'landscape theatre' and a 'portrait of citizens in Odsherred.'[58] The theatre had chosen to contribute to *Geopark Festival* by scheduling a dozen performances in the summer, coinciding with the festival period. But it did not produce *Velkommen til Twin Peaks for Geopark Festival*. If there was a transactional logic at work, what did the theatre then receive in return for offering a costly theatrical performance to the festival? The theatre director reflected,

> Some of what I have been most proud of is, I believe it is the final sentence of the evaluation that the Danish Art's Council made of us in '14. She writes something along the lines of 'Odsherred theatre has set its mind on reconquering *folkeligheden* and you have to concur that it has succeeded.' and I think that [method] has succeeded right? Not becoming popular in a way that...I mean, Holbæk teater is an odd theatre to compare ourselves with because it is mainstream in a way - they do Rasmus Klump, and do these kinds of...put the thick girl on stage and have her tell her life story - it always becomes sort of documentary in a one to one way which somehow irritates

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[58] Fix Foxy - Velkommen til Twin Peaks

me. I think it is far cooler when there is such a person doing it in a Twin Peaks set up, in an artifice. In my view, the authenticity seems to queerily become far larger.[59]

Contributing the piece to the festival was motivated by a desire to demonstrate to policy makers, other cultural organisations, and the festival itself how such uncanny theatre could engage with the festival framework of landscape, cultural history, and local produce, and that the inclusive, citizen-involving and volunteer-based festival organisation and identity could be reconciled with professional art - if reconciliation was made a priority.[60] Since the time of the structural reform, the theatre had pursued the strategy to develop their own take on 'folkelighed' that would enable them to be a 'locally relevant theatre.'[61] *Velkommen til Twin Peaks* was in compliance with that ambition: it engaged locals and addressed local topics in a highly unusual way that not only placed Odsherred on the map theatre-wise but also demonstrated how contemporary art can contribute to local conversations about identity and meaning. In exchange, the theatre received legitimacy and recognition, and politically, it challenged the more idyllic ways of representing Odsherred.

I have lingered with these cases in order to flesh out an empirical difference in the nature of the modes of connection, between the connective tissue being either tangible or intangible resources. In both instances, value is created and passed between parties, but it is different kinds of value. On the one hand, there is the logic of transaction of tangible, countable elements which has at its heart a process of quantification and a calculus. On the other hand, there is a logic of transaction of intangible, uncountable elements, that has its heart a process of qualification and meaning (legitimacy, purpose, participation, reinvigoration,). Desire connects, but in multiple ways.

Production, variation

The nature of formal-episodic connectivity varies by quantity (one or repeated) and by the kind of valuable resources that move between parties (tangible or intangible). What can be said of the pragmatics? 1) Formal-episodic connectivity also produced cultural offerings, but it created neither cultural rhythms nor cultural infrastructure. It contributed to, and often relied on, formal and, as we shall see, informal-continuous connections, and on the rhythm and infrastructure these connectivities created. If the abstract machine lays out rules by which elements can be connected to produce culture, then the events that form from formal-episodic connectivities are sources of

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[59] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[60] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, *Odsherred Teater.*
[61] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, *Odsherred Teater.*

novelty, differentiation, dislocation; they add texture and variety. 2) Another property can be abstracted from the analysis of continuous and episodic connectivity. While there is continuous repetition in the mode of cultural production when the assemblage of culture is viewed at the ecological level, there is difference and variety in the ecology when viewed at the level of the concrete elements and relations to one another. Stated differently: the ecology is stable in its infrastructure and its rhythms and dynamic in the quantity and quality of the cultural offerings it produces.

The next section of the chapter analyses the informal connections.

Informal-continuous

There were ways that informally connected organisations: by people knowing each other, by membership of networks, by past collaborations, or just by being neighbours. In this section, these various ways are laid out and analysed.

Networks and groups

The most striking form of the informal-continuous modality of connectivity is one that runs *parallel with existing* formal-continuous and episodic connections. There were formalised relations between organisations that had stipulated a certain relationship which were then also augmented or supplemented by practices and relations not contained within the formal agreement. These informal-continuous connections were organised and stable; sometimes they supported the contents of formal-continuous connections while at other times they were their outcomes. I will bring the cultural managers' network to the foreground as an example.

The directors and managers of cultural organisations in Odsherred were members of a group that met regularly to discuss, ideate, and reflect on matters pertaining to their respective organisations and to their common task of producing cultural offerings. The group contained the directors of *Musikskolen*, *Ung i Odsherred*, *Hempel Glasmuseum*, *Naturskolen, Odsherred*, *Odsherreds Museum*, the library and community centre, and the municipal cultural department. Sometimes other organisations took part in it, like *Geopark Odsherred* and *Huset i Asnæs*. Some of the members were also active in other organisations, such as the director of *Odsherred Teater* serving as member of the board at *Den Rytmiske Højskole*; the director of *Musikskolen* serving as chairman of the chambermusik festival and *Den mobile landsbyscene*, or as a festival manager of *Odsherred litteratur og læsefestival*. The steering committee of *Geopark Festival* counted the

director of *Odsherreds Museum*, the manager of the cultural department and the manager of *Ung i Odsherred*. Here is an example of how membership overlap meant that information circulated,

> Jean Grey: Is there anything new from Geopark Festival?
>
> Dana D.: Maybe we should open a general diagnosis that by now it has found a format in a way, right? Which, yes, has found a niche and role. There will be a program which looks a bit like the one last year. Mighty user inclusive. And then there are new producers coming in which the festival is good at framing and this year again the festival presents a three-day program. There are no mega highlights this year.
>
> UNK: No.
>
> Susan Linden: Yes. What is it … Udo Leis?
>
> Dana D.: That is at any rate the most costly
>
> Susan Linden: That is because one is like...I think that sounds mega mystical exciting good.
>
> Dana D: Yes. Well.
>
> Jean Grey: He is going to make a giant tract that is to lie at *Klint kalkbrud* and capture sounds from the waves that are then amplified through this here giant tract and they have discovered that it can be turned off during the opera [in Klint Kalkbrud].
>
> *Common laughter*[62]

In the excerpt, a member of the steering committee briefed the group. Another member of the steering committee contested a statement, which was then accommodated and then, yet another member explained it. The contested statement resonated with the group's recurring discussion regarding *Geopark Festival*'s difficulty in producing novelty and large spectacular events, which in itself resonated with another general discussion about 'quality' of events produced by lay people.[63] These topics are not articulated here but are part of what Grice conceived of as the implicatures of a conversation, that is, those things that are not said but implied by members of the conversation.[64] Perhaps that is why the member of the steering committee contested the statement that there are no real highlights, because it would feed into the particular interpretation of the festival as repetitive, perhaps even dull. Finally, after the explanation, laughter ensued at the evoked imagery of Udo Leis' device causing deafening noise in the non-amplified opera performance also taking place at the site. This excerpt neatly demonstrates some functions of the group: sharing information and discussing the current state of affairs in culture as well as enjoying

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[62] Appendix, G1, participant observation, *Kulturledermøde*.
[63] See Fenger, "Festival som prototype," 103-104.
[64] Herbert Grice, "Logic and Conversation," in *Logic and Conversation* (1975), 24.

being in the company with like-minded people who are 'in the know.' It is a group of people that had discretionary powers, had access to social, technical, and knowledge resources, and the combined experience of the members made them a knowledgeable body. This was a resource in itself given that members of the group could use that knowledge and experience to their own benefit - as was the case, when I observed the meeting: the manager of *Huset i Asnæs* presented its current economic and organisational struggles, and the group chipped in with questions, ideas, and reflections.

The history of the group shows that it was also political, and it was creative: it is a political assemblage in that it has served as an unofficial hearing organ for cultural policy developments, and in that it develops policy agendas such as making contemporary culture more visible to the tourist agency or responding to changes and challenges arising from the political milieu.[65] It is creative insofar as it has historically been a space where ideas have been generated and from where formal collaborations have emerged, as will be laid out in chapter 4.2.

Another professional group is *Kommunikation i Odsherred* (KIO). It was composed of people working with marketing, mass communication, and branding, and it included members from public and private organisations such as *Odsherred Teater*, *Odsherred forsyningen*, *Geopark Odsherred*, *Visit Odsherred*, and more. The director of *Hempel Glasmuseum* was in that group:

> I think I benefited a lot because it was very down to earth, practical, and it is communications professionals...we talked much, and I received many good tricks of the trade from the others. It was nice to have a base of support who knew what I was talking about. Very practical.[66]

KIO was an organised 'base of support' for communications professionals; a way to organise around common needs and to share tricks of the trade. The key distinction between *Kulturledernetværket* and KIO is that the former was composed of people in positions of authority to make organisational decisions and with power to influence policy while the latter was composed of practical people in the position to produce signification and to shape the imaginary. What they had in common is that they were organised as a network of professionals.

Neighbours

Physical proximity connected. Some cultural organisations were neighbours, which meant that they continuously interacted with each other in informal ways - again, oscillating between active

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[65] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*.
[66] Appendix, E16, interview, Delilah, *Hempel Glasmuseum.*

and passive states. One example is the *Ung i Odsherred* and *Odsherred Musikskole.* They belonged administratively to *fagcenter for Børn, unge og familier*, but for historical and ideological reasons politically they referred to *Fagcenter for kultur og borger*. Both institutions were committed to collaborating formally with the schools in Odsherred; and finally, they were part of *Kulturledernetværket.* In Asnæs, *Musikskolen* and *Ungehuset* were separated by some 100 meters, and there were multiple ways in which they interacted. The manager of *Ung I Odsherred* said,

> and we buy services from Musikskolen and when we do things that deal with music, we always involve Musikskolen...if they can provide a...it is sort of employee wise; we borrow theirs, right. And then there are often also pure production matters. Yes. And there I think we have found a good level because at the beginning we were often like, then we make a guitar jam or something that doesn't have the same professionalism as Musikskolen has, so we could worry that we offered something for free that they charge a fee for at Musikskolen. But we have arrived at an understanding that what we offer is very different...So, we have made it through that one. So, it is very much like they come and do something, or one can get enticed to go to Musikskolen. Because in this case one can end up offering the same service. And in this case those free offerings can be difficult when there are some who has to survive on getting revenues.[67]

The manager of *Musikskolen* said,

> I have no formal agreements to collaborate with any of these [the cultural organisations]. I mean, there is not written two words on paper about this. I have written many words about the concrete projects, right? Everytime it becomes concrete and we do something, right. This Friday, Ung i Odsherred came and borrowed backline[68] for a set-up which they were to produce up at the theatre in Nykøbing...right? They had a fantastic concert and then they came this morning and returned the backline. But I bloody count the cables. I check that I get back what they have borrowed, right? Because we will not have anything to lend the next time, yes? and I have noted what they borrowed, right? But there is nothing formal written about this anywhere.[69]

One organisation borrowed from the other: employees, equipment. When there was a technical production they called and asked for their services. Sometimes, there was a fee involved which

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[67] Appendix, E7, interview, Susan Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*
[68] A backline is typically understood to be the amplifiers, drum kits, stands, and other pieces of equipment, like a PA system, needed for a live performance. The performing musicians bring their own instruments. Larger sound systems, like the ones at concert halls, outdoor concerts, and so on, are not included in the term 'backline'.
[69] Interview, *Odsherred Musikskole.*

makes it formal. But the understanding between the two organisations was informal; it was based on physical proximity in Asnæs; a shared common user group (that gets encouraged to visit *Musikskolen*); their belonging to the cultural network; and that they answered politically to the same boss. None of these reasons, however, obliged the organisations to collaborate with each other by any degree of necessity. The mere proximity that begat connections did not entail complicity or collaboration. The mechanism was not automatic; instead, they had to choose to collaborate and to develop a shared informal understanding of how to collaborate.

Another example is the relation between *Huset i Asnæs* og *Odsherred kunstmuseum*. Both organisations were located in Asnæs where they presented visual art; *Odsherred kunstmuseum* was committed to presenting the paintings of the painters who lived and worked in Odsherred, and *Huset i Asnæs* was a commercial art gallery committed to exhibiting and selling the art of their members and guest artists. *Huset i Asnæs* said,

> The art museum is also [on this map]. We have not formalised our collaboration with the museum.
> It is something that we have wanted and which they have also wanted, but it hasn't been arranged
> systematically. So that is something that we are working on, but it would be misrepresentation to
> note it [on the map]. It is something we talk about.[70]

The two organisations had been in the same town for a few decades; they were connected by their physical and substantive proximity. The members knew each other, and they discussed ways to collaborate. In this sense, it was informal-continuous connection that oscillated between active and passive states; whenever one organisation delivered a poster or brochure to the other one for distribution in their respective reception, the connection was activated and kept alive.

An example of connectivity by proximity that did not entail collaboration was the relation between the art association Morild and the skateboarders. The art association rented a warehouse from the municipality to host their annual art exhibition during the summer season. The warehouse was situated right next to the skate facility. The skateboarders played loud music when they gathered to skate to the annoyance of the art association that had complained and asked them to turn down the noise.[71] The skaters had cranked it up in response.[72] The hostile relation between the two groups was intensified by the popular perception that the skaters smoke hash and by the

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[70] Interview, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs.*
[71] Interview, Ora, Nora, Zora, *Kunstnersammenslutningen Morild.*
[72] Appendix, E44, interview, Nelson, *Parkour teacher.*

skaters' desire to use the warehouse for an indoor skate park.[73] In this case, collaboration did not follow proximity.

From these cases can be abstracted the property that proximity begets connectivity. Proximity alone is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for collaboration per se, as the example of the skaters and the artists illustrates, but it can be a reason.

Friendships

A third kind of informal-continuous connectivity is one based on friendly terms and past collaborations. *Hempel Glasmuseum* hired an employee to take part in the museum's daily operations. She turned out to be pregnant, and she fell ill. This meant that the director of the museum was on her own, void of the labour power that she thought she had hired. The director had to run faster. This meant that she could not find time to participate in the meetings of the cultural managers. The director of *Hempel Glasmuseum* said,

> But I think Jean Grey has been really good eh in these contexts and I think she has turned up a lot at ours, and I think that has been good in the sense that because I am a private enterprise then I haven't been obliged to observe the policy in the same manner as the other institutions are obliged to, and the museum has been a very tourist-thing...because it is only open during high season so it has not been able to contribute in the same manner at an equal footing.[74]

I asked Jean Grey why she had chosen to visit:

> [the director] was very alone with Hempel and therefore very busy. I visited the place out of several reasons - partly to participate in the openings receptions of exhibitions - like I try to do, when I can, at the art museum and Huset [i Asnæs] (combining job and interest). But also to show her my interest in the place and signal that she and the museum is a part of culture in Odsherred (even if she didn't join the meetings), converse with her and experience the place and its potentials, which I believe are multiple that have not been exploited entirely in relation to the others [cultural organisations] - and to converse with her about their visibility in the cultural scene in Odsherred - there are many untold stories of the place….

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[73] Interview, Nelson, *Parkour teacher.*
[74] Interview, Delilah, *Hempel Glasmuseum.*

I experience that when I participate at these different places something positive happens, and I always take something good with me, and I do always meet others who participate in the event at the particular place - so the many small meetings and conversations have a value for me.[75]

In order to make sense of these excerpts, there are two things to note. First, Jean Grey was the director of the cultural department in the municipality. Even if *Hempel Glasmuseum* was a private enterprise and therefore neither politically nor administratively accountable to the cultural department; *and* even if the museum had not been participating for years in the cultural managers' network, Jean Grey had still made it a priority to visit and pay attention to *Hempel Glasmuseum*. Second, because the museum had a small number of staff, was a high season, tourist dependent organisation, and therefore had not been historically able to contribute to the cultural managers' meetings (and projects), the museum could easily have become culturally marginalised and viewed as an asset to the tourist agency only. The former manager of *Hempel Glasmuseum* worked at *Odsherred kulturhistorisk museum* prior to changing her position. She had experience with working in a publicly funded cultural organisation that was politically supervised and regulated, and she could tell the difference. That the private enterprise was not expected to deliver the same kind of infrastructural offerings as the public cultural institution is as organisationally liberating as it is isolating. In this context, a visit from the manager of the cultural department was a token of appreciation, indicative of past collaboration and *Hempel Glasmuseum*'s participation in cultural affairs, and perhaps also a way to keep the connection with the museum active.

There were other informal-continuous connections based on friendly terms and past collaborations. These are easily mistaken for concluded episodic connections, but the connections based on friendly terms and past collaborations were more akin to continuous passive/latent connections. As all it took was a phone call to activate the connection, they are to be differentiated from the episodic connections between organisations. As one manager drew the distinction, there is a difference between being on 'good terms' and being on 'friendly terms' with other organisations. The latter kind is an informal-continuous affair.

Texture, circulation, maintenance, resonance, social spaces
What did informal-continuous connections do? They served multiple functions, since they 1) increased the 'textural' quality of already existing formal-continuous connections and thereby strengthened the cultural rhythm in production of stable cultural offerings; 2) continuously made

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[75] E-mail correspondence, Jean Grey.

intellectual and material resources circulate in, or available to, the ecology of culture, though, of course, the most profoundly embedded organisations were also the ones that both gained the most from and contributed the most to the circulation; 3) maintained and sustained the cultural infrastructure by which resources were circulating and from which new collaborative productions of cultural offerings emerged; 4) combined with formal-continuous connections to create a 'resonance chamber' for single organisations that added reverberation to organisational articulations, that is, when organisations 'spoke,' their speech resonated with the organisations they were connected with; 5) constituted a social space where organisations could test new ideas, where projects could incubate, and where collaborative projects could be pursued - all in a spirit of mutual trust.

Informal-episodic

Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013 opened ceremoniously on July 27, a bright sunny day. A coordinator from the festival's administrative team had asked the group of event organisers contributing to the festival to take part in a parade through the main shopping street in Nykøbing Sjælland. And there they went: on the cobblestones an array of associations, artists, private citizens, cultural organisations, uni-cyclist, jugglers, Parkour kids, a single electric car, nine Mad-Max style repurposed sound bicycles, a ragged and old rusty car - all dawdled towards the library and community centre where they would toast and formally declare the festival to be open. But before the parade had hit its pace, the Mayor of Odsherred, Thomas Adelskov and the Danish Minister of Culture, Marianne Jelved, had delivered speeches surrounded by a few hundred organisers and audience. Precisely *seventeen minutes* prior to the first word of her speech, someone casually inquired whether there was a PA system for the minister to use given that it was outdoors and there was a crowd. Indeed, she needed a PA system. But there was none. A minute of tempered panic ensued, then a call to Pakhuset:

> 'Can we borrow your small PA system?'
> 'Yes, when?'
> 'Now. In fifteen minutes, the minister is to speak'
> 'On it.'

Fifteen minutes later the PA system was set up, and the minister spoke. The crowd was pleased. The organisers were still sweating.

Community, mutual aid, belonging

There are other anecdotes like these that form a pattern when compiled: a student from *Vallekilde Højskole* called the administration at *Odsherred Musikskole* and asked to borrow a guitar amplifier for a show, she called *Pakhuset* to borrow a set of line drivers, and finally she called *Drauget* to borrow their light system, which was stored in a cupboard at the school; an employee at the community centre borrowed the nine-seater Sprinter van from *Ung i Odsherred*; an event organiser borrowed tables, benches, and rubbish bins from *VF Ejendomme A/S*; an employee of one organisation volunteered to recruit youths to participate in a project of another organisation; a priest offered the church room for a performance of contemporary dance. And on it went. The list of such informal-episodic connections between organisations is long. There are two things to take note of: first, it was not a condition that *people* in organisations had informal or formal-continuous connections in order for these episodic connections to be established. There are examples of episodic relations that had taken place without any prior person specific relation. But it was necessary that there was some form of formal or informal connectivity established between *organisations*. This resonates with what some interviewees understand as 'person dependency.' The real effect of personal relations was to connect organisations, but not necessarily to maintain the connection. The sense of connectivity was perhaps enough in some cases. The question then becomes: Did a shared sense shared sense of belonging include a sense of connectivity *even in the case where there are no tangible points of connection between organisations* but instead an imagined community[76] which cultural organisations considered themselves to belong to, feel connected to, and in solidarity with? I would like to draw out an incident that may shed light on this matter and suggest that one of the major challenges following the structural reform had been to reorient and revise the sense of community, belonging and identity in Odsherred.

In 2007, there was a municipal attempt at merging the local historical associations into one pan-regional association. One of them, *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening* refused:

> Burø: Did the municipal reform in 2007 affect the association?
> Barbara: Yes and no. Not apart from the controversies we had with the municipality with regards to where we were located.
> Burø: It was in relation with the reform that one wanted to centralise the archive in Vig, right?
> Barbara: Yes. It was probably a result of [the reform] that they wanted to centralise. That is probably correct. Before that time no one wanted to merge. They tried to merge us back in 2007

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[76] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2006).

but it didn't work out. The associations simply did not want to. We have never received support from the municipality, so we were masters in our own house. They couldn't force us. In Odsherred, we have free use of rooms at the library. We could walk into the library and say: 'we would like to use this room and then we take care of ourselves.' They could not forbid that. So that is what we did. Then we had a meeting with poor Jens and Kim [from the library] whom we told in very explicit terms that we did not want to be part of [any merger]. We were local historical, so we wanted to be at the library in Asnæs.[77]

The association did not want to become part of a larger association because the subject matter of their work tied them to the Dragsholm part of Odsherred and because they were a face-to-face community that belonged there. They did not imagine themselves to belong to Odsherred, exactly because of the material specificity and the historical delineation of their locality. I will return to the problem of the Local in chapter 4.3. where I explore locality as a production of the cultural assemblage. Here, the local was a source of community that conflicted with an administrative rationality in pursuit of a policy of centralisation. Perhaps this association was not the only one to think of themselves as bound to 'their' part of Odsherred and not to Odsherred as a totality?

The public cultural institutions, on the other hand, were defined as regional; the cultural offerings extended to the population of Odsherred. However, it is not clear to me whether the institutions that were established in the 90s had the same regional orientation as the organisations that were established in relation to or after the reform. Is it plausible that one of the effects of the reform has been to reorient both the identity of the organisations and the citizens they offered cultural experiences to and in the process expand the imagined community to which organisation and citizens belonged? If this hypothesis is true, then it could explain why there were so many instances of informal-episodic connections between organisations, such willingness to collaborate, to share and recirculate resources, lend a hand, and in general *make things work informally*? Consider the following example that shows out a finely tuned sensitivity to the delicacies of the transactional logic and to the implications for the ecology at large:

One of the most tedious examples is *Den Danske Scenekunstskole*. They are located in Annebergparken where *Odsherred Teater* also used to live. Now, the theatre has moved into town and *Odsherred teaterskole* has become part of *Den Danske Scenekunstskole*. But that is a state institution. They are not allowed to do anything outside of their core service unless it is revenue-funded...and that is limited beyond reason. I mean that - and I have had a good conversation with

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[77] Appendix, E13, interview, Barbara, Rebecca, *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening.*

them about this - I believe they are quite sad about this. Now, we have previously used the theatre quite a lot for music practice and for concerts...for all sorts of things...there is a large, fine theatre hall which can be used for many purposes. But we don't use that one because we receive an invoice every time we use it. If you can find another locale that you don't have to pay for, then you don't go up [to *Den Danske Scenekunstskole*, ed.]. We produce *Alsangstævne* in the garden up there, every year, in the beginning of August. We use the toilets for the audience and the café is open, and we use rooms for the performers and such things. There we pay. We pay for the rent of the rooms; we pay for cleaning and we never did that when the theatre managed it. Because the theatre was part of the municipal. I mean, we don't write each other invoices...and I shrink from saying this, but I almost feel like saying to den *Danske teaterskole* that if they invoice me I have to invoice you...imagine if we all started doing that...that would change everything. I would then have to think about whether to buy and own those things that I borrow at the theatre. Then it would be stored in my basement for occasional use...but the municipality has bought these things, so why don't we use them?[78]

I have quoted at length because both the argumentation, the attention to detail, and the representation of the interorganisational relationships are indicative of a shared understanding between public cultural organisations. It even had a nickname: *sammenskudsgildet* [the potluck party]. The intention was to use, share, and sometimes pool the resources that existed to produce cultural offerings to benefit the public. This logic is easily interpreted as nepotism, as exemplified by the case of 'The One About the Drums.' An employee of the community centre explained:

> Rachel: One of the things that is a challenge concerning the way that we work in Odsherred is to get the administration on board. We have just had the one about the drums...Jonathan and Eric bought Jonathan's sons drum set.
> Gordon: NordVestNyt has just applied for access to our information going back five years and have identified single cases, amongst these the drum set.
> Rachel: It is about Jonathan making these jam sessions which needed drums. His son didn't play his drums at the time, so they borrowed the son's drums. Used them for several years and they got worn down. Something needed to be repaired and they bought it off the son instead of repairing it and returning it to the son. Super good solution. Cheap for us. Really cheap for us. If we could not have done like that we would not have had a drum set. And this is what is a challenge right now.

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[78] Interview, *Odsherred Musikskole.*

> We have to take care that we don't use our personal/family relations because that is nepotism. But it the reason we have been able to do so much.[79]

In the quote the employee set out the argument that a condition of reality for the cultural labour in Odsherred in general, and specifically at the library and community centre, was the use of sharing, circulating, lending, and borrowing equipment from each other, and acquiring cheap services by using relationships. The employee also reflected on the dangers of using informal connections for formal purposes; getting stuff done in effective, smart, and affordable ways might come at the cost of opaque agreements and the slippery slope of nepotism.

One condition that could explain the ethics of making do with what is at hand is the state of the economy. The former director of the library and community centre recalled that in the immediate in the wake of of the structural reform, the municipal economy was generally poor: the 'struggle to salvage something from the wreckage' had left culture to its own devices for several years while other public services were being tended to. Culture was one of the smaller items in the municipal budget, and it was capable of managing itself.[80] In Erik Lehnsherr's recollection, in 2007 and the years that followed, culture was not an object of local *administrative* attention.[81] As Lehnsherr phrased it: 'Culture was allowed to run on routine.'[82] One interpretation of this statement is to understand the production of cultural offerings in a state of economic deprivation as a combination of cunning and organising in solidarity or what Michel de Certeau referred to as 'bricolage.'[83] Ultimately, this led to *Landet - Should I Stay or Should I Go?* in 2010, a genuine large scale co-production between publicly funded cultural organisations.

To sum up: informal-episodic connections were made up of those instances where an organisation was connected with another organisation because a material resource was shared, a service was provided free of charge, or a task was accomplished through a collaborative effort that was not set down in writing or with reference to stated expectation. It sounds clandestine, and perhaps there are indeed instances where laws have been broken. There are also mundane examples: imagine an employee at one organisation toying with an idea or struggling with a problem and choosing to call an employee at another organisation in order to bounce ideas off one another or ask for advice. This conversation would certainly be person specific, and it would also

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[79] Interview, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*
[80] Interview, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhus.*
[81] Interview, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhus.*
[82] Interview, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhus.*
[83] Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984).

be an episode connecting organisations. This example is minuscule, to be sure. Perhaps it is incorrect to infer from a conversation between two persons that their respective organisations are connected. But imagine that it is a conversation between two *professionals qua professionals* and that the conversation is instrumental to developing an idea or solving a problem. The episode may then make a difference at the level of the organisation and may have implications for the ecology at large.[84]

The practices of informal resource sharing were conditioned by both a commitment to *the community of cultural organisations* and a common sense of trust and solidarity. These are intangible infrastructuring devices that connected organisations and built upon already existing informal and formal-continuous connections. There was a perception among some interviewees that if the logic of informal contribution were to be replaced by a logic of formal transaction, then the 'fabric would unravel,' and the larger pattern of cultural production would come undone. The interweaving of the formal and informal explains why a student could make a series of phone calls and simply borrow what she needed.

Supplements, increasing density, creativity, and making ends meet

What did informal-episodic connections do? They 1) supplemented the formalised modes of production of cultural offerings. That is because the informal-episodic connections in themselves were the necessary and sufficient condition for the production of a particular cultural offer, or they were instrumental to the production of cultural offerings; 2) strengthened the formal and informal cultural infrastructure by increasing the density of interorganisational connectivity; 3) enabled organisational creativity, introduced novelty to the ecology, and helped solve minor and mundane operational challenges by allowing organisations flexibility in thought and action; 4) made ends meet, plain and simple.

Productions of cultural offerings based on informal-episodic connections supplemented the established formal-continuous connections that enabled the ongoing production of cultural offerings. They did not replace it. When a group of youths asked their friends who had a band to perform a show and when they borrowed technical equipment and arranged a venue free of charge, they neither replaced an already planned concert production nor competed with it. As one manager expressed it: 'the only time I can remember where *Pakhuset* was packed with youths was when

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[84] This example is based on personal experience. An acquaintance had dramatically exceeded his budget and was calling to ask for advice. Being proficient in involuntarily blowing my budgets, I venture I was the wrong person to call.

Rumour Said Fire[85] played and a local band from *Den Rytmiske Højskole* supported.'[86] The group of youths supplemented the already existing cultural production by organising to produce an offering that was in demand.[87]

Whenever an informal-episodic connection was made, it often happened as an offspring from the already existing cultural infrastructure in which case it functioned as a 'thickener' of the connections between organisations, or it made a new connection between organisations in which case the cultural infrastructure was expanded, even if only temporarily. Informal-episodic connections increased quantitative and qualitative growth in the ecological assemblage. Studies of system's resilience have shown that a system composed of a variety of elements that are highly interconnected shows higher levels of resilience than a system of low connectivity.[88] Perhaps informal-episodic connections served to increase the resilience of the ecology simply by virtue of increasing the general level of connectivity?

Making an informal-episodic connection with another organisation may be the difference that made a difference. In such instances, organisations benefited from each other's intellectual, material, technical, creative and staff resources. In those cases, were informal-episodic connections occurred between organisations that already had formal and/or informal-continuous relations, it may be practically difficult to discern any difference between the contents of the formal agreement and an informal episode. Analytically, the distinction is quite clear. Anytime an organisation connected with another organisation in a way that is not made explicit in the terms of a formal agreement between them or implied by the contents of an informal connection, then it was informal-episodic, even if it may have supplemented or contributed to any ongoing formal collaboration. Organisations have used informal-episodic connections to experiment, develop new ideas, and to generate input and outside perspectives to problems. The priest at *Odden Kirke* used the following example to illustrate the power of connectivity:

> Now, I am going to tell a very practical story. But it means a lot. It is actually where it is at, right? The school [at Odden, ed.] they threw out the old chairs. I was down there and had a chat with the janitor. We often chat. I say: 'where are these chairs going?'
>
> 'They are to be thrown out.'
>
> 'Can we use them on the harbour for the harbour service?'

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[85] A Danish indie rockband.
[86] Interview, *Den Rytmiske Højskole.*
[87] The example is *db RABALDER.*
[88] David Stark, "On Resilience," *Social Science* 3 (2014); Ran Bhamra, Samir Dani and Kevin Burnard, "Resilience: the concept, a literature review and future directions," *International Journal of Production Research* 49:18 (2011).

'You can have them.'

Then the harbour master agreed to store them, and it is also bloody him who takes them there, I mean, it is his staff that transport them to the place. He says, 'we'll just do that.' So that means that there is a person there, who is willing to say 'we'll just do that' because he wants the harbour facilities to be used by more people. That is his thought. But the chairs, they have become important. Suddenly, there is ownership at the school too. Such things. They have their meaning too, right?[89]

Creative problem solving: the priest acquired chairs for his service, and the harbour master pursued his idea for increasing activities at the harbour. *Odden kirke*, which is an institution owned by the state and the Lutheran church of Denmark, Odden harbour, which was a municipal institution, and Odden school, which was a municipal institution were informal-episodically connected by a set of chairs. It became an informal-continuous collaboration. With time and repetition, it might become a formal one.

Finally, the chairs at the harbour and the 'One About the Drums,' are also examples of how organisations exploit the possibility of connecting informal-episodically to make ends meet. Borrowing things from each other from time to time, instead of renting or purchasing equipment, only marginally cuts down overall operational expenses. But at the level of the singular event productions, the cost of renting a van or other equipment may blow the budget. Similarly, when employees committed to a workshop, a steering committee, or as participants in a project without their organisation of employment being reimbursed for the hours they spent, it also worked to make the ends of a collaborative project meet. A five-member steering committee meeting for two hours could easily be worth a few thousand kroner. Of course, if participating in such professional events, groups, and meetings was part of the employees' bundles of tasks, then it makes little sense to consider reimbursements. But what if it was not integral, but considered to be of strategic value to contribute? Then an organisation effectively contributed economically when their paid staff participated, and the organisation refrained from thinking in terms of reimbursements.

Case study: Folkemødet i Odsherred

I began the chapter with an exposition of a set of connectors between *Vallekilde Højskole, Odsherred Teater*, and the author. Throughout the course of the chapter, more connectors have been laid out, described, and analysed. I now conclude the chapter with another case which is an

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[89] Appendix, E22, interview, Talmon, *Odden Kirke.*

example of how the assemblage of concrete elements via formal and informal, episodic and continuous modalities of connectivity produced cultural offering. I conclude the chapter in this manner, with a fairly long description of the complexities of a particular case in order to demonstrate the practical dimensions of connectivity and the productive capacity of assemblage. I also present it to draw attention to what I interpret as a pattern of the ecology of culture: cross-organisational collaborative projects that involve public cultural organisations, associations, artists, and civil society appeared rhythmically: in 2011-2012 it was *LANDET*, in 2013-2015 it was the emergence and consolidation of *Geopark Festival*, and in 2017 it was the appearance of the next new thing: *Folkemødet i Odsherred* - which is the concluding case. *Folkemødet i Odsherred* was a people's assembly in Odsherred taking place at *Den Rytmiske Højskole* in the beginning of September. It took place for the first time in 2017. It happened again in 2018 (and in 2019, after I completed fieldwork). The idea to establish a people's assembly was hatched in 2016, as a reflection. The headmaster of *Den Rytmiske Højskole* recounted the process in this manner:

> In the summer of 2016 I thought about how the folk high school could play a larger role in the preservation of our democracy in the light of what I perceive as a crisis of trust between population and decision makers, following a Danish 'no' to end the judicial opt-out of EU justice, a British Brexit and Trump as the presidential candidate in USA.
>
> Then a magazine appears from *Dansk Ungdoms Fællesråd*, thematising local people's assemblies and a call to make more of these. Then I thought, that is what we are to do, and it should be fixed at Den Rytmiske Højskole. So, I wrote to Thomas Adelskov to share the idea and he forwarded med to Vagn Ytte who was chair in the committee for local democracy. It turned out that they had started working on a similar idea in the committee on the initiative of Kim Mariengaard. So, we joined forces and the committee planned a couple of think tank meetings in the fall of 2016, which provided a set off to plan the first meeting in 2017. I applied *Folkehøjskolernes forening* for means for public information to develop the idea and I was granted the full amount of 148.000 kroner.
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> We established a steering committee with Vagn Ytte, Torben Møller, Anne-Marie Donslund, Ricki Susic and I, who also planned the assembly in 2018.[90]

The assembly happened at *Den Rytmiske Højskole*, on their 2,500 square meter lawn. A half-moon of eight large white tents faced the permanent stage at the northern end of the lawn. In the middle of the half-moon there were installations, benches and tables. Each tent had curated a program consisting of six events, each lasting roughly 50 minutes. In a tent committed to 'Odsherred in the

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[90] E-mail correspondence, John Byrne.

future' one could listen to the mayor Thomas Adelskov debate with the director of *Dragsholm Slot* and others. Later in the same tent it was a group of farmers debating organic farming and the future of local produce. The program included immigration, water security, faith, day-care of children, mental health issues, storytelling, identity, local history, food, entrepreneurship, youth education, and more.[91] In addition to the 48 events taking place in the tents, there were concerts, speeches, art production, activities on the lawn, and opportunities to buy food and beverages. More than 50 cultural organisations, associations, artists, institutions, and private citizens were directly engaged in producing content for the one-day event. A program provided the participants with a schedule and an overview of activities.

In the spring of 2018, a status update on the preparations for the 2018 edition of the assembly was given at the meeting between cultural managers. Here, Kitty Pride reported that things were coming along nicely, but that she considered it to be a problem that there were not enough 'famous names.' This leads another member to respond,

> Charles Xavier: Well, regarding what you say about names. I think one should talk more about that because that is another way of thinking than had been the point of departure
> Jean Grey: Yes
> UNK: Yes
> Charles Xavier: It clearly is another economic thinking, but it is also an entirely other way of thinking Folkemødet. At least, as I interpreted it.
> Kitty Pride: Yes. But…
> Charles Xavier: And I don't think this has been talked about as something to think about
> Kitty Pride: No. But it means a lot that there are some big names...
> Charles Xavier: Precisely. Of course, it does.
> Kitty Pride: ...because there are some people who are drawn by those
> Charles Xavier: But it could be a redefinition of [the assembly]
> Kitty Pride: At the end of the day I don't think that it is the big name that will the big experience.
> Charles Xavier: Mm
> Kitty Pride: I believe that it is the good conversations in the tents and at the lawn...
> Charles Xavier: Mm
> UNK: Mm
> Kitty Pride: ...and that we get several thousand people in Odsherred to assemble...
> Charles Xavier: Sure

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[91] Appendix, D13, Folkemødet i Odsherred 2018, *Program*.

Kitty Pride: ...and talk about what democracy is and what kind of thing our society is. But I am sure that there are some who are drawn out there because of [the big names].

Charles Xavier: Yes yes. But it is more...when you say that it would be nice if there were more organisers that presented some big names, that is when I say that this is a rethinking of Folkemødet.[92]

What was at stake here was determining the mode of production sustaining the assembly and deciding the nature of the event. If it were to follow a design where 'smaller' names and events were to enjoy the lure of the big names, then it also implied that the event directed itself towards becoming an *experiential* event as opposed to a *participatory* event. Further, as big names often cost a fee, then it meant that the contributive logic of production becomes augmented. The respective organisers who want to book a famous name as part of their program would either need to raise funds, invest their own capital, or receive support from a small fund established by *Folkemødet i Odsherred*.

The people's assembly started as an idea to make the folk high school societally relevant by hosting a people's assembly by and for the people. When John Byrne contacted Thomas Adelskov, he contacted both the chair of the board of *Den Rytmiske Højskole* and the Mayor. This means that the active formal-continuous connection between *Den Rytmiske Højskole* and the municipality served as infrastructure that allowed an idea to travel more easily. The involvement of the committee for local democracy created a new informal-episodic connection between the two organisations. The establishment of a steering committee involving other municipal departments was a formal-episodic connection based on an agreement to collaborate. Complexity increased slightly. As soon as the steering committee was established and the think tanks concluded, a mode of production was established that based the assembly upon contribution, not commission. It was an open call for contributions, a mode of production that already *Odsherred Kulturfestival*, *Geopark Festival*, *Odsherred Litteratur og Læsefestival* and the various arts- and craft markets had employed. This would mean that the assembly would become a hub or a nodal point for a multiplicity of organisers and ideas; it would connect people and organisations in a formal-episodic way - some of which were already connected formally and informally. As the excerpt from the cultural managers' meeting demonstrates, the assembly was yet another another instance that increased the connectivity between cultural organisation on two different levels: first, most of the public organisations contributed with content to the assembly, and second, it made the

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[92] Participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

managers reflect upon the mode of production. In short, it gave them something to talk about and reflect upon.

The development, production, and consolidation of the people's assembly in Odsherred in the years 2016-2018 is an example of how various modalities of interorganisational connectivity were at work in introducing newness to the ecology. It also demonstrates that the mode of producing cultural offering was the subject of informal regulation, as when the wish for big names was contested. Finally, it illustrates how the ecology was capable of sustaining the establishment of a new cultural offering based on forging new and also exploiting already existing connections between cultural organisations, associations, artist, and citizens.

The assembly is also indicative of an ecological pattern. In an interview with the cultural department, members interpreted the dynamics that underpin the production of such large-scale cultural projects:

> Jean Grey: it started to pick up speed with the theatre's initiative to assemble people around Landet. Again, it is that thing about when you get something specific, something where you - like *sammenskudsgildet* - then the energy turns up again and out of that energy is born more energy and then times become brighter. In both Odsherred and the cultural sector in general, right?
> Alfred: but it is also a process where all the money that came from the county are gone, right?
> Jean Grey: but a lot happens at that time [2007, ed.]. We write a cultural agreement with eight other municipalities. It is written in 2007. Many things happen, ordinary things you could say without them being concrete projects. Those projects that demand both economy and manpower they happen at that point [2010, ed]. I think that is why…[]
> Jimmy Olsen: ...it is also in 2007 that Hardy began with this thing about placing cultural organisations in the same room and are to collaborate and look outside their own...it takes time before that starts bearing fruits and then Kitty Pride starts here [2012, ed.].
> Jean Grey: that is the explanation.
> *Common laughter*[93]

In the years following the structural reform, the municipal economy was under severe restrictions. It was during these years that cultural agreements and policies were written that called for collaboration between cultural organisations. Then came the first concrete project, and then things took off from there, energy begetting energy. Finally, Kitty Pride was hired in 2012. She since

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[93] Appendix, E4, interview, Jean Grey, Jimmi Olsen, Alfred, Kitty Pride, Emma Frost, Alexa A., *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred Kommune.*

engineered several cultural projects that assembled organisations, artists, and citizens. She is an example of what could be called a *person that connects*. Such persons assemble people and resources around ideas and problems as an integral part of their modus operandi.

If we review the pattern of the production of large interorganisational events, then the first incident was *Landet* in 2010-2012, then came *Odsherred Kulturfestival* in 2012-2013, followed by the establishment and consolidation of *Geopark Festival* in 2014-2017, and then *Folkemødet i Odsherred* in 2016-2018. The pattern shows that since 2011 there has continuously been some kind of an Pan-Odsherred, interorganisational collaborative project in the making. If we review how organisations have collaborated in the same years, then this pattern is substantiated. Most organisations have continuously been engaged in active concrete collaborations during the period. One way to interpret this is that the production of cultural offerings was a joint effort and a product of the ecology while simultaneously the production of cultural offerings was re-producing and maintaining the patterns of connectivity that assembled the ecology of culture.

Figur 18. Folkemødet i Odsherred 2018

Contestation, criticism, and the path that leads to the dark side

In the previous forty something pages I have laid out an analysis of modalities of connectivity. At this point, I think it is important to lay out some of those aspects of connectivity that are contested and criticized. 'The One About the Drums' was an instance where the local newspaper had made inquiry into whether the purchase of a drum kit was illegal and illegitimate. To the organisation in question, it was about making ends meet to produce cultural offerings. But seen from the

outside, it could be perceived as nepotism. Likewise, in an interview an artist accused another artist of the same kind of nepotism:

> ...Usually, it is MacTaggert who gets all the public commissions in this municipality because she is pals with the Social Democrats, right? Which has created a huge division in the area.[94]

It is not my task to judge on whether this is a just accusation. I cite this example because it is an example of an effect of informal connections - particularly, continuous ones. Since these connections were informal, they were not transparent. They produced opaque social relations. At some point, the cultural managers' network was nicknamed 'Kulturjuntaen,'[95] partly because it was an informal political entity that effectively was granted hearing rights in policy matters in spite of not being a formally accountable organised entity, and partly because it was not transparent.[96] Non-transparency, opaqueness, and accusations of nepotism and camaraderie are the real dangers of interorganisational connectivity.

Another point of criticism is aimed at the business models underpinning some of the large events. In an interview, artist Sean Cassidy stated that,

> ...in my view it is the artists who pay because everyone one of us pay, and I can see that in brochures, a lot of money go to the tourist association that organises these brochures. They are people paid by the municipality and for instance we have just had [*Odsherreds Kunstdage i Pinsen*] where 60 - 70 artists each put down 2-3,000 kroner to be allowed to open shop at the same time, and where I then at some time - you can do the math, it is 3 times as much as the art council should have annually - at some time I stepped in and said, 'why, for some artist 3,000 kroner is a lot of money and if they don't earn 3,000 kroner, then it is red-ink operation…', and at the same time you can ask, 'is it the municipality and the tourist agency we should pay to promote art in Odsherred? Isn't it something about a joint effort?' and I don't experience it is ehm I am the open keeping the shop open, I create the products, I make sure there is coffee on the pot, I don't have to, I offer a toilet, I think that is fair when people visit, they say that there are 10,000 visitors during Pentecost, people are overexcited, that is fantastic. The restaurants are happy, the clothes stores are happy, Brugsen, Aldi, Lidl, bla bla bla Netto, Irma, no names mentioned, no one forgotten,

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[94] Interview, J. Jones, *ceramic artist.*
[95] Trans. 'The cultural junta.'
[96] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*

everyone are happy because it provides a giant turnover but in my view, it is the artists who pay for the party.[97]

This criticism was aimed at those forms of collaborative organisation that generate substantial economic turnover in the region but which squeeze the artists either because they had to pay a fee or because they had to waive their regular fees in order to become part of the collaborative organisation of large scale events. Some artists created large revenues by contributing, so there was a considerable incentive to take part of the event. The gist of the criticism was aimed at the logic of assembly: why should the artists pay to contribute, or why should artist not get paid to contribute, when their activities were the substantial reason that the events attracted such large interest and produced economic activity that benefited the region at large?

Finally, if the cost-saving, contributive and episodic collaborative production of cultural offering becomes the strategy of cultural policy and cultural organisations are expected to 'stand up for culture and Odsherred,' then things were to be turned upside down, and it would instantly become a cultural policy that pursues collaboration and contribution in order to reduce costs without reducing the volume of cultural offerings. Cultural organisations actively ward off this way of re-organising cultural production: when asked to contribute to a collaborative project, some organisations insisted on funding; some employees were forbidden to engage with projects. These were ways of regulating the logic of assembly so as to prevent it from generalising, instrumentalising, and exploiting particular ways of cultural production.

Accusations of nepotism, open criticism of business and production models, and actively warding off the institutionalisation of cost-saving contributive modes of production are an integral part of the assemblage; when the machines of culture are assembled, they were as much devices of production as they were objects of regulation.

Conclusions

A concern that comes with the way I have conceptualised and differentiated these modalities of connectivity is that they fit nicely into a two by two matrix.

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[97] Appendix, E41, interview, Sean Cassidy, *sculptor.*

	Continuous	Episodic
Formal		
Informal		

Figur 19. Two by two matrix of modality of connectivity

The problem is not so much that things are not supposed to fit nicely into little square boxes, even if it may ease our understanding of things, but that this way of representation and conceptualisation may create the impression that the modalities were 1) evenly distributed; 2) had the same weight; 3) and were assembled horizontally. But an ecology is uneven, and it is not flat; it has dimensions and dynamics. Let us unfold what this means.

I claim that the different modalities served different functions due to how and what they connected. The formal-continuous modality created stable cultural offerings, ecological infrastructure, and a base cultural rhythm because it served to connect publicly funded organisations that had as their main purpose the continuous production of discrete cultural offerings: the aesthetic experience that came with engagement with the book, the play, the movie, the sonic, the cultural heritage, the visual art. These organisations served to create concrete places where people could engage with art, and they created social and private spaces for cultural participation. The formal-episodic modality created variation in the production of cultural offerings. The formal-episodic connections were the sources of novel, temporary, and transient experiments. Though some of these became stable and integrated into the operations of cultural organisation, some did not. Formal-episodic connections did not so much create cultural infrastructure as they enhanced it; these connections added layers and texture. The informal-episodic modality served to strengthen the infrastructure, and the rhythm, of production of cultural offerings. The informal-continuous connections circulated resources, sustained the resonance of organisational enunciations throughout the ecology, and created an interorganisational social space. The informal-episodic connections supplemented the formalised modes of cultural production; they strengthened infrastructure, enabled creativity, brought novelty, and aided production.

One conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that the formal-continuous connections were the foundation for the local cultural infrastructure and stable production of cultural offerings, which the remaining modalities each in their own way sustained, supplemented, augmented, and

differentiated. However, assemblages are not fixed on a path towards becoming stratified, that is, the historical process of assembling the concrete elements in a particular constellation does not by any necessity lead towards stratification and stabilisation.[98] The constellation might as well dissolve or revert back to a state of isolated, nonconnected, free flows and perhaps arrested ones, too. It means that in the given constellation, it was the connections that bound the publicly funded cultural organisations into productive relationships that made up the most stable parts of the ecology. This may change. The assemblage of culture might be composed of informal-episodic connections and temporarily established modes of production. This would of course change the assemblage drastically. Some cultural offerings might not be available within the context of such an ecology of culture. The point is that because of the historically contingent nature of the contemporary form of the ecology of culture, those processes by which the given is given become the crucial objects of inquiry if we are to understand both the diachronic and the synchronic nature of the ecology. That is, if inquiry is committed to the idea that a system characterised by complexity is fundamentally dynamic, then these dynamics only become discernible by tracing historical processes of becoming.

The second conclusion is epistemological. Analysed at the level of the concrete production of particular cultural offerings, a diversity of production processes and cultural offerings are discernible; inquiry only 'sees' this because it analytically juxtaposes them to make their internal diversity apparent. Analysed at the level of organisation, inquiry sees sets of production processes and cultural offerings that organisations committed to in their regular operations and in their interorganisational collaborations alike; again, it is not until inquiry analytically juxtaposes these sets that the diversity of sets of cultural offerings become apparent precisely as discrete types of cultural offerings: the movies, the theatre, live music, etc. When analysed at the level of ecology, inquiry no longer discerns any discrete sets of cultural offering or modes of production: to the ecological gaze, there were a finite number of cultural organisations that produced a finite number of cultural offerings for consumption by an audience or a public, and there were emergent effects such as the cultural rhythms (the beat of annual, bi-annual, quarterly, monthly, weekly, daily activities); the general properties of cultural offerings such as *site-specificity* or *citizen involvement*, and the creation of a regional identity. In ecological terms, there was a vibrant mass of cultural activity. There was a collective life, a culture.

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[98] Manuel DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory* (2016).

In terms of epistemology, we only ever get to discern those processes that produced emergent, ecological effects when we study them at the level of interaction, and we only ever get to discern the effects of interactions when we study them at the level of the ecology. It is the ability to move back and forth between levels of analysis that conditions how the dynamic assemblage of the ecology of culture becomes knowable. This methodological banality has profound implications for how the apparatus of inquiry is constituted and configured; it particularly addresses the question of the position from which inquiry is performed. To call this *epistemological* is based in the claim that the tools, methods, and sensitivities we use in combination with the position from where we partially perceive phenomena is the stuff from which scientific inquiry is made: we know via these elements of inquiry.

The second conclusion has implications for the first since how things become known is never a matter of observation by a detached and disinterested stance. It is the result of those processes by which they are made known; that is, how they become part of an apparatus of inquiry, namely one that is far from disinterested and without clear boundaries, ultimately resonates with how the inquiring eye has learned to see what it sees. The point is the following: that the formal-continuous connections were the stable infrastructure of cultural production is contingent upon how the apparatus of inquiry has made them an object of inquiry; that is, how they have been conceptualised by a philosophical inquiry that has been forced to think. Perhaps it matters little whether the first conclusion is true or not; what matters is only what it enables us to think.

CHAPTER 4.2

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN CULTURE

This chapter explores youth participation in culture as an ecological difficulty.[1] To qualify a difficulty as ecological means that it affects and concerns the ecology of culture as a whole - even if ecological members perceive and experience the problem in differing ways and from their unique positions. 'Youth participation in culture' is related to a widespread concern among singular organisations with the capacity and ability of the ecology of culture to reproduce both the singular organisations and the ecology itself by adding new members to replace the old, and the capacity to bring about both newness and variation, as well as a sense of continuity in the ecology of culture. In the following, I present and analyse how the problem of youth participation in culture has become assembled through processes of collective enunciations, interdisciplinary collaborations, and organisational reconfigurations.

The darkness on the edge of town

The following story is based on memory. It appeared in the local newspaper and told a tale of two young men. They had been driving irresponsibly, I think they were either drunk, or stoned, or high on something, but I cannot remember exactly. In any case, they broke the speed limit as they raced through the town of Hørve at night, and inevitably they crashed. No one was hurt. They called roadside assistance. The police also arrived to inspect the situation. How to best respond to this turn of events? *Let's steal the roadside assistance truck!* And so it goes, the two young men flee the scene of the crash in the stolen truck, chased by the police until they crash the vehicle in the neighbouring town of Svinninge. Luckily, no one was hurt the second time around.

I keep returning to this story, for several reasons. First of all, I like it. The way these young folks pursue a path of wild abandon appeals to both my fantasies of adventurous recklessness and memories of how to (im)properly respond to the ennui of living in the countryside. I am happy,

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[1] Michel Foucault made a distinction between a difficulty and a problem. I am interested in how the difficulty of youth participation is made to be a problem by members of the cultural ecology, but I am not interested in producing a proper problematisation analysis. This would be the subject of an entire dissertation and would require a different archive of documents than the one I have collected. In the following, I use a working definition of problematisation as the process by which a difficulty is defined and specified by enunciation and reified as an object of practical agency. See Michel Foucault, "Problematics", in *Foucault Live. Interviews, 1961 - 1984*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer [1983] (1996).

of course, that no one was injured or hurt. I find the story immediately likeable, and, given the opportunity, I do not hesitate to narrate it. It works as an exemplar, an illustrative case of the predispositions of adolescent male in this region. It serves nicely as an extreme case of a nothing to lose, no future, *I don't care about the consequences and I'm bored* ethos of young males living on the margins of society and on the periphery of the economy. This is the second reason: it is a great case of *marginalised youth*. The third reason follows from the second: because it appears to be such a great case, it is also a great case of the availability and credibility of certain imaginaries and tropics of discourse. The story and its components can very easily be used to structure the way we think about adolescent males, or worse, young people in general: their drink-driving as an indicator of a general culture of drink-driving; the decision to steal the truck as an extreme example of general stupidity, the no-future vibe of the scenario is a mental image of a general lack of any future worth pursuing. Because the decision to steal the truck and flee the scene is so unintelligible, the perpetrators become unintelligible. The step from telling the story as an anecdote to using it as a symbol of the gap between the older, responsible generation of literal and metaphorical police officers and the young, irresponsible generation is a small one. Timothy Mitchell wrote:

> Fields of analysis often develop a convention for introducing their object. Such tropes come to seem too obvious and straightforward to question [...] the visual imagery of an opening paragraph can establish the entire relationship between the textual analysis and its object. Such relationships are never simple. Objects of analysis do not occur as natural phenomenon but are partly formed by the discourse that describes them. The more natural the object appears, the less obvious this discursive manufacture will be.[2]

The story of the less than strapping young lads taps easily into a general narrative of marginalised youth that, if applied uncritically, can neatly structure an entire analytical approach to the problem of an ageing ecology of culture.

Let's watch some television. In 2019, the second season of the TV-series *Doggystyle* premiered on Danish National Television. The show tells the story of Asta, a young woman from Odden who dreams of making it as an actor but who has returned from Copenhagen to Odden after she failed the auditions for drama school. Back at her parent's place in Odden, she hangs out with her friends and her sister, falls in love with Bjarke, works a job in the service industry until

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[2] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (2002), 210.

she is fired, squabbles with her parents and tries to get a grip on who she is and what to do. Central to the story are the characters' relationships with themselves, with each other, and with Odsherred. The series depicts a youth culture of drinking, fornicating, and drugs, which led a local youth to write an opinion piece stating that the television show was not representative of youths in Odsherred. She wrote that,

> Based on personal experience I can assure urban dwellers that youth in the outskirts in Denmark is very diverse. I know both ends of the spectrum, and that is why I am provoked when Doggystyle only shows a small aspect of what is happening out here in the Copenhageners' paradise of second homes….in my outskirt universe, the trees are about to drop their last faltering leaves, we are globalised here and leftist, like we are defiant and faithful. There are few places where I have experienced as much social backup as I have in Odsherred. We share a common fate by being brought up here, at the end of the railway net, and that is why it is here that my support system is based.[3]

The assistant director of Doggystyle, Marie Limkilde responded. She, like the screenwriter and director, Anne Emma Haudal, originates from Odsherred. To them, the point is not to produce a fair and balanced representation of the youth of Odsherred. It is about using Odsherred as a setting to tell a universally relevant story about finding your way in life. In her response, Limkilde wrote,

> I have, like Mathilde de Boer, walked on the cobblestones of Nykøbing Sjælland. I remember the happiness with watching the seasons change. I remember playing music in lofts and in barns at my friend's. I did drama, at the music school and was in theatre in Asnæs community house. When De Boer writes about how Odsherred contains musicality and creativity, I agree: my friends were creative, full of ideas and ambitious...It is correct that the region has raised many cultural personalities. But the most well-known back then was Christian Poulsen who played soccer for the Danish national team. He was highlighted on all occasions and with pride, [*Odsherred Gymnasium*] has kept one of his pieces from art class. It wasn't until I moved away from the region, many years later, that I discovered that Olafur Eliasson has attended the same gymnasium. No one ever mentioned that. In this case, there are no pieces kept, ironically.[4]

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[3] Matilde de Boer, "DR-serien 'Doggystyle' forstærker fordommene om os unge i Udkantsdanmark," *Information,* November 22, 2019. My translation. A note on translation: The region that de Boer makes reference to is 'rural,' and not an outskirt to a larger city. But because she refers to 'udkantsdanmark', when she uses 'udkant,' it is appropriate to use 'outskirt' instead of 'rural' or 'countryside.' See 'Part 1: Introduction' for more detail regarding the rise of the discourse of *Udkantsdanmark.*

[4] Marie Limkilde, "Serien 'Doggystyle' har aldrig haft som mål at være et portræt af Odsherred og dens ungdom," *Information* December 10, 2019. My translation.

Limkilde's point was that she had had to leave Odsherred to learn to do film, just like Eliasson had to leave to learn to do the visual art that has granted him world fame. The creative and ambitious youth of Odsherred have to leave to achieve because Odsherred does not have what it takes to make it; but that does not mean that there is no love for the place. On the contrary, as is evident when watching the show, the camera lens loves to dwell on the landscape: the ocean, the rolling hills, and the fields are ever present in the background, and the sun always shines. That special light in contrast to the main characters' messy lives. The trope of an enchanted landscape even finds its way into the narrative, as when Asta and her friend are visiting the burial mound *Vejrhøj* overlooking the sea to the west and the fields to the east—a site featured unsurprisingly often in the brochures and advertising materials at the tourist agency, and a voiceover says:

> The past seems closer here. An old man once told me that at in some places in Odsherred, time is very thin.[5]

The lure of the ancient landscape is ever present, connecting the sense of place with a sense of deep cultural and geological time. Certainly, neither *Doggystyle* nor the opinion pieces deny the natural beauty of the landscape. What it interesting is that de Boer and Limkilde address the question of what the ecology of culture in Odsherred sustains: the kinds of cultural lives that can thrive and develop there and the kinds that cannot. In de Boer's opinion, the old people in the cultural elite whose ideas of culture always involve 'walking stick and walking frame friendly' locations have a hard time letting go of the power to mediate; they have misunderstood the concept of 'youth' and, therefore, the cultural elite does not know what youth culture actually is.[6] To Limkilde, selling popcorn as a volunteer at *Vig Bio* was the closest she could get to the cinematic industry in Odsherred, and her experience with demonstrating alongside other youths for the conversion of an empty dairy to a youth culture centre was a lesson in the priorities of town development: the building was turned into a parking lot. The ecology of culture sustains particular kinds of cultural production. If we are to believe de Boer and Limkilde (and *Doggystyle*, in which cultural organisations are entirely absent and culture amounts to general debauchery and existential despair), then the ecology of culture sustains the arts and cultural offerings that the old folk demand and pays little attention to the needs and desires of the young.

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[5] Anna Emma Haudal, "Episode 5," *Doggystyle*, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, November 10, 2019.
[6] de Boer, "DR-serien 'Doggystyle' forstærker fordommene om os unge i Udkantsdanmark"

Now, it is not a matter of denying that some young people experience what could be understood as marginalisation or similar types of socio-economic effects. Rather, 'marginalised youth' should be considered as a synecdochal trope of discourse. A synecdoche works by making a certain quality of a certain part of something represent the quality of the whole of that something.[7] In this case, the socio-economic conditions and behaviour of some young people *as a perceived quality* of that collection of individuals *perceived as a coherent social group* can come to represent the quality of all young people *perceived as a whole social group*. The manners of marginalisation can differ: *young people aren't organised; it is difficult for them to participate in culture; they depend on ineffective means of transportation* and so on. But it boils down to a single trope of marginalisation. In White's view, discourse is shaped by tropics:

> Tropic is the shadow from which all realistic discourse tries to flee. This flight, however, is futile; for tropics is the process by which all discourse *constitutes* the objects which it pretends only to describe realistically and to analyse objectively.[8]

Synecdoche is not the only trope: metaphor, metonym, and simile can all do the job, but each in their own way. The important notion is that an ontological statement about the quality of a certain being (young people as a body) has epistemological consequences when analytical categories are created on the basis of discourse that is structured around such a trope of marginalised youth. Of course, we are going to find that young people are marginalised when that is what we are looking for. It is within our analytical imaginary, smuggled in via the metaphors we come to think by[9] and the tropes of the discourse we speak.[10] The problem with visual imaginaries and discursive tropes is that they work. The imaginary of the ancient landscape conceals its nature as a place organised by labour, capital, and land ownership; the discursive trope of a culture that sustains the demands of the old omits that at some point in time, the old timers were young and that the ecology of culture has a trajectory of becoming of its own. Culture is produced through the cultural labour of assembling the elements that make culture, and many of these cultural labourers of assembly were themselves young people back in their day. Because young people are the future of culture, it is a concern within the cultural elite that youth are apparently not engaged in culture. In ecological

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[7] Hayden White, *Metahistory* (1973), 35-36.
[8] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (1985), 2.
[9] Paul H. Thibodeau and Lera Boroditsky, "Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning" *PLoS ONE* 6:2 (2011), e16782; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).
[10] White, *Tropics of Discourse.*

terms, it is a problem of succession and the reproduction of the population of cultural producers and consumers. Consider the following passage:

> Xavier: We also have a general perspective in this discussion in relation to generational change and those sorts of things that are relevant to us all. The Theatre association for example, right?
>
> Dana: That is why we love to sit here and be know-it alls. Because we have the exact same problem at home
>
> *Common laughter*
>
> Romanov: Way too much of the grey gold [laughs] but it is really harsh also because these are people who have been loyal for many years. They are the people that hold/sustain the entire museum business also…
>
> Dana: If one looks around the table then we all get there at some point, right?
>
> *Common laughter*[11]

The conversation happened at one of the regular meetings between a dozen cultural managers. It occurred as part of a discussion about the current state of affairs at the art gallery *Huset i Asnæs*, which struggled with several challenges: an unstable economy in decline; a lack of organisational development and adaptation; an ageing group of artists and art purchasers. The latter is perceived as *critical*: ageing artists cannot contribute to *Huset i Asnæs* with time, labour, and attention, and the ageing purchasers cannot contribute to *Huset i Asnæs* with capital and attention. The business model is under threat from both ends with substantial organisational and economic effects. There are no quick fixes at hand, only long-term organisational transformation and strategic effort to engage a new generation of artists and art purchasers.[12] The difficulty affects other organisations, too; it is a 'general perspective,' one that is 'relevant to us all.' In the passage, youth is not referenced directly, but implied in the concern with generational change and succession. First, Dana *aligns* with the statement ('...we have the same problem at home [i.e. in our organisation]'), then common laughter in support. Second, Romanov *specifies* by articulating the hard but necessary decoupling of loyalty from utility. Finally, Dana offers further alignment, which the other participants support by laughing. Bluntly restated: *We all get to the point where we are no longer useful*. The problem of reproducing the bodies and minds that perform cultural labour, and of reproducing the bodies and minds that use culture, was responded to with the recommendation that Huset i Asnæs develops a 'strategy for recruiting new and younger artists', and for

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[11] Appendix, G1, participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*
[12] Appendix, E11, interview, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs*; participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

'developing their audience', starting with pupils from primary school.[13] In this manner, the members of the meeting specify youth participation in culture as integral to Huset i Asnæs' strategic difficulty—the long term commitment to engage new producers and users of art--and generalise it as a practical problem of succession within other organisations and the ecology of culture at large.

There are several concerns here. At the level of organisation, there is the difficulty of passing the baton to new members and a concern with the implication that young people do not participate in culture because culture is not *relevant to them.* There is a concern with what happens to national, regional, or local culture if young people do not know it and keep it alive? Who is to maintain the social organisation of civil society if youth does not participate in civil society's associations? There is a concern for the wellbeing of the individual: will they have poorer lives if they do not participate? I have encountered these concerns in my informal conversations and in my practical experience;[14] they are articulated in legislation and public documents;[15] they occur in interviews;[16] they are expressed in events designed to include youth in culture.[17]

We can also ask: if 'youth participation in culture' is a response, what are the problems it responds to? I now turn to first presenting a mapping of the collective enunciation of the problem of youth participation in culture, which I connect with an analytical account of the emergence of the organisation *Ung i Odsherred* in 2012 as a specific response the problem of youth participation. I will then present and analyse a set of individual young peoples' experiences with

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[13] Participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

[14] As an example: when I served as manager of Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013 and Geopark Festival 2015, the task of engaging and recruiting young people was permanently on the agenda and a conversation topic, too. Tellingly, the manager of Ung i Odsherred has been a permanent member of the festival steering committee since 2013.

[15] For instance, in appendix, A1, Odsherred Kommune, *Kultur og Fritidsplan 2008-2010* (2007); A6, Odsherred Kommune, *Musikskolepolitik* (2010); A5, Kulturministeriet og Kulturregion Midt- og Vestsjælland, *Kulturaftale 2011-2014* (2010), A12, Odsherred Kommune, *Planstrategi 2011 - Forslag til debat* (2011); A10, Odsherred Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Om os unge herude på LANDET* (2011), A18, Odsherred Kommune, *Folkeoplysningspolitik for Odsherred Kommune* (2012).

[16] Appendix, E7, interview, Susan Linden, *Ung i Odsherred*; E25, interview, Erica, *Drauget;* E2, interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; E6, interview, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J, *Odsherred Teater;* interview, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs*; E14, interview, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole;* E32, interview, Bruno, Brian, Grace, Erica, *Vallekilde Højskole;*
E17, interview, James P, *Del din passion, Radio Odsherred;* E20, interview, Ben U., *Odsherred Musikskole;*
E18, interview, North, *Foreningen Norden;* E24, interview, Sarah S., *Teater og Musik i Odsherred;*
E29, interview, Martin, Michael, Marius, Samuel, *Odsherred sangskriverklub;* E33, interview, Wilson W., *Vig Bio;*
E34, interview, John, Adam, Everett, *Vig Festival.*

[17] Examples: appendix, F1, experience, "100 unge, 100 ideer" (2012), *event*; F18, "Lydcyklerne" (2013), *event*; F21, Kulturmentor, "Poïesis," (2013), *event*; F28, "Go Local!" (2014), *event*; F29, "Ungekulturprisen" (2014), *event,* which were all projects aimed at involving youth in cultural production.

culture in order to offer a molecular-level perspective on youth participation in culture and to trace the complex connectivity conditioning the assemblage of youth participation in culture.

Perceived difficulties, collective enunciation

What matters here is not whether what people perceive to be the problems of youth participation in culture are actually justified true beliefs; what matters is how people collectively enunciate it as a problem. The articulated problem exists in a multiplicity of utterings; it has several faces. Typically, the problem is not articulated in the form of a generic problem statement or signposted by the word 'problem.' Rather, the problem is uttered in declarative sentences that describe the state of affairs as they are perceived by the speaker;[18] its nature as a problem is due to how it connects to other utterances and its embeddedness in concrete social, organisational, and material connections that articulate and engage with the problem of youth participation in culture. Presented as a body of juxtaposed statements, the collective enunciation of the problem of youth participation appears as a complex composed by a set of multiple concerns. The following statements are examples, not an exhaustive list:

Transport is a problem for young people.[19] Older people have money and time.[20] Young people do not participate in culture.[21] The skaters smoke weed.[22] There are no places to be.[23] There is nothing to do.[24] Young people leave as soon as they can.[25] Young people are organised in other ways than

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[18] 'When you hear young people...it is very superficial. You can get them to be in a project which is...you have said that it goes from here to there, because then you know that it ends. You can maybe get them to be part of that. But long-term stuff which has no end in sight, I believe that is hard.' Interview, North, *Foreningen Norden.*

[19] Appendix, E44, interview, Mariko, *cultural organiser.*

[20] Appendix, E44, interview, Nelson, *Parkour teacher* and Mariko, *cultural organiser*; E46, interview, Robin, *musician, student*; E49, interview, Hank, *skater*; E9, interview, Niles N., *Kunst og Kultur, Team Odsherred*; interview, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs.*

[21] Appendix, interview, Erica, *Drauget*; E18, interview, North, *Foreningen Norden*; E16, interview, Delilah, *Hempel Glasmuseum*; interview, Martin, Michael, Marius, Samuel, *Odsherred sangskriverforening.*

[22] Appendix, E7, interview, Susan Linden, *Ung i Odsherred*; interview, *skater*; interview, *Parkour teacher* and *cultural organiser*; E43, interview, M.J., *student.*

[23] Interview, *skater*; E47, interview, Rødderne, *former scooter 'gang'*; interview, *Cultural organiser and Parkour teacher.*

[24] Interview, *skater*; appendix, A10, Odsherred Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011).

[25] Interview, M.J.; *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011).

as associations.[26] Young people are isolated.[27] Ung i Odsherred are for young kids.[28] The skaters are always blamed.[29] Culture is for older people.[30]

The statements contribute to composing a collective enunciation of the problem of youth participation. They are uttered from different positions, perspectives, and interests. Viewed ecologically, as an assemblage of collective enunciation, it matters less who makes the statements and more that the statements are made and how they connect with the assemblage of enunciation. What qualities does the collective assemblage of enunciation ascribe to the problem of youth participation in culture?

There are *difficulties of spatial distances*, with low mobility and the dependency on public transport or cars (or willing parents with cars). These difficulties are linked to young people as 'isolated,' in particular the ones living outside the towns and villages.[31] Attending an event anywhere outside your town can easily become so practically troublesome that it is easier not to attend; if you have no couch to crash on or no lift, getting stranded somewhere on a Saturday evening is not appealing.[32] If reduced to being a matter of finding the right infrastructural solutions that will allow young people more flexible mobility, the problem appears as a practical problem that subordinates the spatial distribution of young people across the region. It is not a problem that Odsherred is a thinly populated region with huge distances between the locations of cultural offerings; it is only a problem if you are young and have no available means of transport.

There are *difficulties of money* since poverty can prevent young people from participating in culture. Though it matters, poverty is not simply a matter of having enough money to pay for the ticket to the show; poverty also affects one's ability to acquire the social and cultural skills that will allow one to pass as a competent member of a cultural group.[33] If you cannot read, then the library is not the place for you; if you cannot argue in rhetorically sound ways, then the youth council and youth political groups are not for you; if you have not learned to decode visual art,

[26] Interview, *Ung i Odsherred*; E31, interview, Frank Castle, *Ung i Odsherred*; interview, Rødderne, *former scooter 'gang'*; interview, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J, *Odsherred Teater*; E48, interview, Serinda, *musician, cultural organiser*.

[27] Interview, *Ung i Odsherred*; interview, *cultural organiser*.

[28] Interview, *skater*.

[29] Interview, *skater*.

[30] Interview, *skater*; interview, Robin, *musician, student*; interview, *cultural organiser*; interview, *Odsherred sangskriverforening*; interview, Delilah, *Hempel Glasmuseum*.

[31] Interview, *Ung i Odsherred*: "...The youths are often alone in the evenings. They are online….this includes the youths in grammar school. It is very broad."

[32] Interview, *cultural organiser*.

[33] Interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*.

then the art museums, the theatre and even the cinema might not be places to go to because they all require skills in order to participate competently. Not having enough money has detrimental effects on education, learning, decision making, and your ability to participate in forums where you acquire the relevant skill sets.[34] Poverty is a vicious problem; the solution is not a simple practical fix. It implies long term planning, social interventions in homes, paternalist but benevolent programs for socio-economically exposed youths and their families, and it requires man hours for relational work.[35]

There are *difficulties of secondary and higher education.*[36] There is no higher education beyond grammar school in Odsherred, so you have to emigrate out of the region if you want a bachelor's or master's degree. This powerful incentive for leaving Odsherred for educational reasons has two serious cultural implications: first, the group of youths that leave are the so called 'resourceful ones,' those most well equipped to participate in culture as users and producers of art and culture; second, that they typically leave at the age of 19 or 20 contributes to creating an age gap from early twenties to late thirties, perhaps even mid-forties. Those who stay are trained as manual labourers trained or have a trade-oriented education. These youths 'grow up quickly,' as one respondent phrased it; they get a job, get a car, get a loan to buy a house and get a family.[37] In their twenties, they become preoccupied with things other than arts and culture. The problem of youth participation in culture, when viewed as a matter of the lack of available educational offers in Odsherred, is not one that culture can solve on its own. It is a political concern regarding the long-term planning strategy of the educational landscape of Odsherred.[38]

There are *difficulties of youths belonging to social groups marked by substance abuse and crime.*[39] They are risk willing and they think short-term. They are marginal groups, sometimes self-marginalised by behaviours that set them apart from other youths, sometimes marginalised by the hostile attitudes of their environments, by the effects of poverty, and by the lack of places to go.[40] If these groups start using the clubs offered for youths, then they will scare away the more resourceful youths who do not wish to hang out with 'losers,' or the younger youths who are afraid

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[34] Appendix, A32, Odsherred kommune, *Projekt uddannelse til alle i Odsherred kommune* (2012), 18; 32.
[35] Appendix, E4, interview, Jean Grey, Jimmi Olsen, Alfred, Kitty Pride, Emma Frost, Alexa A, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred Kommune*; interview, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*.
[36] *Projekt uddannelse til alle i Odsherred kommune* (2012).
[37] Interview, *Ung i Odsherred.*
[38] *Projekt uddannelse til alle i Odsherred kommune* (2012).
[39] Interview, *Ung i Odsherred*
[40] *Om os unge herude på LANDET*; interview, *cultural organiser*; interview, Linden *Ung i Odsherred;* interview, Castle, *Ung i Odsherred.*

of the hash, the drugs, the violence, and the criminality that they connotate.[41] The solution are socio-pedagogical efforts towards including these marginal youths and preventing youths at risk from forming groups with less than desirable common interests.[42]

These are expositions of some of the ways in which the difficulties of youth participation in culture is enunciated as a sensible problem. On their own, each set of difficulties indicates more or less viable solutions, but taken as an arrangement of difficulties the problem of youth participation in culture assumes a complex nature. The problem could simply be articulated as a statement of the fact that it is a wicked problem that youths do not participate in culture: the dependency on transport, the effects of economic, social, and cultural poverty, the effect of educational offers on decisions to emigrate or stay, and the existence of marginalised groups of youths are interrelated and mutually reinforce problems, but solving one will neither cut the Gordian knot nor solve the others. What is a problem to culture—young people's lack of participation—reveals a set of other fundamental ecological problems of geography, mobility, economy, education, and marginalisation. These become problems for culture as they come to substantiate what the problem of youth participation means. Even if the problem for culture might be articulated as a concern with 'cultural succession', i.e. the reproduction of those producing and those using culture, then providing a solution has led down the path of these other problems of youth that in themselves are not matters related to cultural participation.

In the following section, I will present a study of the complexity by which the problem of youth participation became articulated by some cultural organisations, how it became entangled with the articulation of the problem of youth education by the educational wing of the municipality, and how the establishment of *Ung i Odsherred* in 2012 was understood as a solution to some of the problems of young people.

LANDET, UiO, and the assemblage of youth participation

[UiO] is born from two things, it is at the same time. That is the cool thing, right? Because it is born from "LANDET", and at the same time it is born from UTA, which has its own paragraph, paragraph five in "Uddannelse til alle" [Education for All, ed.], which is about having meaningful free time, and these two things happen at the same time.[43]

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[41] *Om os unge herude på LANDET*; interview, *skater*; interview, *student.*

[42] Interview, Linden, *Ung i Odsherred;* interview, Castle, *Ung i Odsherred.*

[43] Interview, Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*

The theatrical production *Landet* premiered in 2011, but the idea was conceived already in 2008-09.[44] To account for the birth of the idea, it is necessary to provide its context and trace its being contingent upon the Structural Reform of 2007. As described in the introductory chapter, the reform reduced the number of municipalities and dissolved the county as a legal and administrative entity. This implied transferring some of the county's administrative duties to the new municipalities and increasing the size of both the objects of administration and the administrative staff as well. To be sure, it was an exercise in rationalisation and resulted in the new municipalities having larger administrative divisions than the prior municipalities. It also resulted in the transfer of county staff to the municipalities.[45] In the case of the cultural administration in Odsherred it meant that Hardy Granhøj became the new Chief Executive of culture. He had held office in the county as Cultural Administrative Manager, and, as one member of the cultural administration in the municipality put it, he was a 'heavy weight...when Hardy called Kulturstyrelsen, they listened.'[46] In other words, to have him in Odsherred was a 'scoop.' Hardy Granhøj had ambitions for culture.[47] One of the things he did when he took up office was to draw up a plan for culture and leisure time for the years 2008-2010. The plan was co-authored with Vagn Ytte, the Chairman of the Committee for Cultural Affairs who had been mayor in the former Nykøbing-Rørvig municipality. The plan was 'developed from a planning model that views culture as a strategic resource in relation to the municipality's challenges in a number of sectors.'[48] Culture could be instrumental in solving issues ranging across 'integration,' 'health,' and 'business' to 'tourism.'[49] The value of culture could be demonstrated through mobilising it to aid other sectors in solving some of their core tasks, such as using theater in dementia care.[50] A strategic vision was to increase in interorganisational connectivity: 'Odsherred municipality has as a goal that cultural institutions enter into collaborations and inspiration across sectors.'[51] It was also a goal to enhance the relationships between cultural organisations;[52] one method was to sustain and reconfigure already existing professional networks between organisations. The creation of the cultural managers' network is a case: in the years 2005-2006, the managers of the theatre, the library, the tourist agency, the cultural museum, and the art museum had formed their

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[44] Appendix, E10, interview, Charles Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[45] Appendix, E5, interview, Alfred, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred kommune.*
[46] Interview, Alfred, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred kommune.*
[47] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[48] *Kultur- og Fritidsplan 2008 - 2010*, (2007), 3.
[49] *Kultur og Fritidsplan.*
[50] Interview, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J, *Odsherred Teater.*
[51] *Kultur og Fritidsplan*, 10.
[52] *Kultur og Fritidsplan,* 10.

own informal network which they used for professional feedback and inspiration.[53] In 2007 they invited Granhøj to one of their meetings to discuss culture in Odsherred, and from there on the network changed: 'After that, a broader network [was] established and I think that Hardy brought suggestions to who we should have in this network.' Xavier recollected that the network became an unofficial consultation body, a space where things were discussed and decisions made: '...it was called the "cultural junta".'[54] The interest-driven network was transformed and institutionalised into a semi-informal network within the municipality. At the meetings, Granhøj would drive the cross-institutional agenda, which in 2007 resulted in the permanent exhibition *Solens rige,* a co-production of the cultural museum and the theatre. It was an exemplar of a successful cross-institutional collaboration. Xavier recollected, 'then, I said at some moment during one of the meetings for cultural managers, that I would like to do a project about youth life in Odsherred and it is to be named "Fucking Odsherred".' The idea was born. From the perspective of the theatre it addressed a particular concern:

> I had a naïve ambition that we should use this project, the cultural organisations, the museum in particular, to create a direct relationship to the youth, because I am used to perform to or to have productions for the youths who come through the school system, which means that it goes through an adult filter every time.[55]

Xavier wanted to foster another kind of relationship with the young audience, one in which the theatre addressed issues relevant to them. This project could do so by including young people in the research and production processes. *Fucking Odsherred:* the suggested title referenced Lukas Moodysson's popular film about teen life in rural Sweden *Fucking Åmål* (1998). It also revealed that 'we have this prejudice about young people that they have this sentiment towards Odsherred that it is a matter of getting out and it can't happen fast enough.'[56] The political establishment did not appreciate the suggested title; they believed it played to the tendency to use derogatory language about Odsherred, and the original application for municipal funding was returned for revision.[57] In the end, *Landet* was produced as a co-production between the theatre, the museum, and the library and community centre. It involved partnerships with the state schools, the

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[53] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, Alfred, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred kommune*; interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*
[54] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[55] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[56] Interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*
[57] Interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

production school, and the cinema. *Landet* engaged a large number of local young people in the research and production process and as audience members, too.[58] It was considered a success, though it failed to lead to a sustainable relationship with local youths. It had an impact on how to understand youth in Odsherred. The perception that young people held negative sentiments towards Odsherred and sought to leave Odsherred as quickly as possible was revised in light of the knowledge that was generated throughout the process of creating the performance and exhibition. A tangible outcome was the 2011 report *Om os herude på LANDET.*[59] Commissioned by the cultural museum, it was an ethnographic inquiry into the perceptions, sentiments, and life forms of young people aged 14 to 18. The report documented that young people had a much more nuanced and ambivalent relationship with Odsherred: they like Odsherred, its nature, the landscape, and the social intimacy where everyone knows everyone, but they will also leave the region to pursue education, personal development, and adventure. The report traced how the youth emigrate from the hinterland to the towns, and from the hinterland and towns to the cities outside the region; for many, *Odsherred Gymnasium* was a gateway.[60] The report also documented that the youth wished for a place to hang out; they wanted a genuine youth centre.[61] These two insights would resonate with another process that ran parallel with *Landet:* the endeavour to create a new development strategy aimed at raising levels of education among the youth in Odsherred.

It was called *Education for All* and the process began on January 3rd 2011 with the document *Kommisorium, organisering og udpegninger i projekt "Uddannelse til alle."* The document set the goal of the project to 'create strategy and secure implementation of a series of concrete projects with the common purpose to raise the education quotient among youths in Odsherred by a minimum of 15%.'[62] The project was organised in two groups, *Ad hoc-udvalget*[63] containing five members from city council and four members from the municipal management on schooling and finance and a consultative *Ungeforum* with twenty representatives broadly spanning educational organisations, civic associations, business, industry, social affairs, and culture. By April 2012, UTA was to be completed, and the initiatives it produced were to become operational. Though the UTA belonged formally to the finance committee and was concerned with education, culture

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[58] Appendix, A29, *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle* (2012), 21; *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011); Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*, interview, *Odsherred Teater*.
[59] *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011).
[60] *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011), 45; interview, *musician, student*. Note on translation, in Danish 'Gymnasium' is the term that corresponds to 'grammar school' in UK English.
[61] *Om os herude på LANDET* (2011), 54.
[62] Odsherred kommune, *Kommisorium, organisering og udpegninger i projekt "Uddannelse til alle,"* 2011, 1. The title translates to: *Mandate, organisation and appointments in the project "Education for all."*
[63] Translation 'Ad hoc committee'.

was present. The Chairman of *Ad hoc-udvalget* was Vagn Ytte, who had also served as Chair of the Cultural Committee; the Secretary was Gitte Løvgren, Chief Executive of Culture; members of *Ungeforum* included Eva Ormstrup, Manager of Culture and leisure time, and Torben Smidt Hansen, Headmaster at *Vallekilde Højskole*. During 2011 and 2012 *Ad hoc-udvalget* held thirteen meetings and participated in *Ungeforum's* four meetings. The endeavour led to the formulation of a strategy that aimed at realising the objective of ensuring that by 2020 '95% of a year group of youths would complete a secondary education.'[64] The strategy document that was approved by the city council on May 29th, 2012 contained a section on youth culture and youth which stated that '...the youth of Odsherred has for a long time lacked leisure time offers aimed at them, a youth school and youth clubs that can provide fellowship and unity across school-, educational boundaries and geography.'[65] To remedy this, the strategy was to 'powerfully revitalise *Ungdomsskolen* and the youth clubs to arouse the youth's curiosity for a broad range of activities' in order to 'bring together' the youth of Odsherred and provide broad frameworks for them to form healthy social networks.'[66] The course of action was to combine the existing funding for *Ungdomsskolen* and the youth clubs with additional funding, to find suitable locations and hire professional adult staff that could make a difference, to engage the youth in a user driven innovation and inclusion process, and to invite civil society associations and business. The document referenced *Landet* as a project that had 'successfully explored and challenged our youth culture.'[67] In other words, and by May 2012, *Landet* had been recoded from being an aesthetic production to a positive exemplar of how to engage and include youth in developmental processes. It was now a blueprint of method. The 'revitalisation' of *Ungdomsskolen* began. The youth's call for a place was heard: on October 30th, 2012, the city council approved the release of 350,000 DKK funds allocated for public construction to furnish the youth centre in Asnæs and by March 26th the City Council allocated an additional 750,000 DKK for the establishment of a second youth centre in Nykøbing Sj.[68] New staff was being hired, and the work to revise the statutes of Ungdomsskolen was undertaken. A non-local was hired to manage and construct what was renamed and reconceived as *Ung i Odsherred*, an organisation that would belong formally to the school administration, would be regulated by *loven om ungdomsskoler*, and be informally accountable to the cultural administration.

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[64] Appendix, A29, Odsherred kommune, *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle* (2012), 2.
[65] *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle*, 20.
[66] *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle*, 20
[67] *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle,* 21.
[68] Appendix, A38, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af resterende anlægsmidler til ungdomshus i Odsherred* (2013).

What problem did this assemblage provide a response to? One way to answer the question is to explore the functions that *Ung i Odsherred* performed as an organisation in Odsherred. The manager of *Ung i Odsherred* perceived it this way: 'Well, I actually think that translating is a recurring role. And the thing about ensuring that when youths are involved, they are involved in a good manner.'[69] *Translating* and *ensuring*. The task of translation is between the two administrative systems that UiO answered to: the school and the cultural administration. They work differently and under different conditions,

> I often think that when you sit in the cultural managers' network you have difficulty in imagining how rigid the [school system] is. "Why can't you juuuust…?" That is because you are employed in a different way and you are tied up by work time having to be in another way, and so on. A school is a [heavy] organisation. With many demands. And in culture there is room to fail. There you want to experiment and if something does not become the success you wanted, then you work it out. It is like that with all learning, but it is very evident in culture because there is that space.[70]

The role of *Ung i Odsherred* as *translator* was to make the two systems legible to each other and help them understand how things work at the other end. Being operational in both systems, allowed *Ung i Odsherred* to bridge and connect the two systems in a way that is in line with the core task of creating a meaningful youth culture. For instance, by working closely with the local schools, and by serving as guest teachers, *Ung i Odsherred* recruited youths to become users of Ung i Odsherred's activities, offers, and facilities: 'We recruit 80% of our customers there...it is not so much about the teaching as it is about the recognition when they walk through the door [at Ung i Odsherred, ed.] and say "hi, you said we could just come by".'[71] The youths are offered a community they can choose to join, as opposed to the school community that they are obliged to be in. Ung i Odsherred's dual organisational nature meant that it was in a unique position to present cultural offerings to the youths in school and to recruit youths to youth culture, and by extension to culture at large. It was more than a translator; it was a *connective tissue* in the municipal administration's commitment to create a meaningful leisure time and youth culture.

The role of *ensuring* that youths were 'involved in a good manner' related to those instances when organisations involved youths in their operations and events and would approach Ung i Odsherred as facilitators, as recruiters, as participants, as audience, as labourers, and as voices of

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[69] Interview, Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*
[70] Interview, Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*
[71] Interview, Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*

youth. A festival was looking for youths; a town development meeting invited young people to be heard on matters of planning; the tourist agency was looking for youngsters to pose for a photo session at very short notice. In these cases, Ung i Odsherred would ensure that the youths they assisted the festival with recruiting were not simply used as unpaid labour, that 'involvement' in development processes was relevant, and that organisations appreciated the implications of what they are asking young people to do.

The revitalisation of *Ung i Odsherred* provided a response to the problem of ensuring that youth is offered meaningful leisure time, something that was identified as lacking by both *Landet* and the UTA process alike. *Ung i Odsherred* had become an organisation that translated between the cultural and educational departments, protected youth interests, and produced cultural and leisure time offerings for youths. However, though culture helped identify and delineate the problem's particular constitution, the response that was produced neither solved nor articulated the problem of youth as it existed for culture. At best, the process rearticulated the nature of the problem by specifying it: it is a difficulty for culture to connect directly with youth; it is a difficulty for culture to be relevant to youth; and it is a difficulty for culture to organise the conditions under which connectivity and relevance are secured.[72] At the core of the problem is a common concern with the need for reproducing the body of cultural users and practitioners. *Ung i Odsherred* was in itself only a partial response to this problem.

Youth participants

> The thing about living in the countryside is like playing with a stick...I have enjoyed it a lot. To grow food in our own garden, to be young, be a child in Odsherred. But I believe that for many when they become teenagers, then they want out. Because out in the countryside there isn't so much and if you start going out, then there aren't that many places to go. Some bars in Nykøbing and such. But then you have to go to Holbæk or to Copenhagen, and I think that sometimes you get that 'onwards'. I get why. Myself, I don't think I will be living here when I am 18, live in an apartment out here. I can't picture that.[73]

To explore how participation in culture is experienced and perceived from the point of view of youth, I interviewed six youths, and a group of youths that went by the name *Rødderne[74]*. For most if not all of them, the interview session was an event in which they found themselves charged

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[72] Interview, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*.
[73] Interview, M.J., *student*.
[74] *Rødderne* means both 'the boys' and 'the lads.' The name connotates 'trouble makers.'

with making sense of the path their lives had taken so far. I asked them to draw a history of their involvement with culture, which inevitably became entangled with the singularity of their lives as such and intimately tied to the decisions they have made. Our conversations turned into reflections on life choices where such notions as 'boredom', 'alienation', 'meaning', or 'engagement' emerged. I asked them to reflect on their cultural experience. In the following, I portray seven perspectives which should be read as molecular accounts of how singular youths have entered the multiplicity of assembling culture.

M.J. At the time of the interview, she was 17 years old and she had just started at *Odsherred gymnasium*. She had spent a year at boarding school, which had affected her ties to Odsherred. Before boarding school, she used to do elite level swimming as a member of *Odsherred svømmeklub.* She would practice several times a week in the swimming pool in Vig. This routine was affected by a short circuit in the electric wiring system that led to a raging fire that burned the building to the ground in 2012. Suddenly, elite swimming meant erratic practice hours and shuttling between the pools in Nykøbing and Asnæs. In Nykøbing, she could walk to her father's place after practice. But if she needed to go to her mother's, then the transport from either pool would be a hassle: at least an hour in public transport by train and bus. On occasion, her mother picked her up by car, leaving her always with a sense of being a burden. When she was younger, she played the violin for three years, or to be frank, when she went to see her instructor, she played the violin, as she never practiced at home. The violin lessons were organised by *Odsherred Musikskole*, and the lessons took place at the public school she attended in Egebjerg. These days, she is aware of other young people who are into playing music; she knows them from *Odsherred Gymnasium*, where they form bands and do their thing. The musicians are a tight social group, to be sure; they are fun, and hanging out with them is nice. But she is not one of them; despite the violin lessons playing music is not her thing. Listening to music is another affair. She likes to go to music festivals, and she has attended *Vig festival* a few times; this year, she thought they managed to book some really cool bands, like Fools. She compares *Vig Festival* to Roskilde festival: while you are alone in the crowd at the latter, then certainly everyone knows everyone at *Vig Festival*. If you are passed out drunk, then someone is bound to know you, take care of you and if you really need to go sleep, home is not too far away. This makes the festival a safe space and cosy, too. It is also a bit boring. This extends to Odsherred in general: safe, cosy, and boring. Childhood in the rural areas is great, you can spend hours playing with a stick, roaming the fields. But the homeliness of the landscape that presents itself in all directions is also becoming the root

of some ennui. She longs for life in the city and she is planning on moving there after she has finished school. What can the city offer? Opportunity, strangers, newness, other sensations—all right outside your front door. In the south east part of Odsherred where she lives, the only thing you encounter outside your door are the fields and the sky. Of course, you can meet other young people if you want to. She used *Ung i Odsherred* after school, where she would hang out with her friends, eating toast and play pool. She remembers how *Ung i Odsherred* organised a great soft drink party where the kids from both Asnæs and Nykøbing would attend. *Ung i Odsherred* is a cool organisation, but she doesn't really use it anymore. Not that it is irrelevant, she just doesn't use it. The same goes for *Vig Bio*. She used it as a kid, where they would have a children's cinematic club. These days, if her friends and her want to see a movie, they will go to Holbæk: there, the program has more variety than in the homely and genuinely cosy local cinema.

Mariko. She replied: 'Anything is possible.' I had asked by then 19-year-old Mariko what she thought connects things in culture and she replied that it is the experience and subsequent understanding that you can do what you want to do, but that you need 'courage' to try out things that are 'new and unknown.' Her story is about getting into the habit of dealing with the unknown. In 2018, she and her sister won *Ungekulturprisen.*[75] Apart from the 33,000 DKK prize it came with the recognition of their work as the cultural entrepreneurs behind the new initiative *db RABALDER*, an event with live music for and by youths. 'Rabalder' is a Danish word for 'ruckus,' and she wanted to turn up the volume on people. I also think the prize recognised her as a person who had found the courage to do things and organise culture. In the days leading to the award event, she shared a sentiment with me about her need to underscore that *db RABALDER* is completely 'independent of *Ung i Odsherred* and the cultural institutions of Odsherred.' This corresponded with her perception of culture's relationship with youths in Odsherred: 'The cultural life in Odsherred is good, but locked in,' she said while pointing to the need for recruiting other youths: 'it is the same youths that are recycled by the cultural institutions.'

Her path to become one of those 'recycled youths' began in sixth grade when she joined *Forfatterskolen for Unge*[76]. It was a teacher at her school who had suggested to her that she consider trying it out. She did. The first session had been at *Aksen* in Asnæs, in 2012, with a local author as teacher. Mariko's fellow students were different from what she was used to, they had

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[75] Translation: 'youth culture award.'
[76] Translation: 'the writer's school for young people.'

blue hair, piercings, and weird ideas. But eventually, after almost 2 years, she was onboard: 'people were cooler than I had expected.' New friends and new experiences through literature. They attended *Litt Talk Festival,* used the library intensively for creative processes and collaborated with *Odsherred Ungeteater* on the production of a musical. They were given the task of writing the manuscript and see the process through to the premiere. This gave her experience with the performing arts and introduced her to *Odsherred Teater.* She was also introduced to *Ung i Odsherred*, which at the time was in the midst of establishing its identity as an organisation for youth culture. In 2013, she was part of the pilot project *Kulturmentor* organised jointly by the municipality's cultural department and Ung i Odsherred. The idea was to train youths in cultural production and to inspire them to organise and inspire other youths to get involved with culture and art. She and her fellow students established *Poïesis.* It was a creative collective that produced an event with live music, attended by other local youths and interested parties. They managed everything: set design, tech, booking bands, posters and marketing, event production. It was a rush and an experience in finding courage to do things. For her, it also meant that she was now in the loop of some of the people involved with *Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013*. This landed her a paid job during the festival, handing out programs and interacting with guests.

After her positive experience with *Odsherred Ungeteater*, she had started to hate her school. She changed to *Rørvig Friskole* from Grundtvig state school. This brought her into other relationships with somewhat more like-minded people, the friends from Odsherred Ungeteater, and a more 'creative' atmosphere. She left Odsherred in 2015 for a year at boarding school; upon her return she started studying business economics in Holbæk. She also got into doing culture in Odsherred: working with Syrian asylum kids in Anneberg, with a youth council, the emerging *Filmlandet* initiative led by Frank Castle, and her own project *db RABALDER*. She wanted to get young people engaged. She used her experience, her sister, friends, and network to establish the first edition at *Bokzen*, a space that had used to be a discotheque, reminiscent of a time when the night scene in Nykøbing was vibrant. The event was a success, and on they went: a new event collective was created by and for youth culture, independent of institutional backing.

Based on her experiences, Mariko reflected in our conversation about a distinction she thinks is fundamental to the organisation of youth culture: 'There are those youths who need help and those who need a place to be.'

Nelson. Culture is a meshwork; it is interaction through different ways of doing and modes of expression. Culture can make a difference and affect lives. For 23-year-old Nelson culture has

made a difference; it has given him an opportunity to take part in bettering Odsherred, it has been a way of engaging with a place that needed to change and, in several ways, it has had an impact on his own life. At the time of our recorded conversation, Nelson was struggling with a back injury he had sustained from doing what he loves: Parkour. When looking back on his trajectory, it is easy to see how he could have turned his attention towards Copenhagen. But he had chosen Odsherred.

Nelson grew up and lives in Holbæk. His parents are artists, and the family lived (still lives) and worked as teachers at an art boarding school. Nelson was embedded in creative expression from the beginning of his life. His first engagement with organised arts practice was theatre and performance. By 2010 he joined *Odsherred Ungeteater,* which was much cosier than the theatre group he had previously been part of in Holbæk. In 2011, he and friends had begun practicing Parkour which impressed one of the employees—Frank Castle—at the newly started *Ung i Odsherred*: 'He said: "We want that!".' Castle wanted to include the activity and the boys' passion in the organisation's portfolio, and he then invited Nelson and his friends to start a course at Ung i Odsherred. In the beginning, they didn't get paid ('we paid for our own train tickets when going to teach'); they just did it because it was important. They did it well and started attracting other kids, they were building a Parkour community in North Western Zealand. Nelson also got the opportunity to build more than that. He was offered the task of drawing and designing a Parkour park in Nykøbing. So far, the Parkour crew had just used children's playgrounds and improvised in the 'street', but in relation to the renovation of the Grundtvig school grounds an employee of *Ung i Odsherred* had secured an opportunity for turning the playground into a Parkour park and tasked Nelson with its design. Suddenly, the teenage kid from Holbæk was a key partner in realising a 330,000 DKK installation.

Mariko and Nelson's stories are entangled: not only did they know each other from *Odsherred Ungeteater*, Nelson was also recruited to participate in the same cultural pilot project, *Kulturmentor,* as she was, and he also met the same people from the municipality, *Odsherred Teater*, *Vallekilde Højskole,* and *Ung i Odsherred*. When *Odsherred Kulturfestival* opened with a parade through Nykøbing in late July 2013, Nelson and the Parkour crew were spearheading out front, *jamming* on signs, cars, and benches along the way. They were in the parade because some of the members of the cultural organisations sitting on the festival's steering committee suggested that it would make a great spectacle and because they knew who to ask to make it happen. Teaching Parkour had transformed into a paid job for Nelson, and the community had grown. More kids had joined, and their parents would sometimes participate (though less audaciously).

To Nelson, this is hardly a surprise as Parkour is more than a sport, and more than fun and play: 'Parkour is about learning to overcome obstacles. You can translate that into your everyday life.' It is a mindset; it is a way of doing and a way of expressing and exploring oneself. A culture unto its own.

In 2015, Nelson quit the job, but not the culture nor his engagement in Odsherred. He took part in other projects. Among these the community building project *Stå op for fællesskabet*[77] - an initiative aimed at forging a more cohesive and inclusive youth culture across the socio-economic divisions in Odsherred. Nelson had chosen Odsherred. He reflected on his trajectory by sharing his experiences with what moves and affects people: 'When people feel the effect of things happening, it creates connections...Odsherred is a peripheral area, a lot of work has been done for it.' Nelson recognised in his own story the importance of the support from cultural institutions, but in the end it all comes down to whether or not you are prepared to engage yourself in creating something of your own. He reflected on the lure of moving to Copenhagen: 'people move to places where all the preparatory work is already done. Instead of doing it themselves….it has been nice. Much has happened. I have had a job as a Parkour teacher and an opportunity to be a role model; to create a lot of fun things and to make things happen.' In a sense, Odsherred had also chosen him.

Hank. A long scar stretches across his left forearm. He broke his arm and had to have surgery. It is not the only time he was injured, but it is the one injury that has left the most visible mark. The hurt comes with the territory: if you get on a skateboard for real, eventually you are going to do some bleeding. Hank began skating when he was eight years old. At the time of the interview he was sixteen years old and attending a boarding school where he would practice skating as part of the curriculum. Safe to say that skating occupies a huge space in his life. 'It is a lifestyle,' he said, 'an inclusive culture...everyone is welcome.' To Hank, skating was also an art form with marked visible aesthetic characteristics from the style of clothes and attitude to the performance of particular tricks caught on film or photography. 'I like my clothes baggy...but everyone has their own style.' Looking cool is important, but in the end, skating is all about freedom.

When he had started skating there was no proper skatepark, so he and his friends would skate wherever they found spots in the city. Skating 'the street' is integral to the culture, it is 'another way of seeing the city...we can travel to another city because they have particular stairs or spot to

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[77] This translates to 'Stand up for the community.'

skate.' That the city was a playground for the young skaters was perhaps not lost on the older generations, but it certainly was not appreciated by the majority: 'When we were practising a trick at a spot, there would always be someone complaining or threatening to call the police.' They would be accused of being noisy, perhaps people would also find them unsettling or fear that they would vandalise something. Later on, it would be the allegation that skaters smoke hash and pot that would be at the core of the hostile attitudes towards the kids in baggy clothes and their boards. 'They always blame the skaters for smoking, but I know that many of the kids playing soccer smoke way more hash than we do,' Hank stated in a resigned tone of voice. The same goes for graffiti; the skaters always get the blame which he thought was not fair. Smoking hash and graffiti is part of the culture, but it is not fair to pin every joint butt or graffiti piece on the skaters. 'People look down on us. We are different.' People meaning *older people*. 'Nykøbing is a town for retired people,' he said, and went on to recall an episode, where he had taken part in a municipal meeting on the plans for local development, representing the interest of the skater community. Perhaps he was also made to appear as a representative of the youth in general, simply because he was the only young person present. Everyone else was older, and in his recollection, his perspective on the development of the town did not find favourable ears: 'It is hard to make your voice heard.'

Yet, not all adults are hostile to the skaters. That there even is a skateboard park in Nykøbing is largely due to the efforts of parents, the municipality, and private foundations that came together to create a space where the skaters could hang out and skate. In the early days, Hank and his friends would build their own shabby half pipes at the school playground; these days the installations are built by professionals on a municipally owned plot at the harbour district in Nykøbing. While this gave them a place to be, it also gave them new neighbours during the summer months: the arts association *Morild* which established a pop-up art gallery in the warehouse next to the skatepark. The artists have complained about the noise; in return the skaters have turned up the volume: 'No mercy. I don't want to submit to older people. There also has to be room for us.' Moreover, the skaters were interested I assume that the switching to the present tense here is intentional in setting up a permanent skatepark in the communally owned warehouse, as they need a place to be during the winter months when the weather makes skating outside impossible. Needless to say, the relationship between the two groups was not defined by amicability.

Serinda. Words and music: to sing is to be vulnerable. Not all songs are meant to be performed for other people, but if you do, they should not be sung lightly. When you write, when you express

yourself in writing, you have to find the core; you'll know it when it starts to hurt. Otherwise it won't matter. Serinda is a singer, and she carries the weight of the song. Serinda's trajectory is entangled in several cultural institutions and initiatives in Odsherred. At the time of the interview, she held a part time position at *Odsherred forsyningen* as communication consultant and a part time position at *Odsherred Teater* as event coordinator. She also played music and volunteered as coordinator with *Vig Festival.* When I interviewed her, I asked her to draw two timelines: one tracing her professional path, one tracing her engagement with music.

Songs: There was music in her home. Her mother is a singer and songwriter, her dad is a drummer and taught her to play drums as a child. Her grandfather was a folk musician and played the accordion. When Serinda started primary school in 1996, she joined a school choir for occasional performances, and in 2004 she joined the Gospel choir at *Odsherred Musikskole*. Singing ensemble is different from singing solo; you can always tell when someone used to singing solo joins a choir. They take up too much sonic space, they don't find their spot in the sound and they 'don't know how to become a part of the whole.' Singing in a choir is about learning to attune your notes and yourself to the collective. In 2006, she left for boarding school and music; in 2007-2010 it was time for *Odsherred Gymnasium* and more music. She studied for a major in music, played in bands and started organising music events. She has played in duos and trios since, and 'I was a stable member of my mother's band, as choir and on percussion.' She mostly performed in the folk and singer songwriter genres. Sometimes covering others, sometimes performing her own works.

Words. They occupy a special place in Serinda's life. They are important, you can use them, and you can study them. In 2013-2016, she studied linguistics at the University of Copenhagen. As part of her MA she took on an internship at *Geopark Festival 2016*, working as a communication assistant. During the summer it transformed into a part time paid position, so she could see the festival through after her internship had ended. In the Autumn, she was employed in a dual position: partly working at the *Visit Odsherred* offices and partly serving as festival coordinator of *Geopark Festival 2017*. She built an extensive network of contacts during her tenure with the festival and had extensive experience with mobilising civil society engagement.

All the time, there were songs and words. If it was not her song or her singing, she would be involved in organising conditions that would allow others to sing.

Robin. The condition for curiosity is being alone. According to 23-year-old Robin, if you want to learn about culture, you have to be able to formulate the relevant questions and seek out the

answers on your own, independently of group sentiments and ideologies. Loneliness is not a requirement for cultural exploration, but solitude is.

Robin's upbringing was saturated with art and culture. He was raised by an anthropologist and a professional opera singer. They lived in the culturally rich village of Vallekilde. Among their immediate neighbours was a saxophone player, another opera singer, a visual artist, an artisan. When Robin and his friends went roaming, they had an extraordinary environment of cultural tangibles to play in:

> I used the folk high school a lot…we played in the gym hall. Always. That was the meeting point…. We entered the school…we used the garden. We used the rooms. We played on their piano in the lecture hall. We were on that area a lot. We just went about. We played in bushes and gardens. Among apple trees.

When Robin was six years old, he was placed in front of the family's piano. He had to practice and learn to master the instrument. It was mandatory. He attended the local private school, studied, practiced music, and hung out with friends from the village. It was not until he started going to *Odsherred Gymnasium* in 2013 that he understood that he was an inhabitant of Vallekilde, not Odsherred. It was a cultural shock. Meeting the life worlds of the other youths from around Odsherred made him realise the wealth of his own social, economic and cultural privilege. It also made him reflect upon his own upbringing, which was as 'comfortable and safe' as it was 'ignorant'. But now he started learning about the impact of social and economic differences. During his time at *Odsherred Gymnasium* he also started learning other things: he learned classical singing, mandated by his father; he had already picked up the electric bass and the double bass in primary school, but now he played in bands at *Musikskolen*. He never practiced at home and always came unprepared to band rehearsals. He also understood that *Odsherred Gymnasium* was a gateway only to an academic path; as an educational institution this was its only purpose and would inevitably take him away from Odsherred.

Two cultural organisations played a crucial role in Robin's account: *Musikskolen* which would give him access to the broader cultural ecology in Odsherred, and *Ung i Odsherred* which would not only expose him to the social discrepancies among young people, but also engage him in the cultural projects aimed at youth culture: *Stå op for fællesskabet* and *Filmlandet*. Both projects were initiated by Frank Castle and each in their own way had sought to create a youth culture that could embrace the socio-economic divisions of Odsherred. That was also a cultural shock to Robin: 'We would work with young people we almost dragged out of prison.' This experience

would make him understand that distinct socio-economic divisions do not equal great differences between young people in Odsherred. It would make him understand that cultural diversity is a quality to support.

After finishing school he taught at the state school in Hørve; he travelled to Israel and finally, in 2017, he emigrated to Copenhagen where there is plenty of the art that he was brought up to appreciate—opera, chamber and orchestral music—yet, it has little to do with culture in his perspective. He said: 'I was in Berlin. I was in the Deutsche Opera, in the highest of high art and I felt alienated. It was dead to watch, homogeneous. I would much rather go to an event in Odsherred.' The same goes for his experience with art in Copenhagen: 'When I go to classical concerts, only old people and I attend.' It shouldn't be like this; according to Robin culture connects people. It shouldn't alienate or divide them as he thinks so called high art does. It should help people understand each other. That is the meaning of culture.

Rødderne. Things could have turned out differently. These days, most of the group have a job, are follow an education, or receive manual training. When I interviewed a handful of them, they were in their early twenties, and, for sure, they were still quite a lively bunch. But five years earlier, they had been such a rowdy crowd that they went under the name *Rødderne*, a slightly derogatory term that they however had embraced wholeheartedly. They were a Nykøbing-based group of mostly male adolescents who liked to fix and ride scooters; they did not have many places to go at night, so they would hang out in parking lots, bus shelters, or other temporary locations that would offer some kind of shelter. They were fast kids, joking and messing around. Smoking cigarettes. They were also accused of smoking hash and they were accused of being troublemakers, even criminals. According to themselves, they were certainly trouble but not criminals or ardent smokers ('it happened, sure'). They would meet almost every night and hang out. Sometimes they would go for a ride round Dybesø or somewhere else. At weekends there might be a party somewhere, maybe not. But they would hang out, nonetheless.

They organised a recurring summer camping trip several years in a row. They would ride convoy style from Nykøbing to the place where they would camp out, get drunk, stoned, and silly. It was their own festival event, complete with sound systems, tents, and canned food that would go off in the summer heat. They wouldn't be bothering anyone. It is an example of their level of organisation. Even if they might not call, or understand, themselves as an orderly group, they were a resilient social organisation that would provide to its members entertainment, friendship, and a sense of belonging. It would also provide support if someone needed it. If someone in the group

faced a beating somewhere, he could quickly summon a pack to have his back; they'd come riding in fast in their cars or on their scooters, ready to fight. And if someone needed help with something practical, he could count on manpower.

The police would sometimes issue a fine or give them a warning for something. But they would also often look the other way. With time, *Rødderne* have learned to appreciate that the police knew what many other locals didn't know: that their rowdiness and messing about wasn't a real threat. They were just fooling around, breaking a law ever so often. But nothing serious, and perhaps there was no reason for punishing these kids more severely than other local kids whose level of trouble might be equal but less visible or audible. Perhaps.

But things could have turned out differently. Part of their history is their relationship with Frank Castle, an employee of *Ung i Odsherred* who himself had a rowdy youth and had spent time in prison. He had 'recognised a younger version of himself in them.' He had approached them and asked if he could hang out with them, which they accepted. He would invite them to use his workshop by the harbour to hang out and fix bikes; he would mediate on those rare occasions when someone from the crew was in serious trouble with the law. He would help them out and just be around. The respect was mutual. Castle was present during the group interview I had with them. Towards the end of the interview, he explained to them why he had approached them in the first place. He had not only recognised himself in them, but he had also envisioned a possible future for them. Their degree of social organisation would make them quite attractive for organised crime; they could easily have become recruited by gangs for selling drugs. As a well organised social group they could have been mobilised to run the northern part of Odsherred; they would have been a perfect local chapter. Castle had recognised this possible future and engaged himself to prevent it from happening. He said, 'I have buried 17 of my friends now. They lost their lives to drugs, violence, suicide. I did not want that to become your path.' He met them with empathy and care, without being condescending or paternalistic towards their group's cultural specificity. In response, one of the youths shared an anecdote:

> I was down by the harbour and saw these two kids on a scooter, messing up the grass and being rowdy. I would approach them and tell them to stop it. They took off to somewhere else

The group laughed at the story and joked collectively that now *he* had become one of the old grumpy ones that back in the days would always be angry with them. But after the laughter had ended, he would conclude: 'the difference is that I wouldn't yell at them. I would just talk to them.' Everyone understood.

Discussion: Experiences, trajectories, becomings

These are seven different sets of experiences with culture in Odsherred. There are commonalities: most of them were exposed to art and culture in their homes and upbringing; most of them had some kind of experience with *Ung i Odsherred* and *Odsherred Musikskole*; and most of them had a path that either engaged them in or connected them to some of the cultural organisations: *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturcenter*, *Vig Festival*, *Vallekilde Højskole*, *Den Rytmiske Højskole*, the Cultural administration in the municipality, *Forfatterskolen for unge*, *Vig bio*. Music plays a dominant role: as activity, as group belonging, as a reason to gather, and as a developmental path. Some interviewees' have attended boarding school and returned to Odsherred; some have either emigrated or planned to leave Odsherred. Common to them all is that their attitude towards Odsherred is *ambivalent*—though not in the same way or for the same reasons—and that their experiences with culture has affected their lives, with M.J. being the only one whose experiences with culture has made little concrete difference in her life. Another important commonality is that these youths were engaged in some kind of activity; none of them were passive receivers of cultural offers. They did things and wanted things, which the cultural organisations they met on their way either enabled, supported, or encouraged. These youths were all involved in organised cultural activities: theatre, skating, graffiti, parkour, music, writing, scooters. Sometimes self-organised, sometimes facilitated by cultural organisations.

Finally, almost of them have met, connected with, or worked with Frank Castle—often in his capacity as an employee of *Ung i Odsherred* but also on some of the projects he has undertaken. Castle has connected these youths with culture as an opportunity to do things and make a positive difference. He is not the only individual in Odsherred who has worked with youths in a cultural way. But in these youths' experiences Castle has made a difference in the sense that he brought them into and supported them in situations that subsequently affected their perception of what it is possible to do and of the life choices they would make. Again, the only exception is M.J.: she is interesting in that her experiences are different from the others'. Her story testifies to the fact that she prioritised elite swimming as an organised activity at the expense of cultural participation[78] and indicates little engagement with culture as a practitioner or user. But her

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[78] An example: Burø: 'Have you used Ung i Odsherred?' M.J.: 'I have actually used it a lot...in a period, I think there are many who have used it much more than I have...also because I often went swimming after school, chose to go swimming after school, right? ...actually, I do sometimes feel regret that–I would like to have participated…' She interprets that her choice to do elite swimming meant that she did not participate in *Ung i Odsherred*'s offerings to the extent that she would have liked today, in retrospect. Question is whether she felt, at the time, that she was missing out.

relatively low level of engagement did not stem from ignorance; in her interview, she identified groups of youth defined by their activities: the youths who study hard; 'the musicians'; 'the sports interested'; 'the partygoers'; 'the troublemakers'. She knows the social terrain. She also knows about *Geopark Odsherred*, about arts and crafts in Odsherred, and she knows about the cultural offerings of *Ung i Odsherred*, the library, *Musikskolen*, *Vig Bio*. She is aware of the cultural terrain, too. She interprets her low level of use of cultural organisations in the following way:

> ...I don't know if it's because I, like, you know, *live* here? I believe that perhaps it has something to do with, and I believe it often actually is that thing, that when you *are* in it every day then you don't appreciate or think about it…

M.J. knows cultural offerings exist, but she does not appreciate them or think about them as offerings for *her to use*. It suggests that knowing, in itself, does not lead to engagement and participation and that something else is needed.

The accounts of participation identify the cultural organisations that have youths as their primary user group and organisations that have initiatives for engaging youths. It is tempting to search for those particular moments, that magic threshold: when their lives take a turn towards culture and they become active parts of organised cultural activities, when they met that special person, participated in that special event, acquired that special skill. But perhaps it is not about change, but rather, as Murray Bookchin argued, a process of *development*.[79] Because change is evental, it is easier to narrate than development, which is incremental and processual. It *was* important that they met that person, participated in the event, and acquired the skill because it was part of their process of development within the ecology of culture, which offered them options, inspiration, possibilities, and things to do. But it was only necessary, not sufficient. Their development was contingent upon the particularities of the ecology of culture; it was not irrelevant who and what these youths encountered as each and every meeting was a part of their becoming. In retrospect, every new connection has led to other connections. It is a narrative of personal and ecological growth in which cultural organisations have taken up different functions.

Some of the organisations I have interviewed are missing entirely from the youth's experiences with culture. The churches, the civil associations, and the arts organisations. The churches have their own programmes for youth such as confirmation preparation and do not call for more general youth participation. A priest framed it thus: 'I am happy that the youth do not use us, because we

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[79] Murray Bookchin, *Utopia, Not Futurism: Why Doing the Impossible is the Most Rational We Can Do* (1978).

are an institution for people in crisis...People come when they need us.' Some of the organised associations, on the other hand, call for youths to show interest in their work. The music association *Drauget* is one example. They set up and promote folk music shows at the southern end of Odsherred, and they lack youths both as audience, volunteers, and as part of the organisation. Here is Drauget's take on the problem of youth participation: '...it is a problem that young people do not take part, because they do not learn to become organised.' The perception is that being active in an association develops the ability to organise and to partake in organised practices, which is a societal good. The reasoning is that society loses the ability to organise itself in tandem with youths' lack of participation in civic associations. Finally, the artists and arts collectives play another role and have other needs. The youths' experiences show that they know of local art and artists, but that the youths are not engaged in the established art worlds of the older generation of artists and the corresponding organisations such as *Morild*, *OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked*, *Galleri Pakhuset*, *Huset i Asnæs*, and *Pinseruten*.

Complex connectivity conditioned participation in culture

The assemblage of youth participation in culture has been conditioned by complex connectivity in at least four instances. First, the *informal-continuous connectivity* between managers of cultural organisations, and by extension the cultural organisations themselves, has been a *creative space* for ideation and development of interorganisational projects aimed at fostering increased youth participation in culture.[80] Second, the *formal-continuous connectivity* between some cultural organisations and the schooling department has been *instrumental* in the formulation of the UTA strategy and in the decision to revitalise and redefine *Ungdomsskolen* as a cultural and educational organisation providing youth with meaningful leisure time offerings as well as acting on behalf of and in protection of youth. Third, as *pathways to culture*: the multiple modalities of connectivity between cultural organisations have enabled youths participating in the activities of one organisation to discover and use the offerings of other cultural organisations,[81] and the participation of youths has sometimes contributed to consolidating the relations between

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[80] Some examples are the event *LANDET. Should I Stay or Should I Go?* (2011-2012); the association *Odsherred Ungeteater*; the projects *Kulturmentor* (2013), and *Go Local!* (2014); the organisation *Forfatterskolen for unge i Midt og Vestsjælland*; the festivals *Litt Talk (2012-ongoing)*; *Odsherreds litteratur- og læsefestival (2014-ongoing)*; the event *Ungekulturpisen* (2014-ongoing); and the initiative *Stå op for fællesskabet*.

[81] An example is Mariko, who discovered *Odsherred Teater*, *Vallekilde Højskole* and *Ung i Odsherred* through her participation in *Forfatterskolen for unge*.

organisations.[82] Fourth, as an infrastructure for the *circulation of youths*: when a particular youth has participated in the activities of a cultural organisation, she has sometimes become visible to, been recommended to, and recruited by other cultural organisations as a participant in their cultural projects.

The account of youths' experiences with culture is a mapping of the assemblage of youth participation in culture. There is a multiplicity of agents involved in continuously tending to the assembling of the concrete elements that enable individual youths to engage with culture as producers and users. The articulation of youth participation in culture as a problem is an ongoing practice of collective enunciation: it lingers. The assemblage connects by problematising youth participation. It effectively functions as a relay that brings cultural organisations, people, and matters together to formulate a response. In the end, it is the enduring agency of assembling that matters.

Figur 20. Scar, skater

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[82] An example is Serinda whose engagement as a songwriter and position as Geopark Festival coordinator in 2017 supported the relationship between *Odsherred Sangskriverforening* and *Geopark Festival,* which had been established in 2014.

Figur 22. Forfatterskolen for Unge, poster

Figur 21. Litt Talk Festival, Vallekilde Højskole

CHAPTER 4.3

THE PRODUCTION OF THE LOCAL
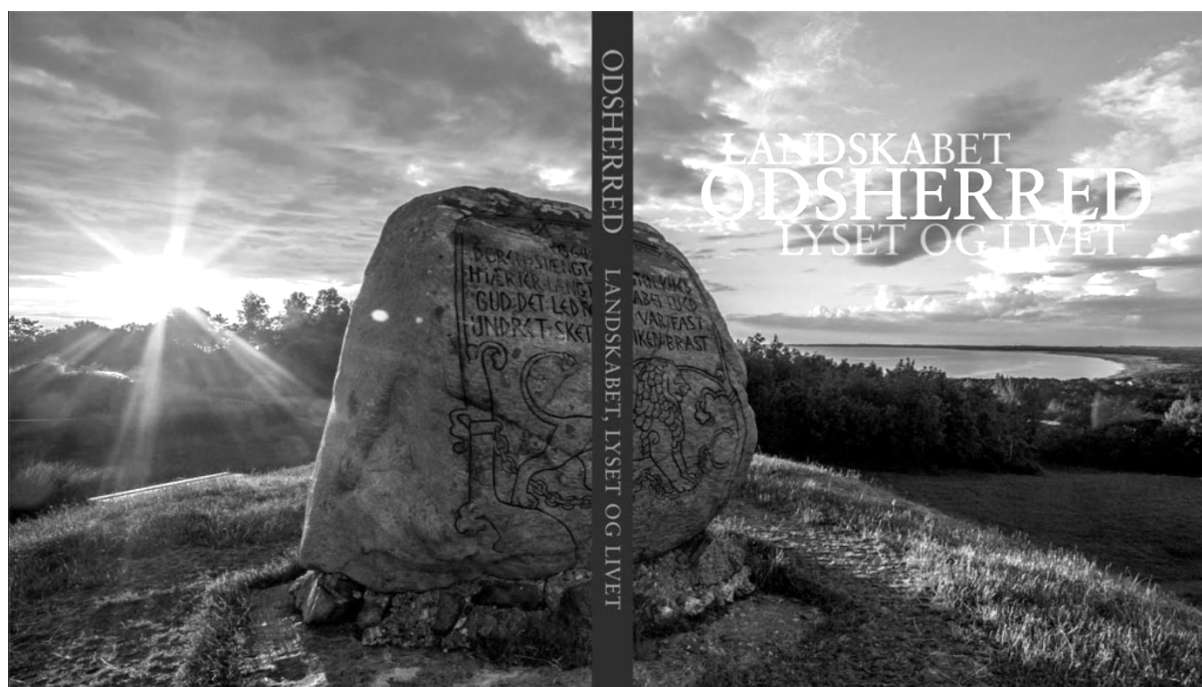
Figur 23. Odsherred, Landskabet, Lyset og Livet

I sense… there is suddenly an enormous pressure to be local all the time. When is there time - if that is important to you - when is there time to go to the Royal Theatre and attend a play that really lifts you if you know what I mean? It is like things can become too small somehow, in a manner where everyone wants to do good, but it is like the grand view isn't there because everyone is doing the same.[1]

The sentence comes from an interview with a priest. I had presented my interest in 'the local', and he had responded by reflecting on how villages are being developed and revitalised as part of a larger project of local democracy. He proceeded to reference *Geopark Festival* as an instance of what it meant for him 'to be local.' This quote is opening this chapter because through the priest's critical reflection on the demand to be local, properties of the local are revealed: the local is performed being, and it is repetitive. I have sensed other properties of the local and tried to inquire into their contents. In this chapter, I present a description of how the ecology of culture produces

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[1] Appendix, E19, interview, Karen Page, *Korskirken.*

the local. By doing so, I analyse the configuration of Odsherred as an imaginary, or as what Deleuze and Guattari called a *double articulation*, a procedure by which *forms of content* and *forms of expression* shape the concrete actual.[2] In chapter 4.1, the concept of *modalities of connectivity* was presented, and in chapter 4.2 the *problem of youth participation* was presented in part to illustrate how complex connectivity conditions the ecological production of cultural offerings. This chapter is intended to illustrate the capacity of the ecology collectively to enunciate, to express itself, if you may.

By the word 'local' I mean three different things. 1) *A local*. This is a concrete being that belongs ontologically to a locality; a locality is semiotically defined and practically delimited. A locality varies in size: a specific point, a room, a house, a village, town, region, and I think its delimitation is defined by those to whom it makes sense. It does not make much sense to think about a Dane as a local in Denmark, but neither does it necessarily make sense to name a resident in Odsherred as a local of Odsherred. That depends on how they identify themselves. It also depends upon how a collective enunciates the extension of the local. 2) *This local*. This is an indexical operation that either literally, or by reference, points to something and declares it as a local; this is one of the ways by which what is considered to be local becomes discernible and uttered. 'This local' is what Deleuze and Guattari's called an *order-word* that effectuates an *incorporeal transformation* in the thing that is the reference of the indexical operation.[3] The thing is no longer the same; its meaning is augmented. As we know from the symbolic interactionists how we interact with things depends on what they mean to us, so the indexical operation has implications. 3) *The Local*. This is an ascribed property, and, in a broader sense, it is a set of images, a spectacle, or a collective enunciation. When something is declared to be 'local' and thus made the object of an indexical operation and incorporeal transformation, there is signification happening. *The Local* is semiotic, it is a sign. It codes and overcodes the meaning of something by ascribing meaning to it, meaning which is also the subject of contestation. Think only of the semiotic struggle of how 'the local' and 'the outskirts' are related in sets of signs. *The Local* is also a semiotic, by which is meant a set of signifying practices. Deleuze and Guattari called it a *regime of signs* when the set has become sufficiently stable and is capable of controlling or regulating what things mean and can be made to mean. The assemblage of concrete elements includes signs and signifying practices, and we know that one of the effects of assemblage is the

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[2] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia, vol. 1* [1980] (1988), 40.
[3] Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 111.

capacities that emerge when elements are connected. In the ecology of culture, to index and incorporeally transform something as local is a capacity that becomes collectively distributed because *the Local* has become a production of a collective assemblage of enunciation. *The Local* is an emerging effect of multiple concrete elements, each signifying locality in their own right and manner. In the following it is called *the Local* to differentiate it from other meanings of 'local'.

The analysis is divided into seven parts: Narrating the light, narrating history, mapping the landscape, sourcing locally, site specific events and experience, exclusive events and experience, and local relevance. Each part is a component of the Local that is articulated in a conceptualisation at the end of the chapter. The chapter is also intended to illustrate how different modalities of connectivity have been productively entangled.

Narrating the Light

'There is a special light.' This statement circulated. It appeared consistently in the publications of the tourist agency,[4] in the writings of art historians[5] and archaeologists,[6] and in the everyday conversations between people. It appeared in visual arts as a motif, even a quality, of paintings.[7] In a solo interview it was described uttered in this way:

> [The artists] were attracted to Odsherred because of the landscape and the light...[8]

The municipality referenced the light on the sign that greeted me when I crossed the border to the region. It read "Odsherred: light, life, landscape,"[9] a slogan repeated on public communication platforms. It was place branding, to be sure, but perhaps also more than that: an imagined property. The geologist employed at Geopark Odsherred stated that there genuinely are more sunny days in the north-west; the clouds brought in with the western winds are dispersed by the land mass.[10] When narrating the story of the group of visual artists commonly known as 'Odsherredmalerne,' the light is referenced as a reason for them to immigrate to the region, and when presenting the key themes of their collective artistic oeuvre, the landscape, the light is invoked as an attribute *and* a condition of possibility for seeing as the artists see the land.[11] That real estate prices and

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[4] Appendix, D43, artefact, VisitOdsherred, "Kunst og kultur i Odsherred," *brochure.*
[5] Appendix, D30, Geopark Odsherred, "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 6-25, *book.*
[6] Geopark Odsherred, "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 26-49, *book.*
[7] For examples, see Sigurd Swane, *Parti fra Lammefjorden* (1933); Lauritz Hartz, *Udsigt mod Ordrup Næs,* (1947); Kaj Estrup, *Høstlandskab* (n.y.).
[8] Appendix, E12, interview, Daisy, *Geopark Festival.*
[9] Appendix, B80, picture, Lys, Liv og Landskab.
[10] Geopark Odsherred, "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 6-25, *book.*
[11] Geopark Odsherred, "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 52ff.

rent were (and still are) cheaper than in the city is only cited occasionally, curiously, given the precarious economic circumstances of most artists.[12] I interviewed an artist who belongs to the group of artists that formed the core of the second generation of visual artists in Odsherred, the group that founded the gallery and cultural centre Huset i Asnæs in 1963:

> BK: The romanticisation that art came [here] because of the light. I bloody believe it came here because there already were some friends here and you came here, and you could buy cheap land. You could get a cheap cottage and you could walk to each other's place, more or less, right? It was all about that…
>
> Int: I think it is about space
>
> BK: Yes, it is precisely about space. The people who came here were different folks than the sedentary residents, right? They drank some beers and they were...o dear they were dangerous. A notion was circulated: "get the chickens in because the artists are coming"
>
> *Common laughter*
>
> BK: that was before my time.[13]

The artist criticised the "romanticisation" that visual art "came with the light", suggesting instead that it was a matter of access to social spaces and to affordable places. Likewise, the art museum's exhibition of the social life of the artists Bovin, Ejstrup, and others cite partying as a central tenet of their community.[14] Both indicate that there were considerable economic and social grounds for moving to Odsherred. Yet, the anchoring trope of visual arts is the special light. In the tourist agency's annual publication *Kunst og kultur i Odsherred,*[15] in *Geopark Festival's* program[16] and in the annual *Odsherreds kunstdage i Pinsen* that in 2018 included 53 contemporary artists and galleries, the motif appeared again: visual art is occupied with the light, it is conditioned by it.[17]

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[12] Per Mangset, Mari Heian, Bård Kleppe, and Knut Løyland, "Why Are Artists Getting Poorer? About the Reproduction of Low Income Among Artists," *Journal of International Cultural Policy* 24:4 (2018).

[13] Appendix, E36, interview, Jessica Drew, *ceramic artist.*

[14] Appendix, F43, experience, Hverdagen er en fest, Odsherred Kunstmuseum, *exhibition.*

[15] Artefact,"Kunst og kultur i Odsherred," *brochure.*

[16] Appendix, D39, artefact, "Geopark festivalprogram 2018," *program.*

[17] Appendix, D49, artefact, VisitOdsherred, "Odsherreds Kunstdage i Pinsen 19-21 maj 2018," *program.*

Figur 24. Solvognen

The ancient folk worshipped the sun. Archaeological findings, most prominently *Solvognen*, a figure of a horse towing the sun, is interpreted as sun worship in the Bronze Age.[18] They understood that the sun brings life.[19] The farmers of today know this, too: when promoting the produce of the land, the sunny days are brought up as a pre-condition for the eminent quality of the vegetables.[20] The special light is coupled to other important signs: art, landscape, food. Each a trope in its own right but conditioned and qualified by the sun. The light, not the sun, is the object of worship in the imaginary of contemporary discourse on the presentation of Odsherred. Is it sacralised? It is surely apolitical, non-economic, and democratic: accessible to all, it offers equal opportunity and equal access for those who wish to harvest its plenty. No one owns the light.

While the light is never commodified in itself, it is used to sell commodities: art works, food, vacation, experiences. It can be used to sell houses. *Why not retire in the light*? While real estate prices had been considerably lower than in the cities, the market value of second homes and non-permanent cottages increased relative to the price of houses for permanent residence since the

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[18] "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 45. Also: <u>Museum Vestsjælland - Solens Land</u>
[19] "Odsherred - landskabet, lyset og livet," 29.
[20] Nordisk Center for Lokale Fødevarer, Personal correspondence.

beginning of the 21st century: a summerhouse would cost half the price of a permanent residence while now, it has quadrupled.[21] A cottage is bought for many reasons, and the light may not carry substantial weight in the decision to buy, but a real estate agent recalled an incident:

> At the office, I was presenting a cottage to a middle-aged couple and then the male starts talking about the light in Odsherred. He tells me about the abundance of sunny hours, that in Odsherred, statistically speaking, there are more days with blue skies and sun than on average in Denmark.[22]

The customers enthusiastically cited the abundance of sunny hours to substantiate the claim that there is a special light in Odsherred. A random sample from the listings of cottages for sale cites the light:

> On the ground floor there is a large, nice living room with a fireplace and a dining table where you can enjoy dinner with a view to the sea. Here, a pretty, open and bright kitchen with an American refrigerator and spots in the ceiling. From the dining room there is a large opening into the pretty bright living room with a ceiling into the eaves and windows from floor to ceiling with a view to the sea. From here, a sunlit balcony can be accessed where you can enjoy the panoramic view over Sejerøbugten. From the living room a few steps lead to a lovely room with double doors that open to the sunny southwest facing terrace.[23]

The text is written in the rhetoric of real estate, and it has little to do with culture, at least at surface level, and in their own right, the adjectives 'bright', 'sunlit', and 'sunny' are probably common in most advertising for houses. But they resonated with the cultural perception of a light that is special to the region. It seems that when one enters Odsherred, one enters the light.

Narrating history

All things have a history, but it appears that some histories are more historical than others. There are stories told in the context of arts and culture, stories that narrate the "Ursprung" of art and culture to draw a genealogy. Three events: in the years 1846-47 the painter Johan Thomas Lundbye completed *Efterårsland, Hankehøj ved Vallekilde*, a painting depicting a burial mound, a farmer, some cows, a sky, a landscape, a light. *Vallekilde Højskole* was founded by Ernst Trier in 1865 and Lammefjorden was reclaimed from the sea in 1873 by a group of business entrepreneurs. The coming of modernity, the spirit of national romanticism. These events are three

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[21] Nybolig Nykøbing Sjælland, interview by telephone, with subsequent hand-written notes
[22] Interview by telephone, with subsequent hand-written notes.'
[23] Appendix B9, B10, pictures, *advert*.

distinct elements in the foundational endeavour of contemporary Odsherred: the beginning of a history of art, the emergence of a history of education and *Bildung,* and the conditions of reality for the establishment of the unique *Lammefjords* carrot, potato, and asparagus. All tied to the particular sites Vallekilde and Lammefjorden. The first is a village, the second is some 6,000 hectares of reclaimed sea land.

Figur 25. Johan Thomas Lundbye, Efterårslandskab, Hankehøj ved Vallekilde (1846-1847)

The history of art unfolds alongside a series of sites: the landscape painters Bovin, Ejstrup, Swane, and others selected specific sites as motifs and in the present day, landscape painting is still a practice amongst visual artists.[24] The tourist agency publishes guides to the sites portrayed in paintings, the singular sites where art history happened. One of these sits on the north-western edge of Vallekilde. From a pile of earth in the backyard of the local vicarage you can behold the burial mound Hankehøj. The priest said: 'I believe it was from here that Lundbye painted *Efterårslandskab*'.[25] Under the heading 'Fatherland,' *Geopark Odsherred* said of the painting and the site:

> My Dear Denmark
> The Golden Age painter Johan Thomas Lundbye (1818-1848) created a masterpiece in his depiction of the burial mound Hankehøj; the painting condenses the period's imagination of the

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[24] "Kunst og kultur i Odsherred".
[25] Personal journal.·

significance of the Danish Landscape. In spite of its fresh and immediate portrayal of the autumn weather by the burial mound at Vallekilde vicarage, the painting is programmatic. The artistic objectives at the time prescribed that the painters in their landscape paintings should show the Danish people's history and common life, and landscape alike. This is expressed by the Bronze Age mound and the tiny scene with the cowherd boy and the cows. At the same time, the painting shows Lundbye's love for the fatherland which he called "my dear Denmark."[26]

Lundbye's masterpiece connects local history to national history; in Lundbye's time, the nation was being built, and the arts were in its service. Nature was enchanted, and the landscape was imagined to contain the spirit of the people. A recurring idea was the metaphor of the organism— a total whole with parts interacting to create a state of overall balance and harmony—an idea not only found in sociology, in the emerging science of economy and ecology but also in the Herderian and Hegelian concepts of spirit as totalities. A people's spirit was rooted deeply in its history, its lands, and its manners. To build a nation, its history must be written, its landscape imagined and its ways of doing rendered unique and spirited. *Efterårslandskab* is intimately invested in that political project. Some 750 meters east of where Lundbye painted, another investment in nation building was to take place some 25 years later: at *Vallekilde Højskole*.

Vallekilde's history is part of the region's art and cultural history for a number of reasons. Architecturally, the folk high school and its adjacent buildings are amongst the first works of renowned architects Andreas Bentsen and Martin Nyrop;[27]; educationally, it brought cultural literacy to the peasantry and skilled labour, promoting the theologian N.F.S. Grundtvig's notion of *the living word.*[28] I interviewed inhabitants of Vallekilde and learned that they believe that in order to be attracted to living in Vallekilde one has to appreciate 'art, literature, landscape, or nature.'[29] These inhabitants associated the vibrancy of Vallekilde with *Vallekilde Højskole*'s 150 year history:

I also think it is that spirit, the culture, that is the network. In history, in cultural history. That spirit that goes several hundred years back. 150 years back.[30]

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[26] "Fædrelandet," Geopark Odsherred, accessed July 24, 2020, <u>Geopark Odsherred - Fædrelandet</u>
[27] Kurt Sørensen, *Odsherreds Arkitektur* (2015).
[28] Jes Fabricius Møller, *Grundtvigianisme i det 20 århundrede*, (2005); Vallekilde Højskole, *Vallekilde Folkehøjskole 1865 – 1965*, (1965).
[29] Appendix, E51, interview, inhabitants, *Vallekilde Mapping #2.*
[30] Interview, inhabitants, *Vallekilde Mapping #2*

The folk high schools played a substantial part in the effort organise the civil population in the in the late 19th century and onwards. The rise of the large agricultural cooperatives, the multiple associations, and the folk high schools organised the rural population into productive, ideological, and cultural polities. The rural population attended the folk high schools to receive general education on history, language, culture which meant that the folk high schools had a special role as stewards of the rural populations' spiritual, intellectual, and cultural development. *Vallekilde Højskole* was a cultural centre in a rural area, and it brought modern ideas with it.

The third harbinger of modernity came in 1873 when the baron of Dragsholm, Zytphen Adeler and his business partners finally succeeded in the enterprise of building a dam that effectively reclaimed 6,000 hectares of seafloor, which could then be developed and rented to peasants for cultivation. The project, amongst the largest in Northern Europe,[31] demonstrated the success of entrepreneurship and capital, the victory of technologically advanced Man over nature. Capital engineered the landscape for the benefit of all, it seems. The massive capitalist reclamation of land is celebrated and represented as a modern project. The event is repeatedly described in tourist pamphlets, in place branding, in presentations, in lectures, in local histories, in interviews. It is the subject of Uffe Grosen's 1957 book *Fra vand til land* that describes the project in great detail and celebrates it as a triumph.[32] The united labour of mind, hand, and spirit. The origins of contemporary Odsherred date from the end of the 19th century, driven by immigrants who brought new ideas and new genes. When the railway was opened by *Odsherreds jernbane* in 1899, it connected Odsherred to Copenhagen and the urban economy, and it brought even more people, capital and economic activity to the shire.

From these three originary events the modern cultural history unfolds. Visual arts proliferate, and the landscape enters the realm of representation and imagination. Such foundational stories are bound to sites, the places where 'it' happened, the locations of culture. Vallekilde, Plejerup, Asnæs, Rørvig, Lammefjorden, Ordrup, Odden, and all the addresses of the motifs of visual art. If we consult the discourse, the multiple localities of culture anno 2019 can be traced to these sites of origin, and from there the creative entrepreneurs and cultural institutions can trace their genealogy, one often too complicated, too trivial, or too unspectacular to recount with the same venerance reverence and sense of importance as that extended to these imagined sites of origin.

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[31] Kjeld Hansen, *Det tabte land. Den store fortælling om magten over det danske landskab* (2008).
[32] Uffe Grosen, *Fra vand til land. Lammefjordens historie i 140 år* (2013). Grosen served as headmaster at *Vallekilde Højskole* in 1923-1954.

Figur 26. Inauguration day, Odsherred Jernbane 1900

Mapping the landscape

There are maps that represent the territory: a map of art, a map of craftsmanship, a map of historical sights, a map of geologically interesting sites, a map of architecturally unique buildings.[33]
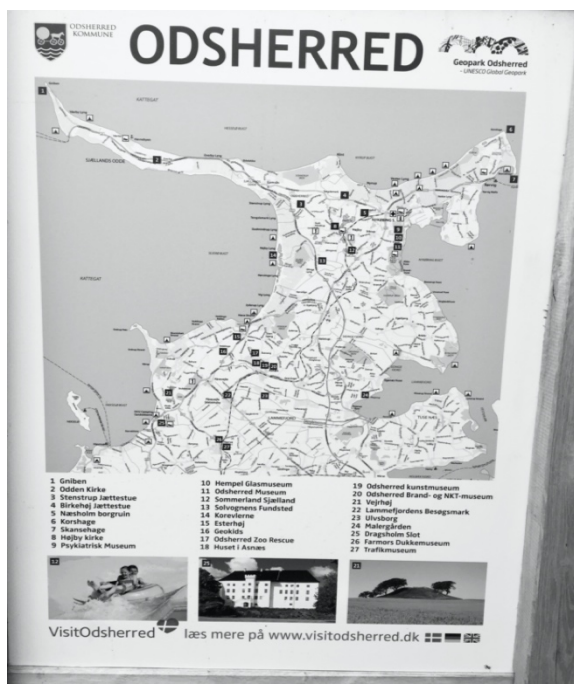
Figur 27. Geopark Festival, events

Figur 28. Geopark Odsherred, cultural sites

As these maps name sites, a series of singular localities are curated and juxtaposed. Viewed as an ensemble of sites, the territory is 'made' with a multiplicity of singular cultural beings. The local is all over the place. The art route of the Pentecost weekend is but one example. Visitors can peruse the exact locations of arts and crafts production, the sites of idiosyncratic creativity. There are two maps by two distinct organisations: the official route aptly named *Odsherreds Kunstdage i Pinsen* and the unofficial *Kunst i Odsherred* produced by those artists who, dissatisfied with not being included in the official art route, formed their own organisation in 2011 in protest. Since then, the two routes and their corresponding maps include more than a hundred locations to visit. While the contestation of what qualifies as art belongs to the art world, I find it interesting to note how the layering of these maps effectively draws a territory

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[33] "Kunst og kultur i Odsherred"; appendix, D46, artefact, VisitOdsherred, "Find vej i Geopark Odsherred," *brochure*; appendix, D23, "Kunstnerbyen KPH4500," *flyer*; D48, "Odsherreds kunstdage i Pinsen 2018", *map*; "Geopark festival program 2018"; <u>Kunst i Odsherred 2018.</u>

of artistic sites of belonging and offers an opportunity for visitors to access these sites of authenticity.[34]

Geopark Odsherred produced a map that marked sites of particular interest from a cultural historical perspective. On site, the map is accompanied by text on posters, signs, and QR codes that narrate the location.[35] Sometimes, guided tours were offered. A guided tour of *Vallekilde Højskole* included the narration of the history of the hall for gymnastics, a beautiful wooded building constructed in 1884 and the first place in Denmark where 'women could practice sports in public'[36] and a guided tour of *Adelers huse* in Fårevejle narrated the project of land reclamation.[37] When the regionwide *Geopark Festival* produced its first map in 2014, it used design activism to mobilise citizens to create events that brought their localities to life.[38] There were workshops where a facilitator and a professional nature guide assisted the participating citizens in unpacking and discovering the unique qualities of sites.[39] The process enabled the production of events tied to a location that was in itself part of the event. The festival map was as much a mapping of particular localities as it was a presentation of the unique properties of *Geopark Odsherred*. The festival spectacularized a set of sites that had not hitherto been on any map of 'interesting' cultural locations; in this regard the festival contributed enormously to expanding the localities of Odsherred. Those singular sites where *it* happens.

The territory is staked with signposts of sites, it is intense. All sites, even what Augé called 'non-spaces,'[40] are local, they exist somewhere, so attributing singularity must supersede the bare localizability of the site. It must be the mark of the singularity of what belongs to such space and place, that by which its uniqueness is given. In this sense, Odsherred is condensing in singular sites, the territory is pregnant with locality. An example of belonging could be as simple as specifying a particular view's belonging to a particular location. Esterhøj, one of the most prominent burial mounds in Odsherred, the burial site of the founder of *Nordisk Film* Ole Olesen and the location of the reunification stone of 1920 is also the site for one astonishing view of the bay of Sejerø, Odden and southern parts of Odsherred. The view necessarily belongs to this site, a property used by several events in the *Geopark Festival* event portfolio. You have to be at the locality to properly marvel at the landscape; a photograph is not the real thing.

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[34] Maps can be perused here: Odsherred Kunstdage 2020 / Kunst i Odsherred / Kunst i Odsherred - Map
[35] Geopark Odsherred App
[36] Appendix, F47, experience, Vallekilde Højskole, *guided tour.*
[37] Appendix, F48, experience, Adelers huse, *guided tour.*
[38] As described in detail in Paya Hauch Fenger, "Festivalen som Prototype," PhD thesis (2018).
[39] Fenger, "Festivalen som prototype".
[40] Marc Augé, *Non-Spaces: An Introduction to Super Modernity (1995).*
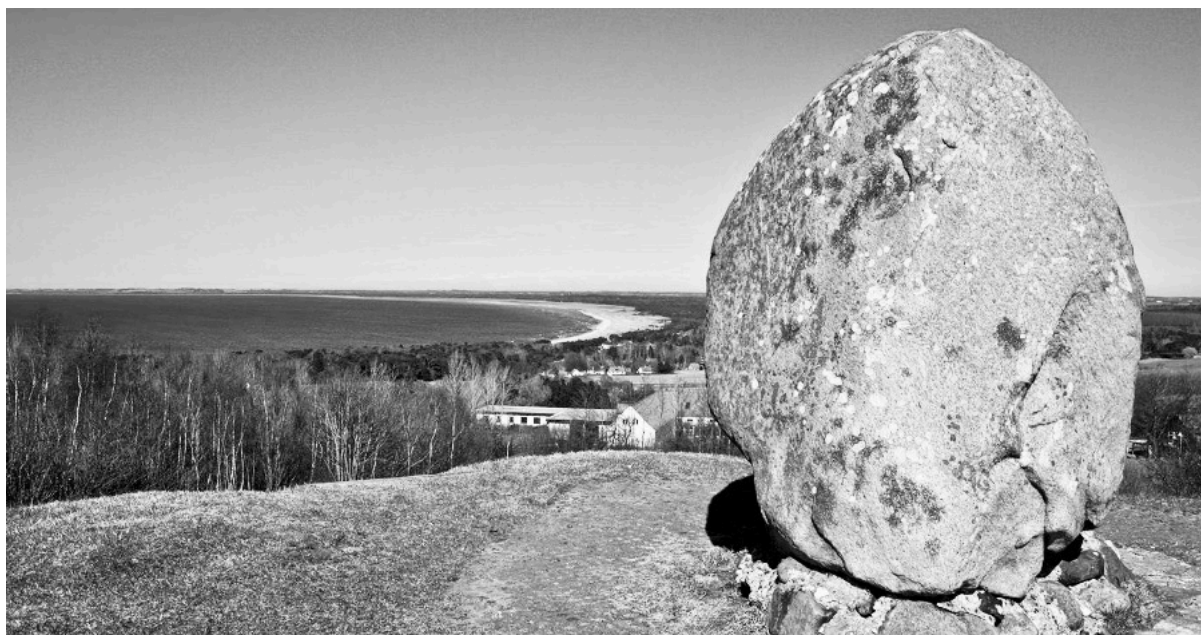
Figur 29. Bay of Sejerø, view from Esterhøj

Sourcing locally

In the volume *Odsherred: livet, lyset, landskabet* published by *Geopark Odsherred* in 2015, the chef from *Dragsholm Slot (castle)* presents to the readers recipes that include vegetables, herbs, and other produce grown and sampled locally. For instance, the berry sea thorn which is found at the beach and used at *Dragsholm Slot* as frosting on their carrot cake.[41] Using local food was a consequence of a change in management at the castle in 2005. The new director developed a strategy that implied transforming the French cuisine of *Dragsholm Slo*t to a local, authentic kitchen rooted in the region.

> Brian B: It is local raw food material...we offer our guests as experience and we believe it works. A carrot from Lammefjorden it tastes a little bit better when you sit in the kitchen where the baron had his food prepared.
>
> Burø: Why do you think it tastes better?
>
> Brian B: Because it is an experience. It corresponds to when you are in a small French town and order a glass of wine at a café, then you get a small glass of cool white wine and it tastes a-*mazing* so you buy a bottle to bring back. When you drink it at home you realise that even if you hit the right cool temperature, then you can taste that it is rather a cheap and poor wine, and that is simply because you are somewhere else. Experience is...a multifaceted perception...but it matters where we are in the space, the music and all.

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[41] Appendix, F51, experience, Dragsholm Slot, *dining.*

Burø: It is a total experience

Brian B: Yes, I believe so.[42]

Storytelling about place makes the food taste better, and, according to *Dragsholm Slot* and their guests, sourcing locally from the region made the experience of the castle more authentic and added value to the hotel and dining experience. Another restaurant, *Det vilde Køkken* in Klint, specialised in serving food with season-specific and locally harvested wild plants.[43]

Figur 30. Det vilde Køkken, dinner with local wild herbs

While wild herbs can be eaten, the unique soil on Lammefjorden produces carrots and potatoes that carry the EU certificate as *Protected Geographic Designation.*[44] The annual *Odsherred Grand cru* awards not the best wine, but…a carrot; the farmer Søren Wiuff cites the quality of the

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[42] Appendix, E15, interview, Brian B., *Dragsholm Slot.*
[43] Appendix, F52, experience, Det Vilde Køkken, *dining*.
[44] See: Europa Kommisionen - Landbrug og udvikling af landdistrikter

local soil.[45] *Odden Kaffe*, *Ørnberg vine*, *Sidinge Gårdbutik*, *Birkemose gård*: food products are promoted by their location.[46] Most farms have farm-gate sales. I am not trying to make the argument that the phenomena listed in the above are unique; this probably happens in most rural areas. I am suggesting that when telling stories about sourcing and serving food based on local raw materials, these are effectively concrete elements in a machinic production of authenticity, locality, and place making.

The same goes for craft and art. Sourcing material locally is a part of some creative processes: wood, rock, earth, clay, driftwood, metal, junk material are parts of art works and articulated as such.[47] Some of the materials used by school children to create their heads for the *GeoKids* sculptures were locally sourced, e.g. the clay[48] and the stone sculptures by German artist Udo Leis on the northern shores are made from rocks found on the beach.[49] Land art and the use of found objects is a commonplace artistic practice; what is interesting is that it is promoted and presented as relating to the local uniqueness of Odsherred. The most striking is *Vejrhøjhjertet*: a ten-by-ten metre outline of a heart shape on a hillside. More a cenotaph than an artwork, it was made in 1996 by a farmer to commemorate the loss of his son to suicide. During winter, the heart is lit up, and it is visible from afar. The heart has become a cultural tangible in Dragsholm, a landmark that reflects tragedy of the south-western end of Odsherred.

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[45] Søren Brandt Wiuff: <u>Asparges</u>
[46] Personal correspondence, Nordisk Center for Lokale Fødevarer.
[47] King Kong Art is an example. <u>Facebook site: King Kong Art and Café</u>
[48] Appendix, E40, interview, Kevin MacTaggert, *ceramic artist*, and Moira MacTaggert, *Jewelry*; E4, interview, Jean Grey, Jimmi Olsen, Alfred, Kitty Pride, Emma Frost, Alexa A, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred Kommune.*
[49] Interview, Daisy, *Geopark Festival.*

Figur 31. "Pencils," Land art, Høve

Figur 32. The Vejrhøj heart

Site-specific events and experiences

This event can only be experienced here. That is so because the place is itself a part of the event. Site-specific event production makes its claim to locality by virtue of its necessary link to the site of its happening. It belongs to the site; the event could not take place any other place without losing itself. This makes for a way of expressing the local. Site-specific event production comes in different shapes and sizes. *Odsherred Teater* staged several: One example is *War - du skulle have været der* that was part of *Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013*. It was a site-specific play taking place at multiple locations in the town of Hørve. The play was directed by the German director Lukas Matthei, and it explored the events of soldiers returning from war zones to their homes, often to find that home had changed for them. The production used locals as performers, leading to almost surreal passages such as when the audience listening to the recording of a soldier describing how it feels like to be a sniper surveying a town for a target. From on top of a mound at the edge of town, the audience could see single individuals moving about in the evening streets. Targets. The clever use of localities, locals and movement created a theatrical experience that was bound to this very location.[50]

Dining and staying at *Dragsholm Slot*, *Det Vilde Køkken*, *Birkemosegård*, *Røgeriet*, and *Rørvig fiskebutik* were site specific experiences,[51] just like there really is only one place to eat burgers in Odsherred: at *Burgerhjørnet*. Since 2014, *Geopark Festival* specialised in site-specific event productions. Whether it be walks, lectures, guided tours, or performing arts, the site was always been central. The event *Eat the locals* is one example*:* here, the audience could dine with people in their homes, tasting locally sourced food and enjoying local stories.[52] Another event, the annual *Odsherreds Kammermusikfestival*, staged several of its concerts at the grand hall of *Hempel Glasmuseum*, partly due to the unique 4.5-second reverberation of the room that becomes an intimate part of the music which cannot be heard with such particular timbre anywhere else in Odsherred.[53] This music belongs to the place and to the time of its performance, like Mike Sheridan's 'Colors' (2015), a musical piece composed for Hempel Glass museum, Udo Leis 'Verstärker' (2018), and all the *Kirkelyd* concerts at Korskirken. Annamari Tòth's 'Concert for broken piano' (2013) was a piano composition written for and performed at the chapel at the former psychiatric hospital at Anneberg. The chapel and its churchyard have a grim history:

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[50] Appendix, F13, experience, "War. Du skulle ha været der," *theatre.*
[51] Interview, Brian B., *Dragsholm Slot.* Experience, Det Vilde Køkken, *dining.*
[52] Appendix, F27, experience, "Eat the Locals," *event.*
[53] Appendix, E21, interview, Ben U., *Odsherreds Kammermusikfestival;* F16, experience, Odsherred Kammermusikfestival, *concert.*

without any consent, deceased inmates at the hospital had their brains removed for scientific study. The historical psychological pain associated with the place was mirrored in Tòth's sombre composition for a piano out of tune.[54]

Exclusive events and experiences

On Skovlyvej, strange things were happening at the end of July 2013. Passers-by could see scouts building a wooden construction that looked like the spine of a giant mammal basking in the sun in the middle of the straight line of Skovlyvej that cut through the flat Lammefjorden. It was a lunch table, though. It was 434 meters long and a whimsical attempt at entering the Guinness Book of Records as the World Longest Lunch Table. On Saturday, July 31st, citizens of all ages, tourists, and even the political elite had their lunch at the makeshift table, surrounded by rolling fields and a view to Vejrhøj.

Figur 33. The World's Longest Lunch Table

Akin to the site-specific event are the exclusive event and experiences that you can only experience at a specific location. Though distinctly not about the site, it is only at a particular location that you can experience a given event. Some experiences are exclusive, either because they only happen at a given location, or they only happen once. The site itself is not crucial to

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[54] Appendix, F15, experience, "Concert for broken piano," *concert.*

the immanent logic of the event, but the event and the experience are restricted to a certain locale like staging a performance of an opera at the chalk quarry in Klint. Another example is the annual *Honky Tonk Town* in Nykøbing Sj: on the first Saturday of September, the bars, cafés, and restaurants present live music by local musicians and guests in the shape of solos, duos and full bands.[55] Beers, music, and drinking are hardly a phenomenon exclusive to *Honky Tonk Town*, yet the particular nature of this event is exclusive to this town at this time of year. Another example is the annual OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked, a three-day market for carefully curated and selected high-end craftsmanship.[56] The event happens in late July and attracts more than 20,000 visitors based on their own count.[57] In both examples, the site is a stage for the exclusive event, but the exclusivity renders the site equally exclusive as a spill over effect: it is the site where these events happen.

Local relevance

What does it mean for a cultural institution to be locally relevant? This question has two answers, one following a logic of content, another a logic of form. The director of *Odsherred Teater* recalled the following:

> Xavier: ... in the years around 2007 a shift occurred in the way you perceived your identity [ed. as a regional theatre]... and that is why I back in 2010-11 took initiative to establishing the Regional Theatre Conference and I saw that you, roughly speaking, moved from understood being a Regional Theatre as meaning an economic arrangement that gave you an economy that allowed you to have artistic freedom, to seeing yourself as a resource, perhaps not a 'resource', but you saw yourself as something that met a local community at eye level. One did not really let go of your artistic freedom, but you started looking thematically at local themes. Like Mungo Park ... and Baggårdsteatret who did it with Ærø. All those productions. We did it with 'Landet'. So, it was a tendency that suddenly happened. Imperceptibly. It is often like that with tendencies that happen at the same time. But it happened in relation to the Structural Reform.
>
> Burø: So, it coincides?
>
> Xavier: Mmmh. That is my view.
>
> Burø: Is it like regional theatres become platforms where the community can speak about itself?
>
> Xavier: No, I don't think so. I think it is the theatres that start talking about the communities. There is a difference. We might do it. We start a tendency where we let the community create a platform.

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[55] "Kunst og Kultur i Odsherred".
[56] Appendix, F44, experience, OVNHUS kunsthåndværkermarked, *craft market.*
[57] Appendix, E30, interview, Anne, Bella, Duke, *Ovnhus.*

But we are also the ones who most resolutely say 'voilà, here we are, use us, and then we'll interpret what you use us for'. But I think that in some theatres - Baggårdsteatret, Mungo Park Kolding, other theatres - Limfjordsteatret and the like, they use local themes. More than you've done previously.[58]

The reorientation towards the local happened *imperceptibly*. But it was substantial in the case of *Odsherred Teater* which reinvented both its logic of form and logic of content in the process of adjusting to consequences of the Structural Reform of 2007. However, they were not the only ones seeking local relevance.

To be locally relevant regarding the content of cultural production varies between cultural organisations as their subject matters differ. Though the museum of art and the cultural museum both stage exhibitions, they stage different contents; the theatre, the library, the youth cultural centre each have their own differentiated subject matters. What is considered to be locally relevant varies, too: an exhibition about a local phenomenon,[59] a concert with songs about local people and themes,[60] presenting local authors at the library,[61] artworks depicting local motifs[62] are all considered to have local relevance. The examples of locally relevant subject matter multiply in differentiation.

Following a logic of form leads to the problem of 'folkelighed' (popular appeal or popular culture). There is a discursive distinction between fine/high art and crude/popular culture, a contested distinction to be sure, but one of prevalence. It most regularly emerges during times of electoral campaigns - both for local and national office.[63] The value of culture, its purpose and legitimacy in relation to funding is brought to the fore. As one cultural manager paraphrased it, tongue in cheek: 'why should the museum receive all that money when the football clubs need funding?'[64] The museum and the cultural institutions of perceived fine arts, are positioned as being in opposition to so-called ordinary people's cultural needs. The logic of content simply posits that something is locally relevant *if* the locals consider it to be relevant, which is not only tautological reasoning but also a discursive articulation of the power of the local population to determine relevance. Public opinion becomes the space of veridiction. The problem is to locate

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[58] Appendix, E10, interview, Charles Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*.
[59] Appendix, F56, experience, Huset i Asnæs, *exhibition.*
[60] Appendix, E29, interview, Martin, Michael, Marius, Samuel, *Odsherred sangskriverklub.*
[61] Appendix, E2, interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*
[62] "Kunst og Kultur i Odsherred".
[63] Interview, Charles Xavier, *Odsherred Teater*.
[64] Appendix, G1, participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

the place where public opinion is genuinely articulated: in the press, at city council meetings, in public hearings? The former manager of the library and community centre offered her take on what 'folkelighed' is:

> Every time I am to explain the notion of 'folkelighed' I tell the same story. In 1973, in Hørve, there lived 2,500 people at the time and there lived a man named Lundgaard who later had a son who became minister of culture. And Lundgaard, he was interested in sports and you have to remember...that Vallekilde has *Øvelseshuset* [the gym hall] where the notion of the popular gymnastics were introduced in relation to the Swedish [the medical gymnastics of Ling, ed.] and the German goose-stepping was replaced by softer movements and so on. In that mode of thought there was the Grundtvigian congregation church and Lundgaard was part of that. And he set his mind at–it was a one-man project–he set his mind at the goal that there should be a sports and gym hall in Hørve. He mobilised volunteers and they spent 72,000 voluntary hours. This has been uncovered and calculated by the local historical archive. 72,000 voluntary hours was used and then they created a gym hall. No municipal funding or any other interference. It was a private gym hall. You could say 'what is that?' Well, in Horsens you have branded yourself as a city of culture in all kinds of ways. They have had Rolling Stones, Madonna, Paul McCartney and so on, and my question is: what is the biggest? To build a gym hall or call the Rolling Stones? That is 'folkelighed' in my understanding. You get involved where you think there is a necessity. The other thing is an experience, right? … the popular culture has some way of...it is not the lonely genius, it is the genius in collaboration with the extrovert, the clever or the cunning in collaboration with someone. That is why we have a soup kitchen. It is ephemeral. It is the manner in which it is Grundtvigian.[65]

The question of local relevance as a logic of form addresses *how* cultural organisations make themselves relevant to a local population. It is not sufficient to refer to the deliveries of each institution as the varied subject matters can all too easily be contained with the anti-popular notion of fine culture. What *is* perceived as sufficient, then, is to make the cultural organisations 'available' to the local residents.[66] This approach takes two forms: 1) User involvement. When cultural organisations involve local people not employed in the cultural industries in their daily business or in singular projects, either as individual volunteers or as a private association of people, they signal that such engagement is appreciated by and valuable to the organisation. It

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[65] Appendix, E1, interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*
[66] Appendix, E6, interview, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J, *Odsherred Teater*; E20, Ben U., interview, *Odsherred Musikskole;* interview, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; interview, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; E8, interview, Dana, *Odsherreds Museum*. Participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

also forces the organisation to pay attention to the needs of those engaged; to want to meet the needs of those locally engaged is to make oneself relevant. Though cultural organisations may rely on volunteers and associations to solve some of their tasks, it is not due to calculations of cost efficiency or even a cost-saving rationality as the relationships with those volunteers will need to be nurtured constantly. They may not need a wage, but they require attention and recognition.[67] The use of volunteers and associations creates an organisation that connects itself with the local population, inviting it to participate; to the extent that people accept the invitation, the organisation can be considered locally relevant. A prime example of a locally relevant cultural organisation is *Vig Festival.* Its raison d'être is to support local sports associations financially and organisationally, something it can only do by an active and ongoing engagement with people willing to volunteer. 2) Cultural organisations can address local themes and problems in their productions. They can do this by involving and engaging people in phases of ideation, research, and production. *LANDET* (2011-2012) and *Folkemødet i Odsherred* (2017-) are examples of what *Odsherred Teater* has coined as 'public engagement,'[68] and what *Den Rytmiske Højskole* saw as a method for making themselves relevant to the local community, an initiative aligned with a long-standing tradition amongst folk high schools for making themselves available for public use on special occasions (*Grundlovsmøde*, International Worker's Day, Midsummer's night).[69] It is also part of a strategy for 'opening' the organisation to the local community, as it serves the organisation to be well connected, well esteemed, and to be an integral part of the local community.[70] *Den Rytmiske Højskole* is not alone in this mode of thought: the library, cultural museum, youth centre, the theatre, *Geopark Odsherred*, and the municipality have all initiated projects and established practices that involved and engaged the local residents in addressing topics of relevance.[71]

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[67] Appendix, E13, interview, Barbara, Rebecca, *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening*; interview, Brian B., *Dragsholm Slot*; E23, interview, Billy, *Odsherred Museumsforening*; interview, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse;* interview, *Odsherreds Museum.*

[68] Interview, *Odsherred Teater*; interview, Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*

[69] Appendix, E32, interview, Bruno, Brian, Grace, Erica, *Vallekilde Højskole;* E14, interview, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole.* 'Grundlovsmøde' is an annual event taking place on *Grundlovsdag*, on June 5, which is a national bank holiday in celebration of the Danish 'constitution.' The day is used for gathering and political speeches. Skt. Hans: on June 23, people gather around a bonfire to sing national romantic songs. To many, the tradition still includes burning a figure of a witch, an eerie echo of the misogyny of past times. The combination of national romanticism and witch burning, albeit symbolic, is thought provoking.

[70] Interview, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole;* interview, *Kulturforvaltning;* E34, John, Adam, Everett, *Vig Festival.*

[71] Interview, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse*; interview, *Odsherreds Museum Vestsjælland;* appendix, E7, interview, Susan Linden, *Ung i Odsherred, Odsherred Teater;* interview, *Kulturforvaltning;* interview, *Geopark Festival.* Participant observation, *Kulturledermøde.*

Discussion: collective enunciation

To conceptualise *the Local* as a collective enunciation has three negative implications: 1) *The Local* is not understood as ideology or in any way understood as a matter of consciousness, or even false consciousness. It is exterior to consciousness and mind; the idea of collective enunciation refrains from making claims about the minds of individuals and groups; 2) *The Local* is not traceable to a cause, to an intent, or a strategy. The idea refrains from stipulating any 'why' but commits solely to claiming *that* it is, and *how* it is, enunciated; 3) *The Local* is not a total system of signification, it does not exclude other significations. *The Local* as a collective enunciation does not constitute a totalitarian regime of signification and code of practical conduct. If anything, it dominates in the sense of being a preference and not because it is 'in power.'

There are two positive implications: 1) *The Local* is a set of signifiers, signifying practices, and production practices that enter into a particular effective and affective assemblage that has 'agency'[72]; it does something, but what it does is not explained by mapping the parts of the assemblage, but by discerning its effects. This makes it a pragmatic inquiry into the concrete effects and affects of the Local; 2) *The Local* as enunciation makes a distinction between the enunciation and the multiples that produce it. It may not be the intent of an individual speaker or producer to enunciate 'the Local' when speaking or producing 'a local,' and this distinction should be observed when conceptualising the enunciative multiple. Further, based on the available data four real effects can be suggested: i) *The Local* has become an effective normative ideal for event production, most notably the idea of site-specific events. The normative ideal can be cited and mobilised as both a conceptual framework and as justification for a particular event design; ii) *The Local* has become a legitimate institutional concern. It is a way to evaluate the impact and reception of a given production, its value gauged by how it is demonstrably relevant to and received by a local populace in terms of how this populace engages with it. This stands opposed to the aesthetic notion that a given cultural production–whether an artefact or an event–ought to be relevant due to its qualities; iii). *The Local* is an aesthetic device that adds the qualities of authenticity and situatedness to an event or artefact. The device taps into *the Local* when the locality of an artefact or event is articulated, promoted, or employed as a production perimeter, and it observes one of the ways in which "a local" takes part in the specific locality of the local in Odsherred; iv) *The Local* has an internal effect and an external effect; internal insofar as some of the objectives of the activities contained within *the Local* are aimed at building a community

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[72] Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter. A Political Ecology of Things* (2010), 20ff.

infrastructure, local cohesion and citizen empowerment and engagement in culture and art. In so far as it also has an external communicative effect that is aimed at marketing and selling Odsherred, *the Local* is a useful device to brand, narrate, and represent Odsherred as a particular kind of territory.

PART 5: CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Things are not always what they seem. In the years 2000 to 2018, a set of events occurred in the north-western part of Zealand that appear unrelated. An idea to relocate and reorganise a regional theatre was hatched and set in motion; a book about an abominable snowman was written and published; a middle-aged couple referenced a special light while looking to buy a second home along the coast. *Pakhuset* was established as a community centre, and *Forfatterskolen for Unge* was created. Traditions were invented: *Odsherreds Litteratur og læsefestival, Kulturnat, Odden Sætter sejl, Litt Talk, Honkey Tonk Town, Geopark Festival, Folkemødet i Odsherred; Asgaard rockfestival, Jazz Festival.* New organisations were established and consolidated: *Geopark Odsherred, Ung i Odsherred, Museum Vestsjælland, Odsherred musikskole, Odsherred Bibliotek.* Projects happened: *Empire of the sun, LANDET - Should I Stay or Should I Go? Geokids, Filmlandet, kulturmentor.* There had been zombies in cinemas, singing trees, an acousmonium, a concert for a broken piano, Pim Fortuyn and Theo Van Gogh had wrestled in the afterlife, and a singer had written a song about the tough times in the province. In 2007, a structural reform merged municipalities and created a new cultural department; in the immediate years following the reform, a new cultural strategy was drawn up, and a cultural agreement between eight municipalities in western and mid-Zealand was constructed. Some organisations had their formal operating agreements renewed, while other organisations established agreements with the municipality. A cinema was exempt from paying rent. The sports halls were centralised. Markets transformed: *Dragsholm Slot* redefined itself and turned towards the local as a source of value, as did so many others in the region. A new market for high end crafts was established and consolidated; while existing commercial culture, like *Vig Festival, Kunstruten i Pinsen*, and *Tuskemarked* continued unaffected. The production of cultural offerings in Odsherred proliferated throughout this period: it increased in diversity and in volume. Certainly, the reform directly effectuated an assemblage of the ecology of culture in Odsherred at the levels of governance, infrastructure, and policy but whether it was also the cause of the qualitative and quantitative growth in cultural offerings is uncertain. The majority of the cultural professionals, the associations, and artists that I interviewed did not think that the reform had affected them - either positively or negatively. At least not directly. But as the ecology was reassembled it brought

people, practices, and places into new relationships of co-functioning, it raised new concerns, and perhaps it rearticulated old worries. It also provided an occasion to construct a new regional cultural identity and rewrite the past in the light of the present; a time to create a new imaginary of Odsherred. Perhaps these are all responses to the Structural Reform.

Things are not always what they seem. I have claimed that the ecology of culture was the condition of reality that had provided each cultural event that happened with a set of tangible and intangible resources to express itself. The book and its author, the director and the idea, and the light were embedded in complex relations and belonged ontologically to a place, its community, and its history. It is meticulous, yet fairly straightforward to describe the multiple relations and what they do in each case. It is much more difficult to substantiate the claim that neither the author, the director, nor the multitude enunciating the light were determined by the ecology even if they were conditioned by it, that is, *that what they chose to do with the resources was of their own volition*–as was the case with all the other organisations, associations, and artists. It touches upon the key philosophical problem of free will vs determinism. The problem of environmental determinism has followed ecological thought throughout most of its history, that is, the challenge of discerning to what extent and degree the ecological environment affects and conditions an organism.[1] Too little environment leaves differences unexplainable: we know from evolutionary biology and anthropology that organisms adapt physiologically to the conditions of their environments, with some changes happening rapidly, like the effect on teeth by a change in diet from raw to soft food that occurs within a generation, while others, like the transformation in skin pigmentation in response to exposure to the sun, take hundreds of years to become manifest.[2] Similarly, the development of the specific cultural organisation in Odsherred could be analysed vis-à-vis the dense relationality of the environing social system of agricultural cooperatives, or it could be, as has indeed been the case, that the emergence of certain aesthetics can be explained with reference to artists' adoration of the 'special light.' Too much environment renders behaviour determined, not only violating cherished ideas about free will, but also creating a difficulty in explaining the continuous differentiation of the ecological organisms, let alone accounting for the emergence of newness. The fundamental ontological proposition of ecology, then, is that the individual organism is embedded in its environment, but what that means specifically, only

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[1] Ayhan Sol, "On the idea of environment," *Phenomenology of Life. Meeting the Challenges of the Present-Day World* (2005); Gerald Young, "Environment: Term and Concept in the Social Sciences," *Information (International Social Science Council)* 25:1 (1986); Morris Freilich, "Ecology and Culture: Environmental Determinism and the Ecological Approach in Anthropology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 40:1 (1967).
[2] Helke Ferrie, "An Interview with C. Loring Brace," *Current Anthropology* 38:5 (1997).

concrete inquiry into the complexity of the case can reveal. Then, we stumble upon another conceptual problem as empirical inquiry shows such multiple levels and points of interaction between what we call 'the organism' and 'the environment,' that ultimately the very ideas of what an organism and an environment is.[3] Stated differently, if you go deep into the rabbit hole, you find that perhaps the problem is not free will vs determinism, but rather how to think to even think an individual organism.

Inquiring, philosophically

I have claimed that *Land of Light* is a philosophical inquiry, and I have claimed that what appeared to be a loosely coupled set of cultural institutions and organisations, associations, and artists in Odsherred, is actually a set of complex connections between a multiplicity of actors which have been capable of bringing newness, of seeking to reproduce themselves, and capable of self-organising. What appeared phenomenologically as a *disconnected array* is ontologically a *connected assemblage* for continuous cultural production. The challenge has been to describe how the different modes of production of cultural offerings have been conditioned by the ecology but without explaining its development as necessary due to environmental determination. Practically necessary, ontologically contingent: to think about organisational ecology as assemblage positions contingency at the heart of ecological dynamics and sensitises analysis to what complexity theories of organisation calls the *emergence of dissipative structures* from 'fluctuation, positive feedback, stabilization, and recombination.'[4] In other words, if there is any order to be found, it is one that is continuously in a process of becoming. In a system characterised by complexity, or chaos, a minor event at a critical time can result in fluctuations that transform the entire system. That means that even if trajectories of becoming can be discerned in the ecology of culture, then the ecology is fundamentally unpredictable. Likewise, as we do not know what a body can do until we map its relationships of co-functioning, it does not make much sense to try to distinguish between determining ecological mechanisms and a determined organism: a concrete assemblage produces something, but it does not determine it as it is not until this particular something connects with other things that it undergoes a concrete intensive becoming.

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[3] Scott Gilbert, Jan Sapp and Alfred Tauber, "A Symbiotic View of Life: We Have Never Been Individuals," *The Quarterly Review of Biology* 87:4 (2012).
[4] Todd Chiles, Alan D. Meyer and Thomas J. Hench, "Organizational Emergence: The Origin and Transformation of Branson, Missouri's Musical Theaters," *Organization Science* 15:5 (2004), 506.

If *Land of Light* is a philosophical inquiry, it is so because it has examined what researching the organisation of culture conceived as ecology has allowed thought to do. By way of summary then:

1. '*Land of Light*' has allowed thought to understand and explain a multiplicity of ways of producing cultural offerings as the result of organisation; those processes in which concrete elements are brought into productive relations of co-functionings. It has demonstrated that the continuous formal and informal relationships between publicly funded cultural organisations have created a cultural infrastructure for the circulation of ideas, people, things, money, and signs, and which have entered into productive relations with commercial or civic cultural agents. In the period 2000-2018 culture has 'flourished.' It has been a vibrant culture sustained by a set of complex connections between a multiplicity of actors. Further, *Land of Light* has allowed thought to appreciate how the solution to one problem effectively responded to another problem: by tracing the process that led to the establishment of *Ung i Odsherred*, the problem of youth participation in culture was constructed as a concern that was both common to cultural organisations and had particular implications to individual organisations. The establishment of *Ung i Odsherred* as a new organisation for youth culture created two new youth cultural centres and led to the proliferation of cultural offerings aimed at youth, in part by sustaining self-organised youth culture. Assembling the concrete elements of youth culture led to increased differentiation of cultural offerings in the ecology of culture and to an increase in youth cultural activity, but it did not solve the problem of how to forge consistent bonds between extant cultural organisations and youth.

2. Thought has inquired how the Local is produced as a semiotic property, that is, how a variety of concrete elements have assembled collectively to enunciate a sense of place, like a body of birds sonically marking a common territory. While this process can be interpreted as a response to the negative discourse on the *Udkantsdanmark* and the neoliberal policies at the beginning of the 21st century, it can also be grasped as a collective enunciation of cultural identity. A determination of a cultural self that can obviously be both questioned and criticised and that can be exploited for economic and developmental ends but which might be just that: self-determination. There is no evidence in the data that culture as a whole responded intentionally and collectively to the implications of the reform; rather, there are multiple points of responding to particular aspects of the reform. These engagements have by and large resulted in an increase

in both the volume and the differentiation of cultural offerings. If anything, the data shows an increase in organised cultural activity *after* the reform.

3. '*Land of Light*' is philosophical inquiry in the sense that it rearticulates the question 'what is organisation?' Not only does the thesis examine the 'outside of organisation'.[5] It also inquires into what organisation is and how it comes into being by mapping processes through which culture is practically assembled, that is, by not assuming that discrete cultural offerings are solely the result of discrete, individual cultural organisations but come into being by the processes of inter-organisational cultural labour. Does it make sense to think about 'bundles of tasks', 'division of labour' and 'relationships of command' at the level of organisations? Pushed to extremes, if assemblage is a synonym for organisation or is a specific kind of organising, then is it not at odds with the idea that organisation is purposive and task oriented? The assemblage of ecology of culture has continuously produced cultural offerings, but does it make sense to claim that this was the purpose with which the ecology was assembled? That is, although the individual organisation has been organised to meet particular cultural needs, this property of individual purpose does not transfer to the ecology of cultural organisations. The ecology of culture is the emergent effect of multiple organisations going about their business and in the process continuously interconnecting. The ecology is an organised phenomenon, but it is not an organisation. It is an assemblage.

4. '*Land of Light*' is, finally, a philosophical inquiry of cultural mapping as a method for describing, interpreting, and grasping ecology of culture as an organised, empirical phenomenon. The theoretical determination of ecology of culture as assemblage and the decision to not treat 'ecology' as a metaphor[6] but instead granting it the status of a concept created to grasp an empirical phenomenon, leads to a question of methodology. What does the conceptualisation of ecology of culture as assemblage allow us to do compared to other methods? The method of cultural mapping has been qualitative and ideographic; it has constructed particular kinds of data by interviewing, reading documents, observation, and experience. In the early days of human ecology, Robert Park argued that human ecology is and should be a nomothetic science concerned with establishing the universal laws that govern human population, contrasted with geography as a idiographic science.[7] Qualitative and quantitative data can both be exploited to discover

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[5] Thomas Lopdrup-Hjorth, ""Let's Go Outside": The Value of Co-Creation," PhD thesis, Copenhagen Business School, (2013), 250ff.

[6] Unless, of course, we conceive of *all* language as metaphorical in nature cf George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (2008).

[7] Nicholas Entrikin, "Robert Park's Human Ecology and Human Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70:1 (1980).

universal laws based on how these data are used; but it is interesting to ponder if ecology in methodological terms should employ both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to make a better account of the ecological complexity at hand. No doubt, this thesis could have used statistical data for some of the dimensions that it has explored: how many connections, how many events, how much money, how much attendance? It could have used these to discern correlations and causal relations. However, the method of cultural mapping has produced thick descriptions of complex connectivities, of organisational processes and collective enunciations that lead to a different kind of knowledge. In Benjamin's words, it is by analysing the 'small individual moment' that the 'crystal of the total event'[8] is discovered. When we grasp *it*, it is because thought has developed a concept that in its totality conceives the event. According to Deleuze and Guattari,

> The concept is an incorporeal, even though it is incarnated or effectuated in bodies. But, in fact, it is not mixed up with the state of affairs in which it is effectuated. It does not have spatiotemporal coordinates, only intensive ordinates. It has no energy, only intensities; it is anenergetic (energy is not intensity but rather the way in which the latter is deployed and nullified in an extensive state of affairs). The concept speaks the event, not the essence or the thing-pure Event, a haecceity, an entity...It is like the bird as event. The concept is defined by *the inseparability of a finite number of heterogeneous components traversed by a point of absolute survey at infinite speed.*[9]

Conceptual knowledge is not discursive, and it is not syntagmatic; it is neither reducible to singular components nor can singular components be detached. The concept is abstract though developed from concrete empirics. It is the totality of components assembled into a 'fragmentary whole';[10] when we say that we understand *it,* we are really saying that we have constructed an understanding of the event that is the concept. Knowledge of the ecology is an emergent property of mapping the details. The study of this particular ecology of culture has been transdisciplinary. To make sense of the ecology of culture as an organised phenomenon, the study has had to include cultural policy research, rural studies, youth research, cultural studies, event studies, ecology, art studies, and cultural mapping. This transdisciplinarity stems from the problems that emerged in the mapping and interpretation of data. I have found that my major challenge with transdisciplinarity is simply lacking adequate knowledge of each discipline, thus always fearing to miss important insights or just plainly state the obvious. To arrive at this sobering thought has

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[8] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* [1982] (2002), 461.
[9] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* [1991] (1994), 21.
[10] Deleuze and Guattari, *What is philosophy?,* 16.

been part of the philosophical inquiry, a thought that is concerned with the status of ecology of culture as a theoretical field: given the complexity of the empirical phenomena the field ought to be conceptualised and constituted as inherently transdisciplinary.

Complexity, assemblage

The outline of a history of the concept of ecology in the social sciences shows how the concept of the complex adaptive system emerged from cybernetics, systems thinking, and general ecology. From the 1970s onwards, ecological thought changed; in particular, it abandoned the image of a system in equilibrium for one in which flux, chaos, and dissipative structures are the dominant traits. Organisation theory also followed suit although it was rather slow at picking up complexity theory: organisation theory started integrating complexity into the conceptualisation of organisation at the turn of the century, some 30 years after the theoretical field had emerged.[11] Nonetheless, it means that the insights from complexity theory have entered research on organisation and now regularly expose organisation scholars to the idea that one can think about an organised phenomenon in terms of emergence, complex open systems, non-linear processes of becoming, and multiple logics. Interestingly, it does not appear to be the case that the application of ecology in the study of arts and culture has resulted in genuine studies of and theorising on the production of culture as systems characterised by complexity. To the best of my knowledge, complexity is assumed and told, but rarely *shown* in most studies of ecology of culture.

I have approximated complexity by studying the productive results of multiple points and modes of connectivity. That is, I have sought to show complexity by first describing the relations of exteriority between concrete elements and then analysing what they do, practically. At the level of singular connections, there is no complexity to be found. To show complexity, the presence of multiple interrelated logics and feedback loops, emergent effects, and non-linearity must be foregrounded - which means that analysis must move back and forth between microscopic and macroscopic levels of analysis. The qualitative methods I have used have all been at the microscopic level, but, in order to analyse at the level of ecology, I had to construct a map and

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[11] David Byrne and Gillian Callaghan, *Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences: The State of the Art* (2013); Deborah Dougherty and Danielle D. Dunne, "Organizing Ecologies of Complex Innovation," *Organization Science* 22:5 (2011); Alan Meyer, Vibha Gaba and Kenneth A. Colwell, "Organizing Far from Equilibrium: Nonlinear Change in Organizational Fields," *Organization Science* 16:5 (2005); Chiles, Meyer and Hench, "Organizational Emergence," 501; Richard Leifer, "Understanding Organizational Transformation Using a Dissipative Structure Model," *Human Relations* 42:10 (1989); David Parker and Ralph Stacey, *Chaos, Management and Economics: The Implications of Nonlinear Thinking* (1994); Ralph Stacey, *Complexity and Creativity in Organizations* (1996); Ralph Stacey, "The Science of Complexity: An Alternative Perspective for Strategic Change Processes," *Strategic Management Journal* 16:6 (1995).

demonstrate the emergence of *Ung i Odsherred* and the Local as an emergent property, or, in the terminology of Deleuze and Guattari, as *becoming* and *collective enunciation.* The question then is what has been gained from using 'assemblage' to think and study ecology, when both organisational ecology and complexity theory exist in organisation studies and could have been applied? I think the main answer is to be found in how the empiricist ontology of the assemblage leads empirical research to trace lines of becoming that intersect with, or are assembled with, other lines to construct a situated knowledge of what a particular assemblage does. Assembling the ecology of culture means attuning thought to studying what the ecology of culture does and has done, both in its singular moments and as the total event. The only way to know what a body is, is to trace what it has done, an epistemological principle which I believe is aligned with complexity theory. However, using the concept of assemblage cannot explain why youth culture became a problem and why responses were as they were. The concept cannot explain why the collective enunciation of the Local and the light emerged as it did or even why the connectivities of the ecology are assembled as they are. The concept of the assemblage allows thought to construct accounts of empirical phenomena and to explain how they are composed of ontologically heterogeneous matter, but the only 'why' to be found is enveloped within the 'how' of pragmatics.

The abstract machine

From studying the manner in which the concrete elements are assembled, the abstract machine, the diagram that lays out the rules for concrete assemblage, may be addressed. In my interpretation of the level of ecology, the diagram has laid out ways of connecting elements that have sustained continuous production of cultural offerings, combined excess concrete material to create something new, used existing connections to beget more connections, developed events and occasions to make different organisations connect, and continuously combined elements to create a differential supply of cultural offerings. Deleuze and Guattari distinguished between the territorial, the state, the capitalist, and the nomad abstract machine. The ecology of culture, analysed vis-à-vis the kind of abstract machine, has elements of the territorial assemblage in that it works by coding elements according to an essential, fixed meaning and proper use: a local, this local, the Local; the light; child, youth adult, grown up, grey gold; theatre, music, films. But at the same time, the cultural infrastructure is based on public cultural institutions that are regulated by the state and where the latter works by *securing* the continuous production of cultural offerings as *a mode of control*. Public cultural organisations are not commons though they are assembled

to meet common needs. Through their individual modes of production, each cultural organisation produces discrete, cultural offerings that are legible by the state and the municipality: by funding and operational agreements, the presence of visual arts, cinema, music, theatre, literature, crafts are secured. The ecology of culture also contains traits of the capitalist abstract machine: the marketisation of crafts and visual arts, the commodification of localities, experiences, and events. Finally, there are also those points of assemblage where people and places come together to create of their own accord and to invent: people's assembly, festivals, self-organised cultural communities, scooter gangs, and Parkour communities. Then there are points of convergence when a people's problem is coupled to state power: when the skate community asked the municipality for a skatepark, it began a process of making itself legible to the state. There are thus multiple logics of assemblage at work in the ecology of culture and perhaps not only the major kinds of abstract machines conceptualised by Deleuze and Guattari. The important point is to suggest that the abstract machine contains internally differentiated rules for assemblage that may seem at odds if juxtaposed: assembling for commodification, for meaning, for identity, for worth, for novelty, for heritage.

A diagram of the ecology of culture can be drawn, one that is necessarily unfinished, temporally bound, and certainly not complete. It traces connections that bind disparate and ontologically heterogeneous elements together and weaves an intricate meshwork of cultural tangibles and cultural intangibles. What I have called the map of the *modalities of connectivity* is part of the diagram, but as this map does not include such elements as architecture, the soundscape, the history, the politics, and the economics, it leaves out important cultural in/tangibles. To be complete, the diagram should also include tracings of how narratives, memories, sentiments, aesthetic appreciation, and patterns of consumption are connected to produce the rich, composite particularity of this ecology of culture. If there is anything unique to the ecology of culture in Odsherred it is due to the manner in which particular cultural tangibles and intangibles are assembled in particular ways.

Finally, then, what is the land of light that this text has ceaselessly been speaking of? It is a place that has struggled to determine for itself what it is, to interpret and make sense of its past and to ask with great difficulty what it is in the process of becoming. The light is the setting sun of the tourist brochure, the Instagram post and the landscape painting; it radiates upon a land exploited by agriculture and upon an economy of second homes and tourist spending. The light is in the attempts at creating new traditions and, for some, new ways of living and feeling. It is the evening song of the Enlightenment and it is burgers, fries, and mini golf down by the seaside. It

is at the end of the railway tracks. It is the search for something or someone to belong to; the sound of skateboards on asphalt or a hammered Fender Stratocaster striking a chord. There is some light to be found in the quest to overcome the boredom, humdrum, and ennui of the ordinary and the everyday. What is culture if not the creation of lives worth living?

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APPENDIX

General overview of the material.

During fieldwork and the analytical phase of the project I collected documents, took pictures, made sound recordings, collected artefacts, I interviewed and I conducted participant observations. Additionally, since 2012, I have also experienced a variety of events, some of which I include in this study though they are outside the timespan of formal fieldwork. I have organised the appendix into seven sections (A. Documents, B. Pictures, C. Sound Recordings, D. Artefacts, E. Interviews, F. Experiences, G. Participant observations, H. Interview guides). In each section, I list the items and link to dropbox folders where the items can be inspected. I have not linked to the interviews which are all in Danish. The sound recordings of the interviews can be made available upon request. Instead of producing written notes from participant observation, I made sound recordings which serve as my notes. I have not linked to the sound recordings from participant observation, but they can be made available upon request.

Dropbox-links

Documents:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/nfudtm6430skoaj/AACBoAscXPfOXBcSc28rTFIna?dl=0

Pictures:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/nieoycuwxs30uv9/AADky8ptdxRbGcJYeehkumLia?dl=0

Sound recordings:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/j579vid7rs746jk/AABgT7zb9GPUNCM_bJqS8BUua?dl=0

Artefacts:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/9hlero2zjnrawsa/AAATlwxb84Uvu68aQHmSPT_-a?dl=0

A. Documents

The majority of the documents were collected during fieldwork. The documents are mostly public documents such as reports, plans and strategy papers, minutes from city council, and contracts, statutes and agreements. Not all documents are referenced directly, but as they have been part of the analytical process I include them here.

A1, Odsherred Kommune, *Kultur- og Fritidsplan 2008 - 2010*, 2007.

A2, Byrådet, *Anmodning om godkendelse af vedtægter for Museum Odsherred,* 2010.

A3, Byrådet, *Endelig godkendelse af Musikskolepolitik,* 2010.

A4, Byrådet, *Godkendelse af udkast til kulturaftale 2011 - 2014,* 2010.

A5, Kulturministeriet og Kulturregion Midt- og Vestsjælland, *Kulturaftale 2011 - 2014,* 2010.

A6, Odsherred Kommune, *Musikskolepolitik,* 2010.

A7, Ministeriet for Fødevarer, Landbrug og Fiskeri, *Ansøgningsskema om tilskud til projekter vedrørende etablering af nye arbejdspladser og attraktive levevilkår i landdistrikterne, Odsherred Kulturfestival,* 2010.

A8, Odsherred Kommune, *Kommisorium, organisering og udpegninger i projekt "Uddannelse til alle",* 2011.

A9, Odsherred Kommune, *Anlægsbudget 2012 - 2015,* 2011.

A10, Odsherred Kulturhistorisk Museum, *Om os unge herude på LANDET,* 2011.

A11, Odsherred Kommune, *Planstrategi 2011 - Forslag til debat. Baggrund og data,* 2011.

A12, Odsherred Kommune, *Planstrategi 2011 - Forslag til debat,* 2011.

A13, Odsherred Kommune, *2. udkast til Folkeoplysningspolitik for Odsherred Kommune,* 2012.

A14, Økonomiudvalget, *Anlægsbudget 2013 - 2016,* 2012.

A15, Odsherred Kommune, *Arbejdsgrundlag ved Musuemsfusion,* 2012.

A16, Økonomiudvalget, *Budgetforslag 2013 - 2016,* 2012.

A17, Byrådet, *Budgetoplæg 2013 - 2016 for Odsherred Kommune,* 2012.

A18, Odsherred Kommune, *Folkeoplysningspolitik for Odsherred Kommune,* 2012.

A19, Museum Vestsjælland, *Forslag til vedtægter for Museum Odsherred,* 2012.

A20, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af anlægsmidler til Musikskolefaciliteter på Skolerne i Nykøbing; Billesvej,* 2012.

A21, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af anlægsmidler til ungdomshus i Asnæs,* 2012.

A22, Odsherred Kommune, *Handleplan og mål for uddannelse til alle*, 2012.

A23, Byrådet, *Koordinationsgruppe vedrørende Museumsstruktur i Odsherred,* 2012.

A24, Form Arkitekter, *Notat vedr indretning af Storegade 19,* 2012.

A25, Byrådet, *Odsherred Kommune Folkeoplysningspolitik,* 2012.

A26, Odsherred Kommune, *Projekt Uddannelse til alle, organisering, en kort oversigt,* 2012.

A27, Odsherred Kommune, *Projekter igangsat af Ad hoc udvalget for Uddannelse til alle, en oversigt*, 2012.

A28, Odsherred Kommune, *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle - kort version,* 2012.

A29, Odsherred Kommune, *Strategi for Uddannelse til alle,* 2012.

A30, Odsherred Kommune, *Strategiplan 2012 for Center for Kultur og Fritid,* 2012.

A31, Odsherred Kommune, *Uddannelsesregnskab pr. maj 2012,* 2012.

A32, Odsherred Kommune, *Projekt Uddannelse til alle i Odsherred Kommune - analyse og datagrundlag,* 2012.

A33, Økonomiudvalget, *Budgetoplæg 2014 - 2017,* 2013.

A34, Byrådet, *Budgetoplæg 2014-2017 for Odsherred Kommune,* 2013.

A35, Byrådet, *Endelig godkendelse af Musikskolepolitik,* 2013.

A36, Region Sjælland, *Evalueringsskema for projekter gennemført med tilskud fra regional udvikling og vækstforum Sjælland,* 2013.

A37, Økonomiudvalget, *Forslag til Budgetplan for Byrådets budgetlægning 2014 - 2017,* 2013.

A38, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af anlægsmidler til ungdomshus i Nykøbing,* 2013.

A39, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af resterende anlægsmidler til ungdomshus i Odsherred,* 2013.

A40, Center for Økonomi, *Resumé af indkomne høringssvar til budgetforslag 2014 - 2017,* 2013.

A41, Byrådet, *Odsherred Kommunale Ungdomsskole (Ung i Odhserred), bestyrelsen for,* 2013.

A42, Odsherred Kommune, *Årsregnskab 2012,* 2013.

A43, Odsherred Kulturfestival, *OK13 Pressemappe,* 2013.

A44, Odsherred Kommune, *Evalueringsrapport - Geopark Festival 2014,* 2014.

A45, Byrådet, *Frigivelse af anlægsmidler - Geo Kids projekt,* 2014.

A46, Byrådet, *Godkendelse af reviderede vedtægter for Ung i Odsherred,* 2014.

A47, Byrådet, *Godkendelse af Turismestrategien – Odsherred - det autentiske fristed,* 2014.

A48, Odsherred Kommune, *Årsregnskab 2013,* 2014.

A49, Statens Kunstfond, Projektstøtteudvalg for Scenekunst, *Evaluering af egnsteatre i Danmark,* 2014.

A50, Odsherred Kommune, *Organisationsdiagram,* 2014.

A51, Ung i Odsherred, *Referat til bestyrelsesmøde i Ung i Odsherred, 10. december,* 2014.

A52, Odsherred Teater, *Regnskab for Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013,* 2014.

A53, Vallekilde Højskole, *Strategi 2011 - 2015, revideret 2014,* 2014.

A54, Odsherred Turistråd, *Turismestrategi 2014-2020 - "Odsherred – det autentiske fristed!",* 2014.

A55, *Udgifter Geopark Festival 2014,* 2014.

A56, Ung i Odsherred, *Referat til bestyrelsesmøde i Ung i Odsherred, 29. oktober,* 2014.

A57, Vallekilde Højskole Elevforening, *Vedtægter, 15. maj 2014,* 2014.

A58, Odsherred Kommune, *Styrelsesvedtægt/Ungdomsskoleplan for Odsherred Kommunale Ungdomsskole: Vedtægter for "Ung i Odsherred",* 2014.

A59, Odsherred Kommune, Kalundborg Kommune and Odsherred Teater, *1. udkast, egnsteateraftale mellem Odsherred Teater og Odsherred Kommune og Kalundborg Kommune,* 2015.

A60, Byrådet, *Forlængelse af egnsteateraftale med Odsherred Teater for 2016,* 2015.

A61, Odsherred Kommune, *Designmanual for Odsherred Kommune,* 2015.

A62, Odsherred Teater, *Vedrørende ny aftale med Odsherred Teater,* 2015.

A63, Byrådet, *Forlængelse af egnsteateraftale med Odsherred Teater for perioden 2017 - 2020,* 2016.

A64, Odsherred Teater, *Vedtægter med ny adresse, Odsherred Teater,* 2016.

A65, Odsherred Teater, *Vedtægter med ny adresse, Odsherred Teater m. underskrifter,* 2016.

A66, Ung i Odsherred, *Referat af bestyrelsesmøde Ung i Odsherred, 27. november 2017,* 2017.

A67, Odsherred Kommune og Kalundborg Kommune, *Egnsteateraftale vedr. Odsherred Teater 2017-2020,* 2017.

A68, Odsherred Kommune, *Forslag til: Kommuneplan 2017 - 2029 for Odsherred Kommune,* 2017.

A69, Odsherred Kommune, *Kommuneplan 2017-2029 for Odsherred Kommune,* 2017.

A70, Odsherred Teater, *Regnskabet 2017,* 2017.

A71, Elevforeningen for Den Rytmiske Højskole, *Vedtægter for Elevforeningen for Den Rytmiske Højskole,* 2017.

A72, Museum Vestsjælland, *Museum Vestsjælland Samdriftsaftale,* 2018.

A73, *Liste over foreninger,* 2018.

A74, Odsherred Musikskole, *Vedtægter for Odsherred Musikskole,* 2018.

A75, Revisorgården Holbæk, *VF Ejendomme A/S, Årsrapport 2016/17,* 2018.

A76, Odsherred Teater, *Årsregnskab Odsherred Teater 2018,* 2018.

A77, Byrådet, *Anlægsbevilling til ny teatersal, 2019.*

A78, Byrådet, *Godkendelse af revideret samdriftsaftale og Økonomiaftale 2019 - 2021 vedr-Museum Vestsjælland,* 2019.

A79, Byrådet, *Beslutning vedrørende Naturskoletilbud efter august 2019 - genoptagelse,* 2019.

A80, Statens Kunstfonds Projektstøtteudvalg for Scenekunst, *Evaluering af egnsteatre i Danmark – Odsherred Teater,* 2019.

A81, Ovnhus, *Ovnhus vedtægter,* 2019.

A82, Statens Kunstfond, *Evaluering af Odsherred Teater,* 2019.

A83, Odsherred Kommune, *Turismestrategi Odsherred 2019 - 2024,* 2019.

A84, Vig Festival, *Vedtægter for Foreningen Vig Festival,* 2019.

A85, Revisorgården, *Vig Fonden Årsrapport for 2018,* 2019.

A86, Odsherred Kommune, *Organisationsdiagram,* 2020.

B. Pictures

I have taken photographs during fieldwork. This collection of photographs include artworks, events, a few buildings, and some localities.

B1, Vejrhøj.

B2, Ulkerupfolket.

B3, Verstärker, Udo Leis.

B4, Tinghuset.

B5, Tang.

B6, Svinninge Vejle.

B7, Street art Nykøbing Sjælland.

B8, SMK.

B9, Second Home advert.

B10, Second Home advert, text

B11, Odsherred. Landskabet, lyset, livet.

B12, Direct action

B13, LANDET – Should I Stay or Should I Go?

B14, Skater scar

B15, Poster, Pakhuset

B16, Pakhuset.

B17, Odsherred Teater, program.

B18, Parade.

B19, Odden Coffee Beans.

B20, Notice board.

B21, Morild.

B22, Morning Assembly.

B23, My bike.

B24, Painting at Vallekilde.

B25, Folkemøde.

B26, Sculpture, Folkemødet i Odsherred.

B27, Lammefjorden.

B28, Krogh, Passageways.

B29, Krogh, Passageways 2.

B30, Krogh.

B31, Kitamoto, cup.

B32, Kirkelyd, Poster.

B33, Efterårslandskab.

B34, Vig Bio.

B35, Vig Bio 2.

B36, Hills and fields.

B37, Ocean.

B38, Fields.

B39, Road through fields.

B40, Coach.

B41, Martin Nybo, cup.

B42, Martin Nybo, Ceramic work.

B43, Peter Hesk, Passageways.

B44, Forfatterskolen for Unge i Midt og vestsjælland..

B45, Nanna Foss.

B46, Nanna Foss 2.

B47, Honkey Tonk Town

B48, Lokalkompagniet

B49, Anneberg.

B50, Anneberg 2.

B51, Shop.

B52, Skatepark.

B53, Asgaard Rocker.

B54, Galleri Svanen.

B55, Odsherred Musikskole

B56, Gravhøj.

B57, The Light.

B58, Sculpture.

B59, Seaweed performance.

B60, Litt Talk.

B61, Landart, Høve.

B62, Seaweed performance 2.

B63, Det Vilde Køkken.

B64, Verdens Længste Frokostbord.

B65, Svenstrup forsamlingshus.

B66, Brochure stand.

B67, AKIO.

B68, Charlotte Krogh, painting.

B69, Sunrise at Vejrhøj.

B71, Folkemødet i Odsherred.

B72, Asnæs 1899.

B73, Art Galleries.

B74, Esterhøj.

B75, Øvelseshuset.

B76, Foredragssalen, detail.

B77, Korskirken.

B78, Gravhøj.

B79, Jørgen Teller, Kirkelyd.

B80, Lys, liv og landskaber, sign.

C. Sound Recordings

I regularly make sound recordings of places and events. I have selected a sample of recordings from Odsherred that document sonic dimensions of culture.

C1, Fields.

C2, Birds.

C3, Car.

C4, Vejrhøj.

C5, Children in Hørve Fritidscenter.

C6, Dan, 72 years old, Odsherred.

C7, Library, reading the newspaper with coffee.

C8, Excerpt from *Concert for damaged piano*.

C9, Excerpt from *To halvgamle gnavne mænd.*

C10, Excerpt, from *Goodbye Kitty K*, live, Asgaard Rockfestival.

C11, Excerpt from *SMK, live, Vallekilde Højskole*.

C12, Asgaard Rock Festival.

C13, Rødderne.

C14, Skateboard.

C15, Algade 15.30, 5 september, two women talking.

C16, Vig Kirke.

C17, Thomas Adelskov, Speech, Folkemødet i Odsherred.

D. Artefacts

I have collected various kinds of artefacts. The type is specified after the name.

D1, Odsherred Kulturfestival 2013, *poster*.

D2, Geopark Festival 2015, *poster*.

D3, Huset i Asnæs, *poster*.

D4, Odsherred Teater, *flyer*.

D5, Odsherred Kammermusik festival 2018, *poster*.

D6, OVNHUS kunsthåndværkermarked 2018, *flyer*.

D7, Musikforeningen Drauget 2018, *program.*

D8, Klassisk sommer 2018, *program.*

D9, Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening, *flyer.*

D10, Odsherred teater 18/19, *program.*

D11, Asgaard rocker festival, *flyer.*

D12, Bosætningsreklame, *flyer.*

D13, Folkemødet i Odsherred, *program.*

D14, Sidinge Gårdbutik, *flyer.*

D15, Odsherred påskønner, *flyer.*

D16, Hverdag i Geoparken, Albert Madsen, *CD.*

D17, Geopark Festival 2018, Vibehus, *program.*

D18, Ulvsborg historisk værksted, *flyer.*

D19, Børnenes billedværksted, *flyer.*

D20, Børnedemokratirådet, *program.*

D21, Hempel Glasmuseum, *flyer.*

D22, Hempel Glasmuseum, *program.*

D23, Kunsterbyen, *flyer.*

D24, Geosange, *program.*

D25, Vindekilde, *map.*

D26, Landsbymakeover, *brochure.*

D27, Vallekilde til Jerusalem, *book.*

D28, Geopark Festival 2017, *balloon.*

D29, Peters, *book.*

D30, Geopark Odsherred, "Odsherred. Landskabet, Lyset, Livet," *book.*

D31, Folkemødet i Odsherred, *t-shirt.*

D32, Odsherred læser, *t-shirt.*

D33, #Geopark festival, *t-shirt.*

D34, Kurt Sørensen, Odsherred arkitektur, *book.*

D35, Nana Foss, Spektrum, *book.*

D36, Birgit Krogh, *book.*

D37, Kristian Massey-Møller, *book.*

D38, Vig Bio, *program.*

D39, Geopark festival 2018, *program.*

D40, Odsherred Teater, sæsonprogram 17/18, *program.*

D41, Odsherred Teater, To halvgamle mænd, *flyer.*

D42, VisitOdsherred, *map.*

D43, VisitOdsherred, "kunst og kultur i Odsherred," *brochure.*

D44, Odsherred Teater, *book.*

D45, Geopark Odsherred, *map.*

D46, VisitOdsherred, *Find vej i Geopark Odsherred*, *brochure.*

D47, Forfatterskolen for unge, *flyer.*

D48, Odsherreds kunstdage i pinsen 2018, *map.*

D49, Odsherreds kunstdage i pinsen 2018, *program.*

D50, kunstnersammenslutningen Morild 2018, *flyer.*

D51, Charlotte Weitze, Brevbæreren, *book.*

E. Interviews

During fieldwork I conducted interviews with members of various arts and cultural organisations in Odsherred, with artists, and with individual persons. All names are anonymised. There are three interview guides included at the end of the appendix.

Organisations

E1, Erik Lehnsherr, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

E2, Gordon, Rachel, *Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

E3, Jonathan Sacco, *ex-Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse.*

E4, Jean Grey, Jimmi Olsen, Alfred, Kitty Pride, Emma Frost, Alexa A, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred Kommune.*

E5, Alfred, *Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred kommune.*

E6, Charles Xavier, Claire Night, Danny, Henry, Gwen, Jonah J, *Odsherred Teater.*

E7, Susan Linden, *Ung i Odsherred.*

E8, Dana, *Odsherreds Museum.*

E9, Niles N., *Kunst og Kultur, Team Odsherred.*

E10, Charles Xavier, *Odsherred Teater.*

E11, Romanov, Roxy, *Huset i Asnæs.*

E12, Daisy, *Geopark Festival.*

E13, Barbara, Rebecca, *Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening.*

E14, John Byrne, Chris C., *Den Rytmiske Højskole.*

E15, Brian B., *Dragsholm Slot.*

E16, Delilah, *Hempel Glasmuseum.*

E17, James P, *Del din passion, Radio Odsherred.*

E18, North, *Foreningen Norden.*

E19, Karen Page, *Korskirken.*

E20, Ben U., *Odsherred Musikskole.*

E21, Ben U., *Odsherreds Kammermusikfestival.*

E22, Talmon, *Odden Kirke.*

E23, Billy, *Odsherred Museumsforening.*

E24, Sarah S., *Teater og Musik i Odsherred.*

E25, Erica, *Drauget.*

E26, Kitty Pride, *Forfatterskolen for Unge i Midt og Vestsjælland.*

E27, Ora, Nora, Zora, *Kunstnersammenslutningen Morild.*

E28, Melinda, *Nykøbing Kirke.*

E29, Martin, Michael, Marius, Samuel, *Odsherred sangskriverklub.*

E30, Anne, Bella, Duke, *Ovnhus..*

E31, Frank Castle, *Ung i Odsherred.*

E32, Bruno, Brian, Grace, Erica, *Vallekilde Højskole.*

E33, Wilson W., *Vig Bio.*

E34, John, Adam, Everett, *Vig Festival.*

E35, Scott, *Vig Kirke.*

Artists

E36, Jessica Drew, *Ceramic artist.*

E37, K, *Ceramic artist.*

E38, Eve E., *Writer, fiction.*

E39, J. Jones, *Ceramic artist.*

E40, Kevin MacTaggert, *Ceramic artist*, and Moira MacTaggert, *Jewelry.*

E41, Sean Cassidy, *Sculptor.*

E42, Nika, *Writer, fiction.*

Individuals

E43, M.J., *student.*

E44, Nelson, *Parkour teacher*, and Mariko, *cultural organiser*.

E45, Micro scooter boys.

E46, Robin, *Musician, student.*

E47, Rødderne, *former scooter 'gang'*

E48, Serinda, *Musician, cultural organiser*.

E49, Hank, *Skater*.

E50, Inhabitants, Vallekilde Mapping #1.

E51, Inhabitants, Vallekilde Mapping #2.

F. Participant experiences

F1, 100 unge, 100 ideer, *event* (2012)

F2, Zombier i Provinsen, *event* (2012)

F3, Greg MacPherson, *concert* (2012)

F4, Mutiny on the Bounty, *concert* (2012)

F5, Litt Talk Festival, (2013)

F6, T.R. Kirstein, Parallelismer, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F7, Marinos Koutsomikalis, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F8, Jørgen Teller, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F9, Vallekilde og omegn indsatsenhed for anvendt elektroakustik, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F10, James Webb, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F11, Maiken Vibe Bauer, Kirkelyd, *concert* (2013)

F12, Halløj på bøhlandet, *theatre* (2013)

F13, War. Du skulle ha været der, *theatre* (2013)

F14, Leftovers of the war, *theatre* (2013)

F15, Concert for broken piano, *concert* (2013)

F16, Odsherreds Kammermusikfestival, *concert* (2013)

F17, Verdens længste frokostbord, *event* (2013)

F18, Lydcyklerne, *event* (2013)

F19, Danset på Rørvig havn, *concert* (2013)

F20, Fremtidsspor, *audiowalk* (2013)

F21, Kulturmentor, Poïesis, *event* (2013)

F22, Litt Talk Festival, *event* (2014)

F23, August Rosenbaum, *concert* (2014)

F24, Jakob Bro, *concert* (2014)

F25, Kissaway Trail, *concert* (2014)

F26, SMK, *concert* (2014)

F27, Eat the Locals, *event* (2014)

F28, Go! Local, *event* (2014)

F29, Ungekulturpris, *event* (2014)

F30, Star Gazing Cinema, Geopark Festival, *event* (2014)

F31, Skamlebæk Radiostation, Geopark Festival, *event* (2014)

F32, Hestevognstur i Grevinge Skov, Geopark Festival, *event* (2014)

F33, Vig Festival, *event* (2014)

F34, Pim og Theo, *theatre* (2014)

F35, Vallekilde Julemarked, *arts market* (2014)

F36, Litt Talk Festival, *event* (2015)

F37, Bremer / McCoy, *concert* (2015)

F38, Mike Sheridan, Colors, concert (2015)

F39, Velkommen til Twin Peaks, *theatre* (2015)

F40, Mike Sheridan, August Rosenbaum, Jakob Bro, "Solo," *concert* (2015)

F41, Tang, Geopark Festival, *performance* (2015)

F42, Colors, Hempel Glasmuseum, *exhibition* (2015)

F43, Hverdagen er en fest, Odsherred Kunstmuseum, *exhibition* (2015)

F44, OVNHUS kunsthåndværkermarked, *craft market* (2015)

F45, Odsherreds Kunstdage i Pinsen, *art market* (2015)

F46, Litt Talk Festival, *event* (2016)

F47, Vallekilde Højskole, *guided tour* (2016)

F48, Adelers huse, guided tour (2016)

F49, Åbning, Geopark Festival, *event* (2016)

F50, Litt Talk Festival, *event* (2017)

F51, Dragsholm Slot, *dining* (2017)

F52, Det Vilde Køkken, *dining* (2017)

F53, Folkemøde i Odsherred, *event* (2018)

F54, Asgaard Rockfestival, *event* (2018)

F55, To halvgamle gnavne mænd, *theatre* (2018)

F56, Huset i Asnæs, *exhibition* (2018)

G. Participant Observation

G1, Kulturledermøde (2018)

G2, Talk Town (2018)

G3, Folkemøde i Odsherred, organiser's meeting (2018)

H. Interview guides

The interviews were all in Danish. These are translated versions of the interview guides and protocols.

Organisations

1. The research project is explained
2. The use of the interview data is explained
3. They are informed that they will be recorded, that the data will be anonymised and that they can always withdraw their statements.

Focus	Questions	Follow-up questions
Self-image and positioning How do they introduce and position themselves relative to the conversation about culture?	#1 Please introduce yourself/yourselves? #2 What is your relation to Odsherred	
Organisation How do they understand the purpose of the organisation?	#1 How will you explain what it is your organisation does?	Add. 1. Please elaborate
Practice How do they understand and describe their practices?	#1 Can you describe how you do what you do?	Add. 1. Go into details of the practices they describe.

Resources How do they understand what resources they rely on?	#1 What resources do you need to do what you do? #2 How do you mobilise the resources you need?	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify. Add. 2. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Cognitive mapping What other organisations are they connected with in Odsherred?	#1 Please draw the organisations you are connected with #2 Please explain how.	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Reflection How do they think about their cognitive map?	#1 What do you think about the map you have made? #2 What does these connections do?	Add. 1. Why? Add. 2. Why? Add. 2. How?
Structural Reform How do they see the relation between their organisation and the Structural Reform?	#1 Was your organisation affected by the Structural Reform?	Add. 1. How?

4. Is there anything you would like to add in closing?

Artists

1. The research project is explained

2. The use of the interview data is explained

3. They are informed that they will be recorded, that the data will be anonymised and that they can always withdraw their statements.

Focus	Questions	Follow-up questions
Self-image and positioning How do they introduce and position themselves relative to the conversation about art and culture?	#1 Please introduce yourself/yourselves? #2 What is your relation to Odsherred	

Artform How do they understand their own production of art?	#1 How will you explain what it is you do?	Add. 1. Please elaborate
Practice How do they understand and describe their practices?	#1 Can you describe how you do what you do?	Add. 1. Go into details of the practices they describe.
Resources How do they understand what resources they rely on?	#1 What resources do you need to do what you do? #2 How do you mobilise the resources you need?	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify. Add. 2. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Cognitive mapping What other organisations are they connected with in Odsherred?	#1 Please draw the organisations and artists you are connected with #2 Please explain how.	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Reflection How do they think about their cognitive map?	#1 What do you think about the map you have made? #2 What does these connections do?	Add. 1. Why? Add. 2. Why? Add. 2. How?
Structural Reform How do they see the relation between their work as artists and the Structural Reform?	#1 Were your work affected by the Structural Reform?	Add. 1. How?

4. Is there anything you would like to add in closing?

3. Young people

1. The research project is explained

2. The use of the interview data is explained

3. They are informed that they will be recorded, that the data will be anonymised and that they can always withdraw their statements.

4.

Focus	Questions	Follow-up questions
Self-image and positioning How do they introduce and position themselves relative to the conversation about culture?	#1 Please introduce yourself? #2 What is your relation to Odsherred	
Course of life How do they understand the sequence of things in their lives?	#1 Will you draw the course of your life, in reverse?	Add. 1. Please elaborate on: Education Projects Leisure time Groups
Reflection How do they understand the life choices they have mentioned so far?	#1 What do you think about your course of life? #2 What do you think connects the individual elements?	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Experiences with culture How do they understand their use of culture in Odsherred?	#1 Please draw the culture you use and have used. #2 Please draw the culture you have been a part of producing.	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify. Add. 2. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Youth groups and culture What knowledge do they have about youth groups and how do they understand young people's use of culture and production of culture?	#1 Please draw the groups of young people that you know of. #2 How do the individual groups do what they do?	Add. 1. Go into details of the themes they identify.
Attitudes towards to culture How do they evaluate and valuate culture; what is important to them? How do they think their peers evaluate and valuate culture?	#1 What do you think about culture in your part of Odsherred? #2 What do you think about culture in Odsherred in general? #3 What do you think your	Add. 1. Why? Add. 2. Why? Add. 3. How is that

	friends think about culture?	expressed?
Obstacles How have they experienced to be prevented from participating in culture– either as user og producer?	#1 What have you experienced as obstacles to your use of culture? #2 What have you experienced as obstacles to your production of culture?	Add. 1. How? Add. 2. How?
Concept How do they understand culture? How do they understand art?	#1 Based on our conversation, how would you describe your understanding of culture? #2 Do you think there is a difference between art and culture (if so, which?)?	Add. 1. Elaborate, please Ad. 2. Elaborate, please

5. Is there anything you would like to add in closing?

LIST OF DANISH NAMES TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

I have translated the most central Danish names that occur in the text. When translating the Danish names into English, I have chosen precision over elegance. Consequently, to a Danish speaker, some of the English names may read as somewhat clumsy.

Indenrigsministeriet:	Danish Ministry of the Interior
Del din passion:	Share Your Passion
Den Rytmiske Højskole:	The Rhythmic [folk]Highschool
Det Vilde Køkken:	The Wild Kitchen
Dragsholm Lokalhistorisk Forening:	Dragsholm Local Historical Association
Dragsholm Slot:	Dragsholm Castle
Drauget:	Drauget
Folkemøde i Odsherred:	People's Assembly in Odsherred
Foreningen Norden:	The Union the North, or, The Association the North.
Forfatterskolen for unge i Midt- og Vestsjælland:	The Writer's School for Young People in Mid- and West Zealand.
Hempel Glasmuseum:	Hempel Glass Museum
Huset i Asnæs:	The House in Asnæs
Korskirken:	The Cross Church
Kulturforvaltning, Odsherred commune:	Cultural department, Municipality of Odsherred
Kulturleder:	Cultural manager, or, Cultural leader
Kulturministeriet:	Danish Ministry of Culture
Kunst og kultur, Team Odsherred:	Art and Culture, Team Odsherred
Kunstnersammenslutningen Morild:	Artist Association Morild.
Landet:	The countryside
Malergården:	The painter farm
Odsherred bibliotek og kulturhuse:	Odsherred library and community centres
Odsherred kommune:	Municipality of Odsherred

Odsherred kulturhistorisk museum:	Odsherred museum of Cultural History
Odsherred kunstmuseum:	Odsherred Art Museum
Odsherred Museumsforening:	Odsherred Museum Association
Odsherred Musikskole:	Odsherred Music school
Odsherred sangskriverklub:	Odsherred Songwriter Club
Odsherred Teater:	Odsherred Theatre
Odsherreds Kammermusikfestival:	Chamber Music Festival of Odsherred
Odsherreds museum:	Museum of Odsherred
Odsherreds kunstdage i Pinsen:	Art Days in the Pentecost in Odsherred
Odsherredmalerne:	The Odsherred painters
OVNHUS Kunsthåndværkermarked:	Kiln House Crafts Market
Regionstoget:	The Regional Train
Teater og musik i Odsherred:	Theatre and Music in Odsherred
Ung i Odsherred:	Young in Odsherred
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