

Cultural Policy Transformations: The Rise of Illiberalism

**Working Meeting organised by the Research Cluster on
Arts Production and Cultural Policy in Transformation (ACPT)**

5 and 6 March 2020 | Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen, Germany

This meeting is targeted at discussing contemporary cultural policy transformations, specifically the rise of illiberal and populist parties and movements and finding ways how to address these developments through research collaboration.

The international cultural policy researchers invited will address urgent questions such as:

- | How do the rise of populist, nationalist and illiberal parties and movements affect cultural policy and the production of arts?
- | How do measures such as censorship and media control, budget cuts and exchange of leadership personnel impact art and cultural institutions?
- | How do art and cultural institutions act and react upon those transformations of cultural policies?
- | How do counter-movements form and how do they try and react, e.g. by means of creative protest?
- | What is the role of cities e.g. as spaces of progress, freedom and tolerance—and how does this relate to developments in peripheral and rural regions?
- | What kind of cultural policy discourses do right-or left-wing, populist forces generate, how do they influence decision-making and the public sphere?

The meeting is organised by the [Research Cluster on Arts Production and Cultural Policy in Transformation \(ACPT\)](#) based at Zeppelin University (ZU). The Research Cluster ACPT unites different research areas across ZU to enable an interdisciplinary approach on the central fields of cultural production, cultural organisations and policy as well as the transformation of audiences within the university and through various collaborations with international researchers and practitioners.

Programme

Thursday, 5 March 2020

Location: ZU Campus Seemooser Horn | Room LZ1

Am Seemooser Horn 20, 88045 Friedrichshafen

- 10:00–10:10 **Opening Address**
Josef Wieland
ZU President (ad interim), Vice-President of Research
- 10:10–10:30 **Welcome and Introduction**
Martin Tröndle
Head of the Research Cluster ACPT, WÜRTH Chair of Cultural Production
- 10:30–12:30 **Presentations and Discussions Part I: Comparative Perspectives**
- 10:30–11:00 **Tal Feder** (Indiana University)
(20 minutes presentation, 10 minutes discussion)
- 11:00–11:30 **Mariano Martín Zamorano** (University of Barcelona)
- 11:30–12:00 **Banu Karaca** (Forum Transregionale Studien)
- 12:00–12:30 **Discussion**
- 12:30–13:30 **Lunch Break**
- 13:30–16:00 **Presentations and Discussions Part II: National Situations**
- 13:30–14:00 **Tobias Harding** (University College of South-East Norway)
- 14:00–14:30 **Goran Tomka and Višnja Kisic** (University of Belgrade/Novi Sad)
- 14:30–15:00 **Aron Weigl** (EDUCULT Vienna)
- 15:00–15:30 **Claudia Steigerwald** (Zeppelin University)
- 15:30–16:00 **Discussion**
- 16:00–16:30 **Coffee Break**
- 16:30–19:00 **Presentations and Discussions Part III: Cultural Institutions & Cities and Peripheries**
- 16:30–17:00 **Nanna Kann-Rasmussen** (University of Copenhagen)
- 17:00–17:30 **Marcin Poprawski** (University of Poznan)
- 17:30–18:00 **Anke Schad-Spindler** (Zeppelin University)
- 18:00–18:30 **Constance deVereaux** (University of Connecticut)
- 18:30–19:00 **Discussion**
- 19:00 **Official End**

Comparative Perspectives

TAL FEDER

The War of the Art Worlds

Offense and Defense of Art in Contemporary Illiberal Regimes

In recent years, we are witnessing unprecedented attacks on the art world coming from governments in countries that had been swept in the current wave of populism, nationalism and illiberalism. The attacks on the art world are accompanied often by reforms aiming to gain a stronger hold on the judicial system and the media. However, compared to the latter, art (and contemporary art in particular) is usually not regarded as a powerful component of the socio-political system, therefore, rendering the attack on it worthy of further exploration. I study what justifications for state intervention in the art are used in illiberal democracies, what are the means of such intervention and how it affects the attitude of agents in the art world towards public support and its justification?

I claim that the art world couldn't have come under attack if it hadn't been already funded and managed by the government to a considerable extent in the first place. Hence, both government and art world agents are inclined to frame their discourse around this intervention under a paradigm of cultural policy where public arts support is regarded as an a-priory fact and the resulting conflict is centered around its mode of justifications rather than its very existence. In that clash of narratives between the government and the art world, the former is propelled towards employing a didactic approach to art while the latter a romantic approach that undermines both sides' ability to present a wider conception of cultural policy and the place of art in society.

I demonstrate these processes in the case of Israel's recent "loyalty in culture" law debate and with additional case studies from Brazil, Hungary and Poland.

Tal Feder is an Israel Science Foundation (ISF) Post Doctoral Fellow at the Center for Cultural Affairs, Indiana University. His current research focuses on access to art and cultural policy. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Haifa in a joint program with Humboldt University, Berlin.

[Further information](#)

MARIANO MARTÍN ZAMORANO**Cultural Policies Under Illiberal Populism**
A Conceptual Framework

After World War II, different cultural policy models were established as part of European welfare systems. These models involved specific political traditions and levels of state involvement in the cultural field (Chartrand, H., McCaughey, 1989; Urfalino, 1996; Zimmer, A., Toepler, 1996). Beyond these specificities, most European countries progressively expanded their cultural budgets and the scope of their cultural programs, adopting a more inclusive concept of culture. Later, cultural democracy fostered the widening of aesthetic repertoires to be promoted by the state and widespread access to culture worldwide (Dubois, 1999; Bonet, L., Négrier, 2011; Poirrier, 2011). However, two transformations changed this scenario. On the one hand, the entrepreneurial turn in cultural management has questioned cultural democracy principles over the last decades. On the other hand, new far-right parties in government across the world are bringing out a cultural policy that breaks with the left-right consensus of liberal democracies. These radical governments are advancing corporatist mechanisms to foster homogenizing and conservative definitions of national culture, which they frequently enact through populist strategies (Dragicevic Šešic, 2011; Almeida, 2017; Bozóki, 2017; Lewandowska, 2018). This presentation proposes a conceptual framework to characterize cultural policies inscribed in these new authoritarian and populist political projects. Based on thorough literature review and the analysis of national experiences of Poland, Hungary and Brazil, this research reveals that these policies share three main elements. First, the explicit embracing of an exclusionary understanding of culture. Second, the implementation of concrete legal, governance and economic mechanisms to enforce it, including indirect censorship, stigmatization of social groups or prosecution of artists. Lastly, the establishment of unequal populist strategies which, from a Laclauian perspective (Laclau, 2005), serve to instrumentalize authoritarian cultural policies under a renewed elite-people distinction.

Mariano Martín Zamorano holds a PhD in Culture and Heritage Management from the University of Barcelona (UB). Since 2010, he is member of the Center for the Study of Culture, Politics and Society (CECUPS) at the University of Barcelona. His current research focuses on the new forms of governance in the cultural policy domain and the impact of internationalization and branding in its current design and orientations.

[Further information](#)

BANU KARACA**The Struggle Against Memory:
A Comparative Look at Recent Cultural Policy Developments
in Turkey and Germany**

This paper proposes to read recent developments in Turkish and German cultural policy side by side in order to understand how the rise of authoritarian and right-wing politics have engendered strategies to attack cultural memory. In Turkey, it has been especially the failed coup attempt of July 2016 that has fostered the material and discursive conditions of forgetting in the cultural arena. Not only have artists and arts institutions increasingly turned into targets of legal harassment and persecution, but archives have been confiscated and monuments and statues have been dismantled. In Germany, recent initiatives to map and protect Syrian heritage and the process of establishing Humboldt Forum advertently and inadvertently work through historical revisionism at the time when the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) has made culture and the arts one of their prime concerns. The presentation aims to examine these attempts at refashioning regimes of memory against the background that debates on freedom of expression already have been taken up by the political right for the past few years.

Banu Karaca works at the intersection of political anthropology and critical theory, art and aesthetics, nationalism and cultural policy, museums and feminist memory studies. She holds a PhD from the Graduate Center, CUNY. Her recent publications interrogate the freedom of expression in the arts, the visualization of gendered memories of war and political violence, and visual literacy. She is the co-founder of Siyah Bant, a research platform that documents censorship in the arts in Turkey. In the academic year 2019/20 she will return as a EUME Fellow supported by the VolkswagenStiftung through its funding initiative "Original – isn't it? New Options for the Humanities and Cultural Studies".

[Further information](#)

National Situations

TOBIAS HARDING

Swedish Cultural Policy and the Challenge of Illiberalism

Cultural Policy in the Nordic countries has long been characterized by broad political consensus, a focus on access and inclusion, and a version of the arm's length principle giving active roles to artist organizations. These cultural policies could be understood as being closely connected to national self-identity. Especially in the Swedish case, cultural policy has been tied to an identification with modernity; a vision of society including popular enlightenment—or folkbildning, 'popular Bildung'—through education and cultural policy, the welfare state, and high levels of trust in the government and in organized civil society. At present, this vision is increasingly the subject of nostalgia, and perceived to be under threat. This presentation takes its point of departure in this general state of implicit and explicit cultural policy in Sweden, to discuss the present situation using examples from recent studies. As new political divisions are becoming increasingly important, cultural policy becomes a contested area, including a number of symbolically critical issues, e.g. government support for immigrant and Muslim organizations, politically controversial modern art, and political influence on the arts. In current debates, the arm's length principle is often still widely supported. Both the political right and the political left raise claims that open society, and the autonomy of arts and culture, are under threat from the opposing side; by government regulation, or by the influence of market liberal and conservative forces, and by the populist Sweden Democrats. At present, the Sweden Democrats appear to be the main beneficiaries of this change in political discourse. Their cultural policy stands out in its explicit focus on supporting Swedish cultural identity, and demands for stopping all support for (other) explicitly political culture. What was once a stable political area characterized by a broad consensus is now becoming a symbolical battlefield where rapid change appears increasingly possible.

Tobias Harding is a Professor at University College of South-East Norway. His background is in political science, history of religion and culture studies. In the early 2000's, he started doing research on national identity and the institutional development of Swedish cultural policy. Later research has concerned topics such as heritage policy, civil society, religious heritage, secularization and cultural policy, and the concept of 'Bildung'.

[Further information](#)

VIŠNJA KISIC & GORAN TOMKA**Good Old Culture?
Problematizing Shared Assumptions Across the
Liberal/Illiberal Divide**

Serbian cultural policy, like many other, has been sliding to the populist right for years. The culmination of it is the newly adopted National Strategy of Culture which celebrates heroic, nationalist, traditional, masculine culture. Under the same regime, however, institutional culture has seen surge in public spending with several major museum openings, building of new cultural venues and a successful ECoC bid of Novi Sad. At the opposing end of Serbian cultural field, the Association of Independent Art Scene has been fighting government on numerous fronts. However, in their latest advocacy campaign (for 1% state budget for culture), they have inadvertently aligned with the National Strategy which plans the same policy goal.

In this intervention, we argue that there is a shared troubling assumption across the political spectrum that any spending in culture is money well spent, which stems from a deeper understanding of cultural field as a high moral ground. We posit, that such political position hinders critique and that way ahead would have to involve repoliticising cultural field and critically observing wider consequences of cultural spending.

Višnja Kisic is a researcher, educator and practitioner in the heritage and museum field. Her work focuses on relations between heritage, contemporary politics, societal issues and identities. She is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Sport and Tourism Novi Sad, Serbia, lecturer at UNESCO Chair MA in Cultural Policy and Management Belgrade and University Hassan II Casablanca, and visiting professor at the University Lyon II and the International Relations University Beijing.

[Further information](#)

Goran Tomka is a researcher and lecturer in the field of audience studies, new media, cultural diversity and cultural policy and management. He is assistant professor at the TIMS Faculty from Novi Sad, and UNESCO Chair in cultural policy and management from Belgrade, Serbia. He holds a doctoral degree in culture and media studies from the University of Arts in Belgrade.

[Further information](#)

ARON WEIGL

**Culture as the Battlefield – Cultural Policy as its
Insignificant Counterpart
Populists' Cultural Policies in Austria**

“A cultural battle is raging, and we are the leaders.” (Heinz-Christian Strache 2011)

According to the variety of populist and illiberal parties and movements in Europe (and the world), also their approaches towards culture and cultural policy are partly unclear and differ widely. As a matter of principle, some of them reject state funding of arts and culture as just another act of elitism and some oppose the ideas of freedom of expression, cultural democracy and artistic diversity and thereby the fundamental pillars of modern cultural policy. Others try to manipulate arts and culture for their purpose or do not pursue a particular own cultural policy in the traditional understanding of arts funding. Even vanguard aesthetical methods are used to reach young audiences or a purely traditional folk culture is supported to evoke an autochthonous spirit of traditions.

What is the relationship of Austrian populist, nationalist and illiberal parties and movements to cultural policy and the arts? The presentation will tackle this question by comparing the cultural policies of the two right-wing governments in the 21st century in Austria (2000–2006 and 2017–2019). Firstly, the cultural political strategies and their effects on the arts and cultural sector will be analyzed. Secondly, the reactions of cultural stakeholders and their forms of resistance shall be examined, taking into account the special role of the city of Vienna. This should not lose sight of the possibility that cultural discourses can be shifted into other policy areas, and so cultural policy becomes either insignificant or more than ever societal policy.

Aron Weigl studied cultural sciences and aesthetic practice at the University of Hildesheim and received a doctor's degree in the subject cultural policy. Since 2016, Aron Weigl is working at EDUCULT in the field of research and consulting, with a special focus on cultural policy and arts education. Since 2018, he is managing director. Besides, he is member of the scientific committee of the International Conference for Cultural Policy Research (icpr).

[Further information](#)

CLAUDIA STEIGERWALD**Arts Education as a Means of Cultural Policy:
A Comparison of Narratives Rooted in Socioculture and Germany's
Right-Wing Populist Party AfD**

Since the 1970ies, arts education—or more precisely “kulturelle Bildung”—has established itself more and more as a political focus in German cultural policy: Having mainly been shaped and supported by actors of sociocultural change and a participatory approach towards culture, we could observe a return of a *bourgeois* notion centered on the individual and the promise of “creativity” within liberal and conservative parties’ programs in the last two decades, leading to an increased awareness for the topic in all political parties. Projects and initiatives in the field of kulturelle Bildung could attract funding by the state, foundations and other entities of civil society.

Interestingly, the right-wing populist party AfD, which has gained access to the German Bundestag and several regional parliaments in the last few years, has also included kulturelle Bildung on their cultural policy agenda and strives for a reinterpretation of the concept. In this short talk, I will point out some of AfD’s positions in comparison to the narratives so far present. I am interested in whether there might be parallels to other populist parties on a European or international level.

Dr. Claudia Steigerwald has focused on the history of arts education as a concept in German cultural policy in her research at Zeppelin University. Before, she has monitored a project concerning the quality of arts education in all-day schools. Currently, she works as a freelance research consultant in the area of arts education and cultural participation for communities and projects at the interface between public and private funding.

[Further information](#)

Cultural Institutions

NANNA KANN-RASMUSSEN

Activism in Library, Museum and Archive (LAM) Institutions

How do cultural institutions act and react in times of political change? Several researchers have argued that cultural institutions today position themselves as live constituents in efforts to promote change—be it social, cultural, political or environmental. There is a growing awareness of the surrounding world in the cultural institutions. I would even argue that cultural organizations are becoming activists. In this way the idea of neutralism in cultural institutions is being challenged these years. But how and why is this happening?

Regarding the “how” I wish to present and discuss two types of engagement that cultural institutions perform. The first one regards the facilitation of activism. This is the case when e.g. a museum or a library provides rooms or facilities for activists. The second type of engagement regards the cases where employees of the library, museum or archive themselves become activists or agents of change. This type of engagement can take place on a more or less discursive level.

Regarding the “why” I suggest that there are more reasons to explore than only the rise of illiberalism. I wish to initiate a discussion of how other political and social trends work with or against the rise of illiberalism with the purpose of understanding what is going on in cultural institutions today.

Nanna Kann-Rasmussen is Associate Professor at the Department for Communication, University of Copenhagen. Her research regards cultural institutions and cultural policy. She is particularly interested in the relationship between cultural institutions and society. This affects how cultural institutions legitimize themselves, the leadership and organization of the cultural institutions and how they change. She is the editor in chief of the peer reviewed journal NTIK (Nordic Journal of Information Studies and Cultural Mediation).

[Further information](#)

MARCIN POPRAWSKI**Cultural Organisations and the Aura of Nationalists' Populism in Poland****The Reconnaissance and Typology of Resistance and Opportunism Patterns in Public Arts & Culture Institutions**

This contribution will focus on the analysis of several recent cases of leadership, financial, programming and content changes in Polish museum and theatres caused by direct and indirect interventions of ruling political party representatives. The aim of the presentation is to propose the typology of political intervention tools and methods, as well as both the resistance patterns and opportunistic reactions chosen by institutions' leaders, organizations' personnel, regional and local cultural policy actors. The discussion is based on the range of selected cases: The Silesian Museum (Katowice), POLIN Museum of History of Polish Jews (Warsaw), Museum of the Second World War (Gdansk), European Solidarity Centre (Gdansk), The National Museum in Warsaw, The National Museum in Cracow, Powszechny Theatre (Warsaw), Polski Theatre (Wroclaw), Stary Theatre (Krakow), Malta Festival (Poznan), Arsenal. Contemporary Art Gallery (Poznan) and Ujazdowski Castle Center for Contemporary Art in Warsaw.

Dr. Marcin Poprawski: researcher & lecturer at the AMU University of Poznan – Institute of Cultural Studies (Faculty of Anthropology and Cultural Studies), European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (O.), University of the Arts Poznan, Heritage Academy of the International Cultural Centre & University of Economics in Cracow; Expert of the Association of Polish Cities and of the NU Foundation. Director of the AMU Audience Development Postgraduate Diploma. Director of AMU ROK Culture Observatory research centre, Poznan, from 2016 to 2019 he was a Vicedean of the Faculty of Social Sciences – AMU University of Poznan. Research & teaching interests: organisational cultures in cultural, art and heritage institutions, festival management models, cultural policies, audience engagement, arts management & entrepreneurship and aesthetics in management studies.

[Further information](#)

Cities and Peripheries

ANKE SCHAD-SPINDLER

Bottom-Up Approaches to City Development in Post-Socialist Countries A Case Study

The project “Shared Cities: Creative Momentum” (SCCM) addressed the challenges facing post-socialist cities in Europe using the concept of sharing. SCCM was co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union. It involved eleven partners from six countries (Germany, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia) and ran from 2016 to 2020. Sharing as a concept covers the development of responses to urban challenges such as growing social inequality, exhaustion of resources, lack of affordable housing, loss of public space and democratic governance. At the same time, it is contested, especially so in post-socialist environments. The process-based evaluation of SCCM provided facilitation and informed decision-making (formative evaluation). Based on the “Culture Works” concept and model (Goethe-Institut 2016), it enabled a comprehensive analysis of the initial assumptions, the implementation process, and the results.

In the project region, phenomena such as increasing social inequality or EU aversion triggered by nationalist politicians create a challenging environment for citizen engagement; however, they also highlight the importance of dialogue between different social groups. Creating alternatives to top-down urban planning was one of the driving forces behind the project. How did the partners relate to this objective? The project affirmed that there is no single success strategy, but that NGOs need to negotiate their own position in relation to power-holders. The presentation will look into these strategies and into approaches to building trust and generating collective knowledge as means to re-engage citizens to share and shape public spaces.

Anke Schad-Spindler has been working in international research and consultancy projects in culture and related fields since 2006. In 2017, she graduated with a PhD (distinction) in Cultural Institution Studies from the University of Music and Performing Arts (mdw) Vienna. She is a Post-Doc researcher at the Research Cluster on Arts Production and Cultural Policy in Transformation (ACPT) at Zeppelin University.

[Further information](#)

CONSTANCE DEVEREAUX**Investigating Hybrid Experience from a Cultural Policy Perspective**

The primary question I want to investigate is: What is hybridity and how can the many forms of hybrid experience be given space in a world of nation states? (Frello 2006). Although hybridity is “undeniable as a global existential cultural condition” (Kraidy 2002) cultural policies seem preoccupied, instead, with essentialism—a view that permeates popular society and is evident in much political rhetoric. In fact, although it has been widely investigated in the fields of anthropology, literary studies, communication, and cultural studies, hybridity has not been addressed as an object of study by cultural policy researchers. Such an omission begs for remedy. Confronting the question of hybridity is especially important in the present time where cultural purity is idolized and mythologized. Cultural essentialism is also at the root of many global policies that see culture as serving the purely economic aims of cultural industries, cultural tourism, and commercialization of cultural goods. The problem is that whether recognized or not, cultural hybridity has a widespread influence on artistic and cultural production and dissemination, on the life and work of artists, and the playing out of identities by individuals and societal groups. In the globalized world, the notion of cultural purity wears increasingly thin. Cultural policy has not yet caught up with this reality. What is the place of hybridity and its forms of experience? Is hybridity organic and inevitable, or a case of rampant homogenization? Does hybridity fuel artistic expression and liberate the artist? Or is it a transgression; a means of appropriating, and thus diminishing cultural difference? Can we, and should we give space to hybridity in order to recognize its significance in contemporary life? The questions are especially important in a time like ours given cities as a locus of hybrid experience in conditions of intensive urban growth worldwide.

Constance DeVereaux is Associate Professor and Director of the MFA program Arts Leadership and Cultural Management at University of Connecticut. Her research interests include culturally sustainable entrepreneurship, cultural hybridity, and the use of narrative for cultural policy analysis.

[Further information](#)