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4.5 Cultural entrepreneurship and funding policies in Europe

ANNICK SCHRAMME

Introduction

The first period of the twenty-first century has challenged the world. We see around us huge changes driven by globalization, technological and social developments and more recently the impact of the Corona pandemic, the war in Ukraine and the energy crisis. Collectively these have had significant impact on society, more specifically for our purposes, on the arts and cultural sector.

It is within this context that the public funding systems for arts and culture in Europe are facing increased pressure to change. After the Second World War cultural policies in different West-European countries were developed and seen as part of the welfare state, with the democratization of culture as the main policy goal (Schramme, 2020). However, since the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s, a more market-oriented approach together with privatization tendencies has intensified.

Consequently, the 'political' decision as to whether to support the arts and cultural sector is no longer an automatic response. Rather, we are living in a period in which questions regarding the value and contribution of the arts and cultural sector are continually being re-visited. Certainly, since the financial crisis of 2008, most European countries (with the exception of the Nordic countries and Germany) have systematically reduced subsidies and are encouraging the arts and cultural sector to look elsewhere for additional funding to subsidies. They want to encourage a context where rather than relying primarily on governmental support, cultural organizations are obliged to find other financial resources in order to survive. In the Netherlands for example, the overall budget for arts and culture in 2012 was reduced by 20 to 25 per cent. Art organizations and museums had to demonstrate that they were entrepreneurial and were able to find income sources other than subsidies from the state or the region. Since then, a number of cultural organizations proved to be very agile and robust, whereas others unfortunately had to stop their activities or had to merge with others. This kind of radical 'cutting budgets' policy confronts us with the key fundamental question regarding the role of government in terms of giving support to the arts and cultural sector.

The traditional system of direct financial support to cultural organizations is now under scrutiny and this is reinforced by the corona pandemic and the energy crisis. While a lot of governments have found extra money to lead the arts and cultural sector through these

crises, this extra support is only temporary (and illusionary) because it is also contributing to increased governmental debt that will need to be repaid in the future. Therefore, it seems inevitable that several European governments will in the future keep calling for arts and cultural organizations to develop a more entrepreneurial attitude and to look for more differentiation in their financial income.

Cultural entrepreneurship

Although entrepreneurship research has gained greater legitimacy and found its rightful place within major management journals over the past two decades (Busenitz et al., 2011), a generally accepted definition of entrepreneurship in the research community is still lacking (Parker, 2009 and Brixy, Sternberg and Stüber, 2012). This is even more true for the field of entrepreneurship within the cultural and creative sectors. However, one can distinguish at least two important definitions. Firstly, entrepreneurship can refer to owning and managing a business on one's own account and at one's own risk (the occupational notion of entrepreneurship). Secondly, entrepreneurship can refer to 'entrepreneurial behaviour', in the sense of incorporating economic opportunities (the behavioural notion of entrepreneurship) (Brixy, Sternberg and Stüber, 2012 and Van Andel, 2020). The latter is the most interesting to investigate in terms of the arts and cultural sector. However, seeing entrepreneurship as the panacea only for economic health of cultural organizations is also limited. Entrepreneurship, seen more widely, as an engine of development, or as a flywheel for innovation in cultural field, had created both profit and non-profit endeavours, that are both important for the creative sector ecosystem (Dragicevic Sestic, 2020).

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the main reasons for the rise of the concept of 'cultural entrepreneurship' is the changing political, social and economic environment since the end of the 1990s, which will be elaborated on below.

Creative industries on the political agenda

Perhaps the first step took place in the UK at the end of the 1990s,¹ with the creative industries coming onto the political agenda. The catalyst was a statement by the then Labour government, which was looking to identify new sectors that could fuel economic prosperity as an alternative to the failing old industrial drivers of employment, steel and finance. They observed that creative activities such as architecture, design, fashion and some art productions were creating new industrial-scale movements. These industries contributed almost 8 per cent of the UK's GDP and employed more than 2 million people. What was even more important was that the figures showed an increasing trend, in stark contrast to the old industry sectors (Department of Culture, Media & Sport, 1998, Pratt, 2005, Garnham, 2005, Galloway and Dunlop, 2007 and Flew, 2012). It was clear that these industries were based on the individual quality of (artistic) creativity and that there was huge potential.

The publications of Richard Florida (2002) and Charles Landry (2006) about 'the creative city' also had a huge impact on city governments. According to Florida, the creative class would foster the local economy and increase the attractiveness of the city. National and local governments became aware of the potential richness of the creative industries and started to develop their own strategies using the creative industries as a catalyzing

sector which attracts other sectors along with a highly qualified workforce (Florida, 2002, Collet, 2007, Pratt, 2010 and Hagoort, 2012).

On a global level, two studies went on to illustrate the global impact of the creative industries: the European Commission Green Paper on the creative industries (2010) and the UN Creative Economy Report (2008), which described the creative economy as one which is led by the potential for creativity and innovation to promote social prosperity worldwide. Since then, almost every European country has developed their own definition of the creative industries over the last ten years and has undertaken their own economic impact analysis (average 3 per cent of GDP).

Despite recognizing this potential, all of the research that has been undertaken in exploring this has come to one similar conclusion: that is, one of the big barriers for the development of the full economic potential of the creative industries is the lack of entrepreneurial skills (Hagoort, 2012).

Education in cultural entrepreneurship

Despite its importance, and bearing in mind that a considerable percentage of those working in the creative sector are self-employed, there is insufficient integration of entrepreneurship education into general curricula and arts education programs (DCMS, 1998). In fact, the tendency for artists to become self-employed (at some point in their career), work on a freelance basis, operate on temporary contracts and work part-time is, it seems, considerably higher than for graduates of other more traditional courses (Roberta Communion, 2014). This is also the situation in other European countries.

Through its Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan and its Communication on 'Rethinking Education', the European Commission has emphasized the need to embed entrepreneurial learning in all sectors of education, including non-formal learning. One of the four strategic objectives of the Commission is: 'enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training' (EU Communication, 'Rethinking education: investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes', November 2012). Both documents call on Member States to provide all young people with practical entrepreneurial experience before completing their compulsory education, highlighting the importance of *learning by doing* within education and training.

Although the Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan of the EC presented some strong arguments in favour of making education more entrepreneurial, civil society criticized its main focus on the economic output of education and on the labour market. In particular, the arts education institutions asked the Commission to offer students also time to learn and to experiment, to think 'outside the box' and to develop their own identity as an artist and /or creator (Rethinking Education, 2013).

However, the main question remains: How can we prepare young cultural entrepreneurs and artists for this dynamic, but at the same time, uncertain modern work sphere? (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999, Beckman, 2007 and Bridgstock, 2013) It could be argued that the impact of the different crises on cultural education needs to be addressed through a transition regarding content, process and perspective. This would not merely require a new combination of existing experiences and courses, but a fundamentally new way of addressing the entrepreneurial dimension of art and culture. Jacobs and Kooyman (2015)

distinguish a number of dilemmas that teachers in arts schools and in cultural entrepreneurship education today are facing:

Dilemma 1: How do we teach risk-taking?

If traditional art (management) education wants to respond to the challenges, then a new entrepreneurial orientation needs to be developed in order to make artists and arts managers more agile and resilient. Besides the traditional art skills (these remain the most important ones), more entrepreneurial skills need to be developed. Interestingly, some authors like de Bruin and van AnDEL also include the external environment for creative entrepreneurship in their value chain, with the entrepreneur (the individual level), the state (the national level) and the community (the regional level) combining to make up an entrepreneurship continuum (Colette, 2007).

Dilemma 2: How can we develop an intuitive mind?

Many studies show that entrepreneurs are likely to be more intuitive than rational thinkers (Sarasvathy, 2001, Kirby, 2004, Chandler, DeTienne, McKelvie and Mumford, 2011 and Van AnDEL and Schramme, 2015). Van AnDEL and Schramme (2015) observed that the effectuation logic is much more common than the causation logic. To cope with dynamic environment it is also important to have a well-developed sensitivity for the context in which one is working; something Jacobs and Kooyman like to call 'context sensibility'. This acquires a more holistic and syntactical way of looking at the world instead of a sequential reasoned and randomized method of exploration. Techniques like divergent thinking, ethnographic imagination and hermeneutic interpretation could help to enhance this ability.

Dilemma 3: How do we prepare students for an uncertain world?

Certainly, one of the most important learning needs is 'self-awareness'. This asks for personal leadership, the ability to put one-self on the line, being accountable, taking charge and accept failure as inherent to life and work.

Dilemma 4: How do we teach young artists and cultural managers to work together?

A 'cultural entrepreneur' who enters the professional domain will be confronted with the fact that he/she needs to cooperate with others on a small scale, via bottom-up networks. It is of the utmost importance to create a solid network in order to survive and prosper and to create their own 'entrepreneurial identity' (Werthes, 2017). The Cultural and Creative sectors depend highly on cooperation, project-based work and interdisciplinarity and demand a communal way of thinking (Hagoort, 2016). This need for collaboration and sharing resources is even more urgent after the pandemic. More networks and collaborative activities need to be supported (DCMS, 2006: 48). Furthermore, the impact of technology and ICT on the creative sector should not be underestimated. We shall come back to that later.

Dilemma 5: How do we promote a sustainable attitude?

Cultural and Creative Entrepreneurs have to generate their individual earnings in a volatile market, and this might be easy in a context of abundance, but if attitudes change and society now expects a more sustainable future, this demands that entrepreneurs will have to adapt themselves. Therefore, it is important to discuss the social and ecological implications of entrepreneurship. Not by preaching, but by showing them that ethical awareness is part of modern entrepreneurship (Jacobs and Kooyman, 2015). Climate change and environmental degradation are an existential threat to Europe and the world. To overcome these challenges, the European Green Deal (2021) was approved and aims to transform the EU into a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy. How shall the cultural and creative sectors relate to this important European Green Deal and how shall they integrate this in and adapt it to their way of working (Gijs de Vries, 2020).

Public, private and mixed funding

If we believe that society in general, and the creative and cultural sectors in particular, need to become more flexible, digital and entrepreneurial, then the question arises: 'What does the role of the government in supporting the arts and the cultural and creative sectors continue to be?' What are the alternatives to the traditional way of funding and supporting?

Shifts from direct public funding to the indirect support or support for entrepreneurship by governments, accompanied by the rise of new sources of private funding, are leading to a new funding landscape (Klamer, 1996, Throsby, 2010, KEA, 2010 and European Commission, 2018). Certainly, we are witnessing now that the boundaries between public and private funding are starting to blur.

One such perspective is described by Klamer and Petrova in 2006. The study describes the various sources of financing culture in Europe for the period 2000–5, focusing on the State, the market and the non-profit sector. The analysis covers public direct financial support (subsidies, awards and grants, as well as lottery funds provided by central and lower levels of governments); public indirect financial support (tax expenditures); private financial support from non-profit organizations, business organizations and individual donations.

Arjo Klamer argued that cultural organizations can position themselves in three different spheres for attracting external funding (Klamer, 2013):

- 1 The government sphere or the public sphere, which mainly provides grants and evaluates grant applications.
- 2 The market sphere: where the market relationship and business agreements are central.
- 3 The social or informal atmosphere, where 'giving' is central.

In later work, Klamer expanded his conceptual framework of the spheres with a fourth sphere, namely that of the 'oikos'. It consists of the personal environment of the artist or organization. These people are often willing to provide support based on personal considerations (we also include 'fans, friends and family' among them). There are also mixed formats,

such as the emerging social profit sphere with cooperatives, 'philanthropic venturing' and so on (Klamer, 2013 and IDEA Consult, 2015).

Market orientation

This may raise a future fundamental question, will the market sphere or the social sphere eventually replace the public sphere? At this time it is probably too early to answer but certainly for the immediate future public funding will continue to be important because of the European culture policy tradition and the predominant view on the social role of culture. However, research in Belgium also shows that finding additional financing is not yet firmly established in all countries, even though many show an entrepreneurial attitude (Van Doninck and Schramme, 2019). Most cultural actors are much less familiar with the market and/or the social environment and for this area to expand in terms of impact and importance greater awareness and understanding needs to be developed.

It is also important to note that this continuous call from governments for a higher differentiation of financial resources is not always easy for the arts and cultural sector, for if they do not demonstrate parallel advancement in their craft, then they are not fulfilling their own purpose – but likewise, such content might only be of interest to narrower, specialist audiences – thus, producing the challenge of balancing the advancement of their artistic/cultural programme with attracting sufficient income to cover their costs is a difficult and precarious process.

Moreover, not every cultural actor can obtain resources from the market to the same extent, so that it is not useful or feasible for everyone. According to Hesters & van Looy, the variables of scale, genre/artistic discipline and function in the value chain and whether or not they have their own infrastructure together explain a solid 50 per cent of the differences in market orientation within the group of structurally subsidized arts organizations (Van Looy and Hesters, 2013). According to Richard Caves, creative productions are always risky, since artists and (other) producers never know in advance whether their work will be positively received and thus reach a sufficiently large audience (Caves, 2003 and Van Looy and Hesters, 2016: 6; *Ins & Outs van de podiumkunsten*, in: *Kwarts*, Kunstzaken 2016: 6; *zie ook*: *Ins & Outs van podiumland*, 2011). Regarding the degree of market orientation, another distinction can be made between those industries that are primarily oriented to local markets and other industries that are global winner-take-all markets (like film, gaming, music). National policies are seeking to develop subsidized survival strategies to ensure cultural diversity. These policies were reinforced during the corona pandemic. The CCIs are facing challenges all the time and (Abbing, Menger, 1999) entry barriers are low whereas risks for newcomers can be high (Caves, 2000).

Between social return and financial return

The different values that cultural actors use for attracting financial resources are situated somewhere on the continuum between financial return and social return (IDEA Consult, 2015). Some forms of financing are only possible when a financial return can be expected. This is the case, for example, with traditional bank loans (no loan if there is no security for repayment (with interest)). The other end of the continuum is less about financial return

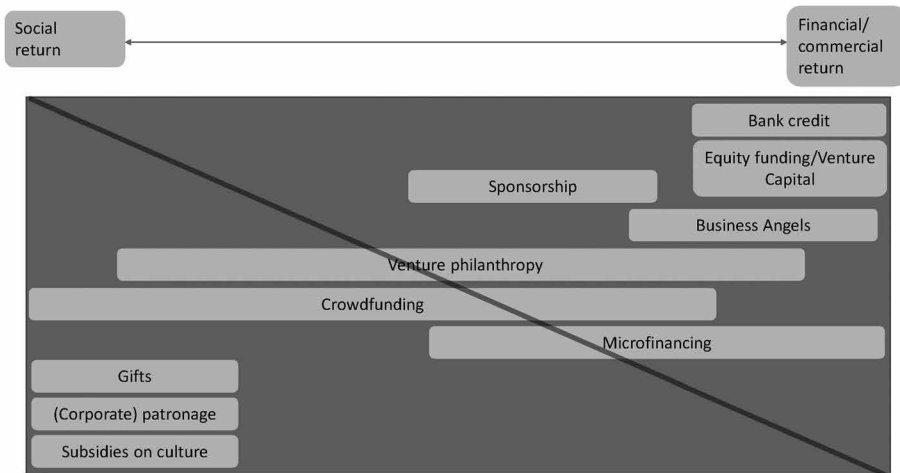


Figure 4.5.1 Different forms of financing and their expected return (IDEA Consult).

and more about social return. Various forms of philanthropy are situated here. Whereas lying in between is a mix of both financial return and social return. Venture philanthropy is an example of this, as are sponsoring and microfinance (Figure 4.5.1). When looking for additional financing, it is important to clearly reflect in advance about which match one wants to make between public and private funding (DevolderE, 2013, IDEA Consult, 2015).

To create greater social support for culture, there is also room for improvement in establishing stronger connections between culture and other domains, such as media, education, youth or care, so that more people come into contact with ‘more intense and meaningful relations’ with the arts and so that the importance of culture in our society is interpreted more broadly (IDEA Consult, 2015: 21). Examples of public-private funding can also be identified at European level for example, the European Union and the European Investment Fund guarantee banks’ loan portfolios to the CCI (Dalle Nogare and Bertacchini, 2015).

In addition to the possibility of approaching other and therefore also private financiers, the possibilities of mixed public-private partnerships are also growing. However, these are still under full exploration, including in the heritage sector. Nor is it a self-evident phenomenon: after all, both poles start from a different logic, with commercial logic often clashing with considerations of general public interest (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006).

Another domain that is not discussed in more detail in this chapter is the civic domain or the domain of the commons. This citizens’ movement originated from civil society and we see it emerging in many European cities and regions. Citizens are taking the initiative and reclaiming the public space in their city or region, as a response to an increasing privatization. Cultural actors often take the lead in this process. They often use indirect public and private resources. Ethical banking and crowdfunding are also popular tools for them (Patti and Polyák 2017).

Finally, the coronavirus pandemic crisis provided also a momentum to explore the potential (and limitations) of new forms of finance and funding in the digital space. There are

examples worldwide of ways in which the CCI have experimented with new digital formats of interaction and public participation during the crisis. And also besides digital production and digital distribution technologies, a broad range of 'digital fundraising technologies' are established: from crowdfunding platforms to funding of artistic projects by blockchain technology (Peukert, 2019 and Loots et al., 2022). It remains to be seen which digital formats will be successful in the longer term.

Conclusion

It is clear that due to economic globalization, the financial crisis of 2008 and the Covid pandemic in 2020, the traditional cultural funding system is not sufficient anymore. European governments are calling for more entrepreneurship and more differentiation of financial resources for the cultural and creative sectors. Meanwhile the public authorities are also looking for (indirect) instruments other than direct subsidies to support the CCI, including tax incentives.

It is clear that the relationship between the public, private (profit and not-for-profit) and civil domains in the cultural sector are shifting. The input of private actors (both profit and not-for-profit) in the cultural sector and vice versa is increasingly being looked at. This is even more evident at the local level and within the local cultural ecosystem (Holden, 2015). However, this increase of public-private partnerships may also jeopardize certain public values (based on cultural democracy, diversity, innovation, sustainability and quality control) that previously seemed obvious. In such a volatile context, politicians and public authorities need to be even more aware of the reasons why and to whom they will give support. Therefore, it will remain important that within these new connections the various values are considered and respected by both sides (IDEA Consult, 2015: 42).

According to some academics, we can even observe the emergence of a new funding paradigm, which steps away from a clear demarcation between public and private and embraces collaborative funding mechanisms such as crowdfunding, incubator and accelerator finance, and other pooled investments, as well as digital fundraising technologies (Patrickson, 2021 and Loots et al., 2022).

Successfully supporting the cultural and creative sectors in the future will be a major challenge for governments, not only in Europe but also worldwide. Also, for researchers, there is no doubt that these cultural and creative sectors will continue to present themselves as an interesting topic for research on an international scale, particularly with respect to entrepreneurship and new funding mechanisms.

Note

1. The elaboration of the notion 'Arts Administration' was first carried out by John Pick in 1980.

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