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Exhibition enterprising: Six cases of realisation from idea to institution

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EXHIBITION ENTERPRISING

KATJA LINDQVIST

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SIX CASES OF REALISATION FROM IDEA TO INSTITUTION

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I have now released the message to Russel Roberts.

Regards

Raphael

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Stockholm in April 2003

LIST OF FIGURES

worked with a villager to create a better flow of energies through this room. Shallow incisions of appropriate shape and size were cut into the plaster in carefully plotted positions and brushed with the metal pigments that would attract the right balance of energy. Artist: Yvonne Hindle. Photograph by Chris Dorsett. © Yvonne Hindle and Chris Dorsett and Museum of Site.

Where otherwise not indicated, all photographs have been taken by the author. All figures except figure 4.1 were colour originals.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Exhibition realisation is a growing field of practice, today seemingly detached from former institutional settings and norms concerning appropriate topics.[1] Contemporary exhibition realisation is done against a backdrop of tradition in the form of earlier realised exhibitions. This tradition is formed within museums, the system for display and sales of art, and commercial fairs and displays. Beside this tradition of exhibition production, there is a century and a half of tradition of international and national expositions, where representatives of trade and industry as well as of the nation state and regions have liased as initiators and realisers.

Several professions and institutions are engaged in exhibition realisation, and individual exhibition projects serve several purposes for the different partakers in an individual project.[2] For example, museums and *kunsthallen* have exhibitions as one of their main form of output, whereas artists may choose to realise an exhibition as part of their artistic career. The exhibition then becomes one form of presentation among other possible ways of presenting artworks and in the twentieth century also of conducting artistic work. The practice of exhibition realisation today is a crossroads for at least three quite different types of professional careers, the artist, the free-lancing curator, and the museum curator.

During the twentieth century, and especially the latter part of it, some broader changes in the field of exhibition realisation which affect exhibition enterprising can be noted. Some of these are

- a growing number of actors from a widening background produce exhibitions
- a growing number of venues and museums are established
- the number of exhibitions produced per year and venue increases
- the funding of exhibitions change due to restructured systems for grants to cultural projects and organisations, changing fashions in

sponsorship, and a changing number of trusts and foundations and similar sources who may support exhibition projects
- a growing number of thematic exhibitions are produced as a supplement to collections based museum exhibitions
- a disassociation of product (exhibition), producer (curator) and place (institution); the museum institution is perceived as exhibition space rather than as exhibition producer
- museums become increasingly administrative rather than curatorial centres for production of exhibitions
- museum directors and other staff get an increasing responsibility for fundraising for exhibition projects[3]

In the 1980s and especially the 1990s, the position of the curator became more accentuated within the museum and art spheres. This development was connected to an enlargement and detachment of the exhibition in relation to the museum institutions on the one hand, and the art world on the other hand. The ideas binding an exhibition together, the intellectual work related to the development of an exhibition, were accentuated. In this development, several factors interacted, among them the roles and professional identities of artists, museum curators and academics such as art historians.[4]

The increasing number of free-lancing curators, combined with the increased number of exhibitions shown in museums, seems to lead to a development of the museum as a show room, where exhibitions are acquired more than produced by curators employed by the museum. The older distinction between the museum, with its collections, and the *kunsthalle*, with only a building and staff, seems to become obscured. This has lead to a situation where the exhibition as practice and event is experienced as detached both from the museum (its received traditional context) and the museum curator.[5]

Many of the so-called new exhibition curators, artists or academics, seem to realise exhibitions as part of an individual professional career. They are likely to curate an exhibition for the first time or do rather dif-

ferent exhibition projects, if they do several, and have therefore no or little knowledge of the details of exhibition production.

This widening of the background of curators or exhibition producers would probably not be possible without a corresponding change in organisational structure. The growing number of art and cultural venues, which do not fit within the traditional museum definition, are using the exhibition form as part of their activity portfolio. In such a situation the understanding of what an exhibition is and how it can be produced is redefined and negotiated.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Tradition can be seen as the sedimentation of ideas on how things are to be done, and functions in the present as an established guideline for action. But practice is always negotiated, and tradition is dynamic in the sense that current perceptions of appropriate practice becomes tomorrow's tradition. Innovations or new ways of perceiving and acting, triggered perhaps by influences or experiences from other areas, are always negotiated against more established ways of understanding and doing things. New ideas of how to do things lead, if allowed to be realised, to a renegotiation, or reinvention, of how we understand and produce and consume exhibitions.

How does this reinvention of exhibitions, as medium and form, and as intellectual endeavour and material *gestalt*, through actual exhibition realisation, take place and shape? What kind of enterprising is exhibition realisation? Where does it take place? What kinds of people are engaged in it? Are there different ways of realising exhibitions? And what is actually realised when an exhibition is produced?

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

In this introductory chapter, besides introducing the research questions of the dissertation, I have pointed to some general changes in the practice of exhibition realisation, affecting the professional groups employed by museums, art venues, or working on a free-lance basis with exhibitions.

In Chapter 2, a short introduction on the history of exhibition realisation is presented. The historical chapter has been included in order to broaden the understanding of exhibition realisation today. In that chapter, we get acquainted with three professional groups that more than other groups engage in exhibition realisation; museum curators, artists and academic free-lance curators.

In Chapter 3 we will take a look at two central characteristics of exhibitions, their aesthetic nature and their nature as a medium. We will also take a look at the contexts of cultural or aesthetic production, as described by sociologists. From them we learn that aesthetic production contains a core of artistic activities, but in addition needs the help of number of non-artistic tasks and professionals in order to become realised. We also learn that aesthetic modes of organising, e.g. networks, is a model that industrial business organisations today adapt.

The six case studies of contemporary exhibition enterprising are presented in Chapters 4-9. They are followed in Chapter 10 by a recapitulation of the effects on exhibition enterprise management by the characteristics and production contexts of exhibitions. In this chapter I also present some factors and aspects that seem central to successful exhibition management in terms of producing realised exhibitions, and a simple sketch of the stages of exhibition realisation. We find out that exhibitions are realised in a tension field between visions or negotiations and compromises, and that exhibition management needs to balance the visions and wills of several contributing parties.

In Chapter 11, an outline for an aesthetic project management theory is presented. This is the outcome of readings of general project management writings within business studies, and is aims at developing project management research. In this final chapter, I also point to some further areas of research that would develop research into the practice of exhibition realisation.

In Appendix 1, the background and work process of the research project is presented. Here I describe how the topic of research and the cases were chosen, and how work with the dissertation was conducted
The epistemological perspectives and approaches that underlie the work with this dissertation are presented in Appendix 2.

A reader interested in the scholarly frames of reference of the dissertation, should read Appendices 1 and 2 after Chapter 1, and then proceed to the following chapters in the book. I nevertheless placed these reflective and academic parts of the book at the end, in order to get a more direct orientation towards exhibition realisation in the structure of the book.

AIM AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE DISSERTATION

This book displays several ways of exploring aesthetic management or management of aesthetic enterprises. The overall aim of the dissertation is not to implement existing theories, but to conduct exploratory research in order to help generate new theories in the general field of art management or management of aesthetic activities, and more specifically in the field of exhibition realisation. The dissertation aims at deepening the understanding of situated management that exhibition projects seem to demand. [6]

The suggested contribution of the dissertation is threefold. Firstly, it presents case accounts[7] of exhibition enterprising; i.e. the realisation of exhibitions from an economic and organisational perspective at an op-

erational level. This type of research has not been made to any significant degree within museum studies or art history, or in business studies for that matter.

Secondly, the dissertation brings a new area of study into business studies. Within business studies, art and cultural enterprises have mainly been studied from an institutional or system or decision-making perspective. The dissertation offers a study of project organisations from an action and process perspective. My focus has been on the development of individual exhibition projects, i.e. on processes of realisation, and on immediate contexts in which such enterprises are undertaken.

Thirdly, a number of factors central to management of exhibition enterprises, and an outline for aesthetic project management are presented. They serve as inputs in the research discourse within business studies concerning aesthetics, enterprising, projects and management.

The approach is multidisciplinary. It embraces parts of business studies, museum studies, art history, sociology and economics, in order to understand contemporary practices of exhibition realisation. The study is therefore broad in scope, and the contribution of the dissertation lies rather in combining aspects and areas of a number of disciplines, than in investigating the empirical material with only one disciplinary perspective.

Someone else using the same empirical material and the same methods might suggest other ways of discussing exhibition realisation and stress other aspects of this social phenomenon. This is because an element of choice is inherent in this type of interpretive study, where social events and action are rendered in written form. The foci and perspectives chosen influence the picture rendered.

Footnotes

[1] Regarding the topic of proper subjects for painting, this development is interesting to compare with that of the practice of artists in the age of academies and the emerging market system of production of paintings. In 2002, exhibitions displaying derogatories of the Holocaust (*Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art*, at the Jewish Museum, New York) and preserved dead bodies (Günther von Hagens's travelling exhibition *Körperwelten* [*Bodyworlds*]), have raised debates of what should and should not be displayed in an exhibition. DN 2002a, 2002b.

[2] Cf. Michaud 1989b, and Vergo 1989.

[3] Fibicher 1995a, Heinich & Pollak 1996, Lindqvist 2000a, 2001.

[4] Cf. e.g. Déotte 1994, Serota 1996, Hein 2000, Schneede 2000.

[5] There has always been public displays of artifacts made, in connection to religious or more profane ceremonies or celebrations. This type of exhibitions however have not been as thoroughly investigated as collections. Cf. Haskell 2000.

[6] Situated project management is e.g. recommended by Christensen & Kreiner 1991, and Forsberg et al. 1996.

[7] A case study is according to Yin "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." Original emphasis altered. Yin 1984. Merriam describes case studies as particularistic, descriptive, heuristic and inductive. Merriam 1988.

2 A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF EXHIBITION REALISATION

For a deeper understanding of contemporary practices of exhibition production, exemplified by the cases, I would like to offer a somewhat richer picture of the soil, of the historical practices of exhibition production in different fields, out of which contemporary exhibition production, and thereby also the six cases, have been cultivated.[1]

Exhibitions are the means for a large number of different uses. In this short historical overview, I have tried to point out some aspects that have been important for my own understanding of contemporary engagement with the exhibition form by artists and curators.

I have put focus on three lines of exhibition uses. Firstly, there has been a tradition of displaying works of art in exhibitions. These exhibitions have been arranged both by artists and by art societies. Parallel to this history of displaying works of art for a public, is the development of increasing reflexivity and self-references in artistic practices throughout the centuries.

Secondly, equally important for a fuller understanding of the use of the exhibition mode today is the history of the museum institution and the exhibition as a mode of display of collections and artefacts as physical instances of knowledge. This double nature of exhibitions and collections is still very much present in contemporary museum practices.

Thirdly, the rise of the autonomous, academic, free-lance curator in the late twentieth century as an actor in the field is important for an understanding of the contemporary exhibition landscape.

This presentation has no pretensions to be full in any respect. On the contrary, it is meant to give the reader a short introduction to the changing and various uses of the exhibition as a medium. The historical accounts given here are of course sketchy, but they are included in this text to give a rough view of how practices within the museum and art systems have changed and continue to change.

THREE PROFESSIONAL APPROACHES TO EXHIBITIONS

The artist: art and artist exhibitions

The emergence of artists as exhibition enterprisers is not solely due to a development within the artistic profession, but also a result of the development within the museum and art systems during the last century.

The Renaissance to the sixteenth century: patrons and guilds
Before and during the Renaissance, European artists were artisans, producing decorative elements for public and private spaces. Artworks were commissioned for specific locations. Artefacts or pieces were juxtaposed and displayed rather than exhibited, in the sense of chosen. Much of what we today term art were illustrations to the Holy Scriptures, aimed at conveying its contents non-verbally to church-goers. The church was an important commissioner of art.[2]

Some artists tried to win acknowledgement as something more than anonymous artisans. Michelangelo is a well-known and successful example. Some educated artists, as well as intellectuals of the time, tried to justify painting and sculpture as liberal arts. According to them these were more elevated than the manual arts, which at this time were still referred to as such.[3] This new view on the artistic profession by some artists and patrons was furthermore fuelled by the Renaissance acknowl-

edgement of the human individuality, as expressed in the emerging Humanism.[4] The declining power of guilds were a chance for artists to see themselves as individual masters, rather than craftsmen, and in this struggle, the courts supported the artists against the guilds.[5] This structure of the art field, of the organising and funding of artistic work, has by cultural economists been described as the "institutional liaisons and hierarchies model".[6]

If the Church and the ruling families, such as the Medicis, were the principal employers in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the sixteenth century brought changed conditions for artists in the form of the Iconoclasm of the Reformation. In Northern Europe, artists found themselves working on an open market. The bourgeoisie was a new customer group. During this period, the artistic work was primarily organised in workshops.[7] This was not, however, in any conflict with the view of artistic work as requiring something more than mere skill. The workshop model of organising fitted the idea of the artist as intellectual well. The primary other form of artistic career was employment at a court or by a patron. These patrons often perceived the artist as intellectual, elevated. The artist in service at a court, or for a patron, had to largely meet the demands of his[8] benefactor, but produced on demand. The artist producing for the open market had to produce by own taste, or according to the taste of the season, but was never sure in advance of success in terms of sold pieces.[9]

Northern Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:
Academies and public exhibitions
The artist had basically worked on demand, with patrons giving rather detailed orders for both motive and material up until the era of production for the open market in sixteenth century Northern Europe. With the shift in demand in the sixteenth century, the artist as individual producer is beginning to appear. From now on, the reputation of the individual artist becomes more and more important, both for the artist himself and the customer. Since the system of workshops was slowly disintegrating,

the artist was left on his own, producing for anonymous buyers.[10]

From the mid seventeenth century the newly emerged Academies in Europe started to organise exhibitions.[11] These were presented as furthering the sake of Art, but also served as a means of helping young artists to earn a living. The shown art works were made with a specific exhibition in mind. The motives of the paintings were usually contemporary topics in politics and other dramatic events. In France sales at exhibitions was seen as not appropriate. The artist was instead to manage sales through commissions. In similar exhibitions in England, an entrance fee was usually charged, as a complementary income for the artists, besides the income for any sold paintings.[12] By choosing widely known topics, the artists hoped to have more success in selling their work. The paintings were furthermore to be executed according to the specific criteria of composition and colour, defined by the Academy. Paintings fulfilling all these criteria were called "exhibition pieces".[13]

During the eighteenth century, an increasing number of artists became dissatisfied with the Academies' monopoly on exhibition making. The Academy did not for example consider anecdotal or private motives as worthy of inclusion in their exhibitions.[14] Artists not conforming to the quality criteria and demands posed by the Academies, were not allowed to show their work in these exhibitions. Many artists with alternative ideas of painting were in this way shut out of the official art scene. Such artists strived for the possibility for all artists to be able to show their work in exhibitions. These artists usually felt that the artists showing at the Academy exhibitions were not 'true' artists, i.e. driven by their own ideas of art, but by a yearning for appreciation by the public. At the same time, the criteria used by the Academies created a common canon by which to judge art, and thus enabled a common ground for discussions of art between artists and public. This was something that the non-conforming artists lacked in their relation to their market and their public. By the introduction of artist-specific criteria of quality, the need for specific information on the part of the viewer increased. Today the lack of a common set of criteria by which to judge art is an integral part

of our understanding of art as a concept. There were of course still artists who continued to exhibit at the Academies, and who had the opinion that the public were a knowledgeable judge, i.e. were in possession of taste and capacity to judge between good and bad quality in art.

From the end of the eighteenth century the idea of the artist as 'true' only if she or he worked for more noble ideas than just earning a living, grew stronger.[15] This echoed a Platonic and Neo-Platonic view of ideas as principal in artistic work.[16] The aspiration of artists of earlier centuries, to present the artistic profession as more intellectual, was now fully realised. This transcendental identity of the artist was on the other hand intertwined with its dissociation from 'ordinary', i.e. non-artistic, work and society.

As the Academies lost their dictating grip on defining taste as regards art, the emerging newspapers and the debating critics on their newspaper pages, took over the well-informed critique and discussion of art. Critics became perceived as detached and autonomous discussants of art, and of which criteria that constituted good quality in art.[17]

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Societal turn and acknowledgement of context

During the nineteenth century, the idea of the necessity to exhibit artworks for the sake of artistic development emerged in the art world. Exhibiting artworks was then not only a way of selling the individual artist's work, but also important for the development of the artistic work of individual artists. Without opinions from the public, critics and other artists at the public presentation of one's work, the artist could not develop. In this way, the lost community between the artist and her or his public, as created by the frame of the Academies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but later lost with the decline in quality criterion defining power on the part of these Academies, was established anew. Artists assembled into associations by the end of the nineteenth century, with the specific aims of exhibiting together.[18] The reason for making

collective exhibitions was that a larger public could be expected. This way of exhibiting was still very much in opposition to the Salon of the Academy, or similar exhibitions, where the works had to be submitted to a jury for judgement and possible acceptance.

In the emerging new type of private exhibitions, the artists usually paid a fee in order to be included, instead of presenting their works for a jury beforehand. All works on such exhibitions were also for sale. Visitors paid an entrance fee to see the exhibition, and there was usually also a catalogue for sale. By organising exhibitions in this way, the artists were commonly profiting from the attention an exhibition could arouse. At the time, the anonymous art market was the artists' main channel of funding. But intimate relationships between artist and customer were rare. A few industrialists supported single artists, and part of the artist's income could be earned by winning competitions for decoration of public spaces.

During and after World War I artist groups such as Bauhaus made efforts towards increased aesthetics in society, and these efforts also affected exhibition forms. El Lissitzky's *Proun* from 1923, for example, was an integrated and interactive architectural and artistic space, with exchangeable elements.[19] The Dadaist exhibitions of the 1910s, and the International Surrealist Exhibition in 1938, were also examples of such an effort. They were also explicit reactions to the commercial exhibition practices at the time.[20] Commercial exhibitions were usually designed to evoke a homely feeling, with the artworks as seemingly natural elements of a room interior.[21] The Dadaist and Surrealist exhibition artworks were all totally sensuous experiences. This type of exhibition artworks was a type of art that artists started to use again in the 1960s.

The decades following the Surrealist exhibition, the 1940s and 50s, saw artists engaged in form and colour explorations. The increased reflexivity of this turn away from motive resulted in as diverging artistic practices in the 1960s as minimalism, conceptual art, and environment or installation art.[22] The viewer of art was again literally drawn into the art

work to complete it.

Installation art, that started to grow in importance in the 1960s, but had precursors in Dadaist and Surrealist art, became an important type of art work in the 1990s.[23] The late twentieth century installation artist can also be called a designer of experience.[24] The installation type of artistic work resembles the exhibition form as spatial structure in that the border between the single art installation and an exhibition is unclear. The roles of the artist, the public and the art itself differs in this type of art experience from that in a traditional gallery or museum exhibition, where art works are separated and viewed in sequence.

In the late 1960s and 70s, many artists turned against a commodity view on art. This was due to a growing awareness of the commercial forces and actors in the art field, combined with a heightened overall political awareness.[25] This in turn caused some artists to become interested in the mechanisms of the art and gallery system. The 60s subsequently gave birth to both elaborated investigations into the system and structure of art showing venues, such as commercial galleries and museums, and new, pseudo or proto scientific methods of investigation and production of art.[26] From here, the step for artists to engage in activities formerly handled by 'the other side', by art intermediaries, was not long.[27]

The museum curator

The museum was an enterprise started by Renaissance humanism for establishing a connection to antiquity, through the gathering and ordering of the literal piles of information to be found in Europe.[28] The museum was the nexus of the organising of all this material, and humanism, or in a broader sense, scholarship, was the intellectual tool for this encyclopaedic enterprise. The term *musaeum* was at that time both a physical and mental notion.[29] The museum "was a conceptual system through which collectors interpreted and explored the world they inhabited".[30] The museum was an organising vehicle of the past, for scholarly use and

contemplation, but also for expressions of status and power.[31] But the museum or collection was also a space for artefacts separated from their original contexts and use.[32] The museum was from its conception an intellectual endeavour. In the museums emerging in Europe, the museum was a place for scientific activities. Objects collected were a material source for knowledge that could be used as a basis for scientific work.[33]

The categorising urge developed on a larger scale among collectors in the seventeenth century.[34] Up until then, collections seem to have grown rather organically. Collectors seem not to have had clear needs to classify the artefacts according to any elaborate scheme until the seventeenth century. This was because the collections were rather understood to mirror the world, as designed by God, in its all its multitude. Pearce describes the social function of collections in the sixteenth century as explaining the world to Man.

> These curious collections were conceived as making manifest the existing harmonies of the universe, as acting as microcosms of universal nature, the assembling and contemplating of which was at once an act of discovery and definition and a mystical exercise. The collecting mind behind the collections saw the world as an elaborate series of divinely-ordained relationships… These early museum collections … manifested the link between the physical reality of the world and its metaphysical being, contending that the one could only be understood in the light of the other, and they clothed this in the compelling pomp of classical iconography, glorified by art. The mystical relationship between things and ideas, and the nature of ideas, could be expressed by the classification of the physical world, primarily into artificial things and natural things, and then into smaller groupings. These groupings were the music of the spheres in the compass of a single room, transcendent reality made visible. We are in a neo-Platonist world seen through Christian stained glass, and as the eighteenth century unwinds, the coloured lights will drop away and the vision of understanding clarify. It had become possible to see the world in a properly *curated* grain of sand.[35]

The collection was understood, until the birth of empiricist reason in the mid seventeenth century, as reflecting the universe and the divine order, and an understanding of the secret order of the world could hopefully be deciphered with the right juxtaposition of pieces of nature. In this sense, the way artefacts were juxtaposed was far from haphazard.[36] The arrangement of pieces of nature was believed to be able to reveal higher-order knowledge of the underlying rules for the world. The owners of well-known collections were often sent material because of the extent of their collection.[37]

Since the beginning of European culture[38] there existed temporary exhibitions alongside collections. Temporary exhibitions have always been made, in connection to religious or profane celebrations or ceremonies.[39] The display of collections was not divided into permanent and temporary as it is in our time, rather the collection was one and the same as the exhibition. The tradition to display a *selection* of a collection became more common later, from the late eighteenth century onwards. This in turn was due to ever expanding collections, and the new idea of organising collections according to specific ideas, e.g. nationality or period, that succeeded former more crude divisions into natural and artificial artefacts (*naturalia* and *curiosa artificialia*).[40]

Important for the development of our contemporary understanding of exhibitions is also the public turn beginning in the eighteenth century, when collections were made public, either by will of the collection owner, or by the citizens of a town or region. One reason for this development was that they were scattered and sold to a lesser extent than before. The ever growing size of collections was a result of fewer wars, leading to fewer precious objects changing hands across Europe.[41] With the democratisation of formerly princely and royal or otherwise private collections in the late eighteenth century, the professional curator was born. The museum curator is, crudely put, a professional caretaker of a collection. The curator was originally either the owner of a collection, or someone paid to care for it, and to present it to visitors. Even before, there had been keepers of collections within the courts, but when the

owner, possessing an intimate knowledge of the often immense collections,[42] was separated from their collections, the curator, the professional caretaker, was introduced.

In the publicly owned accessible museum, the curator has to consider the presentation of collected artefacts. With the appearance of the modern public museum, selected objects or paintings were exhibited, and arranged according to a theoretical idea, such as chronology or nationality. Ideas about the best ways to present material in exhibitions changed, and the pros and cons of varying approaches to the presentation of material were weighed and often disputed.[43]

Besides being a modern successor to the temporary displays of religious or profane artefacts throughout Europe history, temporary exhibitions outside museums today are a child of the nineteenth century world exhibitions and new commercial galleries. With the industrialised mass production and consumption society in Europe of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, changing displays of goods became common.[44] From the early nineteenth century "Grand expositions" started to be used as the arena for National competition among European states.[45] No longer was it the kings or princes that personalised the kingdoms—the nation states had by now taken form. Instead, industry was seen as the guarantor of wealth, alongside the People and the Arts. Perhaps influenced by this development, and by consumption research demanded by the retail sector, museums started to pay attention to how their artefacts were displayed.[46]

During the twentieth century, most museums have produced temporary exhibitions at an increasing rate. Temporary exhibitions have been a main strategy for increasing of visitor numbers in museums. The demand for increased visitor numbers generally comes from funders of public museums, as part of governmental cultural policies, often aiming at democratising the consumption of culture. Another way of implementing the democraticing goals of national cultural policy for museums has been to increase didactic activities and to redesign exhibitions in ac-

cordance with criteria for user-friendliness.[47]

The academic free-lance curator

The meaning of the notion curator has shifted somewhat with the emergence of free-lance art exhibition curators in the late twentieth century.[48] Throughout the history of curated exhibitions, the power over what is to be shown, has been connected to the curator. In this respect, the struggle for artist-curated exhibitions was successful for artists from the nineteenth century onwards, but only to the extent that they were able to show them in spaces controlled by the artists themselves. An interesting shift in power between institutions and curators has occurred during the latter half of the twentieth century, when the curators started to use subjective ideas as a basis for assembly, such as Harald Szeemann did with the Documenta 5 in 1972.[49] Here, the curatorial work was seen as creative rather than academic, as artistic and a realisation of the curator's own visions.[50]

Fibicher ascribes the growth of the visibility of and importance ascribed to the independent exhibition producer or curator, to three factors in the art and museum field since the early 1970s.[51] Firstly, there was an increased blurring of the profession and institutional purpose of museums and galleries, caused by the questioning practice of many artists in the late 1960s. The criteria of choices for and aims of exhibitions, as well as hidden agendas, were questioned, the professional authority of museum curators was also questioned. This had as consequence that the exhibition mode of display in itself became an element of importance, and what more, de-coupled from its institutional setting.[52]

Secondly, Fibicher compares the appearance of independent curators with the characteristics of new forms of artistic work during the late twentieth century.[53] He sees exhibition curating as a similar way of working as the *collage* techniques used by visual artists. Artists have more and more worked with fragments and with juxtapositions, since

the late 1960s, and the exhibition is not very different from an artistic installation in this respect.

Thirdly, Fibicher sees that an increasing amount of people perceive visits to (grand, contemporary) art exhibitions as a mainstream leisure activity.[54] Going to a (well-known) exhibition is seen as a common form of cultural consumption, and more so the more it is marketed. The grand exhibition basically becomes an alternative to going to a football match or going shopping;

> die Kunstausstellung ist zu einem respektablen Spektakel geworden.[55]

> The art exhibition has become a respectable spectacle.

Heinich & Pollak have sought to understand the changes in curatorial status during the last few decades.[56] They describe the emergence of the free-lance exhibition curator, or rather, creator, as the result of a de-professionalisation of the traditional museum curator role. Furthermore, they claim that the amount of work opportunities for independent curators has steadily increased. The crisis within and development of the curatorial profession is driven by an increased number of museums being established and exhibitions being made, often with public funding.

The larger number of work opportunities is according to Heinich & Pollak combined with a loosening of recruitment criteria for producing exhibitions. If recruitment (in France) was formerly made from a very limited number of educational instances, the criteria for being regarded as qualified today have been widened to apply to anyone with a university degree. Heinich & Pollak claim that these two factors have lead to a specialisation and division of labour between different groups of curators.

They also mean that the traditional tasks of the museum curator, safeguarding, analysing, and presenting the cultural heritage for the benefit of contemporary and future generations, has lead to museum curators adopting a strongly conservative or risk averse position towards contem-

porary expressions of culture. They mean that this was, and is, related to the fact that the status of the curator is connected to the status of the choices she or he made, and with the status of the objects in a particular collection. 'Wrong' choices made by a curator at a public museum are forever to be judged by forthcoming generations of visitors. [57] This awareness of the subjective side of seemingly professional or scholarly selection and collection procedures by curators and collectors of former times has increased in the last decades among museum curators.

Factors enabling the transformation of parts of the curatorial tasks are, according to Heinich & Pollak a redistribution, redefinition but also a change in balance between the traditional tasks of the museum curator (safeguarding, collecting, research and display). The only factor allowing subjectivity or, rather, a chance to personal approach is, according to them, the presentation, that is, display of material. This task was furthermore traditionally considered the lowest in rank among the tasks of the curator, within the curator profession. The recognition of a curator was traditionally not based on making didactic exhibitions, but on research and collecting.

The acceptance of curators or producers from a wider range of backgrounds of exhibition, has apparently resulted in what can be conceived as a greater disrespect for, or a lesser interest in, truth in a strict sense. Curators of exhibitions today can appear to perceive exhibitions more as events of invention and creation than as displays of scholarship and knowledge. Museum curators sometimes describe non-traditionally educated exhibition producers as handling objects and topics with less respect than museum curators. This is then, according to this view, a sign of a de-professionalisation of the curatorial position. The formerly low-ranked part of museum work, exhibition related work, has thus, through a development towards an increasingly spectacular and visual society,[58] become more important.

The strength of the 'new' exhibition curator or creator is that she has appropriated the formerly lowly esteemed practice, and redefined it. This

advantage has paradoxically been the result of an understanding of this practice as requiring no special skill, something which in turn gave the 'new' curators freer hands in their work.

Summary

In short, we can from this historical sketch learn that exhibition realisation is an old practice, related both to the production and display of artworks, and to scholarly or other collections of artefacts. Temporary exhibitions of various types of artefacts and for religious or profane reasons have also been common throughout European history. In the last two decades, large industrial expositions with an element of international or national competition have emerged. Today, the three main professional groups engaged in exhibition realisation and curating are museum curators, academic free-lance curators and artists. These three professional groups all use the exhibition as a form of communication in their professional work, but their understanding of exhibitions differ from each others, due to their specific and traditional professional relationship to exhibitions.

Footnotes

[1] This chapter is based on Lindqvist 2000a.
[2] Cf. e.g. Vasari 1568, Honour & Fleming 1982, Goldthwaite 1993.
[3] Kristeller 1951.
[4] Bätschmann 1997.
[5] Karling 1970.
[6] Barrère & Santagata 1997: 23.
[7] Cf. e.g. Alpers 1988.
[8] Few women were able to develop a career as artists due to social restrictions.
[9] Bätschmann 1997.
[10] Cf. e.g. Montias 1982, Ruppert 1998.
[11] Mainardi 1987.
[12] In France, connoisseurs distinguished between expositions, which were French in origin, where paintings were to be seen, and exhibitions, which were British in origin, were arrangements with pictures for sale. Mainardi 1993: 33.
[13] Bätschmann 1997: 49.
[14] Cf. Walsh (1999) for a case study of how the British Academy made judgements on paintings in the early eighteenth century. Walsh 1999: 220ff.
[15] Bätschmann 1997: 26.
[16] Karling 1970: 10.
[17] Liedman 1997: 372.
[18] In France the first association, created in 1873, was called *Société anonyme*, i.e. limited company. Bätschmann 1997: 139.
[19] O'Doherty 1976, Green 2000.
[20] Celant 1996: 382, Bätschmann 1997: 185.
[21] Cf. Proust's comments on attempts at recontextualising artworks in *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* in *A la recherche du temps perdu*, quoted in Adorno 1955: 179. Page reference to the 1967 English edition. Proust 1918.
[22] Artists such as Sol LeWitt, Joseph Kosuth and Allan Kaprow continued to develop each of these lines further. Alberro 1999, Reiss 1999.
[23] Reiss notes that the term environment art was first used for the type of art that consisted of whole "settings", where a whole room was part of the artwork. The term became less and less used in the 1980s, when the term installation art seems to successively have replace it. Reiss 1999. Cf. Krauss 1999.

[24] Experience in this context means an unexpected situation or process. In this type of creation, what is important is not the single artwork, but the context altogether, and the visitor is regarded as or expected to be an active partner in the process rather than a passive observer. Bätschmann 1997: 229.

[25] Lippard 1973.

[26] Cf. e.g. Jacob 1995, Belting 1998.

[27] Another development of the critical investigations that became prevalent in the 1980s was activist art, where process and action orientation was combined in work aimed to be more directly political than work within art venues were considered to be. Lippard 1984.
In the 1990s, artists have continued on the paths of investigation, and can be described as guest-workers, linking up in networks on places where bases for dialogue and creative contexts are found. Cf. e.g. Bianchi 1993b, Crimp 1993, Foster 1996, Raap 1996, Kunstforum 1998, 2000, Davies & Ford 2000.

[28] Bazin 1967.

[29] Literally, *musaeum*, from the Greek *mouseion*, means a sanctuary of the muses, i.e. the goddesses of poetry, music, and the liberal arts. Bazin 1967: 16, Findlen 1989: 60.

[30] Findlen 1989: 61.

[31] Kaufmann 1978.

[32] Hudson 1975, Mossetto 1993.

[33] In the early days of collections, notions such as *gabinetti*, *studio* or *studiolo*, and *galleria* were special notions connected to the study and consumption of collected artefacts. Cf. e.g. Impey & MacGregor 1985, Findlen 1989.

[34] Schulz discusses Quiccheberg's typology for an ideal collection from 1565, but she cannot say how influential this first museological publication was among collectors. The second handbook for a perfectly ordered collection is from 1674. Schulz 1990. Cf. Becker 1996.

[35] Pearce 1992: 95, 98. Emphasis added.

[36] Cf. e.g. Kaufmann 1994.

[37] Hudson 1975, Broberg & Sörlin 1991.

[38] Commonly dated to the rise of Greek civilization, approximately a millennium B.C.

[39] Haskell 2000.
[40] Cf. e.g. Bazin 1967: 115, Duncan & Wallach 1980: 455, McClellan 1994.
[41] Bazin 1967.
[42] Houghton 1942, Bazin 1967, Olmi 1985, Findlen 1989, Hooper-Greenhill 1995.
[43] Lindberg 1957, Hudson 1975.
[44] Cf. e.g. Benjamin 1982.
[45] Gibbs-Smith 1950, Luckhurst 1951, Mainardi 1987, Bennett 1995.
[46] Ekström 1991.
[47] SOU 1974: 34, SOU 1995: 84.
[48] Just as museum curators discuss their professional identity and tasks, so do 'new' curators. Cf. e.g. Hannula 1998.
[49] Grasskamp 1994, 1996, Heinich 1995, Meijers 1996, Bätschmann 1997: 219f.
[50] Some, however, think that artists should be granted the "artistic" freedom: "…c'est l'artiste, *quel qu'il soit, primitif ou singulier, individu ou représentant de sa culture, producteur d'art haut ou de choses basses, de chez nous ou de chez eux*, qui devrait réapparaître et reprendre la place don't les commissaries l'ont exclu." … it's the artist, *whether he be naïve or unique, individual or a representative of his culture, a producer of fine art or lesser things, originating from here or from elsewhere*, that should reappear and reclaim the place that the curators have excluded him from. Michaud 1989a: 125. Emphasis original.
[51] Fibicher 1994.
[52] Cf. Bianchi 1993a.
[53] Fibicher 1994: 151.
[54] Fibicher 1994. Cf. Heinich & Pollak 1996.
[55] Fibicher 1994: 151.
[56] Heinich & Pollak 1996.
[57] Heinich & Pollak 1996: 233.
[58] Cf. e.g. Debord 1967, Jenks 1995, Guillet de Monthoux 1998.

3 CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS
OF EXHIBITIONS

EXHIBITION CHARACTERISTICS

As discussed in the appendix on epistemological perspectives (Appendix 2), we may get to know a phenomenon through different types of description of it. One way is by looking at what scholars have written on the subject. In this chapter, I will present a number of suggestions of how exhibitions themselves and the action and social relations that exhibition realisation implies can be understood.

Exhibition enterprising can be described as the realisation or materialisation of ideas, in the specific form of an exhibition. This realisation or materialisation of ideas implies consideration of (at least) two aspects of such practice; the qualities of the end product, the realised exhibition, and the broader environment and context in which the individual exhibition enterprise is undertaken. It firstly implies some specific characteristics of exhibitions, characteristics that discern them from other types of phenomena. These characteristics are that of the exhibition as a medium, and that of an aesthetic entity or good. The effects of these characteristics on the realisation of exhibitions and the management of exhibition enterprises will be analysed in the first part of this chapter.

Secondly, exhibition enterprising takes place in a field with norms and traditions giving frames of reference for each new exhibition project. The contexts in which exhibitions are realised affect the conditions for work on an individual exhibition, from the generation of ideas, through concept development, to realisation in a physical space. In the second part of this chapter, we will take a look at how social science researchers have described the field of aesthetic production and developments with-

in industrial organising in contemporary society.

Medium

An exhibition can be described as a medium. A central characteristic of a medium is that there are two levels of what is conveyed; the content, i.e. the informational basis of the message, and the form, or the shape that the message takes. An exhibition then, to borrow terms from semiological vocabulary, is the totality of signifier and signified, as other coded communication.[1] But all elements of an exhibition are not semiotic, i.e. structured like a language.[2] Like other media, such as film, or printed publications, the exhibition consists of elements that are mediated through the form of the exhibition. But unlike mass media, such as film and printed publications, exhibitions are usually made only once in a specific constellation. This depends on the specific characteristics of the exhibition as medium and entity.

Immaterial and material
As has been discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, exhibitions are symbolic or semiotic as well as aesthetic entities. This means that there are two basic levels of an exhibition as well as in the production process of an exhibition. These are the idea (-tional) level on the one hand, and the realisation level on the other. The separation of these two levels in the exhibition and the realisation process is not as simple as may be assumed from a theoretical perspective.

The realisation level is one in which the ideas outlined on the idea level are translated into or manifested through a material or visual element. The physical element can also be the basis for a line of thought at the idea level. The influence and interaction between these two levels are often mutual throughout most of the process of exhibition production. For example if a certain element cannot be found, a substitute specimen must be found. This in turn is difficult since elements are often unique, and the replacement with some other artefact or element requires a check on

the ideational level so as not to change this too much, or at least make changes in an acceptable direction.

To the realisation level, a realisation process or phase can be related. In exhibition production, the realisation phase brings along such tasks as contacts, contracts, loans, insurance, and transportation. To the ideational level relates the ideational phase of an exhibition production. The ideational phase includes foremost the task of outlining and elaborating the exhibition concept. This brings along tasks such as research, searches and contacts.

Three-dimensional
An exhibition is experienced in three dimensions, in contrast to several other types of media. This means that the physical space and geographical location enter the experience, regardless of, or in addition to, the intellectual or mental level, that is, the concept, that an exhibition entails. The concept of an exhibition is hard to define, and depends on the context in which the exhibition concept was developed. For example, an exhibition concept may be a presentation of new work of an artist, or it may be an investigation of some specific theme suggested in any number of artefacts or collection pieces, from contemporary art to ancient china. The exhibition then is the materialisation or realisation of this concept in the arrangement of material elements in physical space.

Being a three-dimensional medium, important aspects of an exhibition are its specific location and extension, elements that may be verbal or non-verbal, the non-verbal being mostly pictures or similar graphical figures, and artefacts. The physical space may also be altered to fit the overall exhibition design.

Temporary
An exhibition is often temporary, that is, it is not on permanent display, and in this sense we can differentiate between a collection and an exhibition. Even the so-called permanent exhibitions in museums today seem to be long-term exhibitions, intended to be displayed for a number of

years, whereas exhibitions usually are on show from a number of days or weeks to a number of months.

An exhibition may be produced as a travelling or touring exhibition. This means that the exhibition is designed to be mountable at a number of other venues. Touring poses more restrictions on an exhibition, due to the risk of wear and damage during transport, mounting and dismounting.

Apart from the exhibition elements themselves, both the social context where the exhibition is physically and geographically located influences the perception of the exhibition. Also the address of the exhibition, i.e. the tone of texts (choice of terms etc.), and overall exhibition design, influence the experience of the exhibition, much in relation to the level of experience of exhibitions on the part of the exhibition consumer or visitor.

Since exhibitions are partly intellectual endeavours, programmed events often take place in connection to an exhibition. Such events may include guided tours of the exhibition, lectures on the theme(s) of the exhibition, or other types of events related to the exhibition.

By museum studies researchers, exhibitions are generally understood as a medium for presentation of museum collections and as an educational tool. [3] Exhibitions are within museum studies understood as a medium for museum presentation, for the display of their collected artefacts as a communicative act, with an understanding of them as a mix of scholarly endeavours, physical constructions, and artistic work. exhibitions convey something abstract, ideas, through material artefacts, about cognitive sharing, about putting us as individuals and citizens in a larger context. But it is also about the expression of a subjective attitude, of assuming an attitude. [4] [5]

There is much more to be said about exhibitions in different contexts, where different understandings of what an exhibition is and can be are

prevalent. But since this is not a book on exhibitions, I will leave the discussion of the exhibition as a medium, to let us concentrate on the overall focus of the dissertation; exhibition realisation as enterprise, and more immediately on exhibitions as aesthetic goods.

Aesthetic entity or good

Exhibitions can, together with a few other types of entities or goods, be characterised as aesthetic. What then, makes an entity or good qualify as aesthetic?

Not a means
According to Mossetto, the "aesthetic qualification"[6] involved in both the production and consumption of this type of entity, is that the entity can only be judged by criteria from the Kantian domain of pure judgement, and not by pure or practical reason.[7] Aesthetic judgement does not have external aims, it is not a means.

Symbolic
With reference to aesthetic philosophy, aesthetic goods can therefore be described as symbolic or semiotic goods, lacking instrumentality.[8] What is meant by symbolic or semiotic, is that the meaning level beyond the material construction of the artefact is central to, both production and/or consumption of the good. According to Kant, useful things are to be measured by pure reason, good things by practical reason, and aesthetic things by pure judgement. This also means that in aesthetic production projects such as exhibition realisation, not only are there economic and moral aspects to consider, but also an aesthetic aspect that is central. All these concerns have to be balanced against each other in each aesthetic production.[9]

Non-functional development
Furthermore, a characteristic of aesthetic entities is, according to Mossetto, that the development over time, as regards both production and

consumption of aesthetic entities or goods, is *non-consequential*. In other words, they cannot be accounted for by a functional explanation of development or refinement. They follow other, highly subjective rules. This non-consequentiality in production does not depend on

> increases in conceptual functionality of the ideas embodied in the artistic products or of the aesthetic theories themselves. The evolution of the concept of art arises from the denial of reality itself, either because it is based on a separate reference to a non-real 'superior' world (in the idealistic conception) or because it is founded on a deliberate (and obligatory) attempt to re-establish reality on more or less non-consequential bases.[10]

The non-consequencentiality of aesthetic judgement means a disconnection of cause and effect in the relationship between reality (phenomena) and preferences.

> The absence of a model is the main feature of aesthetic creativity as a consequence of the fact that it is an "adventurous" self-formulating hypothesis of a "useless" theory (it can give pleasure but is of no use to anyone).[11]

Unique
Aesthetic goods are also unique. Even though established methods of production and styles or genres may be used, and it may be reproduced, the aesthetic design is unique. In artistic and more broadly aesthetic production, there is an important rule of renewal that underlies the whole system of production.[12] The drive to doing something new lies in the reward of developing the aesthetic discourse.[13]

Attemptive production
The production of aesthetic goods is by Pareyson described as

> a procedure one starts without any previous knowledge of what to do and of how to do it. This is progressively discovered and invented during

the course of the operation. … The artist does not imagine his work as a whole and then executes it. He outlines it while making it.[14]

Interpretive consumption
The characteristics of interpretation are that it is "a type of knowledge in which the object reveals itself as much as the subject expresses himself",[15] and that we run a permanent risk of misunderstanding the intention of the creator.[16] Misunderstanding Mossetto defines as an elimination or modification of the aesthetic qualification as defined through the (original) creative act.

The characteristics of aesthetic production and consumption create an information asymmetry between the producer and consumer of an aesthetic good. We can describe this information asymmetry in another way as the ambiguity of aesthetic goods. Production of an aesthetic entity is a creation process that is started without knowledge of what is going to be the end result, or by which means to achieve this, i.e. an attemptive type of production. The consumption equivalent to the production of an art work, (the creative process) is interpretation. Interpretation, is a type of knowledge in which the object reveals itself as much as the subject expresses himself. This is because the abundance of information in the main leaves the interpreter to use her own, individual patterns of making sense of the artefact encountered.

Multitude of organisational forms
Chiapello points out that the only aspect common to work within all types of artistic organisations, is the artistic dimension of the work. In her dissertation, Chiapello pulls some central characteristics of aesthetic goods and activities out of both writings in aesthetics and business studies and economics. These are, according to her, the only traits common to all organisations within this field, be it goals, orientation or type of production.[17] Her list of the characteristics of aesthetic goods and production, based on empirical studies and writings in sociology, art and business studies, can be divided into two sections. The first one lists the specific aesthetic characteristics of the product or the aesthetic

production process itself, whereas the second one lists characteristics of the system for production of aesthetic goods. The characteristics of the second group depend on the characteristics of the first one.

Characteristics of the aesthetic product or the aesthetic production process are

-   no utility value in the product
-   a prototype industry with corresponding risks
-   quasi-uniqueness of each product
-   patrimonial possibilities, i.e. long duration of produced goods

Characteristics of the system for production of aesthetic goods:

-   offer precedes demand
-   a passionate approach towards the object created[18]
-   social and professional norms play an important role
-   peers play an important role [19]

From the characteristics of exhibitions mentioned here, we can see that there are a number of factors relating to the specific aesthetic and medial nature of exhibitions, that affect the way they are produced. But the way exhibitions are made is not only dependent on the nature of the entity or good produced. As we have seen in the historical overview in the preceding chapter, ideas of the aims of exhibition realisation but also dimensions of power influences the ways in which exhibitions become realised. Just as in earlier times, professional identity and changes in society influences practice. In the following part of this chapter, we will take a look at how the context of individual exhibition enterprises, in terms of social changes, issues of power, etc., as described by social scientists, affect the general conditions for aesthetic enterprising.

THE CONTEXTS OF EXHIBITIONS

From the actual elements of an exhibition we cannot read out how it was produced. We cannot see the action of the realisation in the exhibition, only the materials used and their composition. We cannot find traces of the changes that were part of the realisation process preceding the final appearance. If we want to find out how an exhibition was produced, we need to go to other sources of information than the object itself. As has already been indicated by Chiapello, the characteristics of aesthetic products effect the entire system of production and distribution that surrounds it.

The realisation of an exhibition entails practical work apart from writing and talk. It entails work by a number of different professional groups, as notes Francis Haskell:

> Miles above us jets speed through the skies carrying their freight of Titians and Poussins, Van Dycks and Goyas. Meanwhile, curatorial staff in museums and galleries scattered over much of Europe and the United States are supervising the transfer of pictures that usually hang on their walls to inaccessible and crowded storage rooms and are busy preparing large new explanatory labels. Accountants are checking the impact likely to be made on this year's budget deficit and are deploring the failure to settle for Monet or Van Gogh, while elsewhere printers work overtime to make sure that bulky catalogues are ready on schedule, hotel clerks are eagerly accepting, or regretfully refusing a spate of extra bookings, and academics are putting the finishing touches to the papers that they will shortly read at the inevitable symposium.[20]

In other words, exhibition enterprising entails co-operation among a number of different types of social actors, from individuals to institutions. Exhibitions get realised as the result of a complex web of resources in the form of among other things, ideas, funding, space, and contributors in the form of producers and consumers.

What norms and ideas govern the work with aesthetic products or entities, to which we can count exhibitions? Cultural sociologists have studied the production of aesthetic goods from a system or field perspective.[21] These types of studies reveal the means by which the field in which individual exhibition enterprises take shape are governed. They display the (changing) rules that apply for action, and also the different types of actors that constitute the interplay of the specific field.[22] In these types of sociological studies, the focus of interest is not on individual actions, but on general and common patterns of behaviour among groups of individuals, classified according to task or other parameters.

The focus in this thesis is on individual exhibition projects and enterprises. Nevertheless, no individual action or chain of events is fully understood if not related to its context both in terms of history and environment. On the other hand, we may lose sight of the individual project and enterprise if we follow all the threads that we can trace to the web that I have chosen to depart from. If we change the focus of interest from the individual enterprise to study the production of exhibitions or aesthetic products in general. We have then moved from a focus on individual actors or the micro level (in economic terms) to the study of a field or system or the macro level.

The fields of restricted and large-scale cultural production

Bourdieu has thoroughly investigated different fields of production and consumption which have in common that they are not strictly utilitarian. [23] In Bourdieu's opinion, the field of cultural production, or the field of production of symbolic goods, can be roughly divided into two sectors, on one hand a field of restricted production, where the good's symbolic or cultural value is determinant, and on the other hand a field of large-scale production, where the economic values of the cultural good are primary.[24] Bourdieu thus stresses a separation of the commodity character of a good from its symbolic, cultural aspects, its "content":

> Symbolic goods are a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object: Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent although the economic sanction may come to reinforce their cultural consecration.[25]

Bourdieu separates the two sectors of the market of cultural i.e. symbolic goods on the basis of the logic that is expressed in the whole system of production and distribution. These are the field of restricted and the field of large-scale production of cultural goods. The logic of restricted cultural production is connected to the historical process of autonomisation, that the fine arts have undergone in Europe since the Middle Ages. Today's autonomous arts field is according to Bourdieu the result of an increased number of possible customers and consumers on a market increasingly anonymous. There was an important power aspect as well as an economic aspect to the stressing of the symbolic values of a cultural good by the producers.

The logic of the field of restricted production follows an increasingly art centred concern among the producers of cultural goods, whereas other areas of production, including the field of large-scale production of cultural goods, have followed an economic logic in their production and development. In the field of restricted production, the knowledge of the symbolic value of the good is high among consumers, and the life of the good is on average long.[26]

It is with industrialisation that the development towards a market of large-scale production of cultural goods takes off. If the artists had managed to create a profession of their own, and thus freeing themselves of the power of the commissioner to interfere with the symbolic level of the product, they now got surrounded by industrialised methods of production, which produced a vast amount of standardised forms. The development of standardised cultural goods supported the diversification of the market of symbolic goods towards one sphere of restricted production, oriented towards other producers and similar skilled consumers, and another sphere of production oriented towards a mass market of non-

knowledgeable consumers. Hence two types of cultural goods, the former art-for-art's-sake, and the latter art-as-any-commodity.

The modes of production of the exhibitions we will encounter in this book all bear characteristics of both fields of production, or rather, have been realised with ambitions to correspond to consumption patterns in both systems. The intellectual ambitions of e.g. artists or curators are balanced with the educational demands of public address and access.

Core and support art activities

One of Becker's main points with regard to the production of aesthetic entities, is that several actors are involved in the individual piece of art, i.e. the aesthetic product.[27] They all contribute to a product of some sort, whether it be aesthetic or other. But some activities are considered core art activities whereas some are seen as support art activities. The former are those activities performed by artists, and the latter are activities performed by other professional groups, and are not considered essential to the aesthetic aspect of the product. in other words, support art activities does not contribute to the aesthetic core of the product. The activities that are considered core and support art activities however change with time and context.

Becker also points out that the way a work is produced doesn't necessarily have anything to do with the quality of the work produced. He also differentiates between core artistic skills and activities, which are necessary to make the work of art or aesthetic product, and support activities, which are not considered crucial to the aesthetic quality of the product. The distinction between which activities are artistic and which are not, furthermore change over time and are socially negotiated.

The cultural industries

Ekstedt's et al. characterisation of neo-industrial organising later in this chapter display several similarities with the type of organising that is common in the cultural sphere, characteristics that seem to spread into other areas of production and thus become more general.

In their study of post-industrial economy, Lash & Urry see the cultural industries as a centre in what they call a new world economy of signs and space.[28] The post-Fordist, flexible contemporary culture industry[29] is according to Lash & Urry characterised by a transaction-rich nexus of self-employed people or small firms. This happens through horizontal and vertical disintegration of the large, mass-production types of organisations within the cultural industries. The new market structure is handier for non-mass production.[30] Personal contacts and networks are crucial, since people choose working partners whom they like to work with. With the disintegration of formerly large organisations through outsourcing, e.g. in the publishing sector, professionals within the cultural industry seem to start working as self-employed with formerly non-existent types of activities. One example is that of the agent, which has overtaken part of the tasks of the editor within the traditional publishing house.

Lash & Urry furthermore see flexible production (in any industry) as reflexive. By this they mean that flexible production must always include an individual and constant re-evaluation and decision making regarding production and future work. [31] Reflexive production in short means that each employee must constantly think of the "whole picture" of the enterprise, and not just within the existing structures and ways of working, rather the opposite: "in the culture industries R&D is the main activity, while production is secondary".[32] Lash & Urry also point out that cultural production was always post-Fordist, it has not become more industrialised. Rather, other sectors of production have become more cultural.

The drawback of the flexible, disintegrated culture industry is that there are no security margins in terms of financial resources for professional development, due to the total absence of any plannable work future. Quality in the long run is thus at risk with a totally disintegrated market of cultural production.

Lash & Urry also point out that cultural production was always post-Fordist, it has not become more industrialised. Rather, other sectors of production have become more cultural. Comparing USA and Europe, Lash & Urry stress the non-industrial aspect of cultural production. According to them, it is crucial for Europe to understand cultural production as related to the construction of identity, and to a reflexive transmission and dialogue of values.[33]

If artists have investigated and used the procedures of industrialised production that became dominant with the industrialisation of Western society in the nineteenth century, and fundamental for the mass-consumption society of the twentieth century,[34] artists have not abandoned the overview of the full work process. Artistic work is still in general based on one or a few persons developing the idea of an art work, and also working with the whole project through to its realisation. The division of work of industrial production rather came to the fore in the larger system for production and consumption of cultural goods. The gallery owner or art dealer stepped in as a middle-man between the producer, i.e. the artist, and the consumer-customer.

So when comparing general production in western society, we see that artists adapt to, or express the changes of production modes, yet at the same time have kept their work on a pre-industrial level, continuing to partake in all the phases of the production process.[35]

The network enterprise

The descriptions of the modes of working in art worlds and the cultur-

al industry above seem to be echoed in some descriptions of changes in the organisation of production in non-aesthetic industries. Castells for example claims that industrial production in general becomes more network and alliance based, in order to meet unpredictable changes in demands and a faster pace of such demand changes.

According to Castells, the network has become the operating unit that best can meet the conditions of the new competitive and informational environment. It is no longer, according to Castells, the subject, individual or collective, that is the basic unit of economic organisation, but the network. Networks consist of a cluster of individuals and organisations, continuously changing in number and character, adapting to changed conditions, depending on which contributors exit and enter the network. Castells defines the network enterprise as "that specific form of enterprise whose system of means is constituted by the intersection of segments of autonomous systems of goals".[36]

What keeps networks together? According to Castells pure instrumental gain is not enough to explain it, what is at the base is a new a spirit or ethical foundation of the ephemeral, of creative destruction.[37] The nature of artistic work, is project based and non-industrial. Therefore it is also not subject to any fixed division of work, established in an organisational structure, as in going concern organisations.

What Castells describes as the development in general production, is a mode of organising that comes to bear more and more similarities to the modes of organising in the aesthetic field.[38] Even though the development that Castells paints for goods-producing companies may have been contradicted by the surge of mergers and acquisitions in the late 1990s, it seems the perceivedly unpredictable changes in taste producing corresponding changes in demand of goods, is something which is part of the very basis for the production of aesthetic goods.[39]

But in the field of production of aesthetic goods, the system that Bourdieu would define as restricted, the change of taste is inherent in the produc-

er, or as Mossetto formulated, both the changes in production and consumption are non-consequential, i.e. non-functionally oriented.

Recurrent and unique work tasks and projects

In a book on strategies for renewal in contemporary companies and organisations, Ekstedt et al. offer a categorisation of different ways in which projects are related to different types of organisations in contemporary business and public life.[40]

Ekstedt et al. distinguish two main types of work tasks, recurring and unique, or flow-process (routinised) operations,[41] and projectised operations, but furthermore two different types of projects: recurring and unique. [42] Recurring projects are projects that roughly follow the same type of procedure from one project to the other, and where the staff or professionals managing the projects can rely on their experience of similar projects for the realisation of a new project. They can manage the new project with skills accumulated from executing other similar tasks.[43] In unique projects, previous experience cannot directly be implemented. Instead, unique projects require development of new strategies for the execution of the task.

Whereas the realisation of recurrent tasks tends to be managed through isolation from environmental disturbances (sic), unique projects are realised through an openness towards the environment. In unique projects, rhetoric is also important, because of the higher level of uncertainty and ambiguity compared to recurring project tasks. Because of this, unique projects are also difficult to evaluate.

Recurring projects are mostly run by project professionals, i.e. staff that have an experience of this type of tasks, whereas unique projects are generally run by non-project professionals, by people who have been commissioned for their task for other skills they possess other than that of being project professionals. In the management of unique projects, in the

solving of unique tasks, the persons involved feel that they do not manage on existing knowledge. New knowledge is required to execute the task, to manage the project. [44]

Four types of work organisation

Ekstedt et al. distinguish four main types of organisational forms to correspond to the four main modes of organising in flow-process or projectised work. Industrial companies and public services are the ideal type of organisation where permanently employed staff perform routinised operations. Manpower-leasing companies offer temporarily employed staff that likewise perform different types of routinised operations. Commissioned companies on the other hand, have permanently employed staff dealing with recurring project type work tasks, for example within the fields of construction or management or IT consulting. Finally, there are individual professionals or practitioners, who on a temporary basis are employed to perform unique projects in other organisations, or on their own.[45]

Professional strategies

Important for individual professional practitioners in increasingly outsourced or externalised production, as in the cultural field, is according to Ekstedt et al. to build up a reputation. Reputation is based on a demonstrated ability of some sort that is not similar to that of other practitioners in the field.[46] The professionals need to be demanded for what they do in the way they do it. This condition of developing one's originality, is paralleled by a high demand of autonomy in relation to commissioners.[47]

There may be rather a distance between the persons who are permanently employed by an organisation, and the commissioned professionals who they work with on an individual project. This has to do with the differing focus of permanent staff participating in a project besides handling routine tasks, compared to that of professionals employed for a specific project. In an organisation where work is projectised, there are shorter but perhaps more profound relations between people working to-

gether. Team members build a professional fellowship and team spirit on the basis of the individual project. This in turn, according to Ekstedt et al., leads to strong commitment to and identification with an individual project.

Institutions as actors

Institutions in the form of museums and *kunsthallen*, university departments, and other art venues are important physical and social instances in the field in which exhibitions are realised. How come institutions play such an important role for individual exhibition enterprises, as witnessed in the case accounts? And why do organisations seem slower to move the more established they become?

Callon and Latour concern themselves with the question of how actors grow from a micro-level to become actors on a macro-level. They are interested in the difference between small and large actors, or between micro- and macro-actors.[48] Their attempt to do away with the perceived difference in kind between these two types of social actors, is based on Hobbes writings on social contracts.[49] With actors, Callon & Latour mean both human and non-human units or forces.

In Callon & Latour's sociology, the contract[50] is understood as one expression of a more general phenomenon, which they call translation. Translation refers to all the negotiations, intrigues, calculations, actions of persuasion or violence, by which an actor or force takes, or makes sure to be given, authority to speak or act on behalf of some other actor or force. An actor grows according to how many others she acts for.

Callon & Latour do not want to distinguish between individuals and institutions, because this distinction, according to them, would give the institution a greater power to act than the individual, and this is a false starting point for investigation. Instead, when studying action, we should focus on the negotiations, the translations, the fights, that are the

basis for an actor's power and thus her size.

The best way to understand the dynamics of actors[51] is to see actors as networks. It is though transactions, that is, through translation, through creating durable asymmetries, that an actor grows. Durable asymmetries, and thus increased size, is secured by creating associations that last longer than the interactions that created them. This can be done by substituting contracts for loose alliances, or names and signs for reversible friendships. Transcribing relationships into a more lasting form creates durability, as the more durable form of association replaces the human association, they are sedimentations of human associations. An actor grows when the relation she or he has of some sort does not have to be negotiated, but is accepted in its prevailing form.[52] Examples of relations, or elements that are the building blocks of an actor, are ways of thinking, customs, forces and artefacts. Actors grow and diminish when such relations are accepted or questioned.

The struggle concerns the right to define what is essential, how relations and environment are structured. The method is to replace reversible, easily renegotiated interactions with stronger, more durable interactions. When reversible, easily renegotiated relations or interactions, characterised by possibilities for both actors, are replaced with durable ones, the actors can no longer escape in any direction. Instead of possibilities, the interaction is, at least for one part, characterised by lines of coercion, compulsory controls, directions and inferences. The power or strength of an actor to intervene, that is, to create or to disrupt interactions according to her or his own will.

But powerful actors, macro-level actors are slow movers, according to Callon & Latour. Large-scale actors only partly change, and vary in scale slowly, burdened by the mass of durable connections accumulated exactly for the reason of limiting the possibility of possible renegotiations of interaction.

The theory of actors that Callon & Latour have developed does not

contribute to an understanding of the specific environments in which exhibitions are realised, as the other sociologists referred in this chapter. They are rather interested in suggesting a general logic of social action. As I will later discuss the vicarious acting of institutions, this introduction to Callon & Latour's theory serves as a model for understanding the specific perspective on exhibitions and exhibition realisation that institutional curators have, that contrasts from that of for example artist curators or academic free-lance curators.

SUMMARY

In summary then, exhibitions can be described as three-dimensional, temporary media, in which ideas are materialised in physical form, in other words they are symbolical entities. Furthermore, exhibitions can be described as aesthetic entities. Aesthetic entities lack instrumentality, and are unique and ambiguous. The production of aesthetic entities is commenced without any clear ideas of the end result.

The contexts in which aesthetic entities are produced have certain characteristics that influence individual exhibition enterprises. Such characteristics are that peers play an important role, as do social and professional norms. Aesthetic or cultural production takes place in two fields, which complement each other, the field of restricted and the field of large-scale cultural production.

The field of cultural production, or the culture industry, consists of a transaction-rich nexus of self-employed people and small firms, who interact with larger institutions and organisations. Personal contacts and networks are crucial, since people choose working partners whom they like to work with. Furthermore, part of the activities relating to the realisation of aesthetic goods can be described as either core or support art activities. The distinction is aimed at pointing out which activities are considered to be directly related to the aesthetic qualities of the product, and which are not.

Networks consist of a cluster of individuals and organisations, continuously changing in number and character, adapting to changed conditions, depending on which contributors exit and enter the network. This type of organising can be said to describe activities in the creative industries and artistic production, but also of other types of industrial production. This type is flexible and allows adaptation to changed conditions of activity quickly.

Institutions play an important role in exhibition realisation projects. Institutions can be described as large social actors. They have been given the authority to speak or act on behalf of other actors or forces. Therefore, their actions and statements also gives more weight and visibility to a smaller actor being able to work with an institution, than this actor would be given if it (or her or him) acted on its own.

Combining our experiences of the characteristics and contexts of exhibitions and exhibition realisation, we can conclude that exhibition realisation is a process and an enterprise that develops in the tension field between what we can call an aesthetic restricted field of production and a large-scale field of production, where exhibitions are seen as educational tools for a general audience. Depending on the individual curator, exhibition concept and venue or context of display, the emphasis can be on either end of this tension field.

Footnotes

[1] Cf. e.g. Barthes 1957. Another important writer on semiology is Umberto Eco. For more reading on the interplay between indididual, artefact and society, cf. titles by for example Jean Baudrillard and Marshall McLuhan. Baudrillard 1968, 1981, McLuhan 1964.

[2] Debray 1994.

[3] Cf. e.g. Belcher 1991, Dean 1996. But exhibitions have also been investigated from semiological (Horta 1992, O'Toole 1994, Hooper-Greenhill 1995) , social history or history of ideas (Carlén 1990, Drechsler 1996, Arcadius 1997, Staniszewski 1998), and critical or reflective standpoints (e.g. Alexander 1979, Ferguson et al. 1995, Roberts 1997 and Dublin 1999). The exhibited artefacts are often in focus in writings by museum studies scholars, and exhibitions are mostly analysed in terms of the end result, i.e. the realised exhibition.

[4] Stránsky 1978, Wajda 1978, Vergo 1989, Belcher 1991, Viel & De Guise 1992, Kaplan 1995.

[5] An important reason for engagement with the display of artefacts is according to Luckhurst "the desire to 'show off'", i.e. self-display, but he also notes that this is not by itself enough to make an exhibition. Luckhurst 1951: 10.

[6] Mossetto 1993.

[7] Mossetto 1993: 18f. Kant described human existence as pertaining to three separate domains, that of the efficient/utility, relating to Pure Reason, the equitable/morals, relating to Practical Reason, and the aesthetic, relating to Pure Judgement. Cf. Kant 1790.

[8] Kant 1790, Pareyson 1991, Mossetto 1993, Barrère & Santagata 1997.

[9] The limitation in focus and vocabulary of "managerialese" or "businessese", i.e. the economic or business studies approach to aesthetic activities, has also been noted by writers such as Peter Cannon-Brookes, Arjo Klamer, and Luca Zan. Cannon-Brookes 1996, Klamer 1996, Zan 2000a, b, Zan et al. 2000.

[10] Mossetto 1993: 24.

[11] Mossetto 1993: 22.

[12] The drive for the new, is central for contemporary production and consumption of aesthetic goods, but at the same time makes it difficult. This is because something quite new cannot be produced on demand. McCain wrote

that the characteristics of something quite new, in his case a masterpiece, is that it both demands and creates a new way of perceiving it, and therefore we can never foresee innovative creations. This is also why innovations or artistic masterpieces cannot be commissioned. The understanding that is the basis for our judgements tomorrow is not yet today formed, and therefore we can only judge by our understanding today. We can acknowledge that our experiences today will change our perception tomorrow, but we don't know from which elements in our environment this new perception will be created. And we do not know in which direction our altered perception will change. We only know it when we experience something imposes on us such a new perception. McCain 1981: 176-177.

[13] Cf. Mossetto 1993: 75 for a discussion on the driving forces of the consumer of aesthetic or artistic goods. Cf. also Trist 1981, quoted in Ramírez 1991: 128. For a discussion of the new for culture, cf. Groys 1992.

[14] Pareyson 1991: 69, translated and quoted by Mossetto 1993: 22.

[15] Mossetto 1993: 23, Pareyson 1991: 189.

[16] Pareyson 1991: 186, cited in Mossetto 1993: 23.

[17] Chiapello 1994: 40.

[18] Cf. Pamuk 1998.

[19] Chiapello 1994: 86.

[20] Haskell 2000: 1.

[21] Cf. e.g. Sandström 1970a, b, Klausen 1978.

[22] Cf. e.g. Ericson 1988. For a list of phenomena in "the culture business", cf. e.g. Breitenstein 1996, Kemper 2001.

[23] Cf. e.g. Bourdieu & Darbel 1969, Bourdieu 1971, 1979, 1992.

[24] Bourdieu 1971.

[25] Bourdieu 1971: 16. By cultural, Bourdieu means roughly "intellectual, artistic and scientific", without specifying the term further. Bourdieu 1971: 16, note 3. Side references are to the English translation published in 1985.

[26] In the field of large-scale production, production is adjusted to current demand, and the symbolic value of the good is secondary to the economic return. Among consumers within the field of large-scale production, the knowledge of the symbolic value of the good is not as high as, and the life of the good is in general shorter than in the system of restricted production.

[27] Becker 1982. Cf. the writings of Janet Wolff. She emphasizes the production

of art as something extending beyond the artist herself, but furthermore wants to present art works as cultural products, expressing a certain place and time as much as the intention of an individual creator. Wolff 1981.

[28] Lash & Urry 1994.

[29] They describe cultural objects not as material objects, but as already reflexive objects, produced through an aesthetic operation, Lash & Urry 1994: 113.

[30] Cf. Castells 1996.

[31] Lash & Urry 1994: 122.

[32] Lash & Urry 1994: 122, with reference to Garnham 1990.

[33] Lash & Urry 1994: 129.

[34] For a discussion of the society of consumption, cf. e.g. Baudrillard 1970.

[35] Cf. Lindqvist 2000b.

[36] Castells 1996: 171.

[37] Castells 1996: 199.

[38] As noted also by Lash & Urry 1994.

[39] Cf. Lindqvist 2000b.

[40] Ekstedt et al. 1999. For interesting analyses of the development of the organisation of work in general and creative work in particular, cf. Castells 1996 and Lash & Urry 1994.

[41] The difference between projectised action and flow-process or routinised action, according to Ekstedt et al., is that for projectised action there are no ways of acting that are defined in advance, no predefined procedures that are to be followed. The flow-process or routinised action is established according to certain functions, in order to secure continuous action, and is therefore also more difficult to change.

[42] The difference between recurring and unique tasks has also been pointed out by Packendorff. He describes projects procedures that are more or less standardised as repetitive, even though the task or object of the project is unique. The repetitive project he differentiates from unique projects, in which neither object/task or procedure are standardised. Packendorff 1992: 18.

[43] Ekstedt et al. 1999: 65.

[44] Ekstedt et al. 1999: 113, table 5.2.

[45] Ekstedt et al. 1999: 211, table 9.1.

[46] Ekstedt et al. 1999: 215.

[47] Cf. e.g. Dubin 1987 for a discussion on 'labour' versus 'own work', and

motivation for artists in labour-market oriented public art schemes.

[48] Callon & Latour 1981.

[49] Hobbes 1651.

[50] In Hobbes *Leviathan*, the social contract is based on an agreement among people to let one person, not liased with anyone in particular, to become the agent for the group. Hobbes 1651.

[51] For Callon & Latour, it is important to be precise with the term actor. In this treatise, we will not go into any further discussion of what an actor is, but understand actors as humans performing both physical and mental or verbal acts.

[52] For a discussion of negotiation, asymmetries and unchallenged relations cf. also Guillet de Monthoux 1978.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASES

Six cases of exhibition enterprising will now be presented. The accounts of these cases are stories of the development and realisation of single exhibitions and joint exhibition projects. The projects presented vary in size and have been realised in three European countries; Sweden Switzerland and the UK. This means that the conditions for realisation of the different projects and exhibitions vary. This fact will to some extent be exposed in the case stories.

The case stories vary in respect to their tone and style. This is because the stories have been written during different phases of the work with the dissertation. The varying styles of writing is also to an extent dependent on the conditions for access to first-hand material on the projects. A more thorough presentation of how the cases were chosen, and how work with the cases has been conducted can be found in the appendix on method. Below follows some introductory information on the cases, mainly dates, host venues, and locations.

In Visible Light was a photography exhibition shown at the Museum of Modern art in Oxford between 16 March and 6 July 1997. The concept for the exhibition was developed by Russell Roberts, who also curated the exhibition. The exhibition was shown in all the five galleries of the MOMA, covering approximately 520 square metres.

In spring 1997 the exhibition *Collected*, curated by artist Neil Cummings, was shown in various places in central London. The exhibition consisted of works and installations displayed at the Photographers' Gallery, The British Museum, The Wallace Collection, The Royal College of Surgeons of England, The Hunterian Museum, Habitat, Selfridges, the Paul Smith Shop in Covent Garden, and a private apartment in Soho. The size of the exhibition space in the Photographers' Gallery was

140 square metres, whereas the additional spaces of display varied depending on venue and space accessible.

Divers Memories is a series of loosely coupled exhibitions, curated by Chris Dorsett, artist and Research Fellow at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle. The last exhibition was shown in a border village in Hong Kong in 1998. There were seminars, talks, and guided tours arranged in connection to the exhibitions. The exhibition was held in a residential house with three floors and a roof terrace, altogether comprising approximately 100 square metres.

Vita rockar was a travelling exhibition produced by and first shown at the Museum of Work in Norrköping in spring 1998. The project and exhibition were initiated by the research team at the museum in 1994. The project was jointly developed and funded in co-operation with three trade unions within the care sector in Sweden. The exhibition displayed at the Museum of Work was 350 square metres, whereas the touring part of the exhibition was took up approximately 50 square metres.

Framtidstro (*Facing the Future*) was joint exhibition project initiated by the Swedish Association of county custodians of antiquities (alias county museum directors) in 1997. The project linked exhibitions and event programmes in 27 museums in Sweden thematically around a common topic. The exhibitions were officially opened in September 1999, and the project continued until the mid of 2000. The sizes of the various exhibitions depended on the sizes of the exhibition spaces allocated at each museum, but the exhibitions were often the major exhibition displayed at each museum. Regional museums vary in size from rather small to medium sized, in comparison to the national museums. The Framtidstro exhibition at Nordiska museet, which was the largest of all exhibitions, was 1,000 square metres, whereas the exhibition at Kulturen in Lund was 105 square metres.

Expo.02 is the name of the national exhibition in the three-lakes-district in Western Switzerland. The national exhibition was open to the public

from mid May to mid October 2002, and was spread out on four fixed sites and a mobile one. They together contained approximately forty exhibitions and a vast events programme during its five months of existence. The national exhibition was initiated by Swiss politicians in the early 1990s, and was realised by an autonomous limited company under the supervision of an association formally given the task to realise the national exhibiti6on. There were 37 exhibitions plus a number of additional experiences and events of the four fix arteplages at four towns, covering an area of approximately 250.000 square metres.[1]

The six case studies have been ordered according to the size of the projects in terms of the (approximate) number of people involved, and institutional settings. The exhibition concepts in the three latter cases have been developed within a clear institutional framework, as part of the aims of the various institutions. The exhibition concepts of the three former cases have not been developed within such clear institutional frameworks, but have been realised with the help of various art institutions and grant giving bodies.

The accounts differ in level of focus. The organisation of the larger projects have been described on a more overall level, concentrating on the work of the project offices and project managers. This is because the same detailed description of the different exhibitions making up these projects would make the empirical material too large for the present context.

For the sake of anonymity, only the names of the project initiators and in some cases the names of directors are presented with their own names. The anonymisation has been made in order to focus on the projects and the functions of the people involved rather than on the individuals themselves, and has been a request by interviewees.

Currency conversion rates

(Approximate figures)

1997-1998:	1 HKD = 1 SEK
	1 GBP = 12,60 SEK
	1 CHF = 5, 20 SEK
2002-2003:	1 CHF = 6,20 SEK
	1 CHF = 0,7 Euro
	1 CHF = 0,50 GBP
	1 GBP = 1,40 Euro
	1 GBP = 12,30 HKD
	1 GBP = 2,20 CHF

Footnotes
[1] *Expo.02 Media Guide.*

4 CASE STUDY I: IN VISIBLE LIGHT

WHITE CUBE EXHIBITION WITH EXPERIMENTAL AMBITIONS

… the formal characteristics and ideological legacies that seep through the two existing paradigms of photography as either an art or science are clearly entangled both visually and historically. Positivism's epistemological use of the photograph to map the terrain of the body and of culture relied on classificatory methods to organise perceptions of the photograph as document, and, equally, on the document to verify the method. … The passivity associated with the photograph as evidence is subject to disruption through a recognition that its meaning is the product of relationships between cultural and historical forces that do not cling to its surface. *In Visible Light* is a gesture towards a historical method of understanding some of those histories.[1]

The ideas take shape

Russell Roberts worked at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London as a student intern in 1991-1992. He did this at the same time as he did an MA in the History and Theory of Modern Art at the Chelsea College of Art and Design in London. In the late 1980s, he had gone to art school, and his graduation work had been a photographic study of museum displays.

Russell Roberts's task at the Photography department of the V&A was to catalogue about 600 photographs taken by a German photographer in the 1870s. He worked on this for almost a year. It was the difficulties in cataloguing and classifying these photographs according to the museum classification used, the Glass Index, that set off Roberts's ideas of an exhibition on the topic of photography and classification. The practical work with coming to terms with a photographic material that was supposed to fit into a predefined, general system of classification, begged many questions both concerning the photograph as documentary device, and concerning the logic of classification. The experience of working within a museum was quite a different one from spending time in museum spaces as a photographer:

> I came from a Fine Art background, and my own studio work was linked to photographing in museums. I was interested in museum language and how photographs were being used in display cases. For my final degree show I had spent between four and five months in the V&A, the Natural History Museum, the British Museum, the Science Museum, the Geology Museum, and the Museum of Mankind, just taking very simple photographs of objects next to their captions, or objects which were placed in a kind of diorama or other situations which tried to put it into a historical context. I became very interested in museum language and the technologies involved in display.
>
> As a photographer, I was very much detached, and I was present in museum spaces as an observer not just of objects on display, but of

people's interaction with them. I think that developed a kind of ironic disdain but love of museum spaces. Then suddenly to find myself working in a collection, unpaid, and understanding the museum's rules and the responsibilities that curators have in terms of providing accurate information about their collections, and classifications systems that they work with—there was something quite interesting happening between my role as a student intern documenting these collections, and what I was looking at as an artist.[2]

Russell Roberts now found himself in a position where he could no longer be an external observer and commentator. Instead, he had to assume the role of the museum official, and try to manage the conditions of work that both the societal role of the museum and the techniques applied in making the collections of the museum intelligible posed.

… these were people who had already been categorised within the space of the photograph, and then, further, in relation to the text which accompanied the photograph. And now I was going to use a different means of classification, a different taxonomy to make sense of the individuals who were photographed, but also of the way that they were to be stored and represented within the museum institution. My dissertation was starting to look at the work of Michel Foucault and his notion of discourse from *The Birth of the Clinic*, I was thinking about how the archive is equally a discursive space but one that is very rigid and doesn't really open out onto the richness of the historical terrain where these photographs originated from. I was trying to think of alternative ways to represent these photographs in the archive.

… the Glass Index … gives you a certain number of possibilities for explaining your object, and this was unsatisfactory because it didn't deal with colonialism or with photography in any great deal … So that wasn't an adequate way of questioning the archive. I was working in the museum, I was obeying its rules, trying to give a greater sense of context to this material. It was at this point I was thinking about how the question of taxonomy can be explored in a broader museum context, but

also in relation to the cataloguing process.[3]

During his time as an MA student, Roberts had become interested in literature on representation and the scientific perspectives on nature and the human body as expressed in writings by for example Allan Sekula and John Tagg. These investigations of the use of photography that nineteenth and early twentieth century scientists made in building or trying to validate their theories, fuelled Roberts's thoughts. How could questions like those raised by critical and reflexive academics in the twentieth century be articulated in an exhibition? As a photographer, Roberts was familiar with many artists and photographers using seriality and repetition,

> … strategies which can be linked with the development of modernism but became parodied in postmodernism as well. Like August Sander and that whole German tradition of new objectivity, through to Bernd and Hilla Becher and their offspring of students or disciples in the eighties, such as Thomas Ruff and Thomas Struth. But I had a particular passion for photographs by the Bechers … their formalist, clean aesthetic for photographing vernacular architecture, … how they similarly objectified their subject matter … that aesthetic use of classification in contrast to the more scientific and documentary uses of classification …

> I felt that a lot of the photographs didn't sit comfortably within established classificatory rules, and that they had other things to say about other uses of photography, very different uses. The idea of bringing all this material together was at least a start to explore these overlapping histories, all the differences, and the similarities which are very much part of the rules of taxonomy, identifying difference and similitude.[4]

Outlining an exhibition concept

The curators at the Department of Photography at the V&A encouraged Roberts to develop his ideas. He was offered the opportunity to do a

small-scale exhibition on the German photographer, or on something closely related, if he wanted. Roberts decided to write an outline for an exhibition, which was to be much larger than could be placed at the V&A at that time. The curators of the photography department also encouraged him to seek a Research & Development grant from the Arts Council of England (ACE), in order to be able to develop the exhibition idea into a full exhibition concept with which he could approach possible venues for co-operation and display.

Roberts did apply for, and receive a Research & Development grant from the ACE, on GBP 3500, in 1993, for developing the exhibition idea so as to be able to offer it to Museums or Galleries. The grant gave Roberts the possibility to cover the costs for travel and related literature, as well as some weeks of work. In the final form the exhibition offer included a general theoretical outline as well as a list of planned included exhibits. The working title of the concept was Taxonomy.

Russell Roberts sent the completed concept to about fifteen museums in the UK. There was an immediate and great response, but after the first responses he didn't hear anything more from any of the museums. None of the museums approached, even though the likes of the Science Museum and the Natural History Museum in London, were interested in his exhibition.

As a student finishing his Master's thesis, he didn't have any salary at this time, but he managed to get a post as a part-time lecturer at the Thames Valley University in London.

A space for display

At this time Roberts was still working on his MA, and continued to elaborate his exhibition outline. After some time, the director of the John Hansard Gallery at the University of Southampton contacted Roberts, and said that they were willing to put on the exhibition in their premises.

But it turned out, on inspection, that the space wasn't large enough, for the size of the exhibition Russell Roberts wanted to do. At the same time Roberts was also in contact with the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford (MOMA), and they seemed to be interested in showing the exhibition.

At the same time as Russell Roberts got the offer to show the exhibition at the MOMA, he got a full-time teaching post at the Southampton Institute (SI).[5] He continued to develop the exhibition in his spare time during the roughly three years that the work with the project lasted. During the very last period of the project, from late 1996 to the opening of the exhibition, Roberts got a research fellowship at the SI, which gave him an opportunity to work more exclusively with the exhibition.

The first contact was made between Russell Roberts and the Head of exhibitions at MOMA, at an informal social occasion. Roberts then asked how he should go about submitting an exhibition proposal to the MOMA. The Head of exhibitions said that he was to write a letter to the director, and present his proposal, an outline of the ideas behind the exhibition, and add a provisional list of artists and any images that he could add.

> … and this happened. Russell Roberts sent in his proposal, which, as things obviously changed later, was relatively unformed compared with what we finally ended up with. But it was a very good idea. Our director liked it. But it did take quite some time before the proposal was approved and agreed. Russell had to do a bit more work on it, which he did. [6]

An art frame for the exhibition

The Museum of Modern Art in Oxford[7] was established in 1965, with the intention to build a collection and to grow into a museum. The project was driven by a group of roughly a dozen academics, who that year opened a small gallery. A year later, the building in which the museum is located became available, and the Arts council agreed to fund the

In Visible
Light

Photography and Classification in Art, Science and the Everyday

MOMA. Unfortunately, there never was any money to start a collection. By the time this was realised, the name had already been established, and therefore kept.

The Museum of Modern Art in Oxford is, in spite of its name, not a museum, but a *kunsthalle*. It shows temporary exhibitions of modern and contemporary visual art, defined broadly.[8] It is a limited company (by guarantee), but also so-called independent charity, which means it acts autonomously from its funders. The MOMA has no direct funding from the British government,[9] but instead relies on a core grant from the Southern Arts Region, a Regional Arts Board, covering the salaries for staff and part of the costs for the building. This funding is nowadays renegotiated every three years, after an assessment has been made of the activities of the museum during the period.[10] Until the year 2000, the museum received equivalent grants from the British Arts Council, a government body for funding of the arts, but the system of funding of the arts has been restructured, with power shifting from national bodies to regional bodies.

The core grant covers approximately 60% of the total income that the museum generates each year. The rest of the income is raised from trusts and foundations, and from income generated internally, e.g. from the café in the basement of the building, and from touring internally produced exhibitions. An endowment fund connected to the museum also generates a small amount of income for the MOMA. The museum furthermore receives an amount of money from the local authority, approximately 2% of its total annual turnover. However, apart from the core grant, all small incomes are important for the museum. The total income in 1998-1999 was approximately GBP 900,000.

The museum has approximately 18 full-time members of staff, and further people working on a casual basis, such as gallery attendants, the café, and similar. The café is a separate limited company owned by the museum.

Apart from receiving a core grant for the costs of staff and maintenance, the museum can apply for project money from regional arts councils and similar bodies handling grants to cultural projects. There are also a number of foundations that are directed towards the cultural area, which can grant money for individual projects. The MOMA also have a small number of foundations linked to it as a charity, from where they can receive a certain amount of money per year. These foundations are connected to the building and library for example, as well as towards the programme of the museum.[11]

The National Lottery also has a special portion of its revenue directed towards cultural projects, but the type of projects that are targeted seems to change over time, which makes it difficult for MOMA to foresee the possibility to receive grants. Some bodies only grant money if a corresponding sum is generated by other means, and this is also an important task for the development and fundraising department of the museum to be up to date with.

The director of the museum takes care of the day-to-day management of the museum, whereas a Council of Management, a board of trustees with twelve members, occupy themselves with long-term issues and strategies. These council members are specially invited, but all work on a voluntary basis. Apart from the Council of Management, there is also an Advisory Board, whose members have the outspoken aim to help better the financial status of the museum. The Advisory Board has eleven members at the moment. There is also an Association of the MOMA, consisting of roughly seventy persons, which meets annually. The members of the Association of the Museum of Modern Art have voting rights and approve the accounts of the museum each year.[12] They also elect the representatives for the Council of Management.

The economic frames have to be negotiated for each exhibition project, but the decision to produce or show an exhibition is based on its quality:

> … we do have a criterion of showing work of a very high standard on an

international level, whether that be British artist or international artists. … But it has to be a varied programme. We have had different strengths in the programme emerging under different directorships. … But broadly, the quality has to be high, it has to be artists who have some international recognition, or at least a consistently high standard observed over a number of years …[13]

Sponsorship as a means of funding projects makes a rather small contribution, when seen as a percentage of the total income within a specific year. Companies nowadays want to get much more out of sponsorship agreements with for example a museum:

> They're not willing to give you £20,000 and say goodbye to it. They really want to get something in exchange. It's nice if we can get the money, but sponsorship is not a big growth industry for us, I would say.[14]

According to the employees at MOMA, it also seems that companies want to have a say concerning the themes of exhibitions produced. In 1999, the total amount of corporate sponsorship income was 25,000 of the total incomes of 900,000, which means less than 3%. All grant-givers and sponsors are listed in publications accompanying exhibitions.

Instead of working with project-related sponsorship, the museum tries to engage companies in more long-term and broad relationships, based on an interest in the overall activities of the museum. Company money is often very insecure, as companies may change their priorities from one year to another. Also the support from the local Oxford authorities is highly subject to changes, depending on current priorities. Grants from foundations are always easier to get than sponsorship money, but can only be used for individual projects.

Touring exhibitions is basically a way for MOMA to be able to regain some of the costs of producing an exhibition. But the practice of touring exhibitions is also inscribed in a political grant-dividing system of cultural politics, in which the touring of exhibitions is seen as a way of

widening the audience for a specific exhibition. In strictly economic terms, one could also see the exhibition touring as an economical way of capitalising on what is in effect being produced. In this way, from a cultural economic perspective, the return on investment on exhibition production and art institutions and museums, is higher when an exhibition can be toured rather than just being shown in one venue. This is perhaps the idea that lies behind the grants available for the production of touring exhibitions by the regional art funding bodies in England. However, the risk of damage on the works increases with the number of venues to which an exhibition tours, and therefore an exhibition is seldom toured to more than four venues.

Towards realisation

The first contacts Roberts had with the MOMA were meetings with the director and with the head of the exhibitions department. Russell Roberts presented his at that time still rather sketchy exhibition idea to them. As he was told to exemplify with photographs, he brought with him more and more photographs, and worked on the concept to make it more distinct. After roughly a year, the director at MOMA thought that the concept was elaborated enough to be included in the exhibition programme. At this point, in late 1995, the exhibitions manager was also introduced into the project as the person who was to work most closely on a day-to-day basis with Roberts.

In the eyes of staff at MOMA, Russell Roberts didn't have any reassuring record of exhibition curating. However, Roberts himself thinks that his period as a student intern at the V&A and his MA degree were experiences to be trusted instead. And the grant from the Arts Council was also a sign of approval in the art world.

External curators are not unfamiliar to the MOMA. But usually the museum invites someone to curate an exhibition, either on her own or as co-curator with one of the curators at the museum, or with the director.

The case of co-curating is mainly a practical way of lightening heavy burden of being responsible for an exhibition for the individual curator. Two areas of expertise can also be combined when an exhibition is co-curated.

The exhibitions manager, having worked at the MOMA since the early 1990s, could tell that Russell Roberts had no earlier experience of exhibition production by the approach to the practicalities of exhibitions production:

> *I'm curious about what you said about Russell not having experience. How did you notice this?*
>
> Because he said: we need to get these amazing art works from where ever. So I said: well, that isn't going to be possible. He would then ask why not, and I would answer: because for one thing [Russell Roberts] doesn't have a name. Secondly, it's too expensive. Thirdly we don't have the room. It's just practical stuff. …
>
> Exhibition realisation is a team effort thing. Russell Roberts was a very young man, what he did is fantastic considering it was the first time he'd really done anything like this. He couldn't have done it without me, and he couldn't have done it without the former director and all these people that work here. Still, it's a great achievement for such a young man.[15]

But the director seemed to have sensed the potential in the idea when Roberts first presented it:

> I think the director always had complete confidence in the concept, but he needed to see evidence that Russell was prepared to expand beyond the historic, beyond his own realm of knowledge; the history of photography, into something more contemporary. For example to include some examples of Ed Ruscha's 24 parking lots or works by Sol LeWitt, his bookworks, and other more contemporary examples.[16]

Russell Roberts, however, doesn't agree to the description of him having knowledge only of historical photographic material. According to him, he and the staff at MOMA had different perspectives on the relation between the art and scholarly items of the outlined exhibition. In Roberts's eyes, the exhibition was a non-art exhibition, investigating uses of classificatory modes in both art and other forms of photography. The exhibition was a way to look at museum and other systems of classification. Art photography played an important but not a major role in this investigation. Russell Roberts knew photography from his previous artistic work, through his interest in art photography, and through his work experience at the V&A.[17]

Postponement

After Roberts's proposal had been accepted, the director of MOMA left his post. The work with the exhibition was slow, as the inquiries with possible lenders were not always fruitful, and this caused the head of the exhibitions department to postpone the date of the opening of Roberts's exhibition a few times. First the exhibition was scheduled for 1995, but in the end opened in spring 1997. This had to do with the need to utilise the slots, the time available for exhibitions during a year, and with the overall programme of exhibitions. The head of exhibitions made the decision that the Taxonomy exhibition, as it was called in Roberts's original concept, was to be postponed rather than other exhibitions that they were themselves working on or receiving during the period.

But the postponing also meant that there was trouble with the loans of the works. When sending out the loan requests, the exhibitions manager had noted a period much earlier. Since many of the institutions from which the photographs were borrowed did their loan plans much in advance, or had other similar restricting routines, and this made it difficult to ask for a prolonged loan period. In some cases the works could not be part of the exhibition, since the lending venue needed them back before the exhibition was due:

… at one point, one crucial point, the date was brought forward. This is very unusual, but happened. This meant that a lot of the loans that had been made had to be changed. We lost a few things, because the lenders came from all imaginable kinds of institutions, from a private collector, to a commercial gallery, to the artists themselves, to agencies, to very established places like the British Museum, who require a quite a long period of notice for a loan request…

… one of the most difficult things about the whole process was finding the works. The curator's list was the starting point, but then, especially when the show dates changed, we ended up with a desperate scramble to locate some works. For example with the Andres Serrano work, we had to approach to my knowledge five or six possible lenders, before we finally got the works from Paula Cooper Gallery in New York. One of the priorities with an exhibition like this is to get the nearest version of a work if there are more than one, which is often the case with photography. So for economic reasons we have to try to get the one nearest, …

… but finally we had to get them from Paula Cooper Gallery, not only that. We had to contribute towards the production cost of having them fabricated, which of course is the last resort, since we don't want to have this expense.[18]

Roberts felt that the priorities at the museum were not very clear during the period before a new director was appointed. The exhibition was due first in 1995, but was later postponed to 1996, and finally to Spring 1997. This was partly due to the size of the exhibition, which at least Roberts believed had not initially been realised by the museum, but became apparent as the work with locating the works started. According to Roberts, the museum is used to work mostly with galleries, who are much more quick in their administrative routines than for example more established museums:

I don't think they realised the actual scale of the exhibition and the kind

of work involved. It was just me and an employee at the museum working on it. To pull all that material in included a huge amount of work. I've experienced a different sense of time in museums, compared to that of galleries. I think that MOMA had been used to working with galleries, where they can ring up and say: we need a so-and-so, and the galleries are keen to get their artists out into the art world. Museums and archives, on the other hand, have committees that meet every six or nine months, they often have a minimum requirement of time when a loan request needs to be presented. For example at the V&A the loan request has to come in nine to twelve months before the exhibition takes place. There are all these kinds of things that I feel weren't fully understood by the staff at MOMA, and this impacted on the exhibition. Because a lot of the photographs were archive material, it took a much longer time to get all the material than what MOMA is probably used to.[19]

In the outline, the works that Roberts wanted to include in the exhibition were listed, but the persons he had suggested for contact couldn't always be reached, and so they had to look for other contacts through other channels. Exhibition catalogues were in this work a good way of finding a name of an owner of a work or a gallery or similar, where the particular photograph could be inquired. The point with submitting Russell Roberts as curator the task of giving a complete list of venues to contact for loan of works to the museum co-ordinator was that no time was spent on such work by employees at the MOMA.

Costs of the exhibition

A first budget draft for the exhibition stated 127,000 GBP as total costs for the exhibition, including production and transport costs, material, catalogue production and marketing, but no regular staff salaries. The same budget estimated 109,000 GBP in total incomes, including other things entrance fees, hire fees and other incomes from the touring of the exhibition, catalogue sales, and sponsorship.[20]

In a fourth and (assumedly final) budget draft, the costs side was somewhat lessened to a little less than 124,000 GBP, as was the calculated income side, now adding up to 107,000 GBP. The exhibition thus in the end created a project deficit of approximately 17,000 GBP, which needed to be matched by other sources within the MOMA.[21]

As curator of the exhibition, Russell Roberts received GBP 3,000 paid out in three portions, tied to certain deadlines within the project. He also got his costs covered for a few research trips within Europe. In return he was to submit a full exhibition concept, and a complete list of works to be included in the exhibition along with names and telephone numbers or other means of contact for the exhibitions manager to be able to make a loan request for the individual works. The administrative tasks were all handled by the museum, as well as marketing and contacts with the press, all transports, insurance, and the following tour of the exhibition. The museum's education department also worked with Roberts on their parts of the preparations for the exhibition.

As curator, Russell Roberts had to present a complete concept of the exhibition, together with suggested works and a list of where the works were located, i.e. the name of a gallery or a collector for example. The exhibitions manager's task was to assist the curator, i.e. Russell Roberts, with the administrative tasks of the project. These tasks contained tracing of works, including telephone calls or correspondence, filling in the loan request forms to the galleries, archives and other institutions or private collectors who had a copy of the photographs that they wanted to borrow for the show. The exhibitions manager was also to handle the overview of insurance and transportation according to or keeping within the available budget.

The nitty-gritty

The exhibitions manager was the only staff at MOMA working with Russell Roberts on the taxonomy exhibition. It took quite some time to

get hold of the material to be shown, which was scattered in archives, museums and private collectors around Europe. The list of photograpers and works that Roberts wanted to include in the exhibition was rather a long one. It was difficult to find certain works, and it turned out that for some works there were very high costs involved, higher than MOMA were ready to pay for getting them. Such factors influenced the selection of works for the exhibition.

To find work that Russell Roberts wanted for the exhibition was thus, as noted, difficult. Apart from difficulties in locating the work, a lot of economic as well as copyright concerns influenced the choice of works for the exhibition. An illustrative anecdote is the one concerning the photographs borrowed from the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction at Indiana University, USA.

> … in some cases we never actually got to see the works that we wanted. A case in point is the Kinsey Institute in America. For the Beauty & Desire section we wanted some examples of some of the photographs taken for the archive of the Kinsey Institute. Because the Institute has very strict copyright rules, they weren't allowed to send us a catalogue of what they had, they would just give a description on the telephone. So Russell would have a conversation with the curator at the Kinsey Institute, who would verbally describe the image that we were going to get, or that we could have. It was very hilarious, it was almost like a sex chat-line. Eventually Russell told me he had made a selection, and he had written down word by word how the curator at the Kinsey Institute had described it to him. He'd give me this list of spanking, corsets, and kinky, gay stuff, and then we would just read down the list and select say six pictures, not knowing how they were going to look. A month later something arrived in the mail … of which all we knew as a category on the list with a verbal description. …

> … these are all examples of categorisations which Russell as the curator thought interesting to include in his category of Beauty & Desire. … he just had to make a request in good faith, without even seeing the image,

and persuade them that this was a worthwhile project to be part of.[22]

In the case of In Visible Light, both the director and the head of exhibitions were interested in the concept, and would probably have wanted to be able to influence the shape of the exhibition more than they were allowed. Russell Roberts became very protective of his concept. He was afraid that the exhibition he had envisioned and written a concept for, would turn into something else with too much influence on the design of the exhibition, from the museum staff.

Two aspects on which MOMA and Russell Roberts differed in their opinions, were the title of the exhibition and the amount and location of texts in the rooms. The educational staff of MOMA were concerned for the understanding of the exhibition, and introduced didactic introductory panes in each room. The final title and layout of texts were thus compromises

> I had to work with their education department, with the text panels. There were a lot of negotiations and dialogue about this exhibition, because some of the staff found it quite difficult to understand certain ideas within the exhibition. Obviously they found it unclear. … that is something that I think we could have developed earlier. Things happened very late in the day. Suddenly, with few months to go, there were education initiatives; there were press and publicity, different types of leaflets promoting the exhibition. As I hadn't done that kind of work before, I suddenly found that I couldn't describe the project with the kind of language they required. These descriptions of the exhibition had to be in their terms. It was a bit of a jolt. I became quite protective of the integrity of the project, and the ideas that for me originally had fuelled it.[23]

The director of MOMA at the time when Roberts's exhibition concept was accepted, came with the idea of organising the works into sections. In the end, there were eight sections with corresponding headings in the exhibition: The Museum; Origins: Myths & Narratives; Disease & Mad-

ness; Crime & Degeneration; Mortality; The Culture of Nature; The Everyday; and Beauty & Desire.[24]

Russell Roberts himself did not want categories within the exhibition. On the contrary, the fleeting form was his way of commenting on the classificatory urge in museums and other scientific activities.

> I didn't want categories in the exhibition, I wanted something that was much more fluid and open But then, again, there are the needs of the institution in terms of education and customer care. So we had to have categories to give some kind of context to the photographs …

> The Educational Department wanted something that would give the visitor a handle, a brief introduction and overview. The categories were needed for people in order to make sense of the material. To take away the categories would have meant that people would ask: what is this material that we're looking at? So I suppose there had to be some sense of context.

> I would have preferred a much more intimate way of describing the photographs. To have had information on extended labels for each photograph, so that when you entered the exhibition, there would have been a whole wall of display cases with material, and there would have been no comfortability, because you wouldn't know the framework. Standing at a distance, you wouldn't have been sure what category they belonged to. There would have been an uncertainty in the viewing experience. Then if the visitor would become curious about a certain image, he or she could read the extended label adjacent to it …

> In a way the categories, are a burden, because they immediately set up a frame of reference. But the feedback I got from various visitors, who had different points of entry to, and knowledge about, the material on show, was that the categories disappeared after some time spent in the exhibition. Eventually, people would become more interested in overlaps between the categories. So I think there is possibly an argument that you

needed the categories there in order to realise how arbitrary they were. But I would have loved to see it … much more fluid.[25]

Further displays

The exhibition travelled to four venues after having been shown at the MOMA. These venues were the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston, England, the Inverleith House, Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, Scotland, the Modern Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, and The Finnish Museum of Photography, Helsinki, Finland.

The exhibition was shown at the Modern Museum in Stockholm in the autumn of 1998. The director at MOMA left in early 1997 to become director of the Modern Museum in Stockholm. Preparing the exhibition, the former MOMA director worked with one of the art curators and a photography curator at the museum. There were numerically rather substantial additions to Russell Roberts' original exhibition concept, when the exhibition was shown. Added was Swedish historical as well as contemporary material, and works from the collections of the Modern Museum.

Post-project reflections

Reflecting upon the exhibition in retrospect, Russell Roberts returned to what is possible to make with an exhibition, both in terms of ideas and included artefacts:

> … if there was a politics in the show, it was with a small p, even though it was deemed quite charged issues. I saw the exhibition as a gesture, as a sort of beginning of trying to think about how shows can be more discursive. It wasn't a solution, and the artists were definitively not a solution to the themes raised. They were there as catalysts in the same way that the documentary work was there, and in the same way as the

historical material, though I feel closer to the historical material than I do to the contemporary work.

Roberts also had mixed feelings concerning the way the exhibition was displayed at the Modern Museum in Stockholm. He was very happy and surprised that so many venues were interested in showing his exhibition, but in Stockholm the museum curator team had added pictures and works from the museum's photographic collections as well as some other photographic collections in Sweden. The number of works added, was quite significant in relation to the total number of photographs and works displayed, and this of course altered the exhibition. Being glad to be able to present the exhibition in Stockholm, Roberts decided not to react to the changes initiated by the curator team in Stockholm, since he was afraid that they would not show the exhibition.

Summary

Encountering the concrete problems of classification systems in museum work at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, Russell Roberts started to think of how to do an exhibition of photography and classification. The Museum of Modern Art in Oxford got interested in this concept of a combined documentary and artistic photographic exhibition dealing with the ambiguities of classification, as expressed in documentary and artistic photographic work.

The exhibition was traditional in its realised form, but the content of the exhibition was rather unusual for being shown at a *kunsthalle*, since it contained both artworks and documentary material on an equal basis. There were no works commissioned specifically for the exhibition, instead the exhibition drew on existing works. The exhibition travelled to several venues. At the Modern Museum in Stockholm, the museum director and curator of photography added a considerable number of works from Swedish collections to the originally included works.

Footnotes

[1] Roberts 1997: 51.

[2] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

[3] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

[4] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

[5] The Southampton Institute is a University in Southampton.

[6] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[7] In November 2002, The Museum of Modern Art changed its name to Modern Art Oxford.

[8] Museum of Modern Art Limited (Limited by Guarantee). Accounts for the year ending 31st March 1999. Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, 1999.

[9] Similar independent venues are the Whitechapel Art Gallery and the Serpentine Gallery in London, and the Ikon Gallery in Birmingham.

[10] The MOMA develops its exhibition and other programmes independently from The Southern Arts and other funders, but its activities are regularly reviewed and monitored by grant-giving bodies, as a basis for decisions for future funding. E-mail letter from the administrative director, MOMA, to the author, dated 20 March 2003.

[11] Museum of Modern Art Limited (Limited by Guarantee). Accounts for the year ending 31st March 1999. Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, 1999.

[12] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000. E-mail letter from the administrative director, MOMA, to the author, dated 20 March 2003.

[13] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[14] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[15] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[16] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[17] Telephone conversation between Russell Roberts and the author, 10 February 2003.

[18] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[19] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

[20] Budget sheet dated 17 March 1997.

[21] Budget sheet dated 17 March 1997.

[22] Employee, MOMA, Oxford, interview June 2000.

[23] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

[24] Iles & Roberts 1997, pp 86-93. In an early draft (marked "2nd") of the

exhibition concept, some suggestions for section categories were listed. These are rather different than the ones finally formulated: Classification & Difference; Modernity & Classification; Revisions; Boundaries and Margins; and Pop culture & Images of the 'self'. In an exhibition concept, written by Russell Roberts, titled "working copy", dated March 1994. When the exhibition was shown at the Modern Museum in Stockholm in the autumn of 1998, the sections had been reduced to seven, and the titles had been somewhat simplified. The section Origins: Myths & Narratives was now called *Människan*, Man, the section The Culture of Nature was now titled *Natur och vetenskap*, Nature and Science, and the two sections Disease & Madness and Crime & Degeneration had been merged into one, called *Brott och galenskap*, Crime and Madness. Elliott & Hahr 1998, pp 82-92.
[25] Russell Roberts, interview May 1998.

5 CASE STUDY II: COLLECTED

MULTI-VENUE EXHIBITION WITH COMMISSIONED INSTALLATIONS

… Objects are spilling from every shelf, cupboard, display case, vitrine, supermarket, gallery, shop, museum and land-fill site. Societies are collective; we are constantly having to evolve methods to classify, structure and direct this material avalanche. Many anthropologists and psychoanalysts believe our intimate notions of self and the complex workings of society are constructed through our articulation of material things. Is it then possible that we become synonymous with our patterns of accumulation? From finding things in the street, lovers' gifts, to international trade negotiations, we literally collect ourselves into being. By attending carefully to these practices, lazy distinctions between art and artefact, good and bad, power and powerlessness, may be exposed. This may in turn engender an awareness of the relationships of authority and privilege which enable some people to turn their private culture, their taste and habits, into public culture at the exclusion of others.

… The exhibition identifies the museum as the idea image of the collection, but also recognises shops, supermarkets and flea markets as the sites, amongst others, for engaging in contemporary collecting practices. Equally, domestic and retail spaces are fused to the museum as the scene for displaying collected things. …[1]

Having worked as an artist since the early 1980s, Neil Cummings started to become interested in the context of the art work and on collecting as a human practice by the early 1990s. This interest had developed gradually over a number of years and had grown articulate during and after an MA course in Art history and theory at the Chelsea School of Art and Design in London, which Neil Cummings attended on a part-time basis between 1988 and 1990. This course gave him a lot of theoretical perspectives on the art work and the contexts of art, which in turn influenced his artistic practice after finishing the course.

Neil Cummings became less and less interested in producing physical things. He felt that there were already enough things produced. Instead of making yet more art pieces, Cummings wanted to investigate how the value of things can change through the practice and context of collecting. He started to collect ubiquitous things like plastic bottles and babies dummies.

> …what became known as institutional critique was when artists started to look at the social and institutional conventions that make art visible to its public. I was becoming aware of that debate, and I wanted to participate in that debate in some way. Later I realised that I didn't necessarily have to *make* things. I began to work with the presentation of artworks, with means of controlling the context through which people encounter works of art. This seemed much more productive, much more interesting, to me. Eventually I started working directly with institutions. …
>
> The work I did with the Collected exhibition, I did both as an artist and as a curator. It was based on the same interest, it originated from the same drive, but took different forms. It all evolved around the idea of collecting, the question of how do things accrue value, either culturally or financially. … Who controls this accumulation of value, and why?[2]

Neil Cummings was also aware of institutional critique and investigations of such spaces, e.g. museums, in artistic practice, as in the work of artists such as Fred Wilson and Andrea Fraser.

Contact is made, lost and re-established

During his time at Chelsea, Neil Cummings assisted his partner Marysia Lewandowska, also an artist, with the installation of some of her photographs for an exhibition at the Photographers' Gallery. Cummings started talking to the exhibition organiser and presented some ideas he had on collecting as a cultural phenomenon. He had already made some research on this in museums and department stores. To his surprise the exhibition organiser at the Photographers' gallery found his ideas interesting. This response encouraged Cummings to work more on his ideas.

Neil Cummings had regularly done projects together with his partner Marysia Lewandowska. One of the themes that has influenced their work is the context of the art work, i.e. the relationship between artworks and other types of material things. This is because they do not perceive the object itself as determining our perception of it as art. Rather, they mean that it is our apprehension of the context of the artwork, all the stuff that makes art possible, which conditions our perception of it.[3] Collected was to a certain extent developed through the day-to-day discussions of the two artists, but it was Cummings who actively developed and managed the project.

A few years after the first contact, Neil Cummings contacted the exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery again. He had elaborated the ideas for an exhibition on the theme of collecting and its institutions.

> I had an idea about collecting as a theme for an exhibition, but how it would manifest itself I didn't have a very clear idea of.[4]

The exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery was supportive of Cummings's idea, and they agreed to elaborate the exhibition synopsis further and to act as co-producers. But the exhibition organiser suddenly left his post at the Photographers'Gallery to start working

at the Institute of International Visual Arts (INIVA), an organisation promoting contemporary art and artists with a culturally diverse background.[5] The curator meant that they could pursue the exhibition as an INIVA project. Neil Cummings was afraid to lose his exhibition idea, since nothing seemed to happen with the contacts that the exhibition organiser was trying to establish. For example the former exhibition organiser contacted the British Museum for a possible collaboration on Cummings's project, but without success.[6]

Neil Cummings went back to the Photographers' Gallery, and asked the new exhibition organiser if she was interested in his exhibition idea. She happily was, and Cummings again could start negotiating a possible exhibition with the Photographers' Gallery. In discussions with the new exhibition organiser, the exhibition concept started to take shape.

The artists that Neil Cummings was interested in, had all worked with critical studies of and comments to museums as institutions, and what they say through the physical juxtapositions of selected objects that they display. Cummings had come across the work of the artists he wanted to include in his own exhibition, all well-known conceptual artists, mainly through his studies at Chelsea. Since none of them had worked in the UK before, Neil Cummings thought that it would be a good opportunity to introduce them.

Cummings first made a list of desirable venues to make part of the exhibition, and at the same time made a wish list of artists that he wanted in the exhibition. However, which artists were to work with which institutions, was something that had to be worked out in due time.

A wider view on photography

The Photographers' Gallery was established in 1971, and was the first publicly funded photographic gallery in Europe. It is situated in Covent Garden in London. The gallery is what is in Great Britain called a

registered charity, which means that it benefits from tax reliefs. Besides the exhibitions programme, the Photographers' Gallery complex consists of a limited company, responsible for the commercial side of the gallery, engaged in sales of photographs. The organisation has a total of approximately twenty employees, of which half worked part-time. This number included staff in the gallery's bookshop and the office.

The turnover of the gallery is roughly 1.5 million GBP,[7] of which the limited company generates approximately half the total amount.[8] The gallery generates about 60% of its incomes itself through prints sales, the bookshop, sponsorship and membership fees. Entrance to the exhibitions is free of charge. The gallery has approximately 400,000 visitors a year.

The public subsidies cover only the overhead costs of management and administration. This means that any project that consumes more resources than what is available at the gallery needs external funding, either in the form of grants or sponsorship, but often a combination of both.

> We can't put on a programme without finding extra project money. We have a base-line programming fund, but if we want to do something which is a bit more ambitious, if we want to do a publication, for example, then we need to find project funding. Things have changed since we did Collected, though. I think we can apply to London Art Support, who are our main funder, today. We can't apply to the Arts Council anymore, because it has devolved a lot of its grant-giving to the regions. Obviously sponsoring is quite important as well.[9]

The gallery has a budget of 120,000 GBP for their activities, i.e. exhibitions and programmes. This means that for example extra costs connected to an exhibition, or the production of a catalogue, has to be funded with money coming from other sources. Usually the gallery applies for grants for a specific project from an art or similar grant giving body, or tries to raise interest from some company or companies towards sponsorship of the project or for example the production of a catalogue. Also advertising is often something that requires money from other

sources than the base-line funding coming from their longer term grant givers.

> *What would it look like if you only had your base-line funding? Would you still be able to show some exhibitions? How big would the difference be?*
>
> … There would definitely be no publications, and there would be no advertising, no marketing, at all. And it would mean that we couldn't put on substantial one-person shows, where we would produce new work or commissioning work. That means we would just be showing works which already exist. And it would probably mean that the exhibition would not be as high-tech as we'd like, with computers and video projectors, and monitors, as some projects require. We need sponsorship to make that happen. The base-line funding gives our programming team some kind of stability, but it assists when we apply for money from other sources as well.[10]

At the time when Collected was produced the Photographers' Gallery was receiving annual support from three sources in London, and it could also apply for extra project money from the Arts Council of England. But since 1998, there have been large changes in the support system for the arts. The Arts Council of England devolved a lot of their revenue grants to regional arts councils. Before, independent *kunsthallen* like the Serpentine Gallery, the Whitechapel Gallery, or the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford were funded directly by the Arts Council of England, whereas The Photographers' Gallery was funded regionally. Since then, those organisations have been devolved as one region. The number of possible venues from which to apply for money, long-term or short-term, with the reorganisation was thus lessened.

Most of the sponsorship is project specific, and depends on the planned exhibition. The gallery also tries to develop company connections to the gallery that is more programme oriented and thus contributing to the work undertaken at the gallery on a different level than the exhibitions produced. This type of sponsorship is developed in relation to prizes and

talks series that relate to the field of activity and scope of the gallery.

The public funding is not self-evident. All the grants that are available for artistic practice are nowadays on a yearly basis, or, in the case of funding of the basic activity of an institution, on a three-year basis. After each three-year period, the work of the institution is evaluated, and the results of these evaluations form the basis for a decision whether to continue funding the institution or not. It seems this is a sign of tighter control of funding from the side of the British government. A figure important for the director at the Photographers' Gallery is the subsidy per person entering the exhibitions, which in turn appears to mirror an interest in the public availability and outreach on the part of subsidy-receiving institutions, by the grant-givers. The visitor number in relation to the amount of subsidy is apparently an important ratio. The larger it is, the better.

Sponsorship money can never be anticipated. It depends on the topic of the particular project. But, says the director of the Photographers' Gallery, photography is a medium that can address all possible kinds of issues, and therefore a wide array of possible contributors and co-operation partners.

Regarding the question as to what type of companies the gallery addresses for sponsorship, the director of the Photographers' Gallery means that it is too obvious only to approach photography-related companies. Instead, the gallery tries to think about its audience, and what their interests are. So, knowing their audience and their location in London, an interesting line of business would be the fashion industry.

> We do audience research for every exhibition, so we know what kind of audience is coming. … we have a very young audience who are spending a lot of money on clothes.[11]

It is important for the gallery to have a good overall level on the exhibitions displayed, since one exhibition does not interest for example the

press, or is considered bad, it is more difficult to get them to write about the next exhibition. On the other hand, the money available at British newspapers for culture coverage has diminished, and according to the director, the editors at newspapers are happy to get free editorials, i.e. presentations of exhibitions etc including photographs. If an art venue can offer free press material, and especially good photographs, the press are more likely to cover the exhibition or event.

The Photographers' Gallery was not in a financially good state when the present director entered the organisation in 1995. As the director puts it, it was not an ideal time to realise Collected because of the short planning horizons and non-existing sponsorship strategies.

The current director has experience from several galleries, and has also studied and worked with photography. When he came to the Photographers' Gallery, he had the conviction that the Photographers' Gallery needed a reorientation. Photography was increasingly applied as an artistic method, but the director also realised that many artists, and photographers alike, did not want to show in a venue that they perceived as a photography gallery if they simultaneously received invitations from venues that were conceived as more clear-cut fine art spaces. The public that came to the gallery was also largely the same, and there was little inflow of new visitor groups.

Because of these two facts, the new director thought that the Photographers' Gallery needed a more art oriented exhibition programme.

> … one of the key issues when I came as a director, was to redefine what the Photographers' Gallery was. The gallery's medium was changing in terms of technology. How could we play an important cultural role in London and beyond? In particular, how could we develop our international profile? One of the key aspects for us was the relationship between photography and fine art. … Our aim was to develop new partnerships and to be an open organisation, to work with organisations or institutions who we would seek to have a direct relationship with. These partners could

GREAT 12

COLLECTED

CAMERA OBSCURED

COLLECTABLES
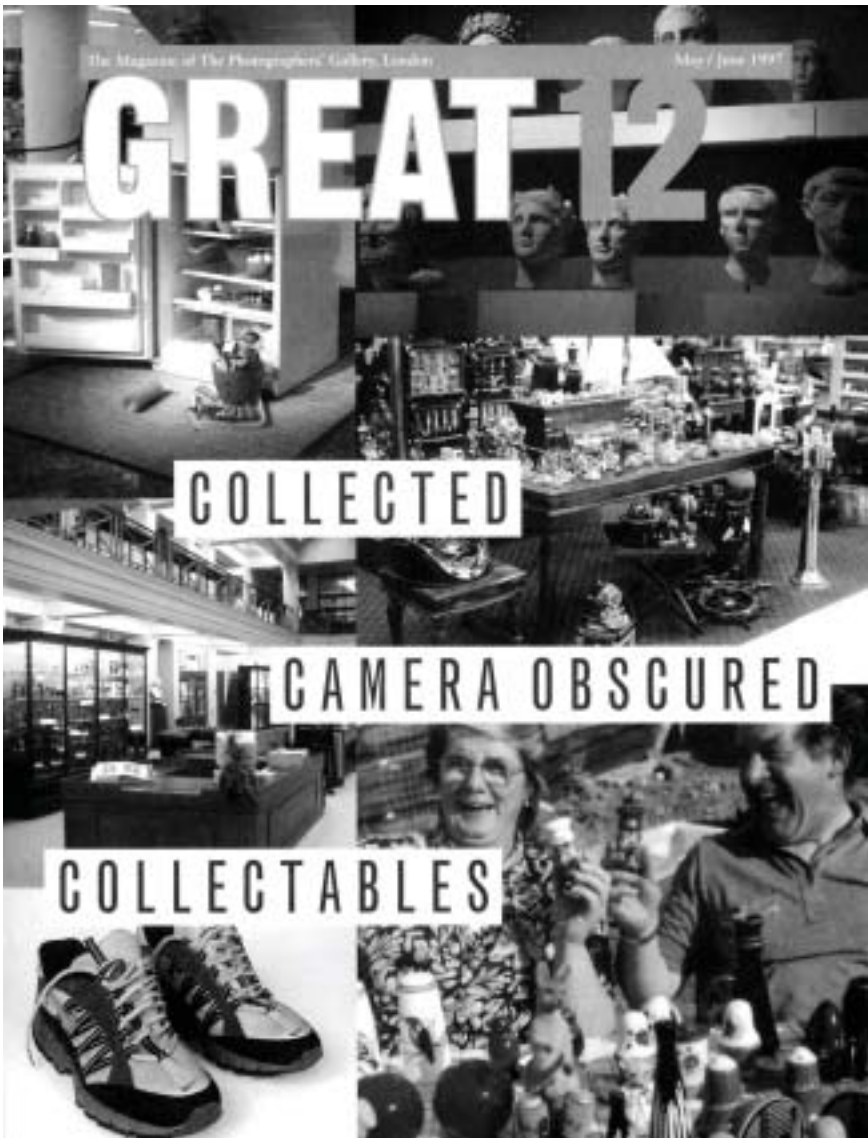
be either in London, or England, or outside of Britain. We developed a concept which we called wide programming, and the main idea of it was that the gallery would be a part of a network of other organisations, working together on specific projects.[12]

In this redefinition of the aims of the gallery, a project like Collected complied with many of the ambitions the new director had.

…"Collected" can be seen as a similar kind of project, where we used the gallery as one location, alongside many other institutions … There was a network of projects and talks and things taking place simultaneously. The key aspect of Collected was that we were seen to be working with artists, and not photographers. Artists who were using photography and also some artists who were not using photography, but who used three-dimensional work. So that was quite an important mode to be seen to be engaged in. As was that of working with people both from Britain, from America and from continental Europe. We had a very strategic plan to engage in this kind of project, as the gallery was redefining itself. This strategy was to display a willingness, an openness, towards other partners and other kinds of artistic forms. This strategy is still kept to.[13]

The type of production model that the Photographers' Gallery had with Neil Cummings for the production of the Collected exhibition, has not been repeated since. Collected was an exception to the way exhibitions are normally developed at the gallery. The gallery has later employed the curator of a specific exhibition for a limited period of time. Since they launched their web-site, the gallery has received an increased number of suggestions for exhibitions, from the UK and abroad. But the gallery develops most of the concepts for the exhibitions they show themselves, or approach an institution or an individual with whom they would like to co-develop an exhibition.

Developing the concept, signing contracts

After nearly three years of discussions, at the end of 1995, the second exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery said that they wanted to include Cumming's project into their exhibition programme. When an exhibition has been chosen to be included on the exhibition programme for the next period or year, the Photographers' Gallery starts looking at the budget for the particular exhibition project, and starts planning for applications for further funding and possible sponsors.

Thus the project started to draw nearer to realisation. But there existed no elaborated concept of the exhibition at this time. Cummings had a couple of names of artists that he found interesting, and some venues or spaces that he found interesting, and above all some interesting connections between artists and spaces.

The second exhibition organiser had worked at the gallery already when the first exhibition organiser was still there, but had not been introduced into the exhibition. Thus she was not informed about the thoughts behind it, and so the contact and ideas had to be rebuilt and recapitulated. The exhibition organiser asked Cummings to write down his ideas in a more detailed form, as a concept proper, so that she could inform the other employees and the director of the gallery more thoroughly of the ideas for the exhibition. During the year, the gallery had got a new director, who was looking over the management, economy and programming of the gallery.

Cummings and the exhibition organiser didn't meet that often. In the beginning, they would meet every few months, whenever Cummings felt there was something new to communicate or suggest.

> … we met and talked, and it was often me presenting possibilities, like, how about we tried to put artists in museums, or, how about trying to get a department to work with the museum and with you? So I think it was very much me coming up with kind of conceptual possibilities, and then both

of us trying to think how we could make that possible, and what museums would be viable. So it slowly dawned on us that it would be very good if you could walk to them all in one day, then you wouldn't want museums outside London. You wouldn't even want museums that were on the edges of London, you'd want them all, it'd be great if you could go to all the sites in one day. So all kinds of things began to kind of take shape through those discussions, about what could be possible, and what was physically practicable. …

So at this time, what was your idea of the exhibition? Was it the same as what actually became realised?

No. It was still very vague. I think I couldn't at this moment say which artists would be in such an exhibition. I think I may have had a few ideas. I think I probably was beginning to think that people like Fred Wilson or Louise Lawler or Andrea Fraser, all American artists, could be possible. And I think I began to be in contact with them, that I began faxing people, and saying, you know, this kind of exhibition might take place, would you be interested to participate? [14]

The inclusion of the exhibition in the official exhibition schedule of the gallery also meant that he could start to approach the venues and artists that he had envisioned as part of the exhibition.

The exhibition organiser also pointed out that the exhibition concept needed to be fairly clearly outlined in order to be presentable in an application to the Arts Council of England. Among other things, an exhibition concept needed a full list of artists included in the exhibition. At this point, the deadline for application to the Arts Council of England was drawing nearer, and the exhibition organiser thought that if they postponed the exhibition from 1996 to for example March 1997, it would be possible to submit an application in 1996 instead, and they would have time enough to write a proper concept of the exhibition. [15]

The exhibition was originally planned for late 1996, but when the exhi-

bition organiser discussed the exhibition with the director in December 1995, they wanted to postpone it to the summer of 1997, in order to be able to apply for some money from the British Arts Council, and also in order to be able to look for a publisher for a planned book related to the exhibition.[16]

The director of the Photographers' Gallery was appointed in 1995, and was informed about Cumming's project through the second exhibition organiser. The new director knew Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska since several years, and he had a positive attitude towards the concept that Cummings had presented.

In December 1995, the exhibition organiser was also ready to sign a contract with Cummings as curator for the project. Cummings and the exhibition organiser then took on the work to make a more elaborated exhibition concept in order to be able to present the project both to other employees at and stake-holders of the Photographers' Gallery, and to the institutions with which they wished to co-operate.[17] A prerequisite for the negotiations over the contract was that a preliminary budget had been made, something that was important for the gallery to have in planning the coming year's exhibition programme including monetary aspects.

Cummings was first offered a curatorial fee on 1,000 GBP for realising an exhibition at the Photographers' Gallery. Neil Cummings suggested that his fee be 3,000 GBP instead, due to the extensive nature of the project and the exhibition. This would imply negotiations with several institutions that he wanted to include in the exhibition.[18] The gallery agreed to the fee he suggested.

For his work as curator, Neil Cummings received a curator's fee of GBP 3,000. Later on in the project, Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska also received an artist's fee from Selfridges for their installation in one of their shop windows. In this sense Cummings acted both as curator and as commissioned artist within the exhibition.

The Photographers' Gallery stood for all costs connected to the physical production of the exhibition and the publicity and press information, and even insurance and other such necessary details. Cummings was to produce all the material such as text for publicity and press releases, but the gallery handled the lay-out, printing etc, i.e. made it happen.

None of the museums involved, contributed to the costs for the arrangements in their amenities, but of course made space available for the exhibits. Selfridges funded the printing of the Browse leaflet and a press reception in connection to the opening of the exhibition. Selfridges paid Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska an artist fee for their work with the Browse leaflet. Guillaume Bijl received an artist fee from Habitat for his installation in their shop.

When the Photographers' Gallery had decided to take on Collected as a future exhibition, they began work to get financial resources for the exhibition. The more money, the more could be done. The second exhibition organiser left the Photograpers' Gallery in 1996, a new administrator employed by the gallery helped Cummings with the project. For example she wrote the application for funding to the Arts Council of England.

Approaching artists

The exhibition concept at this phase was still a short introductory text to the ideas upon which the project was based, and a list of possible or desirable partaking institutions.

In a note from a meeting between the exibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery and Cummings in February 1996, Louise Lawler, Fred Wilson, Lea Andrews, Sylvia Kolbowski, Sophie Calle, Mike Kelley and Joachim Smid were listed as suggested artists to include in the part of the exhibition at the Photographers' Gallery (displaying already produced works). Artists suggested for commissions in external venues were Andrea Fraser, Bobby Baker, Richard Wentworth, Marysia Lewan-

dowska and Tracey Emin.

Cummings chose the artists he wanted to participate in the exhibition on the basis of artists working in interesting ways, and who had earlier worked with projects or questions similar to those of the project or the venues Cummings wanted to include in it. He tried, in short, to work with artists he found the most interesting.

In an outline of the exhibition concept made in October 1996, when the working title of the exhibition was "Exhibited", the list of possible artists included Sophie Calle, Cornelia Parker, Guillaume Bijl, Andrea Fraser, Tracey Emin, Michael Marriott and Haim Steinbach. This exhibition outline stated that the frame of the exhibition was the rhetoric of display and relationships of value.[19]

Cummings also at a later stage contacted artists Mark Dion and Christine Boorland, for a possible contribution to the exhibition, but they declined after a while due to too many other commitments.

In commissioning project specific work from artists as part of Collected, Cummings did not know what the invited artists would do. He had invited them since they had in his eyes done interesting work earlier on one or several of the topics that he himself was interested in, and that touched upon the themes and venues partaking in the exhibition.

The first contacts with the artists that Cummings wanted to invite for the exhibition were taken in 1995. The artists were matched with their respective institutions immediately, in order to give them enough time to get to know the institutions they were to work in and with.

Approaching host venues

The Photographers' Gallery was the arena that in a sense enabled the exhibition. With the acceptance by the gallery of the exhibition to be

realised as part of its programme, Neil Cummings was able to use the institution's reputation as well as its resources and network of contacts in his further elaboration of his exhibition idea. There is at the Photographers' Gallery, as in other established art venues, a built-up know-how and staff to continuously work with publicity and press contacts as well as staff working with financing of the programme.

At this point, the different types of spaces, which were to be within walking distance from the Photographers' Gallery, were the British Museum, Sir John Soane's Museum, Paul Smith and a domestic space. The Geffrye Museum and Selfridges were also mentioned as further spaces.[20]

Selfridges were first approached in January 1996, concerning the idea of making something with them as part of the exhibition. At this stage the idea of a book on the British Museum and Selfridges was mentioned.[21]

Other venues approached in 1996 were the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Sir John Soane's Museum and the National Gallery, which all declined the offer. They were all contacted in summer 1996.[22]

The most important institution for Cummings to involve in the exhibition was the British Museum, as he saw it as the ideal materialisation of the museum institution. He saw it as crucial for the exhibition that they partake. The museum was also important for the project as a hallmark for quality, making it easier to get other institutions to join the project. Cummings had already contacted the institutions that he had selected as desirable institutions to be part of the exhibition, but he noticed a dramatic change in attitude towards the project when he had managed to get the British Museum to join.

However the British Museum was very reluctant towards a co-operation at first. It took him two years to persuade them to make a space available for the two artists (Fred Wilson and Richard Wentworth) who made two installations in a small side-room on the ground floor. The first exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery that he had worked

with, had contacted the British Museum when he had already began his new position at INIVA, but nothing happened with this contact. At a party, Cummings spoke to someone who knew someone who worked at the British Museum, and got a name he could contact. This person was of course not the right person for Cummings to talk to, but through this inside connection, he could then be forwarded to the appropriate person. In this case it was a curator. This curator turned out to be the way into to the museum, and in him Cummings found someone who could develop his ideas further. This contact was made in 1993, and the early date gives some idea of the slowness of the process. Cummings also points to the importance of the personal benevolence and interest on the part of this British Museum curator, since "it was all done slightly unofficially".[23]

The curator at the British Museum was an important link into the museum, since he was working inside the organisation. A designer at the museum was also important for the realisation of the project. The small scale of the intervention helped the two museum employees persuade the Egyptian department to accept the project. The curator and the designer at the British Museum worked independently with the two artists that had agreed with Neil Cummings to do something there. The curator also helped Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska with the production of the Browse leaflet.[24]

The Browse leaflet

When developing Collected, Cummings and Lewandowska started to think about the institutional settings for our relationship and encounters with things. At one level, the institutions which were included in the exhibition, were part of the network of venues that display different forms of intercourse with material culture. The little leaflet *Browse* played an important part in Cummings's and Lewandowska's part of the exhibition. For the two, the British Museum, with its treasures from all over the world, and Selfridges department store, the first purpose-built department store in London, were very similar in structure, and they

wanted to make a leaflet that introduced a visitor to the two venues. In the leaflet, they tried to blur the boundaries between the commercial and the cultural frames that are inscribed in the approach to the respective institutions.

But in order to be able to realise the leaflet, they needed to co-operate with the two venues. The leaflet was to be available both at the British Museum and Selfridges. In it were photographs of artefacts from both venues, but mixed so that it at first sight is not possible to tell which objects are to be found in which venue. The thought was to invite the person holding and opening the leaflet to think about the contexts in which they encounter things.

> … We'd like to think of *Browse* as a moment of punctuation. … What does the museum do to things? How does the museum use its labels, its vitrines, its guided tours, its education departments? The same questions can be posed in regard to a department store. The department store is a ruthless machine for getting you to relate to material things. All the technologies that it uses are the technologies that we want to use too. There are a number of technologies to get you hooked, to get you to start collecting, to feel that you need to complete a set. …[25]

The Browse leaflet took 18 months to produce.

> It took 18 months to produce because both the British Museum and Selfridges are obsessive about controlling their images. They are also obsessive about controlling *your* relationship with the things that they hold. So every comma, every object, every description of every object, has gone through the various press and curatorial departments, at each institution. They would fight with us, because our intention was to slightly blur the language. Our intention was to blur the museum language and the marketing language of the department store. Of course, this was the very thing they were afraid of, and they kept trying to force them apart.

> Both institutions were extremely nervous about something like this, but

Eighteen things to collect
at Selfridges, London

Twelve things collected at the
British Museum, London

Browse Browse

SELFRIDGES
Oxford Street London

BRITISH
MUSEUM

I think they both recognised that it had a potential of success, because it engaged with their audience in a way that they hadn't thought about.

Selfridges paid for the leaflet. We printed about 80,000 copies of it. The leaflets, when produced, disappeared really fast from the leaflet holders, so they had to be rationed. They put out only a small number of leaflets each day.[26]

The curator at the British Museum however made another interpretation of the Browse leaflet. He saw the leaflet as an investigation of marketing strategies of museums and department stores, rather than as an investigation of the eye of the beholder or the perception of the visitor.[27]

What Cummings perhaps did not know at the time was that Selfridges had a new managing director, who had formerly worked at Habitat. This managing director was developing a strategic plan for the visitor experience at Selfriges as that of a "theatrical experience", and at this time also sponsored the Serpentine Gallery and invited local galleries to do shop window displays, just as Cummings and Lewandowska did as part of Collected.[28]

Reluctance from approached venues

The other venues approached were equally reluctant towards Neil Cummings as the staff at the British Museum had originally been, before the large institution had agreed to partake in the exhibition. Cummings ascribes it himself, besides to the apparent prestige in a project so to say approved of by the British Museum, to his lack of institutional connection, and his position as artist and not scholar.

… Once the British Museum agreed to participate, all the other institutions were encouraged to participate. The participation of the British Museum lent a credibility to the whole enterprise. So once the British Museum said

they were interested, and, funnily enough, when Selfridges said they were interested, it made everyone else jump into place.

Before that moment, all the other institutions were saying: we're interested, but we're not really sure. Everyone I approached said yes. Actually there wasn't anyone who I approached, that declined co-operation. A lot of it was a process of negotiation about what could or would be possible. Which I find surprising now in retrospect. Given how difficult it all turned out to be, it was extraordinary that everyone finally agreed.

You mean that the difficulties turned up after they had said yes?

Well, not quite. I don't think any of the institutions had engaged in anything like this. The Collected exhibition was a dialogue or discussion between institutions and artists. As I was a curator with no credible institutional backing, … and as I didn't have the right kind of academic background, the Wallace Collection in particular treat us all with astounding arrogance.

There were complex and difficult negotiations to get them to really go through with what they had agreed to but eventually didn't really want to realise. They wanted to be part of the Collected exhibition, because they wanted to be part of the advertising, but they didn't really want to *do* anything. …

The things that venues like the Wallace Collection find credible in terms of curatorship are academic qualifications from institutions they respect. Institutions like the Courtauld Institute, or Cambridge or Oxford related venues. I think they can't really figure out what being a contemporary artist means. …. When I said that I was an artist but also curated the Collected exhibition, they didn't really know how to deal with me. They were just very suspicious. …

How did you try to overcome this mistrust from the institutions towards you? How did you try to convince them?

It was difficult in that I had no history of doing anything like this. There wasn't anything previous that I could point to and say: look, I've organised this. I could say that I was teaching in the Art History Department at Chelsea College of Art and Design. It didn't count for much, but at least for something. The fact that I taught in an Art History Department gave me a little bit of credibility, even if what I do there isn't really art history at all. But at least there was a kind of reinforcement; I was serious and academic in some way. And I think the Photographers' Gallery were by now acting as the contact, so I could say: on behalf of the Photographers' Gallery I'm curating this exhibition. And, as I said, all that changed when the British Museum agreed to host one part of the exhibition. …

I had difficulties when speaking to staff particularly at the Wallace collection, and to some of the staff at the British Museum, because the gap in understanding the world was so vast between me and them. When I said that I wanted to introduce an artist to work alongside them, who would make something in response to the collections or the exhibitions, the first thing they all assumed was that the artist would make a painting. So they would say: we don't have any space to hang another painting. I think it was such misunderstandings that made co-operation difficult.

Were there any places which were easy to work with compared to the museums? Say Habitat or Selfridges?

No, I wouldn't say so. I think Selfridges said exactly the same thing when we approached them. They said: we're a retail establishment, and we don't have any spare space, every bit of space is used to make money. So then I said: it's we who want to work with you, and we don't really need any space; we might do a leaflet or a guide. Again, it's difficult for some people to imagine how such a thing can be art. And maybe it isn't. And I'm going to worry about whether it's art or not.

But I think that allowing different kinds of people to participate in an institution is what a lot of this project was about. And I think that was the very thing that they found difficult. They like to know what it is that

you're going to do, and why you want to do it. And often you can't say that at the beginning, because you don't really know what you want to do, or why you want to do it.

Among artists, the unpredictability of the coming art project, and a difficulty to clearly define the project in terms of outcome and procedure, is accepted as part of the specific type of work undertaken. But at the museums that Cummings approached with an invitation to partake in the project, he met a demand for more clearly stated goals for the project. For Cummings, it was difficult to clearly state what type of co-operation he or the invited artists wanted with the individual museum, since they did in most cases not know in any great detail what their collections comprised and what their activities were. The institutions wanted to know what he wanted from them, and this was something that he could not very easily, at the phase of first contact, define.

> I didn't know what the artists might want to do, but that wasn't a problem for me. It was rather a problem for the institutions … They have a collection, so I think a lot of the research is finding out about the institutions. When I was making the exhibition, I had a very clear theme of what he exhibition should address, but I didn't have a clear idea about how it all would appear, how it would manifest itself.[29]

In order to be able to get to know and do research within the institution, the artists and venues were presented to each other between a year and a year and a half before the opening of the exhibition. The artists also were in contact with Cummings concerning the overall issues and concept of the project, and discussed their ideas for work with him, alongside the contact with the institutions. Cummings thus engaged in a general discussion with the artists of the overall context and concept in which the artists and institutions participated and contributed to. Cummings's work was thus very much just to communicate and mediate what the artists wanted to do with the institutions.

> An artist could say: I've been researching the collection, and they have five

heads that I want to exhibit, and I want to put these labels on them. Then it was my responsibility to try to make that happen. So I'd try to find out from the artist why it was particularly those five heads, and why those particular labels. Then I would contact the museum and explain why the artist wanted these heads and the reason why. The artists did their research, and presented me with an idea or a sketch or something, and then I would try to realise that on their behalf, or alongside them and the institutions.[30]

The director at the Photographers' Gallery also had the experience that it was rather difficult to work with several of the six venues that were partaking in the exhibition project.

> … all co-operating venues were of different sizes, and have different ways of working. Some are predominantly collection based, and are not used to working with contemporary artists. Some of them were very open, and the artists could deal with the problems and negotiate with them. Others didn't have the philosophy or the mechanisms of dealing with contemporary art.

> … we would come with certain expectations of how we might function and work. Some of the participating venues would very much focus on working with the artist to make things happen, whereas other institutions didn't engage in that activity at all. So there was a lot of cross-wise dealings with bureaucrats, and it was sometimes down to individuals … As soon as you go out working with some one else's space, there's a different set of agendas, different sets of regulations, and different ways of working, different individuals.[31]

According to the director of the Photographers' Gallery, it is always more difficult to work with contemporary works than with already produced material, and it is also much more difficult to manage the whole project when there are other institutions involved in the production. This is because there are then so many more people involved, and different institutions function in different ways. The best control of a project is achieved when it is made only at the Photographers' Gallery, but that again goes against the idea of wide programming that they are pursuing.

However, the form of working in Collected and another project at the Photographers' Gallery that involved other institutional partners, has, according to the director of the gallery, since been used by other English art venues.

Neil Cummings thought that the view on the way to relate to the public has changed in the institutions he himself felt as old-fashioned. As an example he mentions that many of the museums involved in the project later used the exhibitions in their own applications for funding, to show that they engaged in public-oriented work and innovative projects. But he himself felt that at the time when he curated the exhibition, they were not engaging, but simply made space available for the artists where there were no other displayed artefacts.

Something that also became very obvious for Cummings during his work with Collected was the different speeds and time frames with and within which the partaking or approached institutions worked. For the British Museum, a project needs to be planned and programmed several years in advance, whereas Selfridges were only interested in discussing a project that would be immediately implemented.

In late 1996, the artists and the partaking venues were settled. Discussions and suggestions concerning artists and works to include in the Photographers' Gallery part of the exhibition were still negotiated at this point.

Living on other incomes

After finishing the course at Chelsea, he was invited to give occasional lectures there. This teaching successively grew over the years. During the time Cummings was negotiating the exhibition with the exhibition organisers at the Photographers' Gallery, he was claiming unemployment benefit and working occasionally with teaching at the Chelsea College of Art and Design. His teaching increased somewhat during the years

he developed Collected, from the odd lecture after he had finished his course to approximately a day a week a few years later. In 1996-97 he even got a contract with the Chelsea, which allowed the department and school to count his exhibition project as research being undertaken at the department. For him this meant that he was linked to the college on a more long-term perspective.

Both Cummings and his partner earned a part of their incomes through odd lectures at Chelsea and Goldsmiths, two art schools in London. Being a teacher on a small and short term contract basis, Cummings got affected by the art schools adaptation to the new art school funding system introduced to art schools in England in the 1990s.[32]

> In the funding of teaching, they began to reward institutions conducting a lot of research. Projects like Collected began then to be seen as research. Chelsea could attract more money if they said that this was research being undertaken by their staff.[33]

Cummings could not be part of the research contributors of Chelsea as he was only teaching on a very small scale.

> So Chelsea effectively offered me a proper half time contract … And that was purely because I was very active outside of Chelsea. So what had previously been seen as a liability, was now seen as an absolute bonus. … It gave me enough to live on.[34]

Concerning the question of whether his own projects and artistic work, such as Collected, could be considered research, Cummings means that it is, in the sense of e.g. critically investigating the spaces and practices connected to collections, and by testing what one can say and cannot say of and in these settings, and by trying to open up discussions between different institutions in this field. The research is in the testing of ideas in and through art projects, according to Cummings.

The small amount of money available for artist fees and production of

the commissioned artworks, made it somewhat difficult to work with such internationally renowned artists that were invited to the project.

> … We had so little money. That was a constant struggle. The artists I had invited are internationally famous artists, who are used to working with fees, accommodation and transports arranged. And while we could offer accommodation and transport, it was so meagre, that it's fair to say it's probably just good will that they were really interested, and it was their good will that made it happen. …

> One of the artists for instance would make a proposal which would involve building six cases with gold leaf, … and I had to say: I can't do it, I'm sorry. And then [the artist] would say: all right, I'm not taking part in the exhibition; this is my idea, and I'm not going to do any thing else. I then had to say: I know, it's terrible, and so on. There were many times when it felt like as though things would come apart.[35]

Cummings didn't apply for any additional funding himself for the project. He explains this by saying that it is simply not his way of thinking when developing projects. Fund-seeking is not something that he is good at. He says himself that he is not so strategic as to plan for the funding of projects much in advance, which applications for art funding require.

> That's not my strength, it's just not how I think … The way I've tended to work, and the way I seem to continue to work, is to try to make things happen, and then try to find out how to get money for it.[36]

The curator as mediator

The Photographers' Gallery applied for funding for the project, and when the second exhibition organiser had stopped working at the gallery, a co-ordinator was assigned to work on the project with Cummings. The co-ordinator handled all administration for the exhibition, including loans of work, artist fees, advertising, travel expenses and

accommodation etc. Cummings himself handled the contacts with the artists and the other exhibition venues involved. He also installed the different exhibits in their respective venue. By finding a little extra funding from the Arts Council, the Photographers' Gallery was able to finance the costs for the arrangements at the other exhibition sites. The Photographers' Gallery furthermore covered Cummings' costs related to the curating of the exhibition.

The collected project was a large one for an artist like Cummings to manage. But also for the Photographers' Gallery the project and exhibition was larger and more complex than exhibitions they had produced before. For the Photographers' Gallery, Collected was one of the most complex exhibition projects they had engaged in, since it involved so many external participating venues, and also commissioned artists. Towards the end, Cummings worked day and night, and also the project co-ordinator at the Photographers' Gallery worked almost entirely with Collected. The exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery accompanied Cummings to several of the venues for negotiations in the early phases of the contacts, apparently more as a kind of reassuring institutional representative than as active negotiator. This work was all in the hands of Cummings as curator.

Cummings's role as curator varied with the different artists and venues that were parties of the commissions.

> … it varied. At some points it was I that was the interface between all the contributing parties … In some cases it was crucial that I was always involved in absolutely everything, every tiny decision, which got very frustrating. In other instances … I was present only as the artwork was installed. … Some artists needed a lot of support, others didn't.[37]

In his work with so many different venues, Cummings realised that the work paces in museums and in retail respectively, were extremely contrasting. Three years seemed a short time span for the museums involved, whereas it was considered a lifetime for the retail companies

involved. Also the director of the Photographers' Gallery was aware of this.

> This kind of networking and creating new partnerships comes with very positive results, but a lot of extremely hard work as well, and we had to deal with the kind of politics of a very big institution like the British Museum, which is extremely difficult even in good times, but placing two contemporary artists working in that space was fraught with many, many difficulties. And though I wasn't dealing with the day-to-day negotiations, at one stage we were having weekly meetings dealing with some of the kind of problems of how the artists were going to work there, how they were going to be represented, and how we would "brand" this kind of program in the different institutions. By placing objects in unusual situations in the public spaces, we had to make sure that that would make sense to all other activities that were taking place during that time period in Selfridges or Habitat. So there was a lot of negotiations, a lot of problems with the institutions and negotiations between the institutions and the artists and the gallery and Neil in particular, we were the ones who had to deal with all this kind of problems. But it was achieved.[38]

Trying to expand or transform the understanding of what an exhibition can be, seems to cause trouble when an exhibition is presented to art critics and media, according to Cummings. In Collected, he tried to make the visitor to the different venues to reflect on or become aware of the influence of the context of the thing or the artwork upon our apprehension of it, but this was something that many representatives of the press seem not to have perceived.

> Many of the art critics complained that when they were in Habitat, they couldn't see the artwork. They couldn't get back far enough from the artwork, because they were surrounded by a lot of furniture. Which of course was exactly the point.

> They were trying to read it as if it were a straightforward exhibition, when that was never my intention. … They wanted to go in, find what they

were looking for, and get out again. And my experience of both retail sites and the museums is that you can't do that, you're inevitably caught up by something.[39]

The exhibition takes shape

Collected had its base at the Photographers' Gallery in Covent Garden in central London. At the Photographers' Gallery, works by artists using photography for creating collections, were displayed. Participating artists were Lea Andrews, Christian Boltanski, Ming de Nasty/Mo Wilson, Louise Lawler, Jim Sillavan and Fred Wilson.

Besides the British Museum and Selfridges, the other venues of the Collected exhibition were Habitat, a retail store, where the Belgian artist Guillaume Bijl made an installation. The Wallace Collection, a house where the Wallace family's private collection is displayed, now as a national museum. Here the American artist Andrea Fraser made a site-specific work. The Royal College of Surgeons houses a collection of body parts, and animal parts, dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The English-American artist Susan Hiller worked with an installation in this venue. Also Paul Smith, with whom Cummings and Lewandowska had worked once before, was invited to show his collection in his shop windows for the duration of the exhibition, which he also did. Also a private apartment, belonging to a collector of Egyptiana, was available for guided tours in connection to the exhibition.

The American artist Fred Wilson and the British artist Richard Wentworth made an intervention each at the Egyptian department at the British Museum, and Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska made the Browse leaflet to be found at Selfridges and the British Museum.

Even though the Photographers' Gallery tried to find funding for a catalogue for the exhibition, they did not manage to get any funding, and thus could not produce a catalogue. Cummings and Lewandowska were

at this time working on a book that bore the working title *Capital*.[40] The book project resulted in a book titled *The Value of Things*, published in 2000. The co-operation with Selfridges and the British Museum were part of a larger project that Neil and Marysia worked with. The Browse leaflet and the book on things were subsequent results within this larger artistic project.

The costs for the production of the Browse leaflet was paid by Selfridges. Approximately 80,000 copies were printed.

There was also an one-day seminar at the British Museum around the theme of collecting, with invited representatives from the partaking museums and commercial venues. There were also a number of other events and walks in connection to the exhibition. Unfortunately there was no catalogue, due to lack of funding. The Photographers' Gallery had tried to find both public funding and sponsorship for the production of a catalogue, but failed to raise the money.

The artists in the project

For the artists, their visibility in the press material and other publicity material around the project, was important. One of the artists, in correspondence with Cummings remarked on a sentence in press material describing the main part of the exhibition as being displayed at the Photographers' Gallery. In this artist's opinion, the different venues and the displays of the works of the artists in them were to be presented as on equal footing as the display in the Photographers' Gallery.[41]

Several of the participating artists were not UK based, and this caused some problems with arrangements for the work with the different museums and collections that were included in Collected. As these works were all site-specific, the artists had to spend time in the particular venues in order to develop their works. Some of the artists managed to extend the restricted amount of money for travel and subsistence in London by

stopping in London on their way to other destinations by air.

The standard contract used by the Photographers' Gallery in relation to artists, and the reaction to it by at least one of the participating artists, mirrored the different conditions under which artists and institutions work. In the Photographers' Gallery contract with the artists, costs in connection to the artist's work, including air fares etc, were to be reimbursed to the artist on submission of receipts to the gallery. One of the artists reacted to this clause, because of the small margins that artists usually work under. This artist pointed to the loss through money exchange, and the lack of money to pay for costs which would be returned at a considerably later point in time, and the possibility of not getting a reimbursement at all in the end.[42]

Costs of production

In an undated budget for Collected, the artist fees amount to 3,000 GBP, the curatorial fees to 3,000, artists' production costs 3,000, expenses related to education 2,500, and subsistence and travel costs 2,000. Production and transport costs for the exhibition were estimated to 6,200, and the production of publicity material 5,200.[43] The total expenses for the project were according to this budget thus 25,000 GBP.

The Evening Standard, a daily newspaper, was approached with a proposal for sponsorship of the commissioned artworks of Collected. In the proposal to the Evening Standard, the costs for these installations were estimated to between 2,000 and 4,000 GBP, and would be called "the Evening Standard Commissions".[44]

Supplemented to the sponsorship proposal to the Evening Standard was an undated budget. According to this, the total turnover of the project was 40,000 GBP. On the expenses side, research and curating costs were amounting to 6,000, production costs for the exhibition amounted to 7,200. Artist fees and production costs including travel expenses for the

commissions part of the project, with five artists, amounted to 13,000, whereas events related expenses were estimated to amount to 2,600. The production of information and publicity material were estimated to cost 13,000 in total. This figure included costs for production of a small publication in connection to the exhibition.

On the income side, 18,000 GBP were listed as (unspecified) grants and sponsorship, 15,000 covered for by the Photographers' Gallery themselves, 4,000 in commission fees from Selfridges (3,000) and Habitat (1,000) for artists, and 3,000 from the Arts Council of England.

A budget titled no. 2 for Collected is a budget juxtaposed with the budget for an exhibition that was displayed at the same time at the Photographers' Gallery as Collected, called Camera Obscured.[45] The total costs according to this budget amounted to 26,200 GBP.

This budget comprised fees and expenses for three commissioned artists instead of five, as had been planned for in the first budget. Apart from the artist fees of 1,000 GBP each, and expenses of 1,000 each, travel and accommodation and subsistence were estimated to 2,100 GBP. In addition to these artist related expenses of altogether 8,100 GBP, 6,200 GBP were calculated for exhibition production and transport costs, 2,500 for events related to the exhibition, and 11,400 for the production of printed information material.[46]

A budget for Collected was included in an application for a grant from the Arts Council of England in early 1997.[47] According to this, the total expenditures of the project would amount to 33,700 GBP, and the incomes to 26,700. The differing sum between expenses and estimated incomes, 7,000 was applied for from the Arts Council. Of the 26,700, the Photographers' Gallery was stated to support the project with 21,200 GBP, and, given that Walsall Museum and Art Gallery kept their word in wanting to show the exhibition, incomes from touring would amount to 2,500, and other sponsorship would amount to 3,000 GBP. The interested sponsors were the Esmee Fairbairn Trust and the John

Ellerman Foundation.

In this budget, the costs for production and transport were estimated to a total of 9,200 GBP, artists' fees to 3,000, artist production costs and travel expenses to 5,200, curator fees to 4,500. Expenses related to education amounted to 2,400, and costs for production of publicity material to 6,400 GBP. The posts in this budget show only external costs, not costs for the running of the gallery itself, including administrative support etc.

In a final summary of costs for Collected, produced after the closing of the exhibition, the total costs amounted to 26,230 GBP, i.e. just slightly over the estimation in the latter budgets made in the autumn of 1996.[48] Since there were still efforts made to attract sponsorship and grants in early 1997, the extra money that could have been raised would have gone to larger artist fees and production costs.

In a budget dated June 1997, the total actual costs for Collected amounted to GBP 26,300. In this budget, the curator's fee was 3,000, artist fees totalled 4,000 (on top of these fees, Habitat paid an artist's fee to Guillaume Bijl and Selfridges to Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska), other production costs related to the curating of the exhibition, including hotel and transport for the artists, amounted to roughly 7,000. The costs for the set-up of the actual exhibition, and the design and printing of publicity and information materials such as booklets amounted to 12,000. We can then see that fees to curator and artists swallowed roughly one fourth of the total budget, other production costs related to the curating of it to another fourth, and the costs of production swallowed the other half.

Post-project reflections

Thinking back upon the work with the exhibition, and thinking of how he would like to realise another similar exhibition project, Cummings

stresses the need for a proper work place with all the office stationery and support that goes with it. In Collected, he had no office space at the gallery, but had to do all communication from his studio or home. Since he had to be in contact with both institutions, artists in Europe and the USA, apart from the gallery, there was a lot of faxing and telephoning, which created costs. Cummings didn't have a fax in his studio, but only in his laptop at home, which meant that all faxing had to be done from home. E-mail was not yet in common use at the time when the exhibition was being developed.

Reflecting upon the project afterwards, the director of the Photographers' Gallery would perhaps allocate a little more time to prepare the participating institutions on the type of co-operation this type of project brings along. Also involving contemporary artists with a conceptual profile adds to the complexity of such a project. Given the time frame within which Collected was realised, there simply was no time to make the project develop slower, which would perhaps have given birth to further programmed events as part of the exhibition.

Summary

The curator of Collected was an artist, who after a number of years of practice had taken a theoretical MA course, and got new intellectual stimulation to his artistic work. He suggested a co-operation with a curator at a gallery or *kunsthalle* that he knew through professional contacts.

Striking about Collected as an exhibition was its geographically dispersed layout, and its corresponding wide-reaching concept, including spaces where objects are amassed for our visits and gazes. The exhibition contained commissioned work and already produced pieces, as well as certain environments and spaces as they were. This meant that Cummings negotiated access to a number of institutions and commercial spaces, and that he co-ordinated co-operation among a number of artists and representatives of the various venues involved.

Neil Cummings worked with a venue that included the exhibition as part of their ordinary exhibition programme. This meant that the venue also took responsibility for the economy of the project, including attempts to find sponsorship. Sponsorship would have meant that more than was actually realised could have been done. For example there was no catalogue, due to lack of external funding.

Footnotes

[1] Neil Cummings, introduction to Collected, in *Great*, the Photographers' Gallery information bulletin, no 12, May/June 1997.
[2] Neil Cummings, interview June 2000.
[3] Neil Cummings, in a presentation of his and Marysia Lewandowska's work at IASPIS, Stockholm, 25 April 2000.
[4] Neil Cummings, interview June 2000.
[5] INIVA/General information/Mission statement, the INIVA homepage.
[6] The exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery approached the British Museum with a suggestion of something that was at the museum perceived as a Photographers' Gallery exhibition project, and not a project initiated by Neil Cummings. Employee at the British Museum, telephone conversation, 16 April 2003.
[7] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[8] Directors' report and financial statements. The Photographers' Gallery (Enterprises) Limited, 1999.
[9] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[10] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[11] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[12] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[13] The director of the Photographers' Gallery, London, interview June 2000.
[14] Neil Cummings, interview June 2000.
[15] Letter from the exhibition organiser to Neil Cummings, dated 17 November 1995.
[16] Letter from the exhibition organiser to Neil Cummings, dated 18 December 1995.
[17] Letter from the exhibition organiser at the Photographers' Gallery to Neil Cummings, dated 7 December 1995.
[18] Letter outline, dated 5 June 1996, from Neil Cummings to the director of the Photographers' Gallery.
[19] Exhibition outline, dated 8 October 1996, signed by Neil Cummings and Calum Storre.
[20] Notes from a meeting between the exhibition organiser and Cummings, dated 13 February 1996.
[21] Letter from Neil Cummings to the press department at Selfridges, dated 17

January 1996. The book was realised later, as *The Value of Things*, Cummings & Lewandowska 2000.

22 Correspondence between Neil Cummings and the respective venues dated July and August 1996.

23 Neil Cummings, interview June 2000.

24 Employee at the British Museum, telephone conversation, 16 April 2003.

25 Neil Cummings, in a presentation of his and Marysia Lewandowska's work at IASPIS, Stockholm, 25 April 2000.

26 Neil Cummings, in a presentation of his and Marysia Lewandowska's work at IASPIS, Stockholm, 25 April 2000.

27 Putnam 2001: 96. Cf Putnam 2001: 112. Other aspects of the exhibition are also displayed in this volume, pp 102, 133. 134. One of the Divers Memories exhibitions is presented on p 163.

28 Ford 1997.

29 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

30 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

31 The director of the Photographers' Gallery, interview June 2000.

32 Cf. description in the Divers Memories case study.

33 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

34 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

35 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

36 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

37 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

38 The director of the Photographers' Gallery, interview June 2000.

39 Neil Cummings, interview, June 2000.

40 In 2000-01, Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska made a project with the Tate Modern and the Royal Bank of England. The catalogue published in connection to this project was entitled *Capital*. Cummings & Lewandowska 2001.

41 Letter from one of the artists to Neil Cummings, dated 27 February 1997.

42 Letter from one of the artists to Neil Cummings, dated February 1997.

43 Budget titled Collected, undated.

44 Letter to the Corporate Affairs manager at the Evening Standard, dated 9 October 1996.

45 Camera Obscured was a photography exhibition curated by Canadian artist

Vid Ingelevics, displaying photographs taken by museum photographers from the nineteenth century up until the late twentieth century.

[46] Budget no. 2, undated sheet.
[47] Application by the Photographers' Gallery to the Visual Arts Department at the Arts Council of England for the Exhibition production awards 1997/98, dated 6 February 1997.
[48] Collected, summary of costs, dated 26 June 1997.

6 CASE STUDY III: DIVERS MEMORIES

ART PROJECT AS UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

Imagine that you are wandering around a museum when your attention is caught by an object which creates a certain doubt in your mind. Whilst it appears at home in the collection, you find it inexplicable and this impression has the effect of making you question its status as an exhibit. All at once the whole museum becomes suspended in an atmosphere of dubiety. … Following this trail permits a loosening of meaning. Every attempt at identification draws you into a state of free play with the act of interpretation, and museum-going takes on an unexpected capacity for generating fictions. … Divers Memories blurs the distinction between collection and creation, the fixed and the shifting. [1]

Frontiers are the laboratories of identity. They provide the necessary fence across which we constantly tell stories about who we are. … The question I have continually asked as the curator of *Divers Memories* is how far artistic identity can be stretched within the realms of museology and history. Can it be distorted and yet still function?

Each new version of *Divers Memories* has been inaugurated by the modest act of swapping stories. The exhibition at the Museum of Site was no exception. As curator, I like to respond to the ways in which ideas and concepts become culturally contagious. The artist's engagement with the museum has certainly caught on. The world is now full of people taking advantage of the expanding scope of history where fiction can cross over into fact, and museum display can be a kind of installation art.[2]

Chris Dorsett has worked as an artist since the 1970s, and alongside his own projects he has been a teacher at several art schools in England. After having worked as a part-time lecturer at the Department of Visual and Performing Arts at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for a number of years, he was in 1994 asked if he wanted to become a Research fellow. The professor of the department, who asked him, wanted him to continue the project he had developed during a number of years, a project by then named Divers Memories.

The work, by the 1990s named Divers Memories, grew out of a number of exhibitions commenting established museums and exhibition spaces that Chris Dorsett developed, the first one in 1986. The first project received money from a Regional Arts Board in England as an art project aiming at reaching non-traditional art consumer groups. In the early 1991, he worked in Stockholm with students at the Royal College of Art and the Stockholm City Museum and in 1992 with Hallwylska museet and Livrustkammaren. Since then, the combination of contemporary art and museum contexts, have been at the core of Divers Memories. The project got its name in connection to a project and exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1994. Since then, exhibitions have also been made at the Manchester Museum in 1995, and at the Pielisen Museo in Eastern Finland in 1996.

A university frame for artistic research

The University setting meant that he could go on developing his projects with a monetary support from the department. From his perspective, the University context that he could now place his projects in meant a stronger credibility in the eyes of potential grant givers and co-operation partners, whether organisations or individuals. His art projects were now also officially noted as part of the research undertaken at the university department.

> … the funny thing is that when I got to Newcastle I was already starting

to think that I should develop the identity of the project. I wanted to give it a new name. A name that didn't simply describe a project about artists working in museums, or a project that Chris Dorsett does, or a project that comes from the Pitt Rivers Museum, or especially, a project that belongs to the University of Northumbria. I wanted a name that would establish a self-contained identity. Of course, the growth of this identity has been possible, really, thanks to research support from Northumbria. I don't think the project would have gone so far if this support hadn't been there.[3]

With a new competitive research assessment system that was introduced in the UK, as former Polytechnic schools were upgraded to or incorporated with universities in 1992, the need for presentable and generally measurable research results were demanded also of art school departments. With the advent of this system, artists working as teachers could suddenly name their artistic work research, and become research staff. It seems the department professor saw the projects Dorsett made, were compatible with the new demands of clearly measurable research projects at UK universities.

The question of art projects as university research is a question that has raised some rather difficult issues of discussion concerning the characteristics and methods of research, both in the UK and other countries. The basic question is if it is possible to compare the methods of work within art department research with other, more traditional academic departments.

How would you describe to someone who wouldn't realise how an exhibition would be a way to present research, what's the outcome in the exhibition? And actually, what is the research part of the project?

Well, this is a complicated question. Fine art research is ambiguous, it's not very easy to explain. One way of looking at it is this: my early work with the Pitt Rivers Museum received Arts Council funding and Regional Arts funding because it was about creating new audiences for the arts.

> Now, I think that my University would count that as genuine research because I was investigating novel ways of addressing different kinds of people. A lot of people in the art world would probably say the same. So that's one way in which an exhibition might be seen as research.[4]

The university setting thus implies a formalised way of working. Each year, all staff engaged in research have to write what they have done during the year, and what their plans for the coming year and the rest of the current assessment period is. They also have to state results in terms of recognised parameters, such as international presentations of research results (where an exhibition is equivalent to a conference paper), the status of the institution that is hosting the presentation. For each researcher, the points add up for the department, and all the departments add to the total research performance of the university.

For Dorsett, the offer to become part of the research team meant funding for his projects. He had earlier applied to various types of arts councils for money, but here was now a chance of even enhancing the possibilities of future funding, since a university back-up would make the future projects more secure in the eyes of other possible funders. As Dorsett says, the first funder is always the most difficult to find. When some institution has decided to support a project, others approached are more willing to also support it.

The university research context conditioned Dorsett's work in certain ways. Firstly, he needed to describe the projects that he planned to execute, and the ones he was currently undertaking, in a way that conformed as much as possible to criteria that rendered good assessment grades. Furthermore, the more artists from the department that can be part of his individual projects, the more research points the project will render.

> … one thing that people often say to me is: well, this is not a famous art venue, this is just a funny museum, this is a weakness. I suppose the type of venue I use is not a clear indication of status from the fine art point of view. But the kind of thing I would say in reply, for example, is this:

the Pitt Rivers Museum has an international reputation as a museum of anthropology as well as being, at a popular level, a much-loved and celebrated Oxford attraction. I sense that it is not easy to understand that running Divers Memories is a genuine form of research. The focus has little to do with the conventional idea of the artist and what an artist does. Therefore, if it is to be awarded points, they should be for the quality of what the project has made happen.

When I started, very few people thought that artists and non-art museums could work together in the way that most people do now. And the frequency with which I'm called upon to speak at museology conferences points to a huge growth in this idea. Everybody involved in museums want to know about it and I consider that to be a research outcome in itself. Divers Memories has not been about achieving recognition in the art world—which is actually quite a limited frame of reference. That kind of goal doesn't actually count for much in relation to of my aims as a creative person.[5]

The difficulties with doing new things in an environment that is generally expecting predictability and traditional channels of presentation of art seem to have been rather pronounced in Chris Dorsett's work. It is hard to motivate, exactly because it is not relying on established status criteria within the art world.

I've had this right from the start. I remember a friend coming out of the Pitt Rivers saying that after two hours of looking for our exhibition he still hadn't found the exhibition. The difficulty of viewing artworks that are embedded in an existing collection lead to people like the Arts Council wanting to know why they should fund an exhibition that can't be easily seen. They say: if it's visual art, it should be visible—after all, that's the point.

When the idea was quite fresh— when I was just beginning to work my way into the project—it was quite easy to think: well, maybe I do need to make the exhibition more accessible—at least, for the sake of the

contributing artists. But I muddled on. Some pieces were clearly artworks on display; others were entirely merged with the collection and difficult to identify. I always tried to make sure that there was at least one visually outstanding piece that made it clear that an artistic intervention was going on. There was also publicity material and a free map available if you wanted to hunt down the works and find out who had made them. But these didn't work well because in a non-art museum people have a different frame of mind, they haven't gone there to search for hidden artworks. …

But with each exhibition there were always just enough museum visitors responding positively—and this kept me thinking that I was on the right track. … in the end I am not sure that it matters too much if museum-goers are left feeling slightly confused because, at least, they have been drawn into a questioning process.[6]

The aims of the project(s) have grown slowly and have become clearer to Chris Dorsett only with a number of realised exhibitions. In the beginning, the investigative part was dominating in Dorsett's own view on what the projects were about. After discussions with interested academics and representatives of arts councils, the regional and border issues have become more explicit. And with the inclusion of Dorsett as a Research Fellow at the UNN, the reflexive and broader academic verbalisation of the project in terms of anthropology, history and artistic research has become a part of the presentation of the project.

For Dorsett, references to other areas of research has developed though a distanced reflection over a period of time, upon a number of rather autonomous art projects with a specific theme (museums plus artists) over a number of years. This in turn has been partly because of the need to legitimate the new projects for arts councils, and to view the projects in terms that are conditioned by established criteria of university research.

The Hong Kong connection

The latest project within Divers Memories, was an exhibition in Hong Kong in autumn 1998. The reason that it came to take place in Hong Kong had to do with both Dorsett's interest in border regions, and the fact that a former student of Dorsett's, originating from China, had an idea of doing a Divers Memories exhibition in China.

> … after I finished the exhibition in Finland I wanted to do something in a similar type of place and so was looking for new possibilities. At that time I was following my usual practice: I was considering a number of museums which had either contacted me or had been suggested as potential venues if I approached them. And so I probably had about four or five different museums in mind, and was starting to write proposals in a very vague form. I tried a couple, and didn't get the initial funding, and so didn't get very far … I had a bundle of possible projects that I was taking around and telling people about.[7]

The former student, who lived in Hong Kong, had shown a large interest in Dorsett's Divers Memories project during her studies at the UNN. When she had finished her studies, and was to go back to Hong Kong, she suggested that Dorsett do a Divers memories project in mainland China with her assistance. But Dorsett considered Hong Kong a more interesting place for a project, especially after the hand-over to China. This was because there was a natural interest in Hong Kong both from the side of Chinese or Hong Kong artists, as from British artists. Chris Dorsett was interested in the stories that would be told in Hong Kong, after the former British colony had been returned to China.

> I was full of what had happened in Finland— in the region of Karelia on the eastern border. I had become very interested in borderlands. Having travelled on both sides, in Russian and Finnish Karelia, I was fascinated by Karelian identity and culture, the way that it was represented in the museum that hosted Divers Memories.

There were a lot of links with the situation in Hong Kong. I thought that it would be interesting to do a project during, or soon after, the handover. To get to feel the same sort of things I had felt in Finland but from an English perspective as a British colony moved out of colonial status. And I wanted to do this in the New Territories, right on the Hong Kong-Chinese border, because this was where everybody concerned, from either side, overlapped.

So that was the initial idea, and I said to her [the student that became the project assistant] that if she was interested in doing a project—in us collaborating—I'd prefer to do something like this. … As a result, some remarkable things happened.[8]

A suitable partner

These remarkable things were that the former student met a man who worked within the art scene in Hong Kong. He had a background in architecture, but had curated several exhibitions, and a rather large festival of installation art, all in Hong Kong. He had a position at the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (ADC), a body that funded arts projects in Hong Kong.

This man was partly working within a university context, but was also working with Hong Kong Visual Arts Research Society (HKVARS), an art association that documented various contemporary art projects. This association was research oriented in that it had an interest in exploring Hong Kong from a heritage point of view, and linking this to questions about the future of the region. The HKVARS tried to set up a venue for installation art just outside a seventeenth century walled village in the New Territories, a part of Hong Kong that borders to mainland China.[9] The search for a building in which to house the new venue was going on. There was also already a name for the venue, the Museum of Site (MOST).[10]

> With the support of ADC, it is hoped that HKVARS can have its own venue and supporting staff to handle its programmes and providing more quality services to different communities of Hong Kong. In this connection, HKVARS is planning to apply for an administrative a grant from ADC in order to develop an alternative venue outside urban areas in the New Territories. … Museum Of Site (MOS) is not a conventional type of museum. It argues that research and experimentation can be fused into one and that the cultural fabric of its site forms the base of exhibition and collection.[11]

> The Museum of Site (MOST), sponsored by the Hong Kong Art Development Council, is a "conceptual museum" in which "ideas" constitute the fundamental basis and it "visual counterparts" comprise the substantial mosaic. The founding of MOST aims at the use of a heuristic approach to develop interactive relations and mutual understanding between the artists, the public and the local communities.[12]

Here then, it can be seen that the Divers Memories idea of investigating history through contemporary art fit rather well in with the aims of the Hong Kong project manager and the HKVARS.

After some initial contacts with the former student concerning a joint project with the MOST, Dorsett outlined a plan in May 1997 of a Divers Memories project. It was to run over a period of three years, from 1998 until 2000, with consecutive exhibitions.[13] The later stages were just sketched, and had the British Council in London, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, UNN and the Leverhulme Trust listed as suggested funders. Together with a publication, the total costs for two years, 1999-2000, were calculated to amount to 43,000 GBP. Of these costs, the UNN was suggested to pay the costs for Chris Dorsett as researcher and project manager. They also planned a catalogue, but left the costs for it outside the budget, because they hoped to get some publishing house interested in it.

Being used to having to find the funding for his Divers Memories pro-

jects from a number of different sources, this was something that Dorsett started to act on as soon as he was back from his trip. Dorsett had presented the Hong Kong project as a new Divers Memories project at his university department, and knew that he would count on some financial support from them, but not for the entire project. He had a good relationship with the British Council, from earlier projects abroad, and therefore contacted them again to hear about the possibilities for funding of the planned project in Hong Kong. They however, said that he was to contact the British Council in Hong Kong, but also warned him that they would probably not be so interested in such a non-traditional project.

When starting the work with applications for funding from arts councils in Hong Kong, Dorsett's former student and the Hong Kong project manager started work on finding suitable university and museum contacts that could secure interesting partnerships and legitimacy for the project in the eyes of the grant giving bodies. Institutions that the project manager had contacted or planned to contact in late spring 1997 were the University Museum of the Chinese University in the New Territories, the Museum of the Regional Council, and the University Museum of Hong Kong University. The project manager asked Chris Dorsett to supply him with a list of possible funders, co-operating institutions and artists from UK, to add to an application to the ADC for a Divers Memories project.[14]

Dorsett sent an application to the British Council for a Hong Kong Divers Memories project in May 1997. In this application, he outlined the aims and budgets for both former projects within Divers Memories, and also for the Hong Kong project. According to this outline, former Divers Memories projects had cost on average 25,000 GBP each, with 15,000 spent on research and development of the project, and 10,000 for the realisation of the exhibition. Catalogues for the exhibitions would have added between 600 and 6,000 GBP to the total costs of the project.[15]

In the British Council application, Dorsett estimated a total cost of 30,000 GBP for the Hong Kong project. The research part of the project

was estimated to amount to around 10,000 GBP and for this part Dorsett suggested support from the UNN. He here mentioned that the HKVARS would apply for money from corresponding Hong Kong grant giving bodies for the artist and exhibition parts of the project. At this stage, a first exhibition project was suggested as a pilot project. If it came out successful, the co-operation with subsequent projects deepening the issues addressed in the first project.

Originally the idea had been to find funding for the project both from Britain and Hong Kong. The project was eventually financed through a grant from the Arts Development Council of Hong Kong. Dorsett himself did not manage to get any additional funding for the project outside money he received from the UNN. He had hoped that the British Council either in England or in Hong Kong would have supported the project, but the British Council in London referred to the British Council in Hong Kong, and the British Council in Hong Kong did not find the project interesting enough. And there could have been some additional funding for the project from the UNN, but this failed since Dorsett could only include one other member of staff in the project. He received no curator's fee from the project's budget. His salary from the UNN usually worked as a door-opener when applying for funding from other sources. It is, according to Dorsett, easier to get funding when someone has already supported the project.

Creating a new art venue

Dorsett went to a conference in New Zealand in the autumn of 1997, and he made a stop-over in Hong Kong both on his way down and then again on his way up, in order to be able to meet the former student and the project manager. During these two airport meetings, Dorsett and the HKVARS man laid out their respective ideas for a co-operative project.

> … what he was trying to do was set up an arts centre where no one really wanted one. It was in a small walled village up at the top of the New

Territories, quite near to the border. The place was called Kat Hing Wai. He wanted to call his venue the Museum of Site because it was going to exhibit nothing but site-specific installation art … and I was very taken with the idea—really taken. It struck me that working at the Museum of Site would be more like anthropological fieldwork than curating an exhibition. Indeed, that is how the project seemed to me all the way through. This is another reason for saying it's not quite over, because, in a way … I got an awful lot of material for future use. A lot! Being in such an unfamiliar context—and I was in the village more than anyone during the project—I had all kinds of ideas that it would be interesting to develop further.[16]

What Dorsett and the Hong Kong project manager decided to do, was to create a "museum" about the village, which had a long history of resistance to the British rule. The artefacts in this temporary museum were to be made out of solely contemporary (art) objects. The artists made installations about living traditions in the area, such as Feng Shui and various religious beliefs, storytelling, etc., and Dorsett presented this as if it were historical material displayed.

In December 1997, HKVARS received a positive answer to their application for the Museum of Site. The Hong Kong Arts Development Council (ADC) had granted the HKVARS 700,000 HKD for the start-up.

The plans for a Divers Memories art project and exhibition through this grew more real. In the first contacts between Dorsett and the Hong Kong project manager, Dorsett did not see the aims of the MOST and Divers Memories as fully corresponding. The reason for this was that the MOST was a venue for contemporary art, and not an established museum, and the artistic investigation of intervention in museum collections and spaces was very much the core of Divers Memories as it had developed until then. However, there was a thematic connection between Divers Memories and the MOST in that they were both interested in history and identity. Dorsett's suggestion at this stage was to find a museum in Hong Kong, in which artists could intervene, and to add this to any

exhibition at the MOST. As it turned out, the wall village of Kat Hing Wai functioned as a living heritage site for the artists presenting their work in the MOST.

The village Kat Hing Wai, near Yen Long in the New Territories of Hong Kong, that the Hong Kong based project manager wanted to use as a base for an art project, had a very long and specific history, and had developed into a living heritage site. The artists spent time within the walled village, spoke to the residents, and then made individual pieces of art for the exhibition in the three-storey Museum of Site building in a more contemporary residential area just outside the old village.

> These activities will draw out contrasts between past and present, Occident and Orient, colonial and post-colonial. There will, of course, be fusions of fiction with fact and artifice with artefact...[17]

Originally the Hong Kong project manager suggested that Dorsett do a project at the end of 1997, just after the MOST had opened. But Dorsett had to teach at UNN, and the next plan was to make something in spring 1998.[18]

In order to put together an application for a Divers Memories project to the ADC, the Hong Kong project manager asked Chris Dorsett to send him as much information about the Divers Memories concept, and on possible further funding from UNN or other UK sources, together with a proposed budget for the Hong Kong project.[19] The proposal for a programmed Divers Memories project was sent to the ADC at the end of 1997, and the venue was scheduled to open in February 1998.

In a budget outline made by Chris Dorsett in December 1997, the total costs add up to 21,500 GBP. At this point, the idea was to include three Hong Kong artists, one Chinese artist, and three UK artists plus Dorsett as curator. The estimated total costs for Dorsett, three UK artists, and three Hong Kong artists add up to 17,000 GBP. This included no salary for Dorsett, but combined production allowances and artist fees of 800

GBP per artist.

For the first part of the project, 1997-98, Dorsett had made a total funding strategy proposal. The UNN is suggested to pay a half-time salary for Dorsett, adding up to 6,000 GBP, and also additional expenses amounting to a little more than 5,000 GBP. Furthermore, 6,500 GBP towards the production costs and some 3,500 towards air fares and education was calculated as covered by the ADC. Basically Dorsett's salary and expenses would according to this project be paid for by the UNN, whereas the work of the artists would be covered by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, the British Council and any additional grants.

In a revised version of the budget, worked over by the three involved, outlined the budget for the project, the total sum of expenses, including the costs for Chris Dorsett as curator, three UK artists, one Chinese artist and three Hong Kong artists, amounted to just over 200,000 HKD. Of this total, the costs for Dorsett amounted to 50,000 HKD, and covered two flights, accommodation and some materials. For the three UK artists budgeted, air fares and accommodation and shipping costs amounted to 40,000 and artist fees including costs for materials amounted to 50,000 HKD. For three Hong Kong artists and one Chinese artist, the fees and production costs were totalling 70,000 HKD.

Conflicting conditions for support and acknowledgement

In all earlier cases of Divers Memories exhibition project, Chris Dorsett would, after agreeing with representatives of a venue (museum), have gone home and written an official proposal, to send to the venue and to record for the university department. This, however, did not happen in this case. The Hong Kong project manager could not, as director of the MOST and a member of the ADC, take active part in the Divers memories project, which applied for separate funding from the ADC.[20] Furthermore, an art project grant from the ADC would go only to artists

engaged in a project, and not to institutions.

The Arts Development Council of Hong Kong only gave money to artists for this type of art projects, and not to organisations. Its British counterpart The Arts Council, has similar restrictions. The role of the UNN had to be suppressed in the application to the ADC, where the project was presented as a pure art project, with a curator and artists. There was thus no mentioning in the original application to the ADC of Dorsett's university context, and he was presented as artist and guest curator for the project. This again caused some problems for Dorsett in relation to the UNN, since the university research framework had to be suppressed, according to the Hong Kong project manager, in official presentations of the project in Hong Kong.

It seems the ADC was quite restrictive in its control of the Divers Memories project. They sent several letters to the MOST with questions concerning the costs of and activities undertaken within the project. At MOST they wrote clarifying answers, reporting what had been and would be undertaken. The ADC seemed to question that the money went to the MOST, and not to Chris Dorsett. In their answers, the MOST staff claimed that Dorsett had not received research money for the project from the UNN.[21]

In his earlier projects, Chris Dorsett had always applied for grants as an artist, and even though he was supporting himself by teaching in art schools, this had no effect on his status as artist developing an individual art project. As he became a research fellow at the UNN, he found it easier to apply for money, since he could account for his relationship to the UNN, and the university framework gave him, in his own opinion, a higher level of credibility. Of course his sensed increased credibility when looking for project funding seemed also to depend on his accumulated experience and references that he could draw upon when explaining his ideas for a new project. The growing number of projects was an expanding resource for new aspects and for new ways to mediate the project as well, for example at conferences and in other academic contexts.

The project had originally been planned to start as early as autumn 1997, but as the funding both for the MOST and a Divers Memories project as still at that time uncertain, the project was postponed so that an exhibition could be shown at the MOST when it opened in 1998. First, the exhibition was due in spring 1998, then in the summer, and finally in the autumn the same year.

Establishing the project and choosing artists

In late 1997 Chris Dorsett got money from his department to go to Hong Kong for a first visit to set up the project. He had an intensive programme during his stay, visiting museums, university departments and art venues, meeting people that both the British Council of Hong Kong as well as the project manager and the former student, saw as important for him to be introduced to. He presented Divers Memories and the ideas connected to it to the professionals and students he met, and established contacts for the project to come. He also gave lectures at all schools and universities that he visited.

At the end of the visit to Hong Kong in December 1997, Dorsett had come in contact with a handful of artists that he thought of as interesting for the project, and who themselves were interested in taking part in it. The UK artists were people that had all at some time worked at his department, but whom he thought would contribute to the project in interesting ways.

> … I have invited only artists with established reputations because I it fits with what I'm asked to do. But in fact, that's never been my interest. Traditionally I haven't prioritised, limited or even defined the kinds of artists who should join in. I've been interested in anyone who came forward. And because this project has money only for a few participants I've decided to look for suitable contributors from people who've previously participated in Divers Memories, or similar projects. I'm looking for people who might have an interesting angle on Hong Kong.

On the other hand, the fact that the project is happening in such an unexpected place is exactly how I want things to be. It would be of less interest to the audience I have built up in the museum world if the exhibition was at, for instance, the Hong Kong Art Centre, which is the main art venue in Hong Kong. I don't think that would attract the same degree of interest.[22]

Up until the Hong Kong project, when choosing artists for his exhibitions, Dorsett had initially contacted artists to tell them a little bit about the project he was planning, and asked whether they would be interested in participating. Then he would give them some time to think, and send them more material or discuss the project further with them. This time, when Dorsett had mentioned the names of the artists that he had approached, the project manager took it that Dorsett had already made his choice. This sudden locking or fixation of the artists to be involved surprised Dorsett, and made him quite uneasy, because the professor at his department was at the same time expressing her discontent of there being just one artist from the UNN involved.

The project manager's idea was that he would choose three Hong Kong artists himself, perhaps on one more later, and Chris Dorsett would choose an equal number of British artists.

And that seemed reasonable to me, although I did say that I didn't approach things in this way. He seemed to want the type of curating I wasn't interested in. However, I could see that I wouldn't be able to persuade him to operate differently. I would have preferred a much more organic approach, something that would develop from the ground up—be allowed to grow. My projects are not about curatorial authority.

Of course, Divers Memories has to be organised, someone has to take responsibility and push things along, but up until then I had always done this from the position of a go-between, a person who moves backwards and forwards from the participating artists to the curators at the host museum. In this way I've been able to enjoy influencing the evolution of

each exhibition without being a lead player. I know that I have been able to make creative things happen from this apparently subsidiary position.

What were your ideas of the project at that time?

Well, it was to continue in this manner—if I could. But, given the situation, I thought that I would quite like to take the initiative and invite some artists from over the border in mainland China, and mix them with artists from Hong Kong and the New Territories, and some British artists too. And then I would work out a new adaptation of Divers Memories. This time it would be a series of interventions or pieces made in relation to a village community.[23]

This division of the choice of artists between the Hong Kong project manager and Chris Dorsett was thus not in line with what Dorsett had envisioned. However, he agreed to this arrangement. He had already noticed that some of the artists he himself had found interesting to work with said that they would not be interested in working with the Hong Kong project manager.

Originally, Chris Dorsett had suggested that the British artists chosen were to have some kind of relationship with Hong Kong.[24] This was to secure funding for the project. Paradoxically, this reduced the number of artists at his department that could participate, and thereby lessened the attraction of the project in terms of its ability to gain research points for the department.

Furthermore, when he spoke to Hong Kong artists, he found that many artists did not seem to want to work with the MOST director. They claimed that he did not relate well to artists in the exhibitions he had curated.

Dorsett himself began to feel squeezed between the different conditions and restrictions placed on the project from the side of the Hong Kong project manager on one hand, and from the side of his UNN professor

at the other. These two were Dorsett's funding links, a crucial resource for the realisation of the project, but he was aware of the conflicting limitations and aims placed by both sides.

The costs of the project set limits for its outline

Chris Dorsett had first planned to go four times to Hong Kong over the duration of the project. Nevertheless, in the budget for the project as presented in applications for funding, the number of trips was cut down to two. Eventually, Dorsett was in Hong Kong four times, but two times paid for by the UNN. Chris Dorsett went on a first trip to Hong Kong in December 1997, to make contacts with possible co-operating universities and museums in Hong Kong. This trip was paid by the UNN. A second trip Dorsett undertook in May 1998, and this time he could visit the walled village and the Museum of Site. This second trip was also paid for by the UNN.

Dorsett went a third time to Hong Kong in July 1998, as part of the Divers Memories project, to plan and prepare for the exhibition, which was due to open in September. Dorsett made a fourth trip in connection to the opening of the exhibition. At this time Dorsett was involved in the arrangements of a research seminar and workshops during the time of the exhibition, a guided tour of the exhibition and the walled village, and lectures on Divers Memories as a research project.

ADC granted the Divers memories project 160,000 HKD. The grant from the ADC covered the artists' flight fares, subsistence and accommodation, their expenses for material for the art works, and some costs for administration etc. They did not get as much money as the Hong Kong project manager had applied for. This meant that Dorsett and the Hong Kong project manager had to revise their existing budget for the project. In their application, they had stated that there would be three artists from each country, but they later decided to include four artists. However, the amount of money they were granted was just enough for three artists.

In a revised budget, made by the Hong Kong project manager and dated June 1998, the total original budgeted cost for the project was stated as 220,000 HKD or 17,000 GBP. These total sums consisted of expenses for Chris Dorsett on 48,000 HKD or 3,700 GBP; 88,000 HKD or 6,800 GBP in expenses for three Hong Kong artists, 23,000 HKD or 1,800 GBP in expenses for a mainland Chinese artist, 45,000 HKD or 3,500 GBP in artist fees and production expenses for three UK artists, and 16,000 HKD or 1,200 GBP in other, mainly invitation and opening expenses.

The revised budget for the project had been adjusted to the grant received from the ADC on 160,000 HKD or 12,300 GBP. As the original budget comprised 220,000 HKD, the cut was a little more than one fourth (27%) of the original budget. The downward adjustments were made by cutting the administrative and promotion expenses for Dorsett, the artist fees and shipping costs for the six artists, diminishing the invitation expenses, and by omitting the Chinese artist altogether. The artist fees were cut with 27%, whereas the omitted Chinese artist meant only lesser cuts in other expenses. The artist fee and production budget for each artist had originally been 15,000 HKD or approximately 1,150 GBP, but was cut to 10,900 HKD or 840 GBP.

Dorsett luckily found out that one of the UK artists he had approached for participation in the project could finance her participation entirely through her employment at another UK University. This meant that they could still have four UK artists in the project. In the end, the other artists' fees and production budgets were cut in order to enable the participation of a fourth Hong Kong artist.

Enabled realisation of the project through several sources of funding

Among the UK artists, it was of course costly to go to the location of the walled village and the MOST. There was only money for the artists to go to Hong Kong once within the project budget. However, two of the UK

artists were able to fund two trips to Hong Kong. The UNN artist was able to go to Hong Kong twice, since UNN financed the first trip, whereas the second trip was covered for by the project. He went once in June 1998, and a second time in September the same year for the installation. Also another of the UK artists went twice. Both her trips were funded by different UK regional arts councils. She went once in March, and a second time for the installation of her piece in September. The two remaining UK artists went once. One of them went to Hong Kong in July 1998, and Chris Dorsett then installed her piece for the exhibition. The fourth UK artist went to Hong Kong just before the exhibition, to make her piece. The air fares for these trips were funded by the project.

Dorsett had planned to be part of the project and exhibition as an artist, and not only as a project manager and curator. However, in spring 1998, the Hong Kong project manager stated that he would prefer Dorsett not to be one of the three UK artists partaking in the exhibition,[25] since he was the curator. Dorsett felt constrained by this limitation of his input in the exhibition. The Hong Kong project was looking less and less like a Divers Memories project. However, the project manager's demand that Dorsett write all texts for the exhibition gave him an opportunity for this.

> …[the project manager's] idea was that I would decide all the things that would happen. By this point he didn't want to come up with any ideas of his own for the exhibition, he was just going to do the administrating. And so he wanted me to have all the ideas. Again, as I said, that's not exactly how I work—and I wasn't keen—but I eventually worked out how to proceed after talking to the artists. When I got to know what [the artists] were actually going to do, I then had some sense of the general direction I should work towards. … [26]

Trying to work out a role for himself that he was satisfied with, Dorsett tried to balance the forced distanced curator role with participating creatively in the exhibition, although he could not be presented as one of the artists of the exhibition.

[The project manager] made me behave in a way that I didn't normally like behaving. I am not a curator who prescribes thematic frameworks for artworks to be interpreted in. Divers Memories was inaugurated to subvert the way we look at historical museum collections. This has been the only objective and if there is a theme it is this: "divers" means many and different and I wanted to know what happens when many different artistic imaginations are let loose in the midst of historical or scientific displays.

However, with an open-ended remit like this, it turns out that my approach also runs counter to art world values. The project was inaugurated in the Pitt Rivers, an environment that treats material culture in a Darwinist way. Divers Memories has inherited this. For example, it has evolved through the impact of artistic quantity rather than quality—I am talking about the project as a whole, not the participating artists who are, of course, highly individualistic and quality-orientated. But the project has grown out of the survival of certain ideas across different groups of artists as we moved from museum to museum, and from one cultural setting to another. This process has, for me, a genuinely alternative feel and I like it, I would like to maintain it.

I certainly wasn't the kind of curator who writes contracts for artists. Now here he was asking me to invent a theme and then make artists sign up to it. So, at this point, I was thinking: well, is this going to be Divers Memories? … But, somehow, I still wanted to see it through. The village was so interesting—so interesting—and you know, if the project was going to change, as things are so open-ended anyway, I might as well follow the turn of events.

And so, I did have, at this point, a hunch about how I could relate to what was happening. But there were other difficulties. He wouldn't let me have an art piece of my own, which would normally have been the case. However, by insisting that I wrote explanatory texts for the exhibition, he inadvertently presented me with an opportunity to act creatively. I wrote all the labels as though the art exhibition was actually a historical

exhibition, an exhibition about the history of the village.

And, of course, for me, a disjunction between what you saw and what you read made it an interesting proposition. … To transform the artworks into pseudo-historical material I took photographs to go with each label. Every artist had a room of the MOST house to themselves and each installation had a slightly separate label, written by me, with an accompanying image. Each photograph and text described a different aspect of the history of the village and linked the adjacent installation to that story. The effect was quite subtle but it introduced the right kind of tension between art and history. The sort of thing that Divers Memories usually does.

Normally things are the other way around; I treat a museum as though it was an artwork. Here I was presenting a series of interventionist installations as though they were historical objects. … whilst the project at MOST became, more and more, all that I would not normally want—that is, an exhibition set up like those in white cube galleries—the result is not uninteresting. Things had turned out in a rather unexpected way.[27]

There had been a problem for some of the British artists to finish their work for the exhibition for the date that the exhibition was originally due to open. At this point Dorsett suggested that they perhaps choose some other British artists. According to the Hong Kong project manager however, the money had been given to the project with the artists first specified, and that there would be no money granted if these were changed for some other artists.

The funding from the Arts Development Council was furthermore to be paid to the participating artists in two instalments. That meant for the participating artists that they all had to pay for their own costs up-front, and then they were to reclaim the money through submitting receipts for their costs.

… and of course we weren't just talking about the money that I'd spent,

we were talking about four UK artists who had put a lot of their won funding into the project in order to be in it. Basically they now saw me as owing them rather a lot of money. The only one who was all right was the other artist who worked at UNN, our professor had paid for him.[28]

The Hong Kong project manager asked that Dorsett write contracts with the British artists for the project. These were signed during spring 1998. Writing contracts with the participating artists was something that Chris Dorsett had never done before in any of his projects. This was because he had never felt that there had been need for that level of formality.

The long distance between England and Hong Kong complicated the communication between Dorsett, the MOST director and Dorsett's former student. Since the project manager was not very good at English, his contacts had to go mainly through the project assistant, Dorsett's former student. Also the differences in personality made Dorsett feel it was difficult to communicate directly with the MOST director. The MOST director's ambiguous position, which caused him to withdraw from a direct engagement in the Museum of Site and the project, also complicated the communication within the project.

In May 1998, Dorsett went to Hong Kong to get started on the actual work with the exhibition, which was due to open in September. As a way of maximising the research points outcome of and interaction within the Hong Kong project, Chris Dorsett also visited and lectured at various art schools and university departments in Hong Kong during his usually two week stays. Dorsett also visited collections and museums in Hong Kong, in order to investigate the overall state of collections, museums and exhibition spaces in Hong Kong. In this way, the trips and the project itself could from the point of view of the UNN gather more research points. Dorsett earned his trips through intense academic exchange in connection to his seemingly less clear-cut art project. Chris Dorsett did not receive any extra salary for the lectures and workshops he gave during his Hong Kong visits, they were perceived as being part of his respective positions as lecturer at UNN and curator of the MOST project.

One of the artists had been there earlier in the year, and Dorsett went with one of the artists, who couldn't go to Hong Kong to install her work in September. Another of the artists could not visit Hong Kong before the opening of the show, so she made a work solely based on the information and stories that Chris Dorsett mediated to her.

During the work with the artists and the exhibition in the summer, both Chris Dorsett, his former student and assistant, and the British artists had tried to persuade the villagers to have objects placed within the walls of the village. The villagers however had declined this, as they were afraid that these foreign objects would disturb the harmony (*feng shui*) of the village.

When the British artists and Dorsett inspected the museum localities, they reacted against the bad shape that the walls were in. Some students had been hired to redecorate the space, but there were differences in their respective views on how an exhibition space should look.

There was also quite some discussion between the British artists and Chris Dorsett as curator as to how the different pieces were to be presented. But this was something that was considered normal in such a bottom-up (and not top-down) project to both Dorsett and the participating artists. The Chinese artists did not argue as much with Dorsett's suggestions for presentation. Dorsett perceived this as a result of their inexperience of such a mode of working.

The exhibition opened on 12 September 1998 and closed on 6 December 1998. During the exhibition Dorsett made two combined performance-lectures,[29] and five guided tours. He also arranged a workshop just before the opening of the exhibition.[30]

In November 1998, Chris Dorsett went back again to Hong Kong. After he had returned to England after the opening of the exhibition, he had received an invitation to chair a workshop related to the topics of their exhibition. In the end, no workshop took place, but by then, Dorsett

had managed to get UNN to send him to Hong Kong for an education festival, where he was to represent the university and the department.

> … in fact, in the end, he didn't organise it. But, by that time, UNN—their International Office—had got interested in it. The International Office recruit a lot of students in Hong Kong and so they were prepared to pay for me to go there. There was a recruitment fair in Hong Kong scheduled for early November and, as a result, I was able to attend this to promote the Divers Memories exhibition and the University. By spending three days on a stand talking about our research I was able, in the end to make something of the MOST venture for Northumbria … [31]

When the exhibition was closed in December 1998, it was unclear whether the shipping of the art works back to the artists in the UK was a cost that could be covered by the money that had been granted the project. Since at this stage the UK artists felt uncertain whether their costs would be repaid at all, one of the artists and Chris Dorsett himself decided to leave their pieces in Hong Kong in order to save costs.

Getting refunds and the art works back

One of the British artists wanted her rather large work back. In spring 1999, she suddenly got a notice that her work could be collected at a shipping store in London. Due to personal reasons and a lack of money, the artist could not collect the work herself, but the storage cost was increasing with each day it stayed uncollected. The project administrators in Hong Kong had paid for the cost for shipping the artwork, but not for the disembarkation fee. This meant that each day that the piece was not collected, due to a shortage of money, the cost for getting it out increased. Here the opinion on the part of the project administration in Hong Kong was that they had to pay for the costs, then send the receipts, and only thereafter get their money back. The artist got the disembarkation fee refunded in the end, but nevertheless had to go to great lengths to be able to get the art work out of the shipping store as soon as possible.

The financial conditions, made it economically difficult for many of the participants. Because of this, Dorsett asked the Hong Kong project manager if he could not contact the Arts Development Council himself to hear about the conditions of the funding. But the project manager said that this was not possible. Dorsett felt awkward in this situation, because he was accountable both to his university department and to the artists for the project, a project over which he felt that he had no power.

As the instalments were later delayed, it created quite a lot of distress, both psychologically and economically, for both the artists and Chris Dorsett. The first instalment was due the autumn 1998, after the exhibition had opened, but was not paid until a little more than a month later. The second instalment was also delayed. Due at the end of the exhibition, it finally came in September 1999, almost a year later. By this time, Dorsett himself had run into economical distress, since he was only employed half-time from the UNN for the project, and nevertheless he had had to spend all his time and energy on handling the uncertainty related to the never arriving refunds. Therefore he had no time to for other work during 1999.

The uncertainty about the refunds was increased by the explanations given by the people they managed to get hold of by e-mail in Hong Kong. In the eyes of the UK artists, they gave very vague explanations for the delay, something that was interpreted as excuses. The Hong Kong project manager seemed not to be available at all at this point in time. Chris Dorsett's former student, who had by then left the museum, tried to help Dorsett as much as she could, by contacting people involved in the financial matters at the Arts Development Council, and the project manager. Dorsett's own financial position also worsened with time, since he had paid for some costs for one of the artists. Since he did not do one of the art works himself, he did not receive an artist's fee for this work either.

As the second instalment was delayed, the relationship between Dorsett and the British artists became tense, since they saw him as responsible

for the project. He, on the other side, noticed that he could not be sure of the actions of the project manager and his administration in Hong Kong, and the great distance made personal visits too costly. Furthermore, the funding for the Museum of Site was ended in 1999, and, as time passed, it became harder and harder even to get hold of anyone who could say anything of the state of affairs to the worried artists and Dorsett back in the UK.

> … in desperation I faxed [the Hong Kong project manager]—it would have been in early September [1999] because the new academic year had just started—and said: we're just preparing for our annual research bids and there is research funding around. I told him that everyone was still very interested in the project and that I was prepared to put in a bid to bring over one of the Chinese exhibitors as a resident artist— if he settles the bill, that is. However, I then warned him that the university wouldn't look at it unless the bill is settled immediately.

> And in reply I got a fax saying that they were about to settle the bill anyway, that I shouldn't worry about it. … Luckily, [the project assistant] had been on it all the time. The exhibition wouldn't have been set up without her in the first place and, in the end, the funding problems wouldn't have been resolved without her too. She had put pressure on anyone that she could find to put pressure on.[32]

Post-project reflections

Reflecting upon the project afterwards, Dorsett's opinion was that the project manager had a personality that did make it rather difficult to work with him. The project manager had, in Dorsett's opinion, a much more authoritative style of communication than most others that he had worked with in his earlier projects:

> … we really didn't have the same kind of attitude. There were real differences between us—personality differences—you know he was just

a very different kind of person from me. But there was, of course, the contrast in culture. He had a much stronger sense that people ought to take up positions of power and use them in quite an open way. In England, you do this sort of thing more discretely …

… at an organisational level he wanted me to do certain things that I couldn't do in relation to UNN. There were limits to how much I could satisfy the conflicting agendas. At the same time, because Divers Memories is a creative project, there should have been scope for it to grow. I was never going to be happy keeping to clear-cut recipes. As it turned out, the Hong Kong project made a very good addition to our University's research profile, it will help with the grading points when our research is assessed.

Doing a Divers Memories exhibition in a walled village in the New Territories was very adventurous—you know most artists would not try to achieve this kind of thing … [33]

Summary

The exhibition in Hong Kong, curated by Chris Dorsett, was one of a number of individual exhibitions realised under a common project name, Divers Memories. The series of individual exhibitions had been developed over a long period of time, and only after some time got its name. At the time when Dorsett worked with the Hong Kong project, his project had for some time been inscribed as an artistic research project within a University Department. The UK had in 1997 handed over the government of their former colony Hong Kong to China, and this was a starting point for the development of the exhibition concept and project.

The exhibition was shown in a residential building just outside an old walled village at the Chinese-Hong Kong border, and the exhibition evolved around themes of history, traditions and borders. It was made

up of solely commissioned, site-specific work with half of the eight contributing artists originating in Hong Kong and half of them from the UK. The long distance between the venue and both the curator and the British artists engaged in the exhibition, meant difficulties in both work and communication.

Footnotes

[1] From a Divers Memories presentation brochure, 1994. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

[2] Xpressions 1998.

[3] Chris Dorsett, interview May 1998.

[4] Chris Dorsett, interview May 1998.

[5] Chris Dorsett, interview May 1998.

[6] Chris Dorsett, interview May 1998.

[7] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[8] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[9] Project presentation of the Museum of Site, dated 15 April 1997.

[10] In the application to the Hong Kong Arts Development Council in April 1997, the Museum of Site is shortened MOS, but in later documents the abbreviation is MOST.

[11] Grant application to the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, dated 15 April 1997, faxed to Chris Dorsett from the Hong Kong project manager the same day.

[12] Letter, call for papers, from a curator at the MOST, dated 15 May 1998.

[13] Project outline written by Chris Dorsett, with budget, undated and unaddressed, but assumedly for an external part, e.g. UNN or the British Council.

[14] Faxed letter from the HKVARS director to Chris Dorsett, dated 8 June 1997.

[15] Brief of Divers Memories as application for money from the British Council, in faxed letter to Dorsett's former student, dated 13 May 1997.

[16] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[17] Internal report of the project for the Department of Visual and Performing Arts, UNN, written by Chris Dorsett, dated January 1998.

[18] Faxed letter from Chris Dorsett to the HKVARS director, dated 11 June 1997.

[19] Faxed letter to Chris Dorsett from the project assistant, dated 15 December 1997.

[20] Undated faxed letter from the Hong Kong project manager to the project assistant and Chris Dorsett.

[21] Letters from a curator at the MOST, to the Executive Officer at VAC,

dated 28 May and 1 June 1998.

[22] Chris Dorsett, interview May 1998.

[23] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[24] Letter from Chris Dorsett to the author, 20 November 2002.

[25] Letter from the Hong Kong project manager to Chris Dorsett, dated 16 May 1998.

[26] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[27] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000, with additions made in 2003.

[28] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[29] 1 September, and 1 October 1998.

[30] 28-30 August 1998.

[31] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[32] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

[33] Chris Dorsett, interview June 2000.

7 CASE STUDY IV: VITA ROCKAR (WHITE COATS)

INSTITUTIONALLY INITIATED DOCUMENTARY EXHIBITION

Under vårt århundrade har sjukvården flyttats från den privata till den offentliga sektorn. Den har övertagits av institutioner och utförs av professionella yrkesutövare med utbildning i såväl medicin som omvårdnad. Vårdsektorn är idag en av landets stora och viktiga arbetsplatser. …

Vad innebär nittiotalet med snabba tekniska och organisatoriska förändringar i vårdsektorn för yrkesutövarna? Vilka etiska överväganden ställs läkare, sjuksköterskor och undersköterskor inför i mötet med ny teknik och nya behandlingsmetoder? Hur hanteras patienternas och de anhörigas ökande krav på insyn och delaktighet i vården? …

Hur arbetar läkare, sjuksköterskor och undersköterskor tillsammans idag för att ge patienterna bästa möjliga vård och vilka drömmar och visioner har de för framtiden? Hur ser de på sina egna och varandras komptenser och arbetsuppgifter? Centrala frågeställningar i undersökningen är hur yrkesgränser och fackliga dito förändras och/eller upprätthålls över tid. Vilka problem och konflikter har uppstått? Hur har nya samarbetsformer vuxit fram? …[1]

During our century, the medical service has been moved from the private to the public sector. It has been taken over by institutions and executed by professionals with education in medicine as well as in care-taking. The care sector of today is one of the country's large and important work places. …

What does the 90s with its fast technical and organisational changes in the care sector mean for the ones doing the job? What ethical considerations are physicians, nurses and assistant nurses facing in the encounter with new technology and new treatment methods? …

How do doctors, nurses, and assistant nurses work jointly today to give the patients as good as possible a care, and which dreams and visions do they have for the future? How do they view their own, and each other's, competences and work tasks? Important questions in the investigation are how the borders between professions and trade unions change and/or are sustained over time. Which problems and conflicts have occurred? How have new forms of co-operation developed? …

A museum with non-artefact collections

The Museum of Work in Norrköping, Sweden, is a museum dedicated to the cultural heritage of the industrial society. It collects not objects, but documents and the working memoirs of different professional groups, and also researches and exhibits different aspects of contemporary working life.[2]

The museum was opened officially in 1991, but had been realised in steps since the 1980s, when ideas of a museum for work and working life first started to be articulated among individuals and organisations connected to the labour-movement.[3] A foundation with the explicit aim to realise a museum dedicated to the realm of work and working life was founded in 1983. The founders of the foundation are Landsorganisationen, LO, Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation, TCO, Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, ABF and Kooperativa Förbundet, KF.

The museum receives state subsidies for central functions, but finances all projects with external funds. In 1997, the state subsidies received amounted to 12 million SEK, and project contributions to a little over 6 million. Income generated by the museum amounted to a total of 1.7 million. An important contribution to the economy of the museum is the cost for the house in which the museum is placed. This cost, in 1997 amounting to 4.7 million, is paid by LO and KF. The Museum of Work pays costs for the operative costs of the building. The museum had in 1997 twenty permanent staff positions distributed on twentysix employees, and a varying amount of people working on project contracts.

The Museum of Work does in certain respects differ from the traditional characteristics of a museum,[4] and these deviations are carefully chosen and articulated. Firstly, the museum was founded to fill a gap in the topics dealt with in other existing museums. The museum further was not founded upon, and does not have, any collections of artefacts. Instead the museum collects professional memoirs written by still active or retired people with various functions. It also uses already existing

collections, when specific musealised artefacts are needed. Secondly, the entrance is free. This is according to the museum a tribute to the idea of a democratic and public museum institution as a base for learning, experience and encounters. Thirdly, the museum has developed a special method for working in its projects, called the co-operation spiral. This project model works by way of a cyclical interaction between the collection of professional biographies and documentation of different professional domains or spheres, and the processing of this material through exhibitions, publications and program activities.

Finding a theme for an existing project form

The White coats project was thus well in line with and a part of the museum's regular aims and ways of working, but the specific topic, and the resulting particularities of the project, was new. The then research director and research secretary first raised thoughts on documenting and researching on health care work at the museum in 1994. They had ideas about doing a documentation of health care work in contemporary Sweden, with a holistic approach. An ambition with the project was to make visible those categories of the personnel that are usually not acknowledged publicly in the health care sector.

The model according to which the work with both the overall project and the exhibition was executed, had already been successfully implemented in a recent similar project 1990-1994, in which cleaning work was documented and displayed by means of photography and sculpture. This project had turned out to be very successful in terms of the extent to which the exhibition toured. Therefore, the people involved in the planning of the museum's coming activities considered this model for execution was worth implementing again.

One of the tasks of the research secretary was to find new areas of investigation for the museum's research department:

En av mina uppgifter blev ganska snart att försöka dra igång ett vårdarbetsprojekt, att dokumentera vårdarbete idag. Det berodde också på att det fanns en minnesinsamling redan gjord kring undersköterskor och vårdbiträden, som hade publicerats. … under diskussionerna på museet växte det fram tankar om att vi inte skulle koncentrera oss på en yrkeskategori, utan vi skulle också försöka titta på relationerna mellan undersköterskor, sjuksköterskor och läkare. Det här hade vi en del diskussioner om och jag var en av dem som var lite drivande i det här, för jag hade någon idé om att man kan inte bara titta på underordning, som jag sa det, utan man måste också titta på överordning, på hierarkin som finns … Min tanke var att det måste var intressant liksom att försöka titta på det här som en helhet. Men vi hade ganska mycket diskussioner om det här, för Arbetets museum är ju inte direkt nåt museum som forskar uppåt, utan det finns ju mer en målsättning att synliggöra dem som inte syns så mycket. … och det fanns en tanke, också genom att städprojektet hade fungerat så bra, att använda den här modellen.[5]

One of my tasks quite soon became to try and instigate a project on care work, to document contemporary care work. And that of course also depended on the fact that there was a collection of professional memoirs already made among assistant nurses, that had also been published … under the discussions at the museum, thoughts grew that we would not only concentrate on one professional category, but we should try to look also at the relationship between assistant nurses, nurses and doctors. And we had quite a lot of discussion around this, and I guess was in fact one of those that were driving in it all, because I hade some idea that one could not only look at subordination, as I phrased it, but that one must also look at superiority, I mean, there is after all a hierarchy here … And my thought was then that it must be interesting sort of trying to look at this as a whole. But we had quite a lot of discussions about this, because the Museum of Work is not directly a museum that researches upwards, if you want to put it that way, but there is more an urge to make them visible that are not so shown. … and there was a thought also to use this model, because the cleaning project had turned out so good.

White coats was a combined research and exhibition project, with the aim of documenting and making visible the working conditions and the everyday working life of personnel groups in the health care sector.

The documented groups were assistant nurses, nurses, and doctors. The project was sequenced in three phase. The first was the collection of professional biographies of these personnel groups. Some of these biographies were then published in an anthology named *Vård som yrke* (Care as profession). The second phase was a documentation of contemporary working life, where two workplaces were chosen for documentation, and documented by a photographer, an ethnologist and an artist. The third phase was the presentation of processed material from the documentation. The exhibition contained photographs, sculptures and texts. Connected to the project there were also arranged a seminar and presentations and other program activities during the time the exhibition was on display at the Museum of Work. The project was also presented in various public professional contexts by the museum staff engaged in the project. The exhibition was designed as a travelling exhibition, and after being shown at the Museum of Work was available for hire.

During 1994 and 1995 the ideas were further elaborated, and at the end of 1995 a full project plan was written, supplemented by a project budget. The project description comprised three pages, and presented central questions for the project e.g. how the requests for a human health care can be combined with the demands for more efficient and less costly care. The relationships between the various professional groups, and the domains of their respective professions, was also mentioned as an intended target in the different phases of the project.

The project was structured in four phases. In the first, spring 1996, a call was addressed to doctors, nurses and assistant nurses to write and send personal professional biographies to the museum. From this, an anthology was to be published. In the second phase, during 1997, a documentation of contemporary working conditions and working life among the same professional groups was to be made by an ethnologist, by observation and interviews. The documentation was to be widened by a photographic documentation made by a professional photographer. Two artists were also later in this phase to interpret the work places by respectively chosen methods. In the third phase, experiences from

the documentation were to be part of an exhibition on the topic of contemporary work in health care. The work of the artists were to be included in the exhibition, as well as photographs taken by the photographer. A catalogue was also to be produced in connection to the exhibition, wherein the same themes were to be discussed. In a fourth phase, scholarly as well as popular articles were to be produced and published.

Finding project partners

The budget was at this point totalling SEK 1.4 million. In spring 1996 the budget had grown to 1.5 million. In this budget, the cost for project management was totalling 90,000, the professional biographies' collecting 300.000, the work place documentation 360,000, the production of the travelling exhibition 680,000 and work on publications 50,000, whereof the largest posts were salaries. The former research secretary, who had written the project description and budget, spoke with the research director concerning the size of the budget, and also with the two unions who had already declared their interest in taking part in the project. She also spoke with the exhibition director, and consulted the budget of another exhibition at the time running at the museum, to get an idea of a realistic level for the costs of the new project.

The next step was to find funding for the project according to the standard procedure at the Museum of Work: by external means. The total costs would be shared in equal parts by the partakers, including the museum, but the museum's part would be paid by the working time of personnel at the museum. The target organisations for this project were the three main workers' unions in health care: Svenska Kommunalarbe tareförbundet (the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union), Sveriges Läkarförbund (The Swedish Medical Association) and Vårdförbundet (the Swedish Association of Health Professsionals). The three organisations were approached by both the former research secretary and others at the museum. Kommunal and Vårdförbundet were positive from the start.

Läkarförbundet, though, were not very interested in taking part. As the organisation's representative later described it, the board of directors of the organisation held the belief that the Museum of Work were not interested in professions based on higher education, that for the museum work was only what was made manually. But the representative herself saw the project and the exhibition as a way to publicly manifest the will and the capability to act in consent.

There was, and is, rather great antagonism between Kommunal and Läkarförbundet, but they eventually saw the project as a possibility to show the daily co-operation between employees associated in the three unions, in health care work places. But it took about a year to convince Läkarförbundet. First, representatives of the museum called on the union, and then also the representatives of the two other unions involved. The board of directors at Läkarförbundet needed to be shown that the project was of use for their members, since it was their money that the union would invest in the project.

The negotiations with Läkarförbundet didn't seem to result in anything for a long time. This was partly to do with the fact that Läkarförbundet has a strict policy against sponsorship, and this meant that a participation would mean a co-operation and not just sponsorship. The museum started to despair about getting the union into the project. The museum needed to know in which form it was going to be executed, and if at all. At the museum they started to feel that the project was going to be something else than initially intended, if Läkarförbundet would not join, since the bearing idea of the project was a documentation of the health care working life as a whole. This would not be the case if one of the three targeted groups were not involved.

Kommunal had earlier initiated a collection of professional biographies of nurses and assistant nurses, and saw the project as a natural continuation from this. Läkarförbundet, on the other hand, seemed more interested in the documentation and foremost the exhibition. The museum stressed in its negotiations with the union that the project was designed

and conceptualised as an entity, and the whole of it was what the union had to consider taking part in. The problem for the museum was the uncertainty of the size of the project, due to the hesitant stance taken by Läkarförbundet. The former research secretary solved it by outlining a minimum-budget and a normal budget. The first was a reduced project, with only the most crucial parts of the project, whereas the normal budget comprised also parts that were desirable, but only to be included in the event that Läkarförbundet would take part in the project.

As was later discovered, partly perhaps because the research assistant stopped working at the museum, the budget did not comprise all the costs that were then acknowledged. Foremost, the amount of money set aside for the participating artists (originally two) was far too small. This later resulted in only one artist working with the project. The costs of administrating the distribution of the travelling exhibition were altogether lacking in the final budget. The reason that there was not a thorough check of the budget for the project was, according to the former research secretary, that the research director at that time, early 1996, had stopped working at the museum, and that the other staff were all busy with other projects. If she had not soon left the museum, she could herself have continued the work with the budget.

There were also internally some differing opinions on the museum being involved in covering the overall costs of the project. The exhibition director meant for instance, that the costs were ideally to be covered all in all by external means, and not indirectly by the museum through working hours by the personnel. she had thought the state subventions were to be reserved for in-house museum activities. But according to both the then research secretary and director, the project was to be seen as a co-operation, and not an undertaking or commission, therefore the museum was to share the costs on the same conditions as the other partaking organisations.

The three external co-operation partners were to develop the further details of the project together with the museum, within the broader con-

ceptual frame and execution model as defined by the museum. It was important for the museum to mark its expertise as concerns the actual execution of the work. The three organisations were to function as a reference group, and actively define questions and topics they considered important for the exhibition. The museum had also paid four researchers with different perspectives on health care, to function as a reference resource for the project. These researchers were paid to participate in this research reference panel during the project.

The three unions were represented by a representative each, and at the museum the project group consisted of the research director, the exhibition director, the producer, and the project co-ordinator. The project co-ordinator was employed because she was an ethnologist, and was also to partake in the coming work place documentation. Further the project group included a sculptor and a photographer, and carpenters, guides and others at the museum were engaged in different phases of the project.

New research staff, selecting project contributors

The project co-ordinator (and ethnologist) started working with White coats in April 1996. She had been working a little at the museum since 1994, had studied ethnology, and had a background in the health care sector. The project co-ordinator introduced the new research director, who started her work in September of the same year. The role of the research directorwas to plan and oversee the research and documentation undertaken by the museum, although there had been no formal description of her duties when she was appointed to the position. The former research director at the museum had been her supervisor when she wrote her dissertation in economic history at university. The research director had a 60 % employment at the Museum of work, the remaining time she spent on research.

The exhibition director, who had worked at the museum with other

tasks, started at her new position in 1996. One of the first tasks for her was to decide which artists and which photographer to commission for participation in the project. This decision was not an easy one. The artists and photographer had to have a style that would fit with the topic, and also work together stylistically. This choice would to a large extent define the style of the later exhibition. It was also of importance that the chosen persons were able to co-operate, especially in a project as this, where the time and budget were limited. The exhibition director felt that in the choice of participating artists and photographer, they could not choose any wildcards, but had to choose people who they felt they would be able to rely on. That meant basically people they had worked with before, who knew what participation in a project at the museum meant. She tried to construct a project group in which the various participants would complement each other in terms of experience of the type of project at hand, and who would also be able to work together.

Many artists and photographers contacted the museum when the call for biographies was published in professional journals. One of the artists that sent her a suggestion of how to artistically contribute to the project, was an artist that had worked with the museum before. He was also married to the former research secretary. The exhibition director thought that this artist would be good as one of the artists participating in the project, because of his thorough knowledge of the museum's way of working, and the specific conditions linked to this way of working artistically. He had worked in a similar project recently, and she thought that the risks involved in commissioning work from such autonomous professionals as artists, would be reduced by the commissioning of this artist as one of the two.

The exhibition director also chose the photographer for the project. She had before that met several of the photographers who had contacted the museum. The photographer chosen had done a small commission for the museum a few years earlier, and the exhibition director had followed her work for some time. The fact that the photographer was a woman was also important, since they had decided to choose a female photographer

for the project. The exhibition director does not necessarily make the choice of artists and other aesthetically working professional for projects at the museum on her own. These choices are commonly decided within the project group at the museum, by discussing and suggesting different candidates. Considerations in the choice of persons for commissions, are the style in which they work, since the combination of styles is important in the end result, the exhibition. The different contributions have to go together. People considered interested are kept in mind, and can be approached later. The museum does not want an in-house, permanent artist, since that would result in too similar styles in exhibitions.

The executive group of the museum chose the museum producer to be the producer of the Vita rockar exhibition. The museum tries to alternate between using producers from within the museum and external ones in their exhibition projects, so as to get influences from outside, and a more varied style in the produced exhibitions. This was a decision made after they had decided on which artist and photographer to choose for the project. The exhibition producer later lamented this, he felt that it restricted his possibilities, because a choice of participating creative professionals such as artists and photographers, by their style set certain marks on the end result, and not all styles can be combined.

> Men det är ju klart, det har ju stor betydelse vilka konstnärer man väljer, om man tror att de här konstnärerna kan förmedla det man vill. Det ligger så många delar i det där, för samtidigt vill man ju utveckla museet och tanken och våga släppa in dem som man inte riktigt vet vad man får ut av. Det är ju en del i vårt uppdrag, tycker jag, Arbetets museums uppdrag.[6]

> … of course it's of great importance which artists you choose for an exhibition, if you think that these artists can convey what you want. There's so much to all that, because at the same time you want to develop the museum and your thought, and dare to let in those that you're not quite sure what you'll get out of them. That is part of our task, for sure, I think, the task of the museum.

But the choice was made and the producer had instead to depart from this state of the arts.

The task of the producer in the project was to be responsible for the production of the exhibition, of both content and form. He was also responsible for keeping the budget and deadline for the exhibition. The producer at the museum is one of the longest-serving persons at the museum. He started in 1983, just after the organisation had been officially formed. He had worked in many roles within the museum, he started as a kind of factotum mounting and dismounting hired exhibitions, slowly changing to designing and producing exhibitions at the museum. He also worked with the economy of the museum during a refurbishment period.

The decisions on producer, artist and photographer were taken after suggestions presented at an initial project meeting in late November 1996. This meeting largely concerned the general frames of and tone of the future exhibition. The partakers also read the budget in an attempt to try to get a grip on how the project had been intended to take shape. This was of course due to the fact that neither the research secretary that had written the original description and budget, nor the research director at that time, were any longer working at the museum. But since the budget had already been accepted and confirmed by the joint funders and co-operating unions, there was not much space to enlarge the budget. The date was also already set at this stage of the project.

The photographer and the artist enter the project

In the spring of 1997, the photographer and the first planned artist were commissioned for the documentation of the two work places that had been chosen for the project by the project group at the museum. At this stage of the project the actual form and focus of the documentation was still uncertain. It was discussed back and forth among the documentors, i.e. the ethnologist/project co-ordinator, the artist and the photographer,

and with the producer. For instance, for a long time it was not clear that the care centre chosen for documentation was actually part also of the commission, especially for the photographer and artist, who did not have such a thorough insight into the project as the project co-ordinator and the producer.

The photographer chosen for the project was a free-lancer working foremost with photography reports and portraits. She had been commissioned to work in an earlier exhibition at the Museum of work, and before that once documented one of the exhibitions while it was shown at the museum.

The artist in the project knew several of the people working at the museum for quite a long time, and was married to the former research secretary at the Museum of Work. He had also been involved in projects a few times before.

At the end of April 1997 the three documentors together with the research director presented themselves to the department staff at the hospital and care centre they were going to document. The ethnologist would begin her work soon, a work that was to last for several weeks, from spring to summer. The artist and the photographer were there to get a sense of the environments in order to be able to start thinking in terms of techniques and approaches. The two artistic documentors had a less strict relationship to the material at hand than the ethnologist, who was to proceed according to the norms of scientific field studies. The artist would not start working with his actual work until some time around August, whereas the photographer first went up a few times during the summer, but realised that sun-tanned stand-ins would not give a representative picture of the work places. Therefore she started again with her actual work after the holidays. She had a first deadline set for mid-October, when her pictures were to be delivered to the museum.

The photographer had received a fixed sum for her participation in the project. Within this sum she was to cover all expenses, and the

negatives and contact prints were to be the property of the museum. As the hospital environment turned out to be difficult to document photographically, the photographer used much more film than expected. This in turn meant that the sum she had been paid was used up basically on photographic material, and she later felt that she could not for professional integrity reasons hand over the films she had exposed. She managed to renegotiate the conditions with the museum, and they agreed to only accept the copies that she had developed.

Before the holidays the project group had a meeting with the documentors, to check what had so far been done, discuss any problems that had turned up, and to inform each other on the project on the whole. At this meeting there was much discussion on what the documentors had experienced in the hospital and the care centre; the practical difficulties, personal reactions and reflections on the people and what they had seen. The feeling in the pictures that the photographer had already taken was also discussed. The documentors were still searching for angles from which to approach the work places. Should it be the persons working, or some special work moments? The content and feeling in future pictures was also discussed.

Were there any special work moments that needed to be shot for the sake of representativeness? Was there any type of feeling and content that perhaps was desired for a representative presentation of the work and the work places? This discussion naturally focussed on the photographs, since the ethnologist was going to present her work in writing, and the artist in sculpture, two means that are more (apparently) moulded than photography. The person to discuss this type of questions with was the produces, who had the responsibility for the realisation of the coming exhibition. There was a difference between documenting as such, and producing photographs, art and text that would be good enough to show in an exhibition.

The photographer's main concern with documenting two work places was that people had to become used to her and her camera, before there

could be really good pictures. When the people were not relaxed and natural, the pictures tended not to be so good, according to her judgement.

The focus on representativeness was during the whole project to be focussed on the photographs, perhaps due to an understanding of photography as a more immediate technique of representation than text or sculpture. In the meeting in June 1997, the exhibition director reminded the group that what the union representatives had stressed as their wish for the coming exhibition was team work and common efforts, and professional pride.

The three partner organisations' reasons for engaging in the project

For the three union representatives, what was important with the project was the documentation of the professional groups they represented, and that the other two unions were partaking. The unions saw the project as an opportunity to show a general will and capability to co-operate, rather than giving their members immediate favours. They saw the project as an opportunity for a symbolically important statement. But it was also, from the point of view of the Museum of Work, important that the documentation was covering not only a part of the professional groups in the chosen field, health care. The importance of the documentation grew with the number of participating employee groups.

For Kommunal and Vårdförbundet it was important that the work of their represented professional groups on the whole was displayed and made visible. This was not the reason that Läkarförbundet after long persuasion agreed to join. For them, it was rather a picture of the medical profession, and certain maybe not so visible aspects of it, that were important to mediate. Doctors as a professional group have historically and in the present not so many difficulties in making themselves visible or heard. For Läkarförbundet therefore, the mediation of invisible or

seldom mediated aspects of the medical profession was more important than a general recognition.

It seems that for the three partners in the project, what was important for their decision to join the project was the scientific base of the documentation. They all saw the main contribution of the project as the material collected and stored for future research on the working conditions and life of their respective members. With a scientific base, the various groups were also guaranteed to be documented and represented in a relatively balanced way. The scientific approach of the project was a guarantee for it not taking one part or another, but describing the different professional groups equally.

The exhibition director said at the meeting in June that the task of the documentors was to document, and not to confirm their and other's prejudices about contemporary health care. There was also at this meeting discussion on what to do with the second artist scheduled for the project, since it needed to be decided when this second artist was to enter the project, and with what type of task. There was no detailed specification of the role of the artists in the project description, apart from the role as autonomous interpreters of the workplaces chosen. The artist already involved said that it would be difficult for a second artist to enter the project in the autumn, and the producer was worried that two artistic styles would not be a contribution to the exhibition, on the contrary it would probably make it more dispersed and difficult to hold together. The research director noted that the time allotted the two artists in the budget was very short, three months full time each, which would not allow the artist much time to elaborate their work. The decision then taken was not to commission a second artist, but instead to give the first artist more time (i.e. money) and to cover any other emerging costs not scheduled in the original budget. The decision was also conveyed to and accepted by the union representatives.

The ethnologist was also to work with the exhibition, and she was recommended to focus not solely on her report writing, which was part

of the documentation phase of the project, but also on what could be of interest as represented in the exhibition. This was a division between a more scientific view on the work places documented, and a more human or personal view, based on what they felt was important to be expressed in the exhibition. The deadline for the field study report had originally been set to mid-October, but since it had no exact date when it had to be presented to the public, like the exhibition, that was to be opened in February, it could be finished a little later.

The question of a catalogue to accompany the exhibition was also discussed at this point. The main issue was what type of catalogue should be produced, a more voluminous one, that would be for sale, or a small one, free for anyone entering the exhibition to take? What the project group realised was that no matter which type of catalogue, the cost would be so high as to require further funding, and that would have to be discussed with the partaking unions. The research director suggested that the opinion of the unions concerning a catalogue were to be asked, so that the format of it could be decided at a meeting with the representatives in the autumn. Since the project co-ordinator said that the catalogue was not something that she had time to take care of, the group decided that the information department at the museum could be asked to handle the catalogue and a advertisement poster.

The recurring topic of discussion at this point of the project was what angle and tone the exhibition should have. For the documentors this was important since they had to have this in mind already when they documented. What seemed to be of interest was to have a contemporary, and not a historical approach, and to focus on health care work in general, and not to contrast for example the care centre and the hospital department, or the different professions, but rather to mark commonalities.

From documentation to exhibition contributions

In September 1997, the project group including the artist, the photographer and the union representatives met to present what had been done and discuss the work being done by the documentors and the coming exhibition. Before meeting the union representatives, the documentors and the museum based project members met to plan the following meeting and discuss critical issues.

The producer had agreed with the artist that he could work on some exhibition screens or walls. This was because the producer himself had to finish the work with another exhibition before having the opportunity to fully engage himself in the Vita rockar project, and therefore was grateful for the help he could get regarding the design of parts of the exhibition. The artist had in an earlier travelling exhibition designed the screens and pedestals that were good in form and also easy to mount and transport. The artist had worked on a suggestion during the summer, and presented his sketches on the internal meeting preceding the larger one with the union representatives.

The artist's model focussed on the all over present doors at the hospital department. He also saw as a good pedestal and/or information centre in the shape of the standing carriages where the staff kept case records, drugs etc. When presented with the sketches, the producer commented that these modules seemed rather similar to the ones the artist had designed for the earlier exhibition (also a travelling exhibition shown at the museum), and that it was in its appearance referring visually to the environment that they had been documenting. He was not sure that the exhibition screens and pedestals needed to do this themselves. A suggestion that came up at this point was the use of real hospital screens that are used as wheeled separating walls between patients. The producer had not yet been to the documented work places, and it was recommended by the other members of the group that he visit them to get his own experience of the environment.

At this point in the development of the tone and approach of the exhibition had been decided by the producer after discussions with the documentors. It was going to present three personal representations of the work environments that the three documentors had experienced.

The exhibition form had not been totally decided, and there was in the initial phases of the project discussions as to whether there should be one part of the exhibition that was to be shown only at the Museum of Work, and another part that was to be constructed as a travelling exhibition. This continued to be an issue of discussion among the project members. In September it was at least clear that there was to be one part that would travel.

The artist had decided to work with cast aluminium, and with complementing patient figures in wood, creating at least a few group sculptures. He was opposed to the use of text in the exhibition, and wanted any text to be present on paper instead as part of the exhibition. But it was already a plan to have texts as part of the three 'views' on care work. The group also discussed the possible use of props from the work places, such as beds, dustbins, syringes, etc. to convey a feeling of a hospital or health care environment to visitors. The different things that can be expressed with the three languages in the documentary part of the exhibition are also discussed. For example more abstract aspects of the working conditions of the three professions could not be articulated in the more descriptive sculpture that the artist was intending to make. This would have to be expressed in texts in the exhibition. The photographer would be able to convey images of relationships, team work and action, whereas the ethnologist could take up more of thoughts on their work and positions in her texts.

The producer had a week's time to concentrate on Vita rockar in September. Then he would be busy with another exhibition for a long time. He therefore wanted to see something of what the photographer had thought of for the exhibition, in order to be able to think a little more about the exhibition screen design. He needed to see a few of the pictures

she had thought of, to get a feeling for her style and the format and number of the photographs. If it was going to be fewer large pictures or several smaller ones, since this was going to influence the overall screen design and composition.

She had been photographing in 6x6 format, and felt that her pictures would be too reduced if fitted into the type of screens that the artist had suggested. If the artist's suggestion were to be the design of the final screens, she would have to photograph with this entirely in mind, she said. She felt that a standing format on the pictures would make it very hard for her to get any speed into her pictures, that she would have a hard time coming up with anything that she would be content with.

The date for the exhibition had been put forward two weeks, and was to be opened on 22 February 1998. This meant that the contributions of the three documentors had to be ready by Christmas for the last steps of the exhibition design and the ensuing construction could take place. The carpenters at the museum had to fit in the construction of the elements for Vita rockar with other construction work.

In the meeting with the union representatives the doctors' union representative was particularly active and commented on the pictures that the photographer showed that she could not find the medical aspect of the development in health care represented. This came to be rather an issue on the meetings between the museum's project group and the representative of the doctors' union. This had its background in the initial reluctance of the doctors' union to take part in the project initially. The union's representative had had quite a hard time convincing the board of trustees of the union to join the project, and now wanted to make sure that the medical profession was really described in the public part of the documentation, the exhibition. She was concerned that the picture of the work that would be conveyed would be prejudiced or in other ways not representative. Therefore she discussed what was shown in the photographs presented at the project meetings.

The museum representatives had to stress that there were three languages and contributions in the exhibition, not just photographs, but the photographs nevertheless remained the focus of discussion on representation. The question of representing the work of for instance doctors was however, as mentioned earlier, not that easy, due to secrecy and patient integrity reasons. The opportunities on the part of the photographer to interfere in the work being executed to get good pictures were very limited.

At the meeting with the representatives of the partaking organisations the producer wanted to find out what issues they felt were important. This was in order to focus on the content of the exhibition. Since there were so many possible questions to focus (the miserable state of the health care, as it was at this time almost daily described in media), he wanted to know what the organisations and their members saw as important questions. Possible angles were for instance the individual, personal, or the professional, or the economy. He suggested that they find common topics among the three unions, and that perhaps they needed not to state so many things in the exhibition, but rather pose questions. The questions would then be complemented by the three documentary contributions of the ethnologist, artist and photographer. At this point the research director formulated a question that she saw as underlying the exhibition: what type of care do we want now and in the future? This question would, she thought, well match the daily work discernible in the documentors' contributions.

At this point the catalogue had taken the shape of a simple booklet, since there was no money for anything more lavish. Concerning the travelling part of the exhibition, the museum had noticed that there was no money whatsoever budgeted for the distribution. This was a problem that needed to find a solution that the partaking organisations and the museum agreed on. Several alternatives were discussed, such as the Federation of Swedish County Councils (Landstingsförbundet), that had shown interest in the project, the Swedish Travelling Exhibitions (Riksutställningar) and Konstfrämjandet, an organisation for distribution of art.

After the meeting with the union representatives, the producer discussed the continued work with the documentation with the photographer and the artist. They discussed the artist's screen model, and different ways to use the photographs in the exhibition. The producer also introduces an idea of a waiting room, as a sort of staging of a care environment.

Uncertainty concerning exhibition design creates further uncertainty

The following week, in mid-September, the photographer went to the places of documentation, and continued her work. By this time she had been confused by the screen model presented by the artist. She felt that she would have to change her way of photographing altogether, a confusion and uncertainty that made her unable to produce good pictures:

> … det blev väldigt snart prat om en form som skulle se ut som dörrar, och där låste jag mig totalt, alltså. Det var som om jag tappade all, jag blev bara förvirrad, och fastlåst i att mina bilder skulle bli avlånga och jättebeskurna, och då var det liksom ingen vits för mig att hitta min egen form och mitt sätt att plåta. Det kändes mer som om jag var en tapet till [konstnärens] skulpturer, att det bara skulle bli som en fond till hans skulpturer, för det skulle klämmas in i det här dörrhålet. Och … då tänkte jag i 6x6-format, … för det blir bättre om man ska dra upp så stora kopior som en dörröppning.[7]

> Soon enough there was talk of a design that was supposed to have the shape of doorways, and here I got completely locked. It was as if I lost all, I just got confused, and locked by this idea that my pictures would be oblong and very cut down, and in that situation it seemed like no idea any more for me to find my own form and my way of shooting. It felt more as if I was a wallpaper for [the artist's] sculptures, and that it would just be like a background to his sculptures, because it would be squeezed into that doorway hole. And … then I started to think in terms of 6x6 format, … because that's better if you're supposed to make such enlarged copies to match a doorway.

A few weeks later, when she was on her way to the place of documentation for what was to be her last session, she decided herself to shoot just as she wanted herself, and not care about what the producer or artist had decided about the screens. She called the producer from the train station and said that she was not going to photograph in colour, only in small size black-and-white, and only have black-and-white photographs on the exhibition. The producer agreed, and also mentioned that the screens were going to be plain, dark red, and not in the form that the artist had suggested. At this point the photographer finally felt that everything fell into place:

> Sista gången jag åkte, då hade jag tänkt att jag skulle vara där från måndag till fredag, och då hade jag redan bestämt mig, nu skiter jag i den där dörren, … nu måste jag plåta mitt. Och då gick jag tillbaka till väldigt basic, ingen blixt ens, jag plåtade, pressade filmen, hade småbildskamera, min gamla helmanuella FI2:a som jag började med när jag började fotografera. Släppa all teknik och bara gå in i miljön, så att säga. Men då hade alla varit med mig, alla hade träffat mig, och då gick jag in i det på ett annat sätt, och det är sista gången, det är där det funkar, det är där jag börjar få bilder. … och då hade jag ändå tagit sjuttio rullar i det här sökandet … [8]

> The last time I went there, I had already decided that I would be there from Monday to Friday, and I had already decided not to pay any attention to the doorway design, … now I have to shoot my pictures. And so I went back to very basic stuff, not even using a flashlight, I shot pictures, pressed the film, had a camera for small size pictures, my old fully manual FI2 that I started out with when I began to photograph. Just let go of all technique and just enter the environment, so to speak. But by then all the staff had been with me, had met me, and at that point I went into it in another way, and it's the last time, it at that time it works, it's when i start to get pictures. … and by then I had already taken seventy rolls of film in this search …

After this last session and thirty to forty exposed rolls of film, she felt that she should have been in the position to really start photographing, but the costs for the approximately hundred rolls she had already shot

on her several trips to the hospital and care centre, she felt she could afford no more new exposures. She would have to use the pictures she had already shot. Her confusion she later ascribed to the unclear division of authority between the producer and the artist concerning the design of the exhibition screens.

At the end of November 1997 most of the ethnologist's texts for the exhibition were ready, as many of the photograph's pictures. The ethnologist's texts were very well received by both the other museum employees involved in the project, and by the union representatives. The texts were a kind of extracted quotations of expressions the ethnologist had heard during her interviews. They were written in a rather short-cut, poetry-like style.

The photographer had a deadline set for the beginning of October, but was postponed by a month, and not until just before Christmas that had the photographer and producer finally decided which photographs to show in the exhibition. This decision was foregone by a session when the ethnologist and the photographer went through the whole picture collection to find good pictures both in regard of representativeness of content and photographic quality and style. During this meeting, the ethnologist looked for work situations or moments that she saw as representative of work places she had experienced, and the photographer said yes or no to using a specific picture on the basis of professional, photographic criteria.

By the end of November the plans for the opening of the exhibition had also taken shape. The date for the opening was now 13 February 1998. To attract the press to the opening, a debate on the central themes of the exhibition was scheduled for the morning, just before the official opening. In the debate representatives for the three unions partaking in the project were to present their view on what health care Sweden should have. The aim was to get the three respective presidents of the unions as debate participants. The director of the information and programming department had now started working on events in connection with the

exhibition as it is to be shown at the Museum of Work, dealing directly with the union representatives and possible contributors to programmed events. She was also responsible for the catalogue (or brochure) and other marketing material, and contacted a marketing agency for the actual design and production of it.

When discussing the catalogue, programming and marketing material, the budget must always be checked, since the costs must not exceed the overall available money. This in turn mainly affects the design and size of the catalogue. They wanted at least some of the sculptures, photographs and texts as a base in the catalogue, whereas the photographer's pictures would naturally be used for a poster.

On a meeting in late November, some models for elements for the coming exhibition produced by the museum's carpenters in co-operation with the producer were presented to all the project members including the union representatives. There were the screens in the artist's and the producer's design, simple and in a cold dark red shade, black pedestals, and light boxes, and hospital drip-bags complete with stand, with black self-adhesive texts. The hospital props, also including a TV monitor showing a heartbeat pulse, were to be shown only at the museum, and were to constitute a questioning, hospital-like exhibition environment surrounding the documentary part constituting the travelling exhibition.

At the meeting the artist presented photographs of his wax models for the ensuing cast sculptures. They were going to be cast around Christmas, and until then he would be working on the figures. He had made about a dozen, since he needed to have some extra figures in case any casting would not succeed. This was also the case, as he found out in December. His figures were best characterised as illustrations of work positions, physical descriptions of various work moments, from the (male) doctor reading a case sheet to the nurse ready for showering a patient.

Just before Christmas the photographer and the ethnologist went through all the films that the photographer had shot, in order to finally

choose which photographs to show at the exhibition. The ethnologist observed the content side of the work and situations pictured, whereas the photographer looked at which of the pictures that the ethnologist suggested as possible for the exhibition. After a day's work, they had singled out roughly twenty pictures, of which the photographer made the final choice with the producer the following day.

The photographs were then placed in frames and hung on the screens, together with the selected texts written by the ethnologist. The sculptures were ready in January, and were delivered to the museum by the artist, to get fitted for the pedestals that were going to be used for the exhibition.

In the exhibition there were finally nineteen photographs, nine sculptures, and nine texts shown. Around this core in the form of the elements of a travelling exhibition, there were hospital props combined with texts and questions concerning the state of contemporary medical care, aimed at conveying a feeling of a medical environment to the visitor.

The physical exhibition was erected on two days in February. This work was rather quick, and most of this work consisted of trying different angles and positions on the screens in the space available, which was rather large.

There was some controversy about the exhibition poster that the information and programming department had produced for the exhibition. The poster showed one of the photographer's pictures. The artist wanted his name listed on the advertising material for the exhibition, but on the first version of the poster and other printed material, there was only the name of the exhibition and the museum. The artist saw it as important that the names of the three documentors were mentioned in relation to the exhibition. In later versions of the publicity material the names of the artist, the photographer and the ethnologist were also present.

The exhibition opened on 13 February 1998 (a week earlier than planned) and was shown until 24 May 1998. In connection to the exhibition

there were several events organised, from entertainment to research seminars.

After being shown at the Museum of Work, the travelling exhibition part toured around Sweden until the end of 2000, and was shown in hospitals and in union and professional contexts such as congresses. The distribution was handled by Konstfrämjandet, an association based in the labour-movement, which works for the distribution and selling of art in own spaces and on work places. They agreed to handle the distribution of the exhibition even though it is not something that the association usually works with. They had distributed an earlier exhibition, called *Till Er tjänst!*, also produced by the Museum of Work, and perhaps because of that, they were contacted by the museum, and agreed to take on the distribution also for this exhibition. Their fees were calculated on their costs for transportation and administration, and was approximately 3,500 SEK per loan and recipient.

Summary

Vita rockar was an exhibition made in accordance with established working methods at the Museum of Work. The model for the project and exhibition had been tried once before, and had been considered successful. The same producer and artist in the previous exhibition project were used in the new venture.

The project was a combined research and exhibition project, where material from two workplace documentations formed the basis for a travelling exhibition, which was extended with another site-specific part at the Museum of Work where the exhibition was first show.

Three external organisations participated in the project as co-operating parties, influencing the topics of the exhibition. The three organisations had an interest in showing the will to co-operate despite individual agendas, and thus saw the exhibition as an opportunity for goodwill. The

costs for the project, which had a research and an exhibition part, were shared among the four parties, with the Museum of Work contributing through work-hours whereas the three other parties contributed with funding.

Footnotes

[1] Project description of *Vita rockar*, dated 16 April 1996.
[2] Annual report, Museum of Work, 1997.
[3] Alzén 1996.
[4] The definition of a museum is according to the International Committee of Museums (ICOM), "a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment", ICOM & Svenska museiföreningen 1989.
[5] Former research secretary at the Museum of Work, interview May 1997.
[6] The producer at the Museum of Work, interview December 1997.
[7] The photographer in the Vita rockar project, interview December 1997.
[8] The photographer in the Vita rockar project, interview December 1997.

8 CASE STUDY V: FRAMTIDSTRO (FACING THE FUTURE)

JOINT REGIONAL MUSEUM ENLIGHTENMENT CALL

… har ni tänkt på att de flesta som är med i dag kommer att kunna leva till mitten av nästa århundrade? … Ändå är nästan all vår tankeverksamhet koncentrerad till nuet. Vi lever som när man går i en skog utan kompass, utan att höja blicken från det allra närmaste. Det är en överdrift att vi aldrig tänker längre än mandatperioden eller nästa bokslutskommuniké, men när hör man någon ställa sig upp och säga, "låt oss göra så här, då kan vi få ett fantastiskt fint samhälle 2050 eller 2100"?

Ändå är det just det vi behöver. För nästan allt vi värdesätter i dagens samhälle beror ju på något sätt på sådana framtidsvisioner i det förgångna. Och var är då våra? Var är vår färdriktning, de långsiktiga mål vi behöver för att ha något att sträva efter och känna mening i tillvaron?

Positiv framtid handlar om vilja, viljan att styra mot ett mål man tror på. … Det handlar om demokrati. Så länge vi bara tänker i nuet är vi låsta i en tvångströja, som ger så litet utrymme för påverkan att färre och färre engagerar sig i samhälle och politik. Men om diskussionen i stället börjar handla om långsiktiga mål, då är det inte längre fråga bara om ekonomisk expertis, utan om värderingar, och om tidlösa mänskliga behov. … I vilket samhälle vill vi att våra barn eller barnbarnsbarn ska leva? Att sätta upp sådana mål, det är Framtidstro! … [1]

… have you thought about the fact that most of the people that are with us today, will live until well into the next century? … But nevertheless almost all of our mental activities are concentrated on the present. We live as when someone walks in a forest without a compass, without raising his or her eyes from the most immediate. It is an overstatement that we never think further than to the end of the mandate period or to the next balance-sheet report, but when does one hear someone, standing up, saying "let's do like this, because then we can get a fantastically nice society in 2050 or 2100"?

Nevertheless this is exactly what we need. For almost everything that we value in today's society depends in some way on such visions of a future in the past. So where are ours? Where is the direction for our journey, the long-term goals that we need for having something to strive for and for having a sense of meaning in our existence?

A positive future always is about will, the will to steer towards a goal in which one believes. … It's a question of democracy. As long as we only think in the present, we are locked in a straitjacket, that gives so little space for influence, that fewer and fewer engage in society and in politics. But if the discussion instead starts to be about long-term goals, then it is no longer just a question of economic expertise, but of values, and of timeless human needs. … In what kind of a society do we want our children or great grand children to live in? To formulate such goals, that's Faith in the Future! …

Repeating a successful formula

Framtidstro was a project that grew from thoughts on a co-operation in the aftermath of the exhibition project Den svenska historien.[2] The formal initiative to the project came from the Swedish association of county custodians of antiquities (Landsantikvarieföreningen), and was a joint enterprise where the county museums and some corresponding museums were invited to take part, creating individual exhibitions under the heading of Facing the Future. Altogether twenty-seven museums partook with greatly varying types of exhibitions, from rather conservative historical reviews to artistic renderings. A special managerial group handled strategic decisions and contacts aiming at anchoring and fundraising, and employed staff for the operational tasks connected to marketing, information and general administration including economy.

The regional museum directors' network

Crucial for an understanding of both Den svenska historien and Framtidstro as joint county museum projects is the system of county or regional museums connected by the Swedish association of county custodians of antiquities. This is a system that does not seem to have developed anywhere else in the world. The county museums grew out of associations for the preservation of ancient monuments. The county museums today often have both archaeological as well as cultural history and art collections and displays, but also play a role as a locus for the management of historic monuments in the region.[3] There are today twenty-three county museums and a handful of other regional museums in Sweden, apart from national, communal and other types of museums.[4]

The Swedish association of county custodians of antiquities is a meeting-place for the county custodians of antiquities, most of which are directors for the county museums in the country. On the association's meetings, questions of concern for these museums and for the county custodians

are discussed. Since the county museums often are much smaller in both collections and staff than the large central museums in Stockholm, their specific concerns can be given priority in this context.

County museums have a special position in the Swedish museum system, since they are often foundations, and as such not as dependent on any public body, such as is the case both with national and municipal museums (*kommunala museer*). The county museums originated from privately initiated associations, in the 1970s mostly reorganised into foundations with the founding association, and the local county council and municipality as responsible authorities. Besides the Association of county custodians of antiquities, there is a co-ordinative organisation for the boards of trustees of county museums, the Swedish association of regional museums (*Länsmuseernas samarbetsråd*).[5] This is an organisation of the responsible authorities of the county museums, i.e. the employers of the museum director and staff, and has representatives of these bodies in its board of trustees. Its aim is to support and develop the tasks of the county museums.[6]

Framtidstro was a free-standing follow-up project of the exhibition Den svenska historien. This exhibition was the first large-scale co-operative project among county museums in Sweden, and attracted much attention. Den svenska historien was a result of a felt need to mark the importance of knowledge of the national history. This feeling in turn was triggered by a sensed ignorance or lack of interest on the part of ordinary Swedes in History. And this worried historians and museum professionals within the history and cultural history sphere, among them Sten Rentzhog. As someone who had for decades been active in the public and professional discourse on Swedish museums, he was someone who was one of the instigators of the project.

The idea of large joint exhibition projects among county museums seems to have been already present in the minds of Rentzhog and other professionals of the same generation at the end of the 1960s. In a book published 1970 as an answer to a state commission to investigate the

Swedish museum system (called MUS-65), four young (at the time) county museum directors, including Rentzhog, pointed out that equality was a prerequisite for a democratic society.[7] Therefore, equality should also be a key word in cultural work such as that undertaken by museums. However, the authors claim, the museum system did not at the time in practice foster regional equality:

> Det är särskilt angeläget att belysa länsmuseernas verksamhet, eftersom debatten om museiväsendets framtid till övervägande del har kommit att föras med Stockholm som utgångspunkt. Tidningar, radio och framför allt TV tar ytterst sällan och ogärna upp kulturaktiviteter utanför Stockholm till behandling.

> Den dominerande delen av den museala verksamheten i landet utanför de tre storstäderna utgår från länsmuseerna.[8]

> It is especially important to shed light upon the activities of the county museums, since the debate concerning the future of museums mostly has come to be led from Stockholm. Newspapers, radio and above all TV utterly seldom and unwillingly report on cultural activities outside Stockholm.

> The dominating part of the museum's activities in this country outside the three large cities [Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö] originates from the county museums.

At the time when the county custodians' association agreed to launch the Den svenska historien project, Sten Rentzhog was managing director (*styresman*) at the Nordiska museet. He had been the director of Jämtland county museum since the early 1970s, and agreed to be director of the Nordiska museet during a limited period of crisis, as he describes it himself, in 1988. His task was, in his own words, to take the museum out of its organisatonal and economic crisis. This he made through a tough reorganisation and economic restructuring.

The second phase of Rentzhog's plan for the recovery of Nordiska museet back in 1989, was to develop national tasks for the museum. These concrete, positive measures he wanted to introduce as a positive initiative after the more tough organisational and economic restructuration. The vision was to make Nordiska museet into a substantial national resource both for museums and people. Large, effective exhibitions, that would engage the Swedish population and create discussion in the press, were a part of the making of Nordiska into a national resource for regional and county museums. However, many of the plans never became realised. Perhaps Rentzhog's decision in 1992 to go back to the museum in Jämtland, in which he had previously worked, was one reason they weren't realised.

As part of the positive measures of putting the museum on its feet, Rentzhog had had an idea about making a history exhibition at the two national museums in Stockholm dealing with history, the museum of national antiquities, Historiska museet, and Nordiska museet.[9] One aim with this joint exhibition project was, in Rentzhog's own words, that the two museums could make a statement about their importance, both as individual museums, but also as museums as a resource for society.

Most of the members of the association of county custodians of antiquities were positive towards doing something similar together in the future after Den svenska historien. They had spoken about doing something a few years after the closing down of Den svenska historien in 1994, but didn't come up with a good theme until spring 1997. This theme was that of faith in the future, and of how important the sense of an ability to shape the future, in the individual and in groups of individuals, is for the existence of a democratic society. By this time, the discussions relating to the turn of the Millennium had also become frequent in both the State administration and other organisations. The reason for repeating the co-operation around the type of exhibition project tested with Den svenska historien, was that they had noticed that they could get more visitors and attention. Through joint efforts in a project like the history exhibition, with a common theme, each museum and the network county and his-

tory museums could get more visitors and much more attention in the media, than when they all worked with individual projects.

> Museiprojektet "Den svenska historien" blev en stor framgång. Aldrig tidigare har landets kulturhistoriska museer nått en så stor publik eller så omfattande uppmärksamhet i massmedia. Många människor berättar fortfarande om hur de fick en upplevelse av sin historia, som de dittills saknat. För museerna innebar projektet en starkare ställning i samhället än tidigare.

> Erfarenheterna visar vad de kulturhistoriska museerna gemensamt kan åstadkomma, om de på en och samma gång lyckas genomföra utställningar kring ett gemensamt ämne.[10]

> The museum project "Towards a Swedish History" was a great success. Never before have the cultural history museums of this country reached such a large audience or such a massive media attention. Many people still talk about how they got a sense of their history that had until then been missing for them. For the museums, the project resulted in a stronger position in society than before.

> The experience points to what the cultural history museums can achieve together, if they simultaneously manage to realise exhibitions evolving around a common theme.

The project is established

At a meeting in March 1997, the county custodians' association decided formally that work on a project around the topic of faith in the future should start. To this meeting, the director of Nordiska museet was invited, together with his planning director. This was because the Nordiska museet was thought to be the flagship for the project, producing a large exhibition, and thus being a shop window for the project in the capital. The other museums invited to participate in the pro-

ject were all the museums represented in the association, and the regional museums of Skåne (with Malmö as largest town) and Västra Götaland (with Gothenburg as largest town). These two regions have, due to restructuration, no county museums, but regional ones. The date for the opening, 19 September 1999, was also set on this meeting.

The Framtidstro project was to be greater than Den svenska historien in the sense of being more ambitious and containing more programmed events. Framtidstro was not going to be just an arranged exhibition on the county museums, but a whole idea framework with a number of events surrounding the exhibition core, and people involved that were usually not enganged in museum work.[11]

The project was to consist of the partaking museums' own exhibition projects, based on their individual interpretations of the theme, and related to their specific skills or collections or plans. The Nordiska museet was to be a basis for the project in Stockholm, and an institutional anchor as well, in proximity to the many possible partners in the capital. The frame of the project would be developed by the board of directors, accountable to the association of county antiquarians, and by the project office based at the premises of the Nordiska museet.

The association decided to leave the practicalities of the future project to be outlined by a managerial group (*ledningsgrupp*). The association nevertheless remained the highest deciding instance in the project. The managerial group was to consist of three representatives for county museums, and by the present director (*styresman*) of the Nordiska museet, and his planning director (*planeringschef*).

The managerial group was to employ adequate staff for the running of the project office and the day to day business of the project, and through their contacts look for co-operators, project partners and funds. A project office was to take care of information, co-ordination and marketing related to the project, both internally and externally.

A theme programme was written by Sten Rentzhog on behalf of the county custodians' association, as an idea base for the project. This programme was officially agreed to by the association on a subsequent meeting in May 1997.[12] At this meeting, the members of the newly formed managerial group agreed that the theme from which the partaking museums were to develop exhibitions and programme events should be "visions – reality" or "vision – the way it turned out". The focus was thus to be on what people in different times had believed, wanted and thought.[13] Nordiska museet were to take a holistic approach, whereas the local was assigned to the partaking museums. Artistic renderings were thought of as a possible complementary way of approaching the topic (as had been made also in Den svenska historien).[14] Among the members of the managerial group from the county museums was Sten Rentzhog who came to play a driving role in the subsequent work with the project.

In the programme formulated by Rentzhog, the aims of and ideas behind the project were outlined. The programme stressed the importance of visions and innovations for the future of a society, as well as the necessity of a feeling of participation in the creation of the future of a society by the citizens. The project intended, the programme stated, to show different types of visions of the future, which in the past had inspired action, and through this give possibilities for reflection and the forming of opinion. The project was to engage not only thorough exhibitions, but through a wide array of programme events individually developed by each partaking museum.

In connection to the decision to start the project, the association decided that each museum that intended to partake in the project should contribute with 20,000 SEK to an initial fund, comprising altogether half a million crowns. This was to be able to take the first steps with the project. The aim was to be able to recruit someone to handle the day to day tasks. The association applied for and received half a million crowns from the National Council for Cultural Affairs as a project initiation grant for this aim.

The work with outlining the project started at the same time as the search for monetary resources and collaboration partners. The members of the association of custodians of antiquities all started the information and anchoring work at their respective museums. Since every museum developed their own ideas under the common theme that Rentzhog had worded, the development of exhibition and programming ideas had to start at each individual museum.

The managing group met approximately once a month, to make more principal decisions on how to proceed with the work, and to check what had been accomplished since the last meeting. The search for someone to employ at the project office started at the same time as the contacts with potential further funders. The daily work was to be handed over to a project manager, who was also to function as secretary at the meetings of the managing group.

The members of the managerial group were not to get any additional salary for their work with the project, but got their costs for trips covered and received subsistence allowance. As the members of the managerial group were all county museum directors, their engagement required a change in priorities between the day-to-day management of their museums and the Framtidstro project.

Using existing infrastructure

The project office was physically placed within the premises of the Nordiska museet. In this way, the cost for rent of office space and also for economic and other support staff was avoided. Instead, the project could use the existing system and staff of the Nordiska museet. As every partaking museum used its own staff resources and economically handled the economy of their projects autonomously, the project office could minimise its costs of operation. Instead, all existing structures within the partaking museums were used. The project manager was economically accountable for the economy of the project to the managerial group,

but the practical details of accounting and economic transactions were handled by the finance department of the Nordiska museet.

One of the stated concerns of the managerial group was to secure or maximise the engagement of the staff of the participating museums. Parts of the managerial groups had been working already with Den svenska historien, and had learned from this project that an engaged and enthusiastic museum director was not the same as an engaged and enthusiastic staff working operatively with the exhibitions and the events programme. To inspire and support the project managers at all the partaking museums, the project office arranged a number of inspirational seminars throughout 1997 and 1998. Here the representatives of the different museums could listen to invited scholars and discuss approaches and topics with each other. The inspirational seminars were a way to both give glimpses of all possible aspects on the topic chosen, and a way for the people practically involved to learn from and develop ideas with each other. These seminars were appreciated by the participators.

One of the main concerns for the managerial group in the initial phase was to start working on the contacts for further partner organisations and funding of the project. The members of the managing group initiated contacts with organisations with whom the Framtidstro team wished to co-operate. In May 1997 contacts were taken with the government's Ministry of Culture, SVT (Swedish national television), the adult education associations (*folkbildningsförbund*), AB Svenska Spel (the state monopoly company for gambling, handling sports related gambling and lotteries), Skolverket (the Swedish national agency for education), Utbildningsradion (the Swedish educational broadcasting company) and other companies, government bodies and organisations. The managerial group wanted to anchor the project and get as good financial support and as wide contacts as possible, and therefore started with PR work for the project both by approaching possible funders and collaborators.

The task of the project office: information, inspiration and general administration

Another important and pressing task was to employ a person to assist them in the day-to-day work. The search for someone to assist them was started in the summer of 1997, and was executed through asking people working within the field, if anyone could recommend someone for the job. What they looked for was someone who could work as a secretary at the meetings of the managerial group, and to execute those parts of the tasks decided upon that the members of the managerial group did not perform themselves.

By way of recommendations, the managerial group found a person they wanted to employ for the project, who had previously worked with marketing and information. The managerial group had not at this stage outlined the tasks of the person they decided to employ in any great detail. They had the anticipation that these details would emerge and be handled as the project developed. Before the project manager had agreed to start working with the project, they had explained the main ideas of the project, and were relying on them to be able to develop the tasks of the project manager during the course of the project. The marketing and information manager, as the person was employed as, began work in late summer 1997.

The reason for not employing any further staff for the project initially was that the managerial group had only the half-million crowns as project funding. They did not wish to end up with a lot of costs for administration of the project without getting anywhere with finding further financial resources.

Along with the work to find a project manager, the managerial group started working with their contacts for funding and anchoring the project in summer 1997. All the members of the managerial group partook in the contact seeking, and addressed the Department of Cultural Affairs and various foundations, as well as companies, for possible funding.

Organisations such as the adult education associations and Swedish television, were contacted with suggestions for joint events. The project manager was to assist the managerial team in the contact work, and also develop information material for internal and external use.

The managerial group seemed to have an idea of finding a person for the post as marketing and information manager that would her- or himself fill out the identity of this post that could not easily be described by the representatives of the managerial group. It seems the managerial group hoped to find someone who would actively form her or his position, as the project developed. A member of the managing group recapitulates:

> Det vi visste var att vi behövde någon som höll samman och som spred information om projektet. ... Sen var vi nog inte riktigt klara över vilken sorts person, och bakgrund som den här personen skulle ha ... Och antagligen så hade vi inte riktigt, vi borde ha tänkt efter mera innan och precicerat precis vad det var vi behövde eller ville ha.[15]

> What we knew was that we needed someone to keep the project together and to spread information about it. ... Then I guess we weren't quite clear about what type of person, and background that this person should have ... And probably we had not really, we should have thought more thoroughly about this, and specify exactly what it was we needed or wanted.

There seems to have been rather differing expectations on the task and role of the project/information and marketing manager within the managerial group. The view on the task and the possibilities to realise the ideas of the managerial group differs radically between the representatives of the managerial group and the information/project managers respectively. This ambiguity of the role of the project manager in relation to the managerial group in turn created an uncomfortable work situation for the project manager. This was to a certain extent acknowledged by members of the managerial group.

To lessen the work load of the project manager, the information and marketing manager got help from two assistants, in the autumn of 1998, that is, a year after the start of her work. The assistants were people who conducted work practice, to help her with the day-to-day work. One worked full time, and the other half-time, for few months altogether.

Contending wills between members of the managerial group, regarding how to prioritise among tasks, and the execution of them, during the course of the project created an ambiguous situation for the project manager. When asked, different members of the managerial group gave contradictory orders. This created a situation where the day-to-day work in the project office was to be managed without clear-cut or rather, contradictory directives, depending on whom the project manager was in contact with. This in turn created a lot of frustration for the project manager, since the operational work was slowed down by the contradictory or ambiguous directives given.

The role of Nordiska museet as a flagship for the project, as conjured by Sten Rentzhog, seems to be an idea that was not shared by the director of Nordiska museet. The link between the national level of the project and the Nordiska museet had originally been seen as secured by the double role of the two representatives of the museum as members the managerial group. However, the exhibition at the Nordiska museet was never developed through any close interaction with the managerial group. On the contrary, the exhibition at Nordiska was developed totally independently by a special exhibition group. The execution of the exhibition, however, was done, as in several other museums, by people other than those that had initially worked with the project.

The work to find sponsors, other funders, and other organisations to co-operate with did not go as smoothly as intended. The managerial group had already in 1997 contacted different persons and ministries in their search for project funding. At this point the Millennium committee had not yet been formed, but the project's managerial group was told to send in an application to the new committee, established in the spring of

1998. The decision to grant the Framtidstro project money did not come officially until early 1999 (unofficially late in 1998), when the individual museums had already planned for the project more than a year.

The Millennium committee however conditioned their granted money. In their decision was stated that the granted money, of which a little less than 8 million would go to the individual partaking museums with 300,000 per museum, would only be given on the condition that they were used for non-traditional activities within the museums. This meant in fact activities other than exhibition production; i.e. programme events and contacts with new target groups.

Even though the managerial group had started their search for funding for the project immediately after the decision to start the project, it took a year before they had clear indications of receiving funding. The first grant applications are dated spring 1998. A letter was in April 1998 sent to the Ministry of Culture, where the possibility of receiving monetary support for the project was explored. A budget comprising 66.6 million was attached to this letter. This is the first publicly presented budget for the project, and includes costs and funding for all partaking museums and the project office. This budget was fictive in the sense that the money handled by the project office never reached these sums, but served to show the size of the total project for potential funders. The sum included the estimated costs for the project in full, including the budgets for each participating museum. Most of the participating museums received grants for their exhibitions and/or programmed events from public authorities, foundations or similar grant giving organs.[16]

In this budget attached to the letter to the Ministry of Culture, 10 million SEK were calculated to come from the Ministry of Culture, 19 million from the National Council for Cultural Affairs in specified project grants to the individual partaking museums. Half a million the participating museums had already collected among themselves, and Nordiska museet was to contribute with 7 million. Further, the managerial group of the project planned to raise 5 million from research foundations, and

almost 25 million from sponsors. Of the total costs of the project, the project office was estimated to spend around 11 million. This meant that the participating museums were estimated to spend approximately 48.5 million on their respective projects (giving roughly 1.9 million per museum when divided by 26 partaking museums), apart from Nordiska museet's 7 million, which it would find funding for itself.

In a revised version of the costs for the project office, the 11 million that the project office was calculated to spend, had shrunk to 10 million, whereof salaries were totalling 2.75 million for 2.5 full time posts during the whole period. Expenses for the managerial group amounted to 1.25 million, the seminar programme for the project managers to 2.9 million, and costs for overall information and marketing totalled 3.1 million. The costs for a group working with Information Technology within the confines of the project had by the managerial group been calculated to be covered entirely by sponsor resources.

The system of funding for projects at museums is interesting as regards the system of grants distributed by the National Council for Cultural Affairs. Each year, there is an amount of money that museums can apply for, for specific projects. In fact the partaking county and other museums are aware of and plan their coming work in accordance with what type of funding is available in any year for different types of work. For example specially earmarked project money can be used for specific projects a particular year.

The largest contribution to the project was to come from the Millennium committee, specially set up by the government to distribute a certain amount of money to various cultural and educational projects and events in connection to the millennium shift.[17] The committee was to financially support and enhance discussions concerning the future. Framtidstro was actually the project that received by far the largest amount, 10 million, of the total sum of money that the committee possessed.

Another financial plan was to get a substantial sum of the overall

budget from sponsors. The experience with the history exhibition had been good as regarded sponsorship, and the group thought it would be possible to get around 40% of the money needed, a budget dated April 1998 estimated a total turnover of 66.6 million SEK for the project, from sponsors. A year later, when a consultant was recruited to work with sponsorship during the summer 1999, the goal was to reach 5 million in income from sponsors.

The managerial group had worked continuously on sponsorship contacts since the project office and managerial group started their work in the summer 1997, but none of the contacts actually led to any closed deals. What people involved in this work have pointed out as probable reasons for this outcome, was mainly that the message with the project was both too abstract and complex to be attractive or understandable for possible sponsors.

The second project manager commissioned a marketing plan for the project by a marketing consultant agency, and general sponsor hunting help from a sponsor consultant in 1999, without any discernible results. The sponsor consultant finally declined the commission, since the consultant found the task too non-commercial.

Frequent change of project managers

The information and marketing manager left her position at the project office at the end of 1998. When starting to look for a successor, they had to think of what type of person they wanted, and the kind of tasks this person was to perform. They needed to formulate their preferences and demands, since they chose this time to advertise the job. The first project manager had been titled information and marketing manager. There was in the managerial group a recognition that the function of the project manager had not been thoroughly thought through, and the co-operation had developed in a way that for both the managerial group and the project manager was unsatisfactory. They had to be more precise

in formulating what kind of competence they wanted, and what tasks the person employed was to perform.

They had originally, according to a member of the managerial group, wanted to find someone who could help with communicating and marketing the project, and expected that someone entitled marketer would be able to execute marketing related tasks. But this did not happen, as it were, at least not in the uncomplicated way they seem to have thought that it would:

> Det vi trodde, tror jag, det var att när man anställde en informatör och en marknadsförare, så fick man en person som la upp en marknadsföringsplan för hela projektet och sa att nu ska vi göra så och sen ska vi göra så, och sen ska vi ta kontakt med dem, och sen går vi vidare så och så. Och det har jag ju börjat inse nu att det får man ju inte alls, utan det man får i allmänhet är en person som beställer en marknadsföringsplan av nån annan. Och det känns ju på nåt sätt som en väg som vi på museerna inte riktigt har råd med, därför att de här marknadsplanerna blir så dyra att vi inte har råd att skaffa dem.

> Utan vi behöver ju en som kanske inte gör världens mest vetenskapliga marknadsföringsplan men som har lärt sig på nåt sätt att det här och det här behöver vi tänka på. Och så behöver vi jobba, för vi behöver ju långsiktigheten i det projektet eller i museet självt. Det där är ett dilemma, så att vi tror nog att vi får mer av en person än vad man kanske får. Och sen visste vi väl att för broschyrer och affischer och sånt, kallar man in grafiker och formgivare och sånt, det hade vi väl förstått, men att man inte skulle kunna göra marknadsföringsplanen, det kunde vi nog inte riktigt förstå. Och att samtidigt lägga upp en plan för sponsorarbetet, det trodde vi också att en sån här person kunde. Så det var väl en missbedöming.[18]

> What we thought, I think, was that when you employed an public relations officer or marketer, you got a person who laid up a marketing plan for the whole project and said, now let's do like this and then like

that, and we're going to contact these people, and then we continue like this and that. And I've begun to realise now that this is not what you get at all. What you get is usually a person who commissions a marketing plan from someone else. And that is something which feels as a way to go for the museums that we can't really afford, because these marketing plans become so expensive that we can't afford to buy them.

What we need is someone who perhaps does not do the world's most scientific marketing plan, but who has learnt in some way that this and that is what we at the museum need to think about. And we need to work in this way, because we need the long-term perspective in the specific project and in the museum overall. That's a dilemma, so I believe that we think that we can get more out of a person than what you might get. And then I think we knew that for brochures and posters and that sort of stuff, you call in graphic designers and such people, that we had kind of realised, but that one would not be able to do the marketing plan, that I don't think we could really understand. And to make a plan for the sponsoring work at the same time, was also something that we thought that a person like this could do. So that was apparently a misjudgement.

A second project manager was employed from early 1999. She had, like her predecessor, a background in marketing of the non-profit sector. A co-ordinator for school programmes and events was also recruited to the project office in May 1999. She worked until December the same year. The project and exhibitions had opened on 19 September. Primarily the project manager worked with the continued attempts to find sponsors during the first half of 1999, with the help of a number of consultants hired during short periods. These consultants dealt with marketing and press contacts. During the year, the project manager continued to work with general contacts and information with both the partaking museums and external receivers such as media. The general information handling work dominated after the opening of the exhibitions, as sponsoring was at this stage no longer a main concern.

The second project manager left her post in October 1999. The third

project manager started her work more or less immediately after the third project manager. When she started her work, the project was already well on its way. The exhibitions had been opened, but there were some events on a national scale, that were still to happen. The project office was to close in May 2000, which in turn meant that this project manager had a little more than half a year of work with the project. At this stage, most of the work was to do with economic follow-ups and documentation of the events regional projects.

The third project manager had worked with the project in one of the partaking museums, and was thus already informed of the general themes and ambitions of the project. Her main tasks were to try to keep the running costs within budget and generally to try to sort out the general figures of what had been spent in the project. She also started to work with the documentation of all activities within the project for a central archive. She also arranged follow-up seminars and other national events within the confines of the project, most being school related.

As noted the change of persons on the post as information/project manager was rather frequent. Also the members of the managerial group changed during the project. The three persons who remained at their posts throughout the project were Sten Rentzhog, the director of Nordiska museet, and the planning manager at the Nordiska museet. Two members of the managerial group resigned from their tasks due to work reasons quite early in the process, at the end of 1997, and were replaced by two other county custodians of antiquities.

The total amount of money that finally passed through the accounts of the Framtidstro project office, was roughly 16 million SEK. Of this sum 10 million came from the Millennium committee, and 5 million from Framtidens kultur (The Foundation Culture of the Future), an independent organisation supporting cultural projects with former wage-earners' investment fund money. The money that the Millennium committee possessed was also former wage-earners' investment fund money. The National Council for Cultural Affairs had contributed

with 500,000 SEK for the start-up of the project, the participating museums themselves had accumulated a similar amount. 200,000 SEK was granted from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation) for the inspirational seminars, the Millennium committee gave another 200,000 for a school composition contest, and the Board of Education gave 150,000 towards a publication of the best compositions of this contest.

Of these 16 million, 7.8 million of the Millennium committee contribution was distributed to the 26 participating county and regional museums excluding Nordiska museet, with a sum of 300,000 per museum. The Nordiska museet received a grant from the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation amounting to 5 million. This leaves a little more than 7.5 million for the work when the costs for the specially directed contributions, amounting to 550,000 SEK. Exactly where the 5 million from Framtidens kultur went has been difficult to trace. But given the originally calculated costs for the project office according to the budget made in spring 1998, 7 million would go to salaries, expenses for the managerial group, and for costs connected to marketing and information. We can therefore only assume that the money from Framtidens kultur went to cover the running costs of the project office in general.

Several of the participating museums continued with their exhibitions and programme events after the official end date for the exhibition in May 2000.[19] Remaining concerns were to be handled by the managerial group and Nordiska museet as they had managed all the economic transactions in their accounts department.

Post-project reflections

After the completion of the project, there was within the managerial group a recognition that they would have needed two persons running the project office, one more focussed on information, marketing and communication, and another more focussed on more purely

administrative tasks. As it were, the project manager had to take care of everything, which created a heavy workload.

Looking back at the project, some members of the managerial group felt that they had succeeded in the ambitious efforts that they had striven for, whereas some did not.[20] But its members simultaneously expressed a consciousness of the difficulty of forwarding enthusiasm and engagement in such a project. They could only, they thought, offer the possibility of sharing ideas and experiences to the employees of the partaking museums through central so called inspirational seminars and printed and oral information. The directors of the specific museums would have to work on the engagement of their employees in their own environment. The experience of the managerial group was that the exhibitions and programme events produced in the museums reflected the various levels of engagement that individual museums managed to create among its involved staff.

Summary

Framtidstro was an exhibition project marked by the strong belief that people did not think about the future in Sweden, and that they did not think they could change the course of things. The man who developed the overall concept for Framtidstro, a county custodian of antiquities and museum director, together with the Swedish association of county custodians of antiquities, wanted museums to be a place for faith in the future. Departing from the success of an earlier joint regional museum exhibition project, they embarked on a new venture with 27 museums all over Sweden, who themselves developed individual exhibition concepts based on the overall project concept.

Footnotes

[1] Sten Rentzhog, speech at the opening of the *Framtidstro* exhibitions, 19 September 1999, Nordiska museet, Stockholm. The opening was broadcasted live by Swedish public service television.

[2] *Framtidstro*, literally reading "Faith in the Future" in English translation, was given the official English title *Facing the Future*. Den svenska historien, given the English title *Quest for a Swedish History*, literally translated read "The Swedish History". Cf. Silva 1995. For an evaluation of the *Den Svenska Historien* project, cf. Rentzhog 1994.

[3] Arcadius 1997: 266.

[4] SOU 1994:51: 30, 215.

[5] The association prefers the term "regional" to "county", since several counties are today joined into greater regional administrative organisations.

[6] *Programförklaring*. Länsmuseernas samarbetsråd, policy statement, 1992.

[7] Hofrén et al. 1970.

[8] Hofrén et al. 1970: 8.

[9] Nordiska museet deals with Swedish cultural history after 1520, and Historiska museet with Swedish history before this date.

[10] Internal project description of Framtidstro, written by Sten Renzhog. Undated, spring 1997.

[11] Several members of the managerial group, interviews Spring 2001.

[12] *Framtidstro. Intern projektbeskrivning*. Project description, accepted at the meeting of the Association of Swedish county custodians of antiquities, 20 March 1997.

[13] SVD 1998.

[14] Memory notes by the planning director at the Nordiska museet, on a project meeting 22 May 1997. Dated 26 May 1997.

[15] Member of the managerial group, interview May 2001.

[16] For details on three projects at three participating museums, cf. Lindqvist 2003.

[17] "… Millenniekommittén har under 1998 förberett ett antal förslag till aktiviteter som i enlighet med direktiven kan stimulera en bress förankrad framtidsdiskussion med koncentration på frågor om demokrati, människors lika värde, fördelning samt miljö i det framtida samhället. …" "… The Millennium Committee have during 1998 prepared a number of proposals for activities that in accordance with the directives can stimulate a broadly anchored discussion of the future with a

focus on questions concerning democracy, equal human rights, distribution and the environment in a future society. …" Letter from the Millennium committee to the government with suggestions for projects receiving monetary support. Dated 16 February 1999.

[18] Member of the managerial group, interview May 2001.

[19] The publication *Framtidstro* (2002) displays the bearing ideas and figures of exhibitions, events, visitors etc. at all the participating museums.

[20] Sten Rentzhog in a letter empasizes that he had hoped for much more than what was achieved. According to him, they did not match or supersede the visitor figures, media coverage level, or number of programmed events, as they had originally aimed. Letter to the author, dated 7 October 2002.

9 CASE STUDY VI: EXPO.02

PUBLICALLY COMMISSIONED
SPONSORED NATIONAL EXHIBITION

Die Expo.01 ist in vielerlei Hinsicht etwas ganz Neues und bricht mit vielen traditionellen Anschauungen und Werten. … Sie beschreitet völlig ungewohnte Wege in Bezug auf die Art und Weise, wie sie geplant, entwickelt und schliesslich realisiert wird. Die Initianten der Expo.01 haben ein klares Bild vor Augen: Sie wollen ein Werk, das unserer Zeit und dem Selbstverständnis unserer Gesellschaft entspricht. Das bedeutet, dass es sich nicht um eine nur von oben geplante und realisierte Ausstellung handeln wird, sondern um ein Gemeinschaftswerk, zu dem auch die "Basis" – jeder einzelne Bürger und jede einzelne Bürgerin, sofern er oder sie dazu bereit ist – einen Beitrag leisten kann. Ein derartiges Unterfangen ist jedoch anspruchsvoll. Zeitweilige Fehlentwicklungen, Verzögerungen oder gar Rückschläge sind in einem solchen Prozess fast vorprogrammiert. Doch ohne den Mut zu Experimenten haben wir keine Zukunft.[1]

Nie zuvor in der Geschichte der Menschheit haben sich unsere Umwelt und unser Umfeld so schnell verändert wie heute: Globalisierung der Wirtschaft und Politik, ethnische Konflikte, das buchstäblich grenzenlose Internet. All dies führt dazu, dass wir in einer Zeit rasend schneller und fundamentaler Veränderungen leben. Und damit auch in einer Zeit fundamentaler Fragen. Genau deshalb ist die Expo.01 wichtig. Sie will – ohne die Vergangenheit zu verklären – ein Fenster aufstossen und in die Zukunft der Schweiz schauen. Die Expo.01 will keine pfannenfertigen Lösungen aufzeigen, sondern Imagination, Kreativität und Innovationen fördern.[2]

The Expo.01 is in many respects something quite new, and breaks with many traditional perspectives and values. … It will trod along fully uncommon paths as regards the modes through which it is being planned, developed and finally realised. The initiators of the Expo.01 have a clear vision: they want a work that reflects our time and the self-understanding of our society. That means, that it will not be only an exhibition planned and realised from above, but rather a joint production to which also the "Base"—each individual citizen, as far as she or he is willing—can contribute. Such an enterprise however is demanding. Temporary misleading developments, delays, or setbacks are next to inevitable in such a process. But without the courage to experiment we have no future.

Never before in the history of Mankind has our environment changed so fast as today: the globalisation of trade and industry and politics, ethnic conflicts, the literally borderless Internet. All this has led to a situation where we live in a time with fast and fundamental changes. And this in turn means a time of fundamental questions. Precisely because of this, the Expo.01 is important. It will—without explaining the passed—open a window and look into the future of Switzerland. The Expo.01 will not offer any prepared solutions, but encourage imagination, creativity and innovation.

Reissuing an old idea

The idea of manifesting the nation domestically has been a topic in Switzerland since the formation of the nation in 1848. The different regions and people had to start thinking of this heterogeneity as a unity, and a national exhibition can be seen as a governmental urge to let an exhibition both display and reflect what was thought as constituent elements of the country. There was also a striving to form an idea of Switzerland as an entity in terms of tourism. The problem for Switzerland was not that it would be invaded by foreign powers, but that it would disintegrate into smaller communities according to the language of the population in different parts of the country. The different languages the population spoke meant they could well identify with the larger language communities that Switzerland borders to; Italy, France and Germany, rather than with Switzerland as a nation.[3] The first national exhibition in Switzerland was held in 1883, and the one in 2002 (originally planned for 2001) was the sixth in order.[4]

The idea of a national manifestation of some sort was first formed in the early 1990s, by politicians. According to members of the Expo organisation, the national exhibition (*Landesausstellung/Exposition nationale*) turned out to be a possibly useful tool to canalise the feelings of uneasiness in the country due to the economic recession and political scandals that had shook Switzerland in the early 90s. A national exhibition could be a way to handle and acknowledge the problems in the country, at the same time that they could be a way to strengthen the identification with the nation.

But there were also a lot of stories about the earlier national exhibitions. The descriptions and memories of the earlier national exhibitions were those of exceptional experiences, as told by many people who had visited the 1964 exhibition. So there existed a good national reminiscence of this long-living Swiss tradition as a national celebration.

There was first a political interest in celebrating the 700 years of Switzerland in 1992, but this political manifestation was not received well by the citizens of Switzerland. Then there was a political will to celebrate the 150-year anniversary of the Swiss federation in 1998, an issue that was discussed in 1993. There was even talk of an Expo.98.

The political will to mount an exhibition with the theme of contemporary Switzerland has, quite clearly, to be seen against the backdrop of the history of the country. That the Expo.02 was to be held in the French speaking part of the country, was part of the national exhibition as a political project:

> … it was a decision that was taken by politicians, the decision to have four places, and to have it in the French part of Switzerland, all this shows the political background of the decision and the idea. The French part is an underdeveloped part of Switzerland, and it is also really fed up with the rest of Switzerland. So the Expo was a way to re-involve them, and to make the national exhibition as a kind of social engagement to bring money into this part of the country.[5]

The actual decision of the federal council (or the Swiss confederation) (*Bundesrat/Eidgenossenschaft; conseil fédéral/Confédération suisse*) to commission a new national exhibition in 2001 was taken in 1994.[6] A contest for suggestions for a national exhibition was declared the same year. The exhibition was to be open from 3 May to 29 October in 2001, the same opening dates as all the earlier national exhibitions.

Change of a winning concept

The winning national exhibition proposal was one located by the three lakes in the French-speaking, Western part of Switzerland. It was developed by two architects and a journalist. The title of the proposal was *Le Temps ou la Suisse en mouvement / Die Zeit oder die Schweiz in Bewegung*[7] (Time or Switzerland on the move), and the overbearing ideas was that

> Die Ausstellung … soll ein Abbild dessen sein, was die Schweizer denken, schaffen und herstellen, und sie soll Zeuge des Aufbruchs und der Begeisterungsfähigkeit der Schweiz sein.[8]

> the exhibition is to be a picture of what the Swiss think, create and perform, and it is to be a witness of the break-up and the enthusiasm that Switzerland is capable of.

This concept was, as mentioned, not presenting a single location for the exhibition, but a de-centred one, comprising the five cantons Bern, Waadt, Freibourg, Jura and Neuchâtel. The proposal was developed in 1994, and was officially appointed as winning concept in 1995.

Their original proposal had been one where twenty-two pavilions criss-crossed the three lakes, around an artificial island. The concept, as undertaken by the newly established Expo office, was changed into the present four fixed *arteplages*[9] and a moving arteplage boat touring between the fixed sites in the four cities Bienne, Morat, Neuchâtel and Yverdon-les-Bains.

This change of the original concept, after its acceptance, developed into a conflict between the concept-developers and the newly established Expo office and the politicians who had commissioned the winning concept. The concept-developers felt that their rights as originators of the concept were not acknowledged, and they took the case to court. In the end, both parties made an out of court agreement where the three men were acknowledged as the originators of the Expo concept, and were paid a sum of 150,000 CHF in addition to their payment for their work with the original proposal in 1994 and 1995. In return, the originators withdrew their charges.[10]

The overall theme of the winning Expo proposal was *Die Zeit oder die Schweiz in Bewegung*, but no elaborated plans for the exhibitions had been developed, this was one of the tasks of the organisation yet to be established. In the feasibility study, possible themes were developed for

the five arteplages, which each were described with five key-words for the Expo as a whole: *Öffnung*, *Austausch*, *Erfinden*, *Entstehen*, and *Vorstellung* (Opening, Exchange, Discovery, Origination, and Representation). Suggested possible themes for exhibitions were at this point *Kunst und Kultur, Der gesellschaftliche Zusammenhalt, Die Arbeit, Kommunikation, Die Schweiz in der Welt, Die Produktion, Wissenschaft und Technologie, Freizeit und Sport, Raumplanung, Verkehr, Gesundheit, Der Dienstleistungssektor, Das politische Leben*, and *Der Mensch* (art and culture, societal concord, work, communication, Switzerland in the world, production, science and technology, leisure time and sports, spatial planning, traffic, health, the service sector, political life, and the human).[11]

The funding for the national exhibition was intended to be mainly based on private, i.e. non-public funding. For this purpose, the federal council gave the task to produce a feasibility study of a national exhibition an office established for this purpose.[12] The costs for this feasibility study, estimated to 2.5 million CHF, was paid by the federation. According to the commission given by the Bundesrat in February 1995,

> Die Machbarkeitsstudie wird dem Bundesrat als Grundlage für eine Botschaft an das Parlament dienen, mit der diesem eine Defizitgarantie für die Landesausstellung beantragt wird. Die Machbarkeitsstudie soll insbesondere auf folgende Punkte eingehen: Generelles Konzept der Ausstellung, Veranstaltungsorte, Verkehr, Umwelt, Inhalt und Gestaltung der Ausstellung, Betrieb, rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen, Marketing, Information und Kommunikation, Budgetrahmen, Terminplan und was nach der Ausstellung verbleibt.[13]

> The feasibility study is to function as a basis for a plea to the parliament for by the Bundesrat, upon which the parliament can decide upon a deficit guarantee for the national exhibition. The feasibility study will in particular treat the following subjects: general concept of the exhibition, location, traffic, environment, content and design of the exhibition, hospitality, legal frameworks, marketing, information and

communication, budget frames, time schedule, and the residues of the exhibition after closure.

Creating an organisation

The feasibility study was presented in early 1996. The proposed organisation to realise the project was three-layered, consisting of a strategic level, an operational level and a commissions level.[14]

The controlling body, i.e. the strategic level of the organisation, was the association for the national exhibition, called *Expo 2001*. This association had a general assembly or board of trustees (*Generalversammlung/assemblée générale*) consisting of altogether eighteen representatives. Nine of them represented the five cantons and four cities that were to host the Expo. Three were representatives of the federation, another three were representatives of the foundation for joint ventures of all Swiss cantons, and the last three represented the foundation formed by the private investors in the Expo. The president was one of the political representatives. The board of trustees formed the statutes and broad outlines for the Expo company, and decided upon changes to these and were to approve the annual accounts of the association. It also approved the members of the strategic committee. A committee of the association, consisting of five members, were to execute the decisions and the directives of the association, through close contact with the management committee (*Directorium*) of the limited company that were to execute the realisation of the Expo. The association owned shares corresponding to 51% of the votes of the limited company, *Expogestion AG*, which was to execute the project. The rest of the shares were offered to the public.

The company also had a board of trustees, the strategic committee (*Verwaltungsrat*[15] or *strategischer Ausschuss*[16]/*Comité strategique*), within the confines of the association. This strategic committee consisted of seven members, of which the general assembly of the Expo association had the

right to assign five, and acted as the more operational strategic instance between the general assembly of the association and the Expo office.

The everyday work of the Expo office was to be led by a triumvirate of directors, together forming the general management committee (*General-direktion/direction générale*), under which the initially three departments (finance and administration, artistic, and technical) were situated. The general management committee was simultaneously an organ for the association and the company, and was to act as one, the three directors being on an equal footing.[17] The directors received salaries between 240,000 and 270,000 CHF.[18]

At the operational level was the Expo office (the *Expogestion* limited company). A general management committee (*Generaldirektion/direction générale*) made up of the directors of the first three departments of the Expo office. The general department accounted for their work to the strategic committee (*stragetischer Ausschuss/comité stratégique*). Connected to the general department, were a general secretariat, a control commission for commissions (*Kontrollkommission für die Vergabe der Aufträge*), a sponsoring department and a staff director.

Under the general direction, first three and later a growing number of departments according to need were thought to jointly work and secure the Expo from ideas over marketing to technical realisation. These initially three departments were the artistic department (*Künstlerische Direktion/direction artistique*), the technical department and the department of finance and administration. A communication director was also to be employed, but without a separate department initially. The thought with the triumvirate was to secure the broad and synchronous management of the whole Expo, with intimate contacts between the three departments securing both an economical as well as technically feasible and artistically high-qualitative realisation of the project.

Since the minimisation of costs was a central concern, the departments were built up with mostly hired staff, in turn employed temporarily by

a manpower leasing company. The idea was to employ more staff according to the needs of the organisation as the Expo developed. A number of administrative staff had permanent employment, but most of for example the members of the artistic department were employed on a project basis (*auf Auftragsbasis*).

The three directors had assignments for the Expo but had no specific time specified for this work. This meant that the directors could have other engagements outside the Expo, and both the technical and the finance and administration directors continued to work as consultants beside their work for the Expo.[19] The technical and the finance and administration director, were the two men who produced the feasibility study for the Expo. At this point there had been no artistic director appointed yet.

The originally three departments were the finance and administration department, dealing with finance and administration, the artistic department, and the technical department. This construction of the operational level of the organisation, with a three-headed direction was criticised at the time of the presentation of the organisation model.[20] Among other things, the press commented on the fact that all members of the management team were only engaged part-time in the Expo, and had no permanent employment at the Expo office.

The level of commissions and contracts (*Vertragsebene*) was to be a third level in the organisation that would make the project realisable. On this level, external enablers such as undertakers, sponsors, and future visitors and service providers would cater for the day-to-day hospitality during and before the duration of the Expo.

A budget for the enterprise

One of the underlying ideas of the organisational and financial structure of the Expo was that it was to be to an important part funded by non-

public resources. This was one of the cornerstones of the feasibility study.

> Die Expo 2001 soll ein Beispiel für die Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaft von öffentlicher Hand und Privatwirtschaft sein. … Für die Durchführung der Landesausstellung braucht es ein optimales Zusammenspiel von: öffentlicher Hand[,] Besuchern [und] Privatwirtschaft[.] Die Ausstellung ist nur in einer engen Partnerschaft von Privatwirtschaft und öffentlicher Hand machbar. Die Expo selbst wird nur die Basisstrukturen zur Verfügung stellen und damit das Gefäss bilden, in welchem ein Grossteil der Aktivitäten von Privaten durchgeführt werden. [21]

> The Expo 2001 is to be an example for the co-operation and partnership between the public sphere and the economy. … For the realisation of the national exhibition, an optimal interplay is needed between the public sphere, visitors and trade and industry. The exhibition is only realisable in a tight partnership between the economy and the public sphere. The Expo itself will only make the base structure available, and through this make up the overall frame, in which most of the activities will be realised by private operators.

The internal budget in the feasibility study comprised costs for the building and maintenance of the infrastructure, and the general development and management of the Expo, before and during the duration of the Expo. According to this budget, these costs would amount to 496 million CHF.[22] On the income side, 195 million was to come from public sources, i.e. the Bundesrat, the cantons and the regions. 187 million were calculated in entrance fees, whereas other incomes would bring 72 million, and sponsors/companies realising exhibitions would contribute with 42 million CHF.[23] The federation, cantons and participating cities were to contribute with altogether 195 million, of which the federation was to support the Expo with 70 million, plus an extra 40 million in budget deficit guarantee. The deficit guarantee was included in the budget, since the estimated incomes would only amount to 456 million,

and thus creating a potential deficit of 40 million.

The external, or partner, budget[24] presented in the feasibility study comprised costs for those parts of the Expo that the Expo office itself was not responsible for. These costs comprised the production of the individual exhibitions and other programmed events, and most of the visitor services available during the duration of the Expo.[25] The principle was that as much as possible would be provided for by external partners, whereas the Expo office would be responsible for general infrastructure and development of the overall concepts of the Expo.

This external budget consisted of costs for the building of infrastructure, estimated to 457 million CHF, running costs during the Expo, amounting to approximately 437 million, including costs for rents and different kinds of fees during the Expo, which were estimated to a total of 97 million, which in turn would be income for the Expo organisation. All in all then, the costs for the partners of the Expo would be 894 million CHF.[26] In total then, the total costs for the Expo.02 were in the feasibility study calculated to 1.4 billion CHF.

In the feasibility study it was pointed out that the planned Expo differs in its funding strategy and structure from a normal[27] commercial exhibition. The producers of the feasibility study stressed the public nature of a national exhibition, making the project dependent on an active engagement, both financially and conceptually, from the federation, the cantons, and the concerned cities.

> Die Realisierung einer Landesausstellung mag vorerst als eine öffentliche Aufgabe und demzufolge als eine vor allem von der öffentlichen Hand zu finanzierende Grossveranstaltung angesehen werden. Dabei wird davon ausgegangen, dass sich eine Landesausstellung sowohl in ihrem Inhalt wie in ihrer Finanzierung klar von einer gewöhnlichen kommerziellen Ausstellung unterscheidet und dass der Kommerzialisierung einer solchen Ausstellung Grenzen gesetzt sind. … Ein struktureller Beitrag des Bundes an das Budget der Expo 2001 und eine aktive Beteiligung der Kantone an

der Planung, Realisierung und Finanzierung der Ausstellung sind deshalb unverzichtbar.[28]

> The realisation of a national exhibition should above all be seen as a public commission and therefore as a major project primarily financed by public means. With this starting point, it will be assumed that a national exhibition will differ from normal commercial exhibition both in regards to content and funding, and that the commercialisation of such an exhibition will be limited. … A structural contribution by the Federal Council to the budget of Expo 2001 and an active participation in the planning, realisation and funding of the exhibition by the canton is therefore not possible to renounce.

Based on the feasibility study, the federal council in September 1996 decided to support the project with 130 million CHF, which was to correspond to 10% of the total costs of the project.[29] The decision by the federal council in 1996 to grant the Expo a guarantee sum to start their work, was meant to be a visible sign of the political will to arrange a national manifestation. The rhetoric preceding the decision stressed the need for, and not just the desirability of, a national manifestation in the form of a national exhibition.[30] The decision to grant the project the 130 million was a prerequisite for the money the organisation needed for the start-up of the project, since wages were to be paid to the first directors to start their work.

The Expo was divided into two main parts as regards the economic and organisational aspects. The internal budget was to cover the administrative work of the Expo office. This part of the project as economically presented in the so-called internal budget. The external budget aimed to give an economic picture of the exhibitions produced with the help of external partners. The exhibitions of the arteplages were thus to be funded by external partners or sponsors. But the themes and artistic quality of the exhibitions were in the hands of the *direction artistique* of the Expo.

Sponsors or partners were to handle most of the running operations at the different arteplages during the opening time of the Expo. Thus there were besides the official partners, supporting the Expo as a project, also the exhibition partners mentioned above, event partners and product, service, infrastructure and media partners, and with a lesser degree of financial support sponsors and supporters, all realising parts of the whole spectacle Expo.02.[31]

Enters a president

The idea of a triumvirate of directors jointly leading the Expo office was abandoned after only a few months of work. In March 1997, a president for the general department had been chosen out of eight head-hunted candidates. The president began her work a month later, closely attended by media.[32]

The new president, Jacqueline Fendt, was a former president of the board of directors (*Direktionspräsidentin*) at a Swiss shipping company.[33] She was considered a very charismatic person, and was positively received both within and outside the Expo organisation and generally seen as a good ambassador for the Expo thanks to her way of communicating the Expo to the broader public.[34] Fendt stressed the non-commercial profile of the Expo, and saw the Expo as a celebration for the whole nation in her public appearances, thus a cultural national event, nevertheless mainly funded by the businesses of Switzerland.

> I think she made a very big impact on Switzerland. She presented the Expo as an idea to the people, and made it popular. She was a very good Expo ambassador.[35]

Resources for realisation

In a description of the costs of the Expo.01 in 1999,[36] the overall budget

was stated to encompass 1.4 billion CHF, including everything from planning, infrastructure on the arteplages, and the exhibition projects themselves. Out of these total costs, the cantons and the Bundesrat were to support the project with 195 million CHF. The rest of the costs were to be covered by foremost sponsoring of the different exhibitions by companies, and through entrance fees and other license proceeds from activities connected to the Expo. The sponsorship was structured in several classes, from official partners to product or service partners or licence holders.

The budget was made up of two parts, one internal covering the work executed by the Expo office, basically planning and realisation of the infrastructure, marketing and general administration, and one external, covering the costs for the realisation of the aggregation of exhibitions and events on the different arteplages. At this stage, 1999, the overall cost control of the project was based on a division of all the projects into 7,500 separate projects and 57 result or profit centres.

Good ideas, anyone?

The two most important tasks for the Expo office and the new director was to start developing ideas for the exhibitions, and to start looking for funding for the Expo as event and the different exhibitions.

Wie wird die Zukunft dargestellt?

Die Expo.01 ist eine Denkfabrik, die sich mit der Frage beschäftigt: Was erwartet uns in der Zukunft? Erforscht wird diese Frage vor dem Hintergrund von fünf thematischen Gegensatzpaaren: Macht und Freiheit, Ich und das Universum, Augenblick und Ewigkeit, Sinn und Bewegung und Natur und Künstlichkeit. … Die Initiative für diese Projekte stammt von Einzelpersonen ebenso wie von grossen internationalen Unternehmen, Kantonen oder Hochschulen. … so ist die Expo.01 auch eine Leistungsschau, welche die Intelligenz, die Kreativität, die wirtschaftlichen

Möglichkeiten, den Willen und die Vielfalt unseres Landes dokumentiert. Damit zeigt sie, dass wir auf der Strasse in die Zukunft mitbestimmen können, in welche Richtung die Reise geht.[37]

How shall the future be rendered?

The Expo.01 is a creative factory, which concerns itself with the following question: what will happen in the Future? This question will be explored against a backdrop of five pairs thematically antithetic concepts: Power and Freedom, I and the Universe, Moment and Eternity, Sense and Motion, and Nature and Artifice. … The initiatives to these projects come from individuals as well as from international companies, Cantons or Universities. … the Expo.01 is also a statement of the intelligence, creativity, business opportunities, will and diversity of our country. In this way it shows that we on our way towards the future can take part in the decisions concerning the direction in which to proceed.

The five general themes of the various arteplages had by now been developed. They were *Natur und Künstlichkeit/Nature et artifice* (Neuenburg/Neuchâtel), *Ich und das Universum/L'univers et moi* (Yverdon-les-Bains), *Macht und Freiheit/Pouvoir et liberté* (Biel/Bienne), *Augenblick und Ewigkeit/L'instant et l'éternité* (Murten/Morat), and *Sinn und Bewegung/Sens et mouvance* (the mobile Jura arteplage). These were the starting point for further work on concrete exhibitions, together with the general themes of the national exhibition of *Fragen an die Zukunft* (Questions to the future) and *ImagiNation*. At this point approximately 250 exhibition ideas had already been developed, but still needed to be scrutinised.[38]

When the Expo director team was complete, work with the actual exhibitions and their enabling (including funding) could start. Already in 1995 the strategic committee and the office preparing the feasibility study had received suggestions for exhibitions and other events to be part of the coming Expo. One of the first things that Jacqueline Fendt decided as Madame Expo was to set up a *Mitmachkampagne*. The *Mitmachkam-*

pagne was an open invitation to all Swiss to submit suggestions for exhibitions to a jury decided by the Expo organisation. The idea was that the Expo in this way was to be thoroughly anchored in the Swiss population. In this way, accusations of the Expo being elitist, something that could have followed statements to keep a high standard as regards the artistic quality of the exhibitions, could be eliminated.

Enters an artistic director

At the same time the search for an artistic director started. In August 1997, Pipilotti Rist started her work as artistic director for the Expo. Rist was already a well-known artist with an international career, and gave the Expo a turn that made the whole project interesting to a generation of younger art interested Swiss, who had until then not considered the Expo as being interesting for them. Suddenly the project had taken a step into contemporary art, and had the chance of containing a substantial level and amount of artistically interesting contributions, according to employees at the Expo office:

> Getting Pipilotti to do the job was a perfect idea, probably the brightest idea Jacqueline Fendt ever had. Pipilotti is a very popular person especially among younger people. She belongs to this generation and she's very famous. So I think Pipilotti could really bring up some enthusiasm from people who hadn't been interested in the Expo at all, people who would never have thought of going to a *Landesausstellung* any time in their life, because it they considered it an antiquated thing. By her personality, Pipilotti managed to interest a wide circle of people inside Switzerland who hadn't been interested before, and she was very useful for this thing right now.[39]

Developing exhibition themes

At the *direction artistique*, Rist's first action as artistic director was

to set up a *cuisine laboratoire*, a laboratory of ideas in the form of a workshop, with artists with different backgrounds and specialities, in the autumn of 1997. The aim was to come up with the themes content of the future exhibitions, themes that would correspond to topics and problems in contemporary Switzerland and its inhabitants. For each arteplage, four fixed and one moving, a specific theme was developed under the direction of Rist. The work of the artists and others partaking in the work of the laboratory was to think of the notions, ideas, mottos that Rist had fished out for each arteplage, and ask themselves what they meant to them, and what connection the notions had to life in Switzerland in history, today and tomorrow. And slowly the words of the headlines were elaborated into wider chains of thought and themes that were to be realised in some way.

Rist's own way of developing ideas for the coming exhibitions had to be undertaken at the same time as the Mitmachkampagne was proceeding. According to several members of the *direction artistique*, Fendt's decision to initiate and realise the *Mitmachkampagne* was disastrous. The Expo office was flooded by suggestions, approximately three thousand proposals. The Expo office had to set up a jury, consisting of 60 people with different competences and backgrounds in various artistic fields, who were to read and judge the submitted suggestions, and approve or reject. The chair of this jury was a well-known TV personality, who received ca. 120,000 CHF for this assignment. The jury met approximately once every one or two months, but often only a fraction of all the members of the jury could meet at any given date, leaving an often rather reduced jury to decide on proposals on each meeting. Several of the decisions of inclusion or rejection of the jury were criticised, and some decisions were later reassessed.[40]

> The *Mitmachkampagne* was intended to get everyone involved, the whole of Switzerland. It was like appeal to the citizens of Switzerland to get involved in the Expo, to submit a variety of projects. It a grave mistake, since it got everyone's expectations up … it raised the profile of the Expo, only to bring it down again.[41]

The work with finding feasible proposals out of the *Mitmachkampagne* was undertaken parallel with the internal work of the artistic department to develop exhibition concepts. From the original Expo outline, the five themes functioned as guides for the choice and development of more concrete exhibition concepts. Through development work under- taken by the artistic department with the help of invited artists and other creative people, and through ideas found through the *Mitmach- kampagne*, individual projects that had been considered realisable and thought-through, were grouped together under one of the five general themes. In the end, approximately fifty exhibitions was considered ap- propriate for the total size of the arteplages, given the economics and logistics of the overall event.

After all the work with the *Mitmachkampagne* and the formulation of topics for the different exhibitions at the four arteplages, the work to further elaborate and start forming the projects, and finding sponsors and funders to the different topics and projects began. The elaboration of the specific projects proceeded simultaneously as the contacts with sponsors.

Finding funding

The original financial plan of the Expo, as presented in 1996 when the feasibility study of an Expo.01 was presented, was to raise approximately 85% of the total budget from corporate sponsorship and other private donations, and 15% were to be supported by the Bundesrat and the Cantons, and visitors to the Expo through ticket sales and merchandise. The 130 Millions CHF granted in December 1996, that was expected to correspond to 10% of the total expenditure, were enough to get the project going. The work to find sponsors started at the same time as all other activities within the Expo office, but of course the sponsorship department needed material from the *direction artistique* to present to company representatives when they approached possible exhibition partners. But before that, there were general sponsors, or rather official

partners as they were called, that were to be attracted.

The general attitude and language of the Expo towards production and funding of the event is visible in the term used for the parties involved in the realisation of the Expo.02. These external parties are nowhere officially called sponsors, but partners. The funding and later day-to-day realisation of the Expo.02 leaned against a whole scale of partners, from official partners over exhibition and event partners down to infrastructure partners, licence holders and product or service partners.

The official partners were to be the ones that would pay the largest amounts. These companies were visible with their company name throughout the work with the Expo, giving a total exposure time of several years. The amounts these companies paid were between 10 and 15 Millions CHF. The companies signing "official partner" contracts were ABB, a large technical industry concern, AMAG, a Swiss car import and retail company, Compaq Computer AG, a computer company, Coop Switzerland, a retail chain, Europay, a credit card company, Feldschlösschen, a Swiss brewery (now with Danish owners), Rentenanstalt (Swiss Life), a life insurance company, SBB/CFF/FFS, the Swiss federal railway company, Securitas, a guarding and security company, Swisscom, the former national telecommunications company, and UBS, a Swiss bank. The names of these companies were exposed on all publications that the Expo office produced during the preparation of the Expo. In 2001, also SRG/SSR idée suisse, the Swiss (national) Broadcasting Corporation, signed a contract for official (i.e. full) partnership for the Expo.02.

The attitude towards exhibition partners, and the strategy chosen in relation to potential partner companies, changed during the work with trying to attract partners. The first strategy was to first develop the themes and topics of the different exhibitions, and then to offer these as ready developed packages to companies. This position was to taken to secure the exhibitions as content-driven, and not demand-driven:

> … the idea at the beginning was that we'd create something like concepts

and go along with them and sell them. The sponsoring companies would contribute in a manner similar to a patron. That people would be so enthusiastic about the ideas that we developed for the Expo that they would just give us the money … This is something that has changed since, the way we work with partners.

I also always had the feeling that the financial director had an idea of the Expo as a fair, perhaps as the art fair in Basle, where they have a *direction artistique*, but the only thing they do is choose which galleries are to be invited to the fair. Inside the space the galleries rent they can do whatever they want. Or like a world fair, a world expo. I suspect that the financial structure of this whole thing and the organisation was a based on such an idea, even if Jacqueline Fendt was telling everybody that it wasn't going to work like that.[42]

At the sponsorship department, placed under the *direction artistique*, the work with sponsorship was a slow and increasingly difficult process. The largest sponsors of the Expo.02 paid between ten and fifteen millions CHF for being official partners of the Expo. Many of the companies supporting particular exhibitions paid between one and ten millions CHF, and themselves chose which exhibitions to sponsor. These companies had the opportunity to discuss the execution of the projects with the Expo office when negotiating the sponsorship contract.

These are large sums of money. How do these managers describe this engagement to their board of trustees, and to their shareholders?

I think that partly they are used to these sums in this type of companies. So they don't really have to explain a lot. Migros have a *Kulturprozent* already; they sponsor concerts and cultural events.[43] Banks are used to large sums, as the telecom companies, who spend huge sums of money at the moment for marketing of their companies.

The problem now is that we have practically exhausted this market segment. Now in the next phase it's much more difficult. So we now split

exhibition projects into three, and try to find three partners instead of one. The ideal is to have only one sponsor per exhibition, but I think we only have maybe one or two companies left in Switzerland who might be able and willing to contribute with an amount in the neighbourhood of a two-digit million sum. But most of the companies that we are now contacting pay from I would approximately one and a half to three and a half millions.[44]

According to the sponsoring department, it is difficult to find sponsors for art or cultural projects, because people in companies are not used to deciding upon such, in their opinion, vague foundations that a cultural project on the idea stage presents. Instead they are used to having very detailed information on a project that they may be spending millions on. To find an approach that would convince the large Swiss companies was therefore one of the big challenges for the sponsoring department. According to the sponsoring department, some companies used to sponsoring cultural events and projects, banks and insurance companies, were the first to sign up. These types of companies have rather large budgets in general for marketing, and have an understanding of the cultural sphere and the way such productions evolve.

The companies that signed contracts after further negotiation were retail companies:

The next ones were those who have a direct pay-back, such as the large food retail groups Co-op or Migros, because they know that they can also sell products after the Expo event. In this way such companies can internally recoup the sponsoring costs.[45]

The conditions under which to raise funds for the national exhibition were rather different in the 1990s compared to the last time, in the 1960s. The Swiss companies that were really Swiss based in 1964, had all almost become trans-national conglomerates in the 1990s, and foreign companies also now had bases in Switzerland, but without the historical ties to the nation of Switzerland. Switzerland is rather a

small country in Europe, even though many multinational companies have headquarters or large Europe offices in the country. The national character of the Expo became a rather difficult theme to convince multinational companies who were not Swiss in origin to support. This was something that the sponsorship team experienced in their contact with multinational companies based in Switzerland. Large companies saw something specifically Swiss as too small to support, since the amounts asked for by the Expo office were large enough to rather address a European audience:

> As for international groups like for instance IBM, it is very difficult to convince the headquarters in the United States to sponsor a Swiss national exhibition. The manager of IBM Switzerland is a very dynamic person, and he wants to participate, because he likes the idea and the project, but he also has to call on the European seat, to get some money from there. If top management in international groups decide that the local branch here in Switzerland has to provide the money, I would say we can get a maximum of one to one and a half million, and that is too small sums for our plans. The international companies usually do not put it on the international account, but on a national account, the Swiss account in this case. Maybe they give something in addition, possibly from the European account, but never the world marketing account.[46]

But also certain trades firmly based in Switzerland were hard to address for the Expo sponsoring team:

> Very difficult on the other extreme is the machine-industry. Firstly because the people who visit the exhibition are not their direct customers, and secondly because they are very, very much used to plastering the walls are with plans and they have a detailed calculation of the return on investment when they speak even about an investment of two millions for a new machine.[47]

The sponsoring team of the Expo had quite a burden to carry, given the reluctance they experienced from parts of Swiss trade and industry. One

of the sponsorship team members, with long experience from trade and industry in Switzerland, gave his description of the situation and how they tried to manage the situation:

> The question of return on investment is probably the biggest challenge for us. This is because an exhibition like the Expo, which is not a fair nor a product show but an artistic or cultural exhibition, does not really want big logos planted around, or a big McDonald's or Migros in the middle of the exhibition. The services in return are in our case very, very limited. … And those who insist practically to get a counter performance, for each Franc that they give, are very, very difficult to convince.[48]

The understanding of how to approach companies changed among the sponsoring team during the work with trying to attract partner companies. At the sponsoring department they had originally believed that they would get clearly outlined project descriptions from the *direction artistique*, which they in turn would be able to present to the potential partner companies. They had had the idea that they would be able to present a clearly defined offer. But they found out that it was not possible to present any clearly outlined project, because the projects were still in a very early phase of development. The non-elaborated state of the projects meant difficulties in negotiation with companies that were used to have very detailed material as base for their marketing or investment decisions.

In the first contacts with potential partners, the sales team met the company representatives with material prepared by the *direction artistique*. They started with the largest projects and partnership contracts, since they thought that companies would sign up for smaller amounts if they were presented with the alternatives of larger and smaller engagements. By presenting the largest offers first, the potential partners could be addressed for smaller engagements later if they did not show interest in the larger projects or engagements.

But later in their work with finding partners for the exhibitions, the

sponsoring department changed tactics. They had noted that the procedure with only a group of sales staff slowed down the negotiations, since they did not know the projects in detail. The sponsoring team realised that they had to be flanked by staff from the *direction artistique*, in order not to be able to discuss questions of the contents and shape of the projects directly with the potential partners at the negotiation table. So the director of the *direction artistique* and some other members of the *direction artistique* involved in the particular project would join the sales staff on the visits to potential partners.

The artistic director would join the first visit or visits, and in later stages of the negotiations, the other members of the *direction artistique* could handle further questions concerning the specific project, if further details needed to be settled. The advantage with having the artistic director present at the first negotiations was that she and later he, with their knowledge of the total scope of the Expo, could relate for example suggested changes in a project to the rest of the exhibition scheme, and see if it would lead too far from what they saw as the general ideas of the theme of a certain arteplage or the exhibition scheme overall.

Internal problems

The organisational structure of the Expo, criticised by media from the start, seemed soon to show its weak sides. Jacqueline Fendt, who had been appointed in order to make the communication and steering of the Expo work more clear-cut, was constantly travelling, anchoring the Expo within different parts of Switzerland. The daily internal work at the Expo office was largely left without a distinct person of reference, to whom conflict and disagreements could be presented and by whom they could be settled.[49]

The other directors in the general management committee had shared commitments. No one except Fendt had the Expo as their only engagement, and many directors were absent at times. Given this part-time

management, together with an absent president, the internal problems with the concretisation of the Expo is perhaps easier to understand.

There were apparently increasing communication problems within the Expo office from 1997 onwards. Several members of the *direction artistique* experienced a lack of information, creating an atmosphere where rumours were constantly circulating, gaining in importance with the lack of effective formal internal information and communication. There seemed also to have been a denial of the internal problems by the directors, something which was later reflected in critical media coverage. Employees at the *direction artistique* felt that information and communication between departments concerning their work was crucial for the work at every department, since they were all dependent on the work in all of the other departments.

There seems to have been an opinion among the department directors that the work of each department was supposed to be conducted in isolation, with only certain points at which the outcomes were to be presented and related to the work of the other departments, since the work undertaken in the different departments were so diverse. This was what was called simultaneous engineering. In the everyday work, however, the employees were faced with uncertainties due to their work being related to and dependent on work being undertaken at other departments:

> our opinion was always that the DA couldn't work if t work or if the other departments didn't do their work or if we couldn't work together. This is because if the sponsorship department doesn't do their work, we don't have any money for the exhibitions, and if the platforms aren't getting built, we can't put our exhibitions anywhere. If the marketing doesn't work, there's no good information of the Expo for the public and press, so it all depends on each other, it's all interconnected.[50]

Members of the *direction artistique* also recalled a sort of forced optimism, that was even upheld internally, whereas the members of the *direction artistique* thought it would have been better for the work of the

whole Expo office if the problems that they felt existed, would have been acknowledged by the directors (apart from Rist,who addressed them), and not denied.

The other departments seemed to think that the projects did not seem to be making progress to completion even though time was getting on.

> … especially then, under a young artist like Pipilotti Rist, we had a hard time to prove ourselves. Other departments in the organisation thought that artists have no idea of how an Expo should be run because it's this huge technocratic organisation, which is growing day by day. Pipilotti rist was not being taken seriously. At the board meetings every week, with the other directors, she was absolutely taken for a ride.[51]

The personal characteristics that made Pipilotti Rist a good artistic director apparently made her less respectable in the eyes of the other directors, who were concerned with finance and more technical aspects of the realisation of the Expo project.

The Expo was a publically exposed organisation, both as a national commission, and through the *Mitmachkampagne*. Just like other public organisations, the media reported on the latest developments, and also published own analyses and opinions of the national exhibition project. Some of the employees at the Expo seemed to believe that the enormous constant attention, where each step or lack of action was constantly echoed in media, was a new experience for Rist, adding to the pressure. There was a contant pressure to produce something tangible out of the ideas generated during the first year of work, both internally from the other departments, and externally, from the press, politicians, business people and lay-men.

In October 1998, the technical director resigned.[52] According to an employee of the Expo office, he probably left because there was no real creative space for him since the architectural competitions for the four arteplages had been executed, and there were other architects doing

the architectural work for the arteplages. For the technical director, there would have been more of managerial task at the central technical department.[53]

Exists an artistic director

Just before Christmas 1998, on 18 December, Pipilotti Rist announced her withdrawal from the post as artistic director.[54] The organisational demands of strategic management and negotiation skills were wearing on the artist, experienced in managing large self-initiated art projects, and had apparently worn down her energy. Many employees at the *direction artistique* testify her diminishing radiance during her time as artistic director. The day to day management questions that had to be handled with the other directors was a part of the director's job that was perhaps her weakness, depending on differing priorities and expectations as regards proper conduct:

> I think it is very, very difficult to make dreams come true, to make the visions, which she definitely had, come true. And she had to quit because everything else, the meetings, the sessions, the administrative work, was so overbearing, and she wasn't free any longer to develop her ideas. She was blocked from several sides, and she was like a bird whose wings are cut. So actually I think she could not have continued. In a way, we all suffered when she left, but in a way it was a good decision in the end. And this is as I see it now.[55]

> … the thing was that Pipilotti is not a manager, and she is not somebody who is used to managing so big events, and she is not somebody who is used to working in structures. She was taken seriously as an artist, but not as a director. She's not the cool type, she might explode or even throw chairs if she was really in a bad mood, and that's not the way to convince a financial director of your sound reasoning, even if it was sound. … I've seen that too at some meetings. When she said that she thought it all went in the wrong direction, she was told to organise her department before starting to tell other departments what to do.

They weren't really against her, but sometimes they tried to teach her or help her. But I think that the basic trust wasn't there, so it couldn't work out in the long run. I think it's no coincidence that no one from that time is still working here. I guess it's rather common in big projects like this, and that's what we hear from people we have met who have worked with the world fair in Hanover and the Millennium dome. There's been a total change of management there as well. And maybe it's got to do with phases too. A large project changes, and it demands change. I think Pipilotti and Jacqueline were great but I have to say that I'm quite happy it has turned out the way it has. I think Martin was the first to put the project down realistically.[56]

Many employees at the *direction artistique* also left soon after Rist's resignation. This in turn had to do with their reasons for working with the Expo, that was for many linked with the opportunity to work with Pipilotti Rist in particular. Without her, the work apparently seemed less interesting, and the large amount of intellectual development work that is the task of the *direction artistique*, seems to a large extent dependent on a good relationship between the director and the individual members of staff.

Most of the employees who were working at the artistic department in 2000 had very positive thoughts about Pipilotti Rist, but nevertheless saw it as rather natural that two types of directors succeed each other. The more associative and "crazy"[57] Rist was seen as the optimal person to enable a good foundation of ideas for the coming exhibitions, whereas the more pragmatic Heller was perceived as securing the realisation of the ideas:

… I think it was normal or natural, this evolution; it started with artistic ideas, with beautiful visions and dreams. Eventually, when Pipilotti, who is a lovely person, was unable to fulfil the administrative demands, the management tasks, which were just too heavy on her, and on everyone else I have to admit, she finally quit. And with Martin Heller, as an ex-director of a museum, came a man with experience. Of course he

understands the visions, he understands the artistic side completely, but he also knows how to manage and how to put things into function, and that is the difference between the two of them. And after Pipilotti, we definitely needed a manager.[58]

In an interview in a daily newspaper in late October 1999,[59] Pipilotti Rist gave her view on the events that had preceded her resignation almost a year earlier, in the first interview since her withdrawal. Rist criticised the former general director Jacqueline Fendt for the organisational problems internally at the Expo office. She claimed that "[n]icht die Künstler waren die Chaoten, sondern die Manager"("it wasn't the artists that were chaotic, it was the managers"), and according to her the climate among the directors at the Expo office was

> eine Mischung aus Politbüro und Sekte. Wer intern Kritik übte, wurde zum Verräter erklärt. Gleichzeitig herrschte militanter Optimismus.[60]

> a mixture of politburo and sect. Anyone posing internal critique were characterised as traitor. At the same time a militant optimism reigned.

Rist further claimed that she had several times pointed to weaknesses in the management of the organisation, before she felt the need to leave her assignment, and also that she had formulated a list of conditions in the organisation and management that she thought needed to be resolved.[61] But,

> [a]ls ich meine Expo-Kollegen auf Leerläufe aufmerksam machte, wurde ich abgeputzt wie ein Schnudergoof. Man hängte mir das Etikett des hysterischen Künstlers an. ... Als ich [den] Finanzchef mal auf die Problematik Fendt aufmerksam machte, sagte er mir: "Ist doch egal, wenn die Galionsfigur vorne nichts bringt. Wenn wir hinten das Schiff richtig bauen, wirds schon klappen." ... Ich hatte Fendt schon im November 1997 gesagt, sie müsse ein funktionierendes Management installieren.[62]

> When I pointed out the idling to my Expo colleagues, I was reprimanded

like a butt. They categorised me as a hysterical artist. Once when I made the director of finance conscious of the problems with Fendt, he said to me, "It doesn't matter if the figure head doesn't accomplish anything. If we only build the ship beneath her properly, it will all work out." … I had already told Fendt in November 1997 that she had to install a functioning managerial team.

Rist in the interview also pointed out that all the members of the managerial board had their personal views on what the Expo was to be:

> … jeder hatte ein anderes Expo-Konzept. Jacqueline Fendt wollte – glaube ich – eine Art Themenpark. [Der Finanzdirektor] wollte eine Messe mit Ständen und Prospekten. [Der President des strategischen Ausschusses] hatte eine Expo mit wichtigen Themen vor Augen. So was in der Art: Was sind wir doch für liebe und vernünftige Menschen, die ihre Triebe und Aggressionen kollektiv in den Griff kriegen können. Der Technische Direktor […] wollte ein paar grosse Bauprojekte aus dem Boden stampfen sowie eine Flotte an Iris-Booten kommandieren. … Und Marketingchef […] wollte wohl einfach ein goldenes Band zum Durchschneiden.[63]

> Each member had their own idea of the Expo. Jacqueline Fendt wanted— I think—a sort of theme park. The director of finance wanted a fair with stands and prospectuses. The president of the strategic committee envisioned an Expo with important themes. Something like: what amiable and sensible people we are, who manage to keep our urges and aggressions collectively in check. The technical director wanted to sow a number of large building projects and a raft to command. … And the marketing director I guess just wanted a golden ribbon to cut.

The interview was the only public statement that Pipilotti Rist made after her withdrawal as artistic director of the Expo.

Statements by employees at the Expo office seem to support the characterisation of Jacqueline Fendt's flaws. She seems to have chosen to cover up internal problems, and striven to convey an image of an effective orga-

nisation. Originally seen as the optimal president and ambassador for the Expo, the critique focussed on her lack of contact with the everyday work at the office. She is described by employees at the Expo office as just talking, but having no real back-up for the things she said in public, relying instead on the optimism that she radiated. Rist in her interview meant that

> Jacqueline Fendt litt wie gesagt an militantem Optimismus. Sie hat immer abgewiegelt. Eine Klärung der Managementverhältnisse verhinderte sie, weil sie keine Macht abgeben wollte. Sie war einfach darauf bedacht, die Pseudoharmonie nicht zu zerstören.[64]

> Jacqueline Fendt suffered from a militant optimism. She always exhorted us to calm down. She stopped any attempt at clarification of the state of management, because she didn't want to give away any of her power. She had just one thing in mind, and that was to keep up the pseudo-harmony.

According to Rist, the choice of Jacqueline Fendt was logical. By logical, she meant that the strategic committee had two candidates, of which Fendt was very positive towards the Expo in general, whereas the other, also a Swiss manager, had objections to the way the Expo as project and organisation was to be structured. In Rist's eyes, the choice of Fendt was a result of the political mechanisms that had initiated a new national exhibition project.

According to Rist, the directors appointed for the Expo had no experience of such large enterprises and therefore were not able to manage it when accumulating incidences in the day-to-day work demanded decisions or action, and the pressure on the directors increased. According to Rist, the politicians recruited for the project got their positions as a kind of political reward, not due to a belief in their abilities to manage a complex enterprise on a day to day basis. She also meant that the combination of inexperienced politicians and only technically educated people such as the engineer who was the director of the technical department, and the accountant who was director of the financial department,

who nevertheless saw himself as the strategist for the development of the exhibition concepts.

> Es fehlte das Knowhow, eine funktionierende Struktur absolut unvisionär zum Funktionieren zu bringen. … Man bedachte nicht, dass ein kultureller Anlass in seiner Realisierung genau so brutal, hierarchisch und hart wie die Konstruktion eines Grossraumflugzeugs durchgeführt werden muss. … Man hätte der Führungscrew eine inhaltliche Grundrichtung vorgeben und die Organisation nach unternehmerischen Richtlinien gestalten müssen. Vor allem wäre ein professioneller Verwaltungsrat nötig gewesen, eine Instanz, die wirklich kontrolliert. Auch muss der Künstlerische Direktor gleichberechtigt sein mit dem Generaldirektor. Das versucht Heller jetzt ja auch.[65]

> What was lacking was the know-how of how to get a functioning structure to work in an absolutely un-visional way. … One never thought of the fact that a cultural event in its realisation is just as brutal, hierarchical and tough as the construction of a jumbo jet must be. … The managing group should have been given content related directions, and the organisation should have been structured according to the needs of the enterprise. Above all, a professional board of trustees would have been necessary, an instance that really had executed control. The artistic director must also be on an equal footing with the general director. That is what Heller struggles for right now.

Enters a new artistic director

The withdrawal of Rist was probably unexpected to most people outside the Expo office, and was widely reported in media. At this moment the strategic committee needed to find another artistic director. At the same time, the technical director, who had been on his post since the start of the Expo office, resigned, and also needed to be replaced.

In January 1999, both a new artistic director and a new technical direc-

tor had been found. These were Martin Heller and Nelly Wenger, the latter a space planner from one of the cantons engaged in the Expo.

After the withdrawal of Pipilotti Rist, Jacqueline Fendt had approached Martin Heller, at the time director of the Museum für Gestaltung in Zurich, with the offer to become artistic director of the Expo. Heller accepted the offer, and started at the Expo in February 1999.

About his reasons for accepting the offer, Heller said

> I knew the former artistic director, Pipilotti Rist, as an artist, and I had followed the development of the Expo a little. Pipilotti asked me once or twice to take part somehow, but I didn't want to mix in, because I thought that some basics of the project didn't work. In my opinion they had been too naïve and blue-eyed in the way they proceeded. Then Pipilotti resigned very suddenly, and I was asked to be the new artistic director. But it wasn't a surprise for me, because there are not so many people with my experience in this country. …
>
> And why I accepted tbe offer was because I was at a point where it was clear for me that probably I wouldn't say no if there would be a change. I had been twelve years at the same museum, and in Switzerland it's not so much progress to change into another museum, the country is too small. I knew that were I to quit my museum, it had to be for something very different. This offer came, and I like situations of crisis, I think it's very interesting to come in at such a moment.[66]

When Martin Heller was appointed new *directeur artistique*, the news was received with rather much anxiety and even suspicion at the Expo office. Many of the persons, who had decided to stay after Pipilotti Rist's withdrawal, reacted to the apparent lack of interest on the part of the director towards the employees at the artistic department.

> I think he was appointed in February, but he really started to work at

the end of March. By then we were really few, there was the secretariat and a few other people, and the director of the administrative tasks. When Martin arrived, a new wave of people left, because Martin's first encounter with people wasn't very good. I personally have difficulties in understanding him, our heads don't work in the same way. I also have a lot of nostalgic memories of the old period, but that's normal. There was more of dynamics, and dreams, and artistic ambitions. Now we are in a much more realistic and reasonable period. I think that Heller does what he does really well, but we had more of a logic of creation before, now it's a logic of concessions.[67]

Nobody actually from the old team liked his attitude, that he didn't pass by and introduce himself, because here in our department, things are rather easy-going, and we always liked that with Pipilotti, although we had long workdays. And maybe we were a little afraid, too, because all of a sudden a man came, who was older than Pipilotti, a museum director. That was a big change.[68]

The initially negative opinion of Heller changed after a while. A year after his appointment, his efforts with sponsorship were appreciated. He was praised for his ability to negotiate with companies on sponsorship, something which was of course crucial for the realisation of the whole Expo project. But his concentration on sponsorship at the same time meant that the employees at the *direction artistique* had no director to discuss exhibition related issues with, something which affected the work of the department.

In January 1999 the Expo office also gave the firm of accountants Price-WaterhouseCoopers the commission to analyse the strategic controlling system and routines of the Expo, and if needed suggest changes to these, and also an analysis of the state of the work at the Expo in general.[69] These analyses were presented in an internal report two months later.[70] The *direction générale* used this report to consider possible ways of action out of the suggestions for change presented by the consultants.[71]

Appointing two new directors

By the time Nelly Wenger and Martin Heller had been appointed interim technical director and artistic director, the whole Expo organisation seemed to be drifting towards a precarious situation, both economically and as regards the realisation of the exhibitions and arteplages (which of course were mutually dependent). There didn't seem to be so many partnership contracts actually signed as the Expo direction had anticipated. For the Expo sponsorship team, it became more and more difficult to get ahead in negotiations when the internal and financial problems and the diminishing political support was exposed in media. The politicians were less and less enthusiastic about the Expo, when the internal problems and the difficulties in finding funding became evident. At the same time, the hesitant stance taken by the politicians made potential sponsors perceive the whole project as more questionable:

> Ultimately the problem was that the Swiss government was still very lukewarm about the project. And as long as the Swiss government didn't publicly support it, the business sphere wasn't going to pitch in. The companies said: first we need to have a clear signal from he government of this country that they want to do this expo, otherwise, why should we put in millions and millions of Swiss francs into this project?[72]

More resignations

At the end of July 1999, the chair of the jury of the *Mitmachkampagne* withdrew from his work with the Expo. This he did in connection to the last meeting of the jury. According to his own explanation in a newsletter, he withdrew because of what he perceived as an economisation of the judgements of the suggestions under consideration, i.e. that economic considerations were at the fore when deciding which projects to include. This description was nevertheless contradicted by representatives of the Expo office, who meant that a funding of the projects was already a condition when the work to sift out realisable exhibitions began.[73]

According to the press, the Mitmachkampagne had been an expression of the problems of the organisation of the work and the interpretation of the task of the Expo. For example, it could be read that

> … der Rücktritt der Jury mit ihrem Präsidenten war sogar ein Glücksfall. Denn viele der Dummheiten im Umgang mit der schweizerischen Umwelt hatten hier ihren Ausgangspunkt.[74]

> The withdrawal of the *Mitmachkampagne* jury and its president was even a stroke of luck. Since several of the stupidities in the interaction with the rest of Switzerland originated from there.

Exits a president

During 1999, the trust in the Expo office seems to have declined with increasing pace. Some politicians demanded that the Expo be called off. At the same time, other politicians, and the directors of the Expo, and also a number of representatives of the press, did not see it as an option to wind up the project. On the contrary, many politicians and representatives of trade and industry stated the national importance of the national exhibition and of a strongly manifested political support for it.[75]

The lack of trust for the Expo was something that the new artistic director felt in his daily work in contacts with people outside the Expo. The funding structure of the Expo, based on a large financial engagement from the business or non-public sector, in turn made the success of the funding of the Expo to a large extent dependent on the reputation or image of the Expo in the eyes of businesses and the press. The dependence was a dependence also of how politicians supported and viewed the project, since the companies possibly engaging in the Expo expressed a need to feel a strong support for the project on the part of politicians and the Bundesrat, who, in the end, were the guarantors of the realisation of the Expo.

At the same time the Expo was not going to be realised in accordance to the specific aims of either politicians or trade and industry. It was to realise an autonomously developed national exhibition, but with the support of economic and political actors. Apparently sensing a need to clarify the Expo as entity and concept, artistic director Martin Heller wrote that

> … die Expo 01 keine Regierungserklärung ist, keine politische Schulstunde der Nation und keine Warenmesse, sondern ein unerhörtes, kreatives, die veränderungswilligen Kräfte unserer Gesellschaft einbindendes Experiment. Jenseits von blosser Wertschöpfung und Gewinnmaximierung nämlich arbeiten in diesem Experiment Wissenschaft und Politik, insbesondere aber Wirtschaft und Kultur zusammen.[76]

> The Expo 01 is no government statement, it is no political school lesson for the nation, and it is no trade fair, but an exceptional, creative experiment, bringing together parties in our society that open to change. Scientists and politicians, and what more is, business people and cultural professionals, work together in this experiment, to create something more than just pure value creation and profit maximisation.

In early August 1999, the strategic committee of the Expo announced their lack of confidence in Jacqueline Fendt as general director. Behind the declaration by the committee was a discontent on the part of the directors of the four departments of the Expo office; the technical, finance, artistic and marketing and communications directors. The motivation for this declaration of discontent was that this was necessary for solving the management and credibility crisis that

> diese Zäsur nötig [ist], um die Voraussetzungen zur Lösung der akuten Führungs- und Vertrauenskrise der Expo.01 zu schaffen.[77]

> this caesura is necessary in order to find a solution to the acute management and confidence crisis of the Expo.01.

But others, both inside and outside the Expo organisation, felt that Fendt was made a sacrifice so that trust in the Expo could be built within business and political circles.[78]

The then technical director, Nelly Wenger, was appointed to replace Fendt until a successor had been found.

Finding solutions to the problems

At the same time that the general director was dismissed, the members of the strategic committee also felt that they needed to evaluate its function and relationship to the general management committee. Especially the information flows and channels needed to be improved. A representative of trade and industry in the strategic committee stepped back from her position, as a result of this evaluation.[79]

The then president of the strategic committee of the Expo asked Nicolas Hayek, director of the Swatch Group and the great man of Swiss trade and industry, if he wanted to be a member of the committee. Hayek after a while declined the offer, with lack of time as excuse, but instead offered the Expo organisation the know-how of his group. The expertise on engineering, investment, finance, sponsoring and marketing of his employees would be at the hands of the Expo if desired, to help analyse and suggest solutions to the problems the organisation and the project were facing.

This offer resulted in the so-called Hayek report, presented in late September 1999, after a month's intense work by management and economic expertise from the Swatch Group and Fa. Hayek Engineering AG. In the report, the management, organisational structure and finances of the Expo as well as the exhibition plans were analysed. The perhaps most important and awaited part of the report was the economic analysis and considerations of feasibility.

The verdict of the Hayek-report was that the Expo could be realised, but only with a thorough savings plan and with a substantial economic contribution in the form of sponsorship money. The management of the Expo was criticised of letting the costs for the project exceed the amounts stated in the original budged as presented in the feasibility study in 1996, without securing further receipts:

> … nach ungewöhnlich vielen Veränderungen und Turbulenzen im Management, erhöhte sich das interne Budget wegen interner Machtkämpfe, mangelnder Führung, ineffizienter Organisationsstrukturen und nicht zuletzt wegen der zahlreichen und wesentlichen Projektänderungen gemäss dem von der Generaldirektion verabschiedeten Budget vom 30. 6. 99 auf ein Volumen von insgesamt rund 941,6 Mio. Fr. … Das Hayek-Management gewann den Eindruck, dass bei der Expo 01 von Projektbeginn an eine klare, erfahrene, unumstrittene und entscheidungssichere Leadership fehlte und auch heute noch keine kompakte, koordinierte und leistungsfähige Managementorganisation existiert. … Ein Projekt in der Grössenordnung und Komplexität der Expo 01 erfordert eine Führungspersönlichkeit, die Erfahrung in der Durchführung solcher Grossprojekte hat oder zumindest die Begabung besitzt, Leute mit entsprechender Befähigung zu finden, zu motivieren und zu führen.[80]

> … after unusually many changes and turbulence in the management, the internal budget increased due to internal power struggles, lack of management, inefficient organisation strucutres and last but not least due to numerous and substantial project changes in comparison to the budget dated 30 June 1999, dismissed by the general direction, to a volume of altogether approximately 941.6 million CHF. … The Hayek team got the impression, that a clear, experienced, undisputed and resolved leadership was lacking at the Expo 01 from the very start of the project, and that even today no compact, co-ordinated and capable management organisation exists. … A project with the size and level of complexity as that of the Expo 01 demands a leading personality who has experience of the execution of such large-scale projects, or at least the ability to find,

motivate, and lead people with such competence.

In the report, the gradually increased costs of the Expo were criticised. Compared with the original internal budget in 1996, comprising just under 500 million CHF; the costs in the latest internal budget in 1999 had almost doubled to 442 million. The total estimated costs had increased from 496 million to 942 million, an increase with 90%. The external budget, in 1996 calculated to just over 230 million, had increased to 300 million, to which the Expo had to find external funding.

According to the Hayek consultants, the total expected costs would, depending on risk scenarios, amount to 1.6 billion, but the incomes only to 1.16 billion, of which in an optimistic prediction 319 million would come from entrance fees and 462 million from sponsors towards exhibition, events and arteplage rents. But the Hayek consultants wanted to lower the income amount, due to risk scenarios with around 113 million, giving a total calculated probable income of 1.04 billion. Given the maximum (worst) risk scenario, the budget deficit would be 552 million CHF. In the case of a minimum risk scenario, where the full calculated incomes would be achieved, the deficit would still be 381 million.

Because of the deficit, the Hayek group recommended an instant examination of costs for the whole realisation, and radical cuts where such would not affect the attractiveness of the realised Expo to potential visitors. The Hayek consultants thought that the deficit, when diminished through a cost reduction programme, would be possible to cover by business and public support, even though they had already for before the assessment of the five hundred million deficit had calculated with a support from companies of 412 million. This sum would, according to calculations made by the Hayek-group consultants, consist of Expo partnership contracts amounting to 80 million, product and service partnership contracts of 20 million, event sponsorship comprising 62 million, infrastructure sponsorship of 50 million, rents for the arteplage spaces amounting to 41 million, and direct costs for the production of exhibitions and events for the partner totalling 159 million CHF.

The Hayek group had noticed that most of the sponsorship/partnership contracts were not yet secured, and recommended both that the businesses to show their support for the national project by signing letters of intent, and the sponsoring department to continue their work and try to secure as many contracts as possible.

Apart from the general slide in costs, the liquidity was seen as an urgent problem for the Expo by the Hayek consultants. They noted that the Expo office would be without liquid resources at the end of October the same year, i.e. only a month later, if no further credits were granted.

The two members of the office preparing the original feasibility study, the later finance and technical directors, were also criticised for their only part-time engagement in the Expo. Both were during their time as directors of the Expo also leading a company of their own. This split engagement were seen by the Hayek analysts as negative for the management of the Expo organisation.

Lastly, the time schedule for the Expo was, given the lack of management and money, too optimistic. It would need a truly engaged management, together with intense work both with finding further sponsoring and funding in general, and with the realisation of the exhibitions to be able to realise the Expo in 2001. The options were postponement or, which they did not recommend, discontinuation. The costs for a postponement were estimated to 80 million CHF. Reorganisation of the strategic committee and the general management committee, were suggested as urgent remedies for the organisation and the realisation of the project.

The result of the report was that the Expo office decided to act on the suggestions for conduct that the Hayek experts suggested. One thing that the organisation was criticised for was the non-existing business presence in the *comité strategique*, and it was decided the form of this "board of trustees" were to be transformed. The decision was taken actually before the Hayek people began their investigation, but the final appointments were left until the report had been produced.

The result of the Hayek report, and the preceding organisational and economic troubles, led to a situation where the Bundesrat in early October 1999 posed an ultimatum for the Expo office. The supplementary credit amounting to 250 Millions CHF needed by the Expo office not to run into liquidity problems, were to be given if the Expo office managed to produce a realistic budget plan for the realisation of the Expo. Especially the budget were to be balanced, and the money to be raised with the help of trade and industry, not public support. As the liquidity was an urgent matter, the Bundesrat already in October decided to give the Expo a first credit of 80 million CHF. But before the end of the year, the Bundesrat wanted the Expo office to show, that the rest of the funding for the project was secured, in order to be able to consider the additional credit on 250 million. A further report stating a suggested plan of action and budget were to be presented to the Bundesrat first by the end of the year. Later the deadline was postponed to 1 February 2000.[81]

Reorganisation and strategies for increased incomes and cut costs

This ultimatum triggered intense action at the Expo office. The general feeling was that the politicians didn't really want the Expo to be realised. The conditions were considered very tough on the part of the Expo employees. The main conditions to be met to get the planned budget comprising 1,4 Billion CHF, were to:

a) raise 300 Millions CHF from companies in signed sponsorship contracts or letters of intent, in addition to the already clear contracts amounting to 80 Millions, and

b) to cover the rest of the calculated budged deficit of 290 Millions by cutting costs in the planned projects and architecture andor finding supplementing funding from Cantons or similar non-governmental sources.

The formation of a *comité directeur* to replace the former *comité stratégique* was also one of the demands made by the Bundesrat.[82]

The 'office' of the strategic committee was to be shut down, and replaced by a steering committee (*comité directeur* / *Steuerungskomitee*, also called *Verwaltungsrat*[83]), consisting of five members. The persons of the committee of directors were to be made up of representatives of Swiss business, one representative of the Canton hosting the Expo, one representative of the cities where the arteplages were to be built, and one representative of the Bundesrat. This *Lenkungsausschuss* was endowed with a larger authority than the former "office", for example in appointing the directors and president of the Expo organisation.[84]

In early October, the information director resigned, declaring that the heavy workload was not compatible with his outside activities as communication consultant, which he wanted to concentrate on.[85]

In mid-October the members of the new steering committee were appointed. The committee was to be chaired by a politician, the leader of FDP, one of the country's political parties, as representative of the Bundesrat. The other members were an ABB director and the president of the Kuoni group as representatives of the trade and industry, two former cabinet ministers (one from the Staatsrat and one from the Regierungsrat) from Neuchâtel and Bern respectively, as representatives of the arteplage cities and Cantons.

The chair of the new directors' committee described the change at the time of the nominations as an attempt to come to grips with the specific problems with management that he (and the other behind the restructuring plan) saw as specific to the project organisation:

> Eine Projektorganisation stellt ganz andere Anforderungen
> als die Normalorganisation einer Unternehmung oder einer
> Verwaltung. In der Normalorganisation gibt es eingespielte Abläufe
> und Kontrollmechanismen. Die strategische Steuerung einer

Projektorganisation mit hoch komplexem Auftrag ist viel schwieriger. Dies wurde wahrscheinlich unterschätzt. Neben der strategischen Entscheidfunktion sind auch Koordinations-, Umsetzungs- und Überwachungsaufgaben zu erfüllen. … Ich bin der Auffassung, dass selbst in der neuen Organisation das Comité directeur ein professionelles Controlling-Element braucht, um seine Aufgaben zu erfüllen.[86]

A project organisation poses quite different demands than the ordinary organisation of a company or administration. In the ordinary organisation there are routinised procedures and control mechanisms. The strategic management of a project organisation with a highly complex task is much more difficult. This was apparently underestimated. Beside the strategic task of decision making, there are also the tasks of co-ordination, turnover, and control to manage. … In my opinion, that even in the new organisation, the directors' committee needs a professional controlling element, in order to be able to fulfil its task.

In this description of the reasons for a restructuring the critique of the control exerted by the former strategic committee is discernible. The strategic committee left too much of the control to the operative level of Expo organisation, i.e. the directors themselves.

The question of whom to appoint as new president (*Direktionspräsident*) of the Expo was still unsolved. The director of the Basle Fair, who had been a strong candidate, said that he would take on the post only if the Expo was realised in 2001. With the postponement decided in the autumn of 1999, he declared that he was no longer at the Expo's disposal. The staff manager at the Expo at this point offered to temporarily shoulder the job as president, but only until the end of the year. After that, a new permanent president would have to be found.[87] But considering that the former technical director had already agreed to be interim president until a new, permanent was found, there was actually no need for a new, short-term interim president, the general management committee and strategic committee decided.[88]

Dealing with the tough demands

At a press conference on 6 October, after the announcement by the Bundestag of the support of another 250 million on the condition that the Expo save 290 million of the total costs, the Expo directors declared the conditions given impossible to fulfil. According to them, with the estimated 80 million in added costs for a postponement, and a still lingering estimated budget deficit of 170 million CHF due to unsecured incomes, the suggested 250 million would simply not do. The Expo directors declared that they would use the time assigned by the Bundesrat to produce a proposal for a realisable Expo with as large as economic restraints as possible without losing attractiveness or artistic quality, but from a realistic point of departure, not from an, as they felt, politically conjured, point of departure.[89]

In the press, the amount of the deficit credit decided by the Bundesrat, was described as being more based on political negotiations than on realistic cost estimates. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* pointed out that according to the Hayek report, 400 million CHF rather than 250 million would be needed in order to realise the Expo without a deficit.[90] The directors of the Expo also, in a meeting with representatives of the federation, stated that the conditions the Bundesrat had set for further credit were impossible to fulfil.

On 20 January 2000, the Expo office held a press conference where their report to the Bundesrat was presented. The office had assigned special task forces to produce figures for the different arteplages together with the British fair and events consulting company Grant Leisure Group, and more detailed figures underlying the conclusions in the main report were gathered in two separate reports.[91] The main points suggested to fulfil the demands posed by the Bundesrat for granting the Expo a guarantee risk credit were:

- cost cuts altogether amounting to 357 millions CHF
- aiming at reaching funding by sponsorship of 380 millions,

the sum at the time amounting to 346 millions in contracts and
letters of intent
- control of the entire project through organisational
restructuring and tighter control of details
- control of the financial situation
- costs for security to be overtaken by the Cantons and arteplage towns

In exchange for managing to fulfil these conditions, the Expo organisation demanded that the Bundesrat provide the already mentioned deficit guarantee; a relief from value-added tax; and a relief from the interest on the loan on 150 millions that the Expo had been granted.[92]

In November 1999, Crédit Suisse offered the Expo office the services of their director of staff during a period of three months. The Expo office accepted the offer, and the director developed two budgets for a feasible realisation of the Expo given the economic conditions posed by the Bundesrat. One was a budget for an Expo as originally planned, with five arteplages, comprising a total turnover of approximately 1.3 billion CHF, and the other an even further reduced version of the Expo, with a lessened number of arteplages. Apart from the support with the director of staff, Crédit Suisse also offered the Expo interim credit for its running costs, until the decision of the Bundesrat was due.[93]

The new steering committee had already been formed, and had received a new president, a politician. At the same time changed its name from *Expo 2001* to *Verein Landesausstellung*. The *strategischer Ausschuss* of the association was also changed into a *Generalversammlung*.[94]

The report to the Bundesrat was presented at a press conference on 21 January 2000. The deficit credit that the managers of the Expo demanded from the Bundesrat, in order to be able to realise a revised Expo in 2002 was 320 million CHF. The Expo directors also demanded that the federation also remit the VAT originally due, and the interest on the credits used, a sum of altogether 49 million CHF. The Expo also wanted the Bundesrat to give their verdict on 15 February.[95]

In the "Scenario A" Expo proposal, where all five arteplages were kept, the Expo had to be postponed with a year, and be realised not in 2001 but in 2002. The opening times had also been somewhat reduced due to the economic revision. It was now to be open from 15 May to 20 October. According to the Hayek report, a minimum of 53 exhibitions were considered a must in order for the Expo not to lose its attraction.

According to the answer to the Bundesrat, the goal of securing sponsoring or partnership funding of totally 380 million had not quite been achieved. The achieved amount in signed contracts or letters of intent amounted to 346 million in January 2000. However, as the writers of the report noted, several companies chose to wait for the verdict of the Bundesrat before signing their contracts, since they felt that their investment would not be secure without a clear positive sign and commitment from the federal council.[96]

New departments and a new, old President

In February 2000 Nelly Wenger was appointed new President of the general management committee of the Expo. A new technical director was also appointed, an architect that had since 1999 worked with the arteplage design at the Expo office.

In the spring of 2000, a new marketing department was established. This department was to focus on the future visitors to the Expo, in contrast to the sponsorship department, who worked with funding of the realisation of the Expo. But the work of the marketing department was to be no less important, since the calculated income from ticket sales was 295 million CHF in the Grant Leisure Group study, amounting to a fifth of the calculated total turnover. By autumn 1999, 25 million of the total marketing budget had already been spent, and that was seen as rather unfortunate by the Grant Leisure Group in their analysis of possibilities for cuts in the marketing budget. Their suggestion was to set the total marketing budget to 84 million, which would mean that 30% would

already have been spent. The priorities would from then on, according to the Grant Leisure Group, have to be almost exclusively focused on visitor oriented marketing, and an overall build-up of a positive image of the Expo, since the most important income group would be visitors paying entrance fees.

The most important question to handle for the marketing department is how you market a product that doesn't yet exist, and that you have no idea how it will turn out when realised. In their work with this, the marketing department first tried to learn as much as possible about marketing from other similar events and projects.

The target for the sponsoring department was to have sponsorship contracts amounting to at least 450 million CHF at the opening of the Expo. In the year 2000 they had about 300 million in already signed contracts or letters of intent, and were in negotiations with firms over contracts amounting to a little less than 100 million. The total amount of sponsorship money of course directly influences the number of exhibitions and general outcome of the realised Expo.

The planned budget was at this point on 1.4 Billion CHF, whereof 454 millions from sponsors, 445 from public bodies, 296 from calculated ticket sales and 206 millions from concessions and merchandising.[97]

In 2000, another new department, the fifth of the Expo, was established. This was a *direction d'exploitation/Betriebsdirektion*, handling details relating to the day-to-day running of the Expo once opened, such as tickets, hospitality, security and general transport and logistics. A publication department, an information and PR department, as well as a controlling department on both the strategic and the operational (*pilotage strategique*, *pilotage operationnel*) under the general direction (in case of the *pilotage strategique* under the *comité directeur*) had also been set up. In October the same year, a director was also appointed. He had since 1997 worked with the same type of temporary architecture for another Swiss festival.[98]

Cut in the number of exhibitions

In December 2000, the *comité directeur* decided that the number of exhibitions were to be cut down from around fifty to thirty-seven, because of the uncertainty and lack of sponsorship money i.e. partnership contracts. The remaining exhibitions were described as constituting the Expo Basis project (*Basisprojekt*). Both for the basis projects and the rest of the projects originally intended, all efforts would be made to find partners i.e. funding. As Martin Heller described the arrangement:

> Das Comité directeur hat 37 Ausstellungen definiert, die – unabhängig vom heutigen Stand ihrer Finanzierung – an der Expo.02 zu sehen sein werden. Falls für einzelne dieser Ausstellungen keine Partner gefunden werden, werden sie vorfinanziert, da sie für den Erfolg der Ausstellung als notwendig betrachtet werden.[99]

> The steering committee has discerned 37 exhibitions, that—irrespective of the state of funding for them—were to be realised at Expo.02. If there is yet no sponsor partner for one of these exhibitions, their realisation will be funded initially by other means, since they are considered as necessary for a successful realisation of the whole Expo.

Of the thirty-seven exhibitions, seventeen had funding secured at this point in time. Another twelve exhibitions were partly financed. The expo thus needed to find funding for twelve basic projects, and for the desired further nineteen exhibitions that had not been deemed vital for the Expo, but that the Expo office wanted to be able to realise, if partners were found.[100]

The reduction in the number of guaranteed exhibitions was due to the difficulty in finding partners/sponsors for the different exhibitions, even though this work had been intense especially since the economic restructuring in the year 2000. Asked if he could account for this reluctance towards support for the Expo, Heller pointed to mutual difficulties in understanding a cultural project like the Expo, and the perspectives of

approached companies:

> Wir hören vier verschiedene Argumente, warum sich Unternehmen nicht an der Expo.02 beteiligen wollen. Erstens werden Unzulänglichkeiten der früheren Expo.01-Leitung vorgeschoben ("Sie wissen ja gar nicht, was sich Frau Fendt bei uns geleistet hat!") – da schwingt sich Kleinlichkeit zu geradezu monströser Sensibilität auf… Zweitens erwarten Firmen Gegenleistungen wie unverblümtes Product Placement. Dies verträgt sich schlecht mit unserem Konzept einer aktuellen, kulturell überzeugenden Expo.02 und würde vom Publikum auch nicht goutiert. Drittens gibt es die vom einseitigen Shareholder-Value-Denken geprägte Haltung: "Das Geld gehört unseren Aktionären, wir können nicht darüber verfügen" – als ob Investitionen in die Expo.02 mildtätige Gaben wären! Und viertens wird vor allem in der Romandie argumentiert, die Firma habe in der Schweiz kaum Marktinteressen und sehe folglich keinen Nutzen in einer Expo.02-Beteiligung.[101]

> We hear four different arguments for why companies do not want to be part of the Expo.02. Firstly, the inadequacy of the former Expo.01 management is pointed out ("They don't even have any idea of what mrs Fendt brought about in the organisation!")—so insignificant matters grow into monstrous sensitivity… Secondly, companies expect to receive favours like undisguised product placement in return. This doesn't go very well with our concept of a topical, culturally transgressing Expo.02, and would also not be appreciated by the public. Thirdly, there is the unilateral share holder-concerned attitude: "The money belongs to our share holders, we cannot make use of it"—as if investments in the Expo.02 would be some sort of charitable alms! And fourthly, the argument especially in the Western, French-speaking part of Switzerland, is that the companies have hardly any market interests in Switzerland, and therefore see no point in taking part in Expo.02.

The total opening period was also decided to be shortened, the Expo was now to be open from 15 May to 20 October, and not from 3 May to 29 October as originally planned. This shortening of the opening time was

due to the economic restrictions under which the Expo was now to be executed.

In January 2001, a sixth department was introduced; the partnership department (*Direktion Partnershaften*), whose main task was to find new partners for especially the product and service level of partnerships. The new department was to be led by the former sponsoring department director, who would still be working with his old department 30% of the time, whereas he would lead the work of the partnership department the rest of his time.[102]

The Bundestag decided not to grant the Expo relief from value-added tax, but instead increased the deficit guarantee from 320 million CHF to 358 million, in order to cover the estimated amount of the value-added tax.[103]

In a budget presented on the Expo homepage, dated February 2001, the calculated total budget for the Expo was 1.4 billion CHF. Out of this sum, 450 million was calculated to be covered by sponsorship, and as much by the public sphere. Of the public money, 360 million was supported by the federation, a little more than 60 million by the cantons, and slightly more than 20 million by the towns hosting the arteplages. In addition, 300 million were calculated to come from ticket sales and 200 million from other sales. Of the costs, the general administration was calculated to consume 550 million, the production of the arteplages fully 440 million, and the exhibitions and events 400 million CHF.

In February 2001, the Expo office had around 240 people employed. The exhibitions were to be produced by separate organisational constructions, formally separate entities. Only the co-ordinators of the different exhibitions were employed by the Expo office. The number of departments were in spring 2001 seven, the last department was the events department, that had until then been a part of the direction artistique. At this point in time the realisation of the arteplages and exhibitions were in such a state as to call for separate arteplage organisations as well as

increased workload for departments dealing with partners and events.

The liquidity problems continued for the Expo. The reluctance of companies to sign contracts, and the slowness of the overall partnership finding process created a lesser in-flow of money than expected. At the same time the costs were mounting. In order to handle this situation, the Expo office pleaded with the federal council to change most of the deficit guarantee granted into a loan, which meant that they could make use of it right away. The Bundesrat agreed to change 300 of the 358 million granted as deficit guarantee into a loan in June 2001. Some Swiss banks had also agreed to grant a credit amounting to 80 million, with future entrance fees as security.

However, in April 2001, the Expo office in its financial calculations found out that due to increased estimated risks (higher costs and lower incomes), there would still at the end be costs of 30 million over the amount of the current deficits and loans. In the report, the sponsoring goals and achievements of the Expo were compared to other similar events. The Expo office notes that the Expo does well in this comparison, but not so well when compared to the original goals for the level of non-public funding of the Expo:

> Nach heutiger Sicht kann man sig fragen, ob die Einnahmenschätzungen zu hoch angesetzt wurden. Die Sponsoringleistungen der Schweizer Wirtschaft halten einem internationalen Vergleich wohl stand. Aber sie entsprechen nicht den ursprünglichen Zusagen/Erwartungen. Verschärft wurde dieser Aspekt durch die Tatsache, dass ein Teil der Sponsorengelder zunehmend nicht liquiditäts- bzw. budgetwirksam war.

> Es ist aber nicht zu übersehen, dass die aktuellen Einnahmenprobleme im Zusammenhang mit der Externalisierungsstrategie oder der Externalisierungshoffnung stehen, welche eine Grundlage des Expoprojektes ab Beginn bildete.[104]

In retrospect, we could ask ourselves if not the income estimates were

a bit too optimistic. The level of sponsoring from the Swiss trade and industry are well in level with similar international enterprises. But they do not match the original expectations. This aspect is even more emphasized through the fact that part of the new sponsorship deals did not contribute to the liquidity or the overall budget for the project.

We should not, however, disregard that the current income problems are connected to the externalisation strategies or aspirations that were central to the Expo project from the start.

The targets for sponsoring seemed even harder to achieve after Swissair and tele-com company Orange pulled out of their partnership contracts. Both companies referred to bad finances.[105] The cancelled partnerships were related to exhibitions that were at the core of the exhibition schemes at their respective arteplages, and meant that these scheduled exhibitions suddenly stood without funders. At the same time, other contracts for partnerships for exhibitions were brought to completion. In an interview, the president of the *comité directeur* meant that the hesitation to support the Expo could be ascribed the location of the Expo in Western, French speaking Switzerland, which the companies apparently found less interesting to support than a comparable event in German speaking Switzerland.[106]

In September the same year, the finance department at the Expo needed to revise their financial estimates for the Expo. At this time, they had already noticed future additional costs of 48 million, but had already been able to find possible cost cuts amounting to 40 million. Given the new economic situation in the autumn of 2001, the Expo noted that the budget had increased to 1.53 billion from the 1.40 billion estimated in January 2000. The increased costs of 128 million were mostly (102 million) costs that the Expo defined as fix, whereas a smaller part (26 million) were costs that were described as possible for the Expo to influence. In the revised budget, the incomes had been reduced by 131 million CHF, from 1.40 billion to 1.27 billion. The reductions in incomes were connected to the withdrawal of some partners from their

engagement in the Expo due to financial problems or general market insecurity.

In total, giving the higher risks (both higher costs and lower incomes) that had to be acknowledged during the year, the financial estimates were according to the calculations made in late 2001, resulted in a total estimated deficit of between 478 and 556 million, compared to the budget produced two years earlier. In case of the lower case of estimated increased total costs, there would be an estimated end deficit of 120 million, even after the full use of the deficit guarantee. This financial deficit would also create a future liquidity crisis at the latest in June 2002. The amount of the lacking funds would be approximately 120 million CHF, as estimated by the Expo office.

Having gone through the possibilities to further reduce the estimated deficit, the Expo office could find no other way to try to manage the situation than to tightly control costs, to put all possible efforts into finding further sponsors and to secure incomes, and lastly to appeal to the Bundesrat for a loan of 140 million CHF to cover the liquidity shortage. The Expo office in the report stated that a solution to the liquidity problem would be sought by May 2002, and that they would then have to assess the situation anew. At this time, the Expo had partnership contracts or letters of intent summing up to 330 million CHF, of the calculated 460 millions[107] in sponsorship money.[108]

Given the increased costs and insecure incomes, the Expo directors estimated a loss of 480 million CHF, possibly amounting to approximately 560 million if the incomes were to be smaller than calculated. Taking the deficit guarantee issued by the state, the loss result of the Expo would still be approximately 120 million, or 140 million of the number of visitors would be smaller than calculated.

The Expo office asked the federal council for an extended deficit guarantee covering 120 million. As the Expo had discovered they would also run into liquidity problems before the opening, the Expo office would in

return seek to minimize this liquidity problem by trying to prolong other credits and deadlines for payments. In February 2002, the parliament decided to grant the Expo 120 million CHF extra as deficit guarantee, and a further 58 million as a loan.[109]

There were laments in the Swiss press over the lack of interest in the opportunity to show a social concern by Swiss companies.[110] On the other hand, other papers acknowledged the engagement of the partner companies of the Expo, who supported the Expo with over 320 million CHF, and bought a lot of tickets for their employees.[111]

The economic and organisational restructuring that took place in early 2000, according to staff meant an increasing bureaucratisation of the Expo office. Controllers were employed to keep costs under control, and a system of validation of changes in the exhibitions was introduced. This all meant that the amount of reports that had to be made in the daily work increased. There was, according to interviewed staff, not as much space for creative processes as there had before. The pressure increased to perform according to measures that were designed for flow-process organisations rather than a project organisation with an important artistic aspect such as the Expo. [112] Members of staff also pointed out that the matrix type of organisation that the Expo office had transformed into with the establishment of the arteplage offices alongside the central office in Neuchâtel, was a new experience for most of the employees, and to a certain extent added to the uncertainties between different positions and departments within the Expo organisation.[113]

In September 2002, a revised and final estimated budget for the Expo was presented at the Expo homepage. According to this, the incomes would be approximately 360 million CHF less than estimated in January 2000. The costs would furthermore amount to roughly 150 million more than in the estimate, together creating a deficit of 550 million.[114] The deficit guarantee issued by the Bundesrat by this time amounted to 480 million, but there would still be a little less than 100 million that was not covered by this guarantee. The Bundesrat at the end of September suggested that

the five Expo cantons would bear this cost equally.[115]

The sponsoring incomes amounted to 363 million in the final estimated budget for Expo.02. Of this sum, 99 million were product or service-sponsorship, i.e. no money was transacted. On the income side, 186 million came from ticket sales, a figure 110 million lower than estimated.

Not all the thirty-seven exhibitions that had been estimated vital for the attraction of the Expo, found external funding, and thus partly were paid for by money from the Expo itself. Efforts to find sponsors, in full or in part, for as many of the exhibitions that had no external funding, continued until the very end of the preparation work before the opening of the Expo. A number of exhibitions found sponsors, but in the end, some had to burden the internal budget of the Expo.

The Expo was expected to be visited by 4.8 million people, visiting on average 2.3 arteplages, giving a total number of 10.5 million visits on the five arteplages. Approximately 4 million tickets were sold altogether, of the calculated 4.8 million. Less tickets overall than planned were sold, but double the amount of pre-opening tickets surprised the marketing department. The increased sales of the cheaper early-buyer three-day-pass at 99 CHG compared to 120 CHF from the 15 May 2002 onwards, meant lesser income than calculated. But then again, lesser three-day-passes were sold during the Expo. Instead, people bought one or two one-day-passes, which cost 48 CHF. From the beginning of September, there was also a last-minute-pass issued, at 96 CHF, offering unlimited access to the arteplages for the rest of the Expo.[116]

More of a disappointment was the number of visitors from abroad. The Expo had not managed to get as much attention in above all the neigh-bouring countries, France and Germany, as they had hoped and planned. On the other hand, almost half of the Swiss population had by the end of the Expo visited it, which much in itself be seen as quite an achievement, considering that the Expo was spread on four different locations in the

Western, not so densely-populated are of Switzerland. Roughly 90% of the visitors leaving the arteplages said that they had positive experiences of the Expo, as reported in visitor surveys.[117]

When the Expo opened its gates in May 2002, the foreign press were in general positive, emphasizing the imaginative, festive and architectural aspects. Several papers seemed surprised not to find the clichés connected to Switzerland, but rather a multi-faceted message. The problems and the delay of Expo are also commented.[118]

Post-project reflections

The question of the relationship between people with French and German as mother tongue, in the Expo case is elusive. According to some of the staff at Expo, the mentality of the French and German speaking people involved, created complications in the common work, as well as the fact that some people did not speak the other language. On the other hand, other staff claims that the language issue is too easily used to explain communication and co-operation problems internally as well as externally. There is, however, apparently a tension between the smaller French-speaking population and the larger German-speaking population in Switzerland.

In October 2002, all interviewed staff at the Expo said that it was too early to give any clear personal experiences or lessons from the project. The president of the *comité directeur* nevertheless pointed at some lessons drawn from the enterprise.[119]

According to him, it should have been realised that it would be impossible to achieve 800 million CHF in sponsorship on a total budget of 1.45 billion, and that no similar exhibitions have had more than 50% of their total incomes from sponsorship. He also meant that the Expo did not have the possibility to balance the deficit against former or later profits as other companies and organisations might, since the Expo was

a temporary organisation, established particularly for the realisation of the national exhibition. In short, he described the central lessons to be learnt as follows,

> Dass eine Themenausstellung zu 50 bis 75% von der öffentlichen Hand finanziert werden muss und unter 0,4% des Bruttosozialproduktes nicht zu bewerkstelligen ist. Dass die Veranstalter nur für die Ausgabenseite, nicht aber für die Einnahmen garantieren können. Wer mehr Besucher anlocken möchte als die Expo.02, der hätte sie im Zürcher Limmattal oder Glatttal machen müssen.[120]

> We learnt that a thematic exhibition needs to be funded from the public sphere to between 50 and 75%, and that it is not possible to realise such an event under 0.4% of the gross social product. And that the organisers of such an event only can assume responsibility for the cost side, but never guarantee the level of incomes. And if we had wanted to have higher visitor numbers for the Expo than those we achieved, we would have needed to locate the event in close proximity to Zurich.

Summary

The national exhibition of Switzerland 2001 was commissioned by politicians in the early 1990s, after a number of other celebrations of the Swiss federation had failed to be realized. It was to be funded to a large extent by non-public parties, but have a highly artistic quality.

In 1996, a temporary organisation was established to realise the national exhibition. The organisation and the project underwent several severe organisational and economic crises, including a postponement of the exhibition with one year. All in all, 37 exhibitions and a large amount of programmed events were realised at five arteplages in the Western part of Switzerland.

Footnotes

[1] *Jetzt kommt das Jetzt!* 1999(?): 3.

[2] *Jetzt kommt das Jetzt!* 1999(?): 4.

[3] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[4] *Die Expo im Überblick / Das Projekt / Die zehn Wörter der Expo / Landesausstellung*, Expo.02 home page.

[5] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[6] Interview with the President of the parliamentary Expo.01 group in *Expo.01 Newsletter* no 6/99. She clarified the role between the Bundesrat and the Expo: "Zunächst ist festzuhalten, dass der Bundesrat nicht Veranstalter der Expo.01 ist. Aber es ist ganz klar, der Bundesrat – wie auch das Parlament – tragen die politische Verantwortung für dieses Projekt." " first we need to make clear that the Bundesrat is not the executor of the Expo.01. but of course the Bundesrat—just as the parliament—bear the political responsibility for this project."

[7] NZZ 1996c; *A propos de l'Expo/Son organisation/Ses concepteurs*, Expo.02 homepage.

[8] NZZ 1996c.

[9] The term *arteplage* is a neologism constructed out of the French words *artificiel/artefact* (artificial/artefact), and *plage* (beach). Cf. NZZ 1996c.

[10] *A propos de l'Expo/Son organisation/Ses concepteurs*, Expo.02 homepage.

[11] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995, p 28ff. NZZ 1996c.

[12] This office was called both "Projektkommission des Vereins Landesausstellung" (NZZ 1996a), "das Büro des strategischen Komitees", and "das Konsortium AS-Management", in the press NZZ 1999b, f. In the feasibility study, the office is presented as a separate company, commissioned by the association for the national exhibition. *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie*. 1995.

[13] From the Bundesrat's commission dated 3 February 1995. *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie*. 1995: 17.

[14] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995. NZZ 1996d.

[15] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 177ff.

[16] NZZ 1999b. Also called *strategisches Komitee*. Cf. NZZ 1996b, 1999o.

[17] "Die Generaldirektion ist gleichzeitig ein Organ von Expo 2001 und von Expogestion. Sie ist zugleich vom Vorstand der erstgenannten und vom

Verwaltungsrat der zweitgenannten abhängig." "The general management committee is at the same time an organ for the association and the limited company. It is accountable both to the board of the former, and to the strategic committee of the latter." Quote from the 13 article in the association's statutes, referred in NZZ 1996d.

[18] NZZ 1999a.

[19] Hubschmid 1999: 8f; NZZ 1999a.

[20] NZZ 1996a, b, d.

[21] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 25, 49.

[22] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 158ff.

[23] *Bericht über die Standortbestimmung der Expo.01 im Auftrag des comité Stratégique*, 24 September 1999 (the so-called Hayek report). NZZ 1999f.

[24] also called *Drittbudget*. *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 164.

[25] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 164ff.

[26] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 165f. The external budget of the feasibility study was, according to the Hayek report presented in 1999, 234.5 million. This figure is only found in the Hayek report and newspaper reports based on this. This specific figure is not to be found in the feasibility study itself. I have not been able to trace the origin of the figure in the Hayek report.

[27] "gewöhnlich". *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 154.

[28] *Expo 2001. Machbarkeitsstudie* 1995: 154.

[29] NZZ 1996e. The 10% figure is interesting. I have not been able to trace the source of this figure in the mentioned article. According to my own additions of the two budgets in the feasibility study, the original total cost would amount to 1.4 billion. Figures in different documents however differ, and neither the figure 1.3 or 1.4 billion CHF are clearly stated in any printed document I have consulted.

[30] NZZ 1996e.

[31] *Die Expo im Überblick/Die Finanzierung*, Expo homepage.

[32] NZZ 1997a. Her annual salary was around 350.000 CHF. NZZ 1999a.

[33] NZZ 1997a.

[34] E.g. NZZ 1997a.

[35] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[36] *Jetzt kommt das Jetzt!* 1999(?): 14.

[37] *Jetzt kommt das Jetzt!* 1999(?): 6.

[38] NZZ 1997b.

[39] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[40] Cf. NZZ 1998a.

[41] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[42] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[43] Cf. the topical number of *Du* on Migros, its founder and their influence on Switzerland. Du 2000.

[44] Member of the Expo sponsorship team, interview May 2000.

[45] Member of the Expo sponsorship team, interview May 2000.

[46] Member of the Expo sponsorship team, interview May 2000.

[47] Member of the Expo sponsorship team, interview May 2000.

[48] Member of the Expo sponsorship team, interview May 2000.

[49] NZZ 1999c.

[50] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[51] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[52] NZZ 1999b.

[53] Employee of the Expo office, interview October 2002. I have unfortunately been unable to trace other sources for information in this event.

[54] NZZ 1998b.

[55] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[56] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[57] Descriptive word used by employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[58] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[59] TAZ 1999d.

[60] TAZ 1999d.

[61] According to the *Basler Zeitung*, Rist's statements were a sign of her shortcomings as a manager. BAZ 1999a, b.

[62] TAZ 1999d.

[63] TAZ 1999d.

[64] TAZ 1999d.

[65] TAZ 1999d.

[66] Interview, Martin Heller, May 2000.

[67] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[68] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[69] *Expo.01 Newletter 1/99*.

[70] *Überprüfung Gesamtprojektcontrolling Verein Expo 2001*. Price Waterhouse Coopers, 5 March 1999.

[71] *Stellungnahme der Generaldirektion zu den Empfehlungen des Berichtes PricewaterhouseCoopers "Überprüfung Gesamtprojektcontrolling" vom 5.3.1999*, zu Handen des Präsidenten des Comité stratégique, 31 March 1999.

[72] Employee of the Expo office, interview May 2000.

[73] *Expo.01 Newsletter* no. 6/99.

[74] NZZ 1999d.

[75] NZZ 1999g.

[76] NZZ 1999q.

[77] *Expo.01 Newsletter* no. 6/99.

[78] Employee of the Expo office, interview October 2002. NZZ 1999d, e. TAZ 1999a-c.

[79] NZZ 1999e.

[80] NZZ 1999f.

[81] NZZ 1999h; *Réponse du Comité directeur au mandat du Consil fédéral du 4 octobre 1999*, letter to the federal council, dated 20 January 2000, Expo.01 office, Neuchâtel; *Rapport au Conseil fédéral. Résumé*, January 2000, Expo office, Neuchâtel.

[82] *Rappport au Conseil fédéral / Bericht an den Bundesrat*. Expo.02, January 2000.

[83] NZZ 1999m.

[84] *Expo.01 Newsletter 7/99*.

[85] NZZ 1999j.

[86] *Expo.01 Newsletter* no. 9/99.

[87] NZZ 1999i.

[88] NZZ 1999k, 1999m.

[89] NZZ 1999k, 1999m.

[90] NZZ 1999k.

[91] *Expo.02 Part A: Optimal project and concept in support of task forces in search for economies*. Grant Leisure Group, 14 December 1999, and *Expo.02 Part B: Advice on "no limits" scenarios*. Grant Leisure Group, 11

December 1999.

[92] *Réponse du Comité directeur au mandat du Conseil fédéral du 4 octobre 1999 / Antwort des Steuerungskomitees auf den Auftrag des Bundesrats vom 4. Oktober 1999*, press release, Expo.02, 20 January 2000.

[93] NZZ 1999n.

[94] NZZ 1999o.

[95] NZZ 2000a. *Réponse du Comité directeur au mandat du Conseil fédéral du 4 octobre 1999 / Antwort des Steuerungskomitees auf den Auftrag des Bundesrats vom 4. Oktober 1999*, press release, Expo.02, 20 January 2000.

[96] NZZ 2000b.

[97] *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 5/00.

[98] *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 10/00.

[99] Martin Heller, interviewed in *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 12/00-1/01.

[100] *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 12/00-1/01.

[101] Martin Heller, interviewed in *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 12/00-1/01.

[102] *Espo.02 Newsletter* no. 12/00-1/01.

[103] *Bericht an den Bundesrat zur Finanzlage der Expo.02*, 14 December 2001, included in *Expo.02 Newletter* no. 4/01.

[104] *Bericht an den Bundesrat zur Finanzlage der Expo.02*, 14 December 2001, included in *Expo.02 Newletter* no. 4/01: 2.

[105] *Expo.02 Newsletter* no. 2/01. BT 2001, Matin 2001, Temps 2001, NZZ 2001a.

[106] *Expo.02 Magazine / Personen und Worte*, Expo homepage.

[107] The sum in another budget is 450 million, but according to the note related to the figure 460 million, of this sum approximately 10 million are money that may be added on top of the amounts formally negotiated, adding to the 450 million CHF. *Die Expo im Überblick / Die Finanzierung /Die Sponsoring-Zahlen (Stand per 31.07.2001)*, Expo homepage.

[108] In November 2001, the forecasted sponsoring goal was 454 million CHF, but the estimated realistic sponsoring incomes amounted to 380 million. The value of letters of intent and ongoing negotiations were still approximately 10 million. *A propos de l'Expo/Son financement/Les chiffres du sponsoring (situation au 30.11.2001)*, Expo homepage.

[109] Blick 2002.

[110] NZZ 2001b, TAZ 2002c, WoZ 2002a, b. In an inverview in September

2002, the president of the comité directeur said that businesses in Switzerland did not want to support the Expo, and then, when the deficit was a fact, they "reprochent que les autorités politiques doivent boucher les trous.", "reproach the political authorities for having to fill the economic gaps." QJ 2002.

[111] TAZ 2002a,b.

[112] Employees of the Expo office, interviews October 2002.

[113] Employees of the Expo office, interviews October 2002.

[114] *A propos de l'Expo/Son financement/Les coûts et le financement d'Expo.02/Comparaison budget-forecast Expo.02*, Expo homepage.

[115] Bund 2002, Temps 2002, 20M 2002.

[116] Employee of the marketing department, interview October 2002. Ticket price information from *The Ticket* 2002.

[117] As accounted by staff at the marketing department and the artistic department, interviews October 2000.

[118] E.g. VS 2002, Liberation 2002, RM 2002, Vernissage 2002, Weltwoche 2002.

[119] QJ 2002, Handelszeitung 2002.

[120] Handelszeitung 2002.

10 MANAGEMENT OF
EXHIBITION ENTERPRISES

INTRODUCTION

From the case studies we have learnt that exhibition projects and enterprises can be started and undertaken as university research, as a societal enlightenment call, or even as a politically commissioned national manifestation. We have learnt that exhibitions can take place in a white cube gallery, or contain a combination of commercial, private, and exhibition spaces, and that exhibitions can contain commissioned installations or works, or be entirely made out of already produced works. We have also learnt that artworks and documentary material can be mixed regardless of the type of venue the exhibition is shown in.

From Chapters 2 and 3 we have also learnt that the characteristics and contexts of exhibitions influence the way individual exhibition enterprises are undertaken. The management of an exhibition enterprise needs to be undertaken as a balancing act between the conditions posed by the exhibition form and the context of realisation, the personal visions of the initiator or curator, the wills of other contributors, and accessible resources.

Professionals engaged in aesthetic work, claim that there is no correlation between resources and outcome in aesthetic productions.[1] One can never predict the result from the initial conditions for a project. It all depends on the individual process and the specific theme and point in time. Shortly, each aesthetic project is a new venture. What the end result will be is not known, besides in very general terms, and that is the case of the quality of the end result as well.

Would it then be possible to list any number of factors that can make future exhibition enterprisers succeed in their ambitions? If we see the six cases of exhibition enterprising presented in this book as successful in the sense of resulting in one or several realised exhibitions, could we then in these six cases find some common factors or patterns, that seem to be vital to successful exhibition enterprising?

Like all complex matters, the practice of exhibition realisation is enterprising, and at its very core lies the uncertainty of the untried. Even though there is a long history of exhibition making and display of natural and artificial objects, each new venture is by definition untried, and even though experience may help the exhibition producer or curator to make judgements, the action is always new.

If talking about success in relation to exhibitions, we need to specify if we talk about the exhibition as such, or if we talk of the action undertaken to realise the envisioned exhibition, or if we talk of the exhibition as a project proper.

The success of an exhibition is a question partly of the aesthetic quality of the exhibition, partly of its intellectual quality, partly of its success in terms of media coverage and visitor numbers, and finally of the aims of the initiators and contributors to an exhibition project. We can also define success of an exhibition realisation enterprise in terms of an actually realised exhibition. In the cases presented in this book, the initiators and contributors to the different exhibition projects reflect on their personal opinions concerning the success or failure of their projects, in comparison to their hopes and ambitions. But to talk in general of success or failure is to detract from the complexity of interests involved in and effects of an exhibition project.

It is not possible to list elements that guarantee a successful realisation of an exhibition. This is because the notion of success is so ambiguous and multifaceted that a discussion of what would count as success and what not is even in an individual case hard to pinpoint. There are too

many factors, many of which are dependent on the situation in which a new entity or product is produced. As McCain wrote, we can only see how a masterpiece changes our perception when it has been made, but we cannot foresee its creation.[2]

In this chapter we will look at the specific conditions that are contained in the management of aesthetic enterprises, and especially exhibition production. Due to the characteristics of exhibitions as aesthetic media, and to the particularities of the contexts in which exhibitions are realised, as described in Chapter 3, the management of exhibition realisation projects have certain conditions to consider. These considerations and conditions will be presented immediately below. We also learn that the management of exhibition enterprises is a situated management, where the manager (e.g. the curator or initiator) needs to balance her personal visions or interests with those of other contributing parties and with accessible resources. We will finally look at a number of factors that seem to have been important in the six exhibition realisation processes studied. Factors that can be recognised as central management issues in the exhibition enterprises studied.

THE IMPACT OF CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXTS OF EXHIBITIONS ON EXHIBITION MANAGEMENT

Aesthetic medium

Exhibition realisation enterprises are instances of the shaping and materialisation, i.e. the *gestaltung*,[3] of ideas. Exhibition enterprising is something that starts with ideas, but without any clear plans of how the end result is going to appear, or how the project is going to be realised. The means for realisation are part of the enterprise itself, propelled by desire and visions.

Quality not possible to secure (high risk activity)
The quality of the outcome of an aesthetic project cannot be foreseen by the level or quality of the resources available for the realisation of the project. The quality of the outcome rather depends on the quality of the idea and its execution. A masterpiece cannot be commissioned. This is why aesthetic production is defined as high-risk activity. The outcome of aesthetic work may be of low quality, even though the resources and conditions for production were good, and vice versa.

Context

Portfolio careers
Artists and creative professionals are often self-employed, or combine individual creative work with work within educational institutions, or other part-time employment.

Few professional managers
People engaged in exhibition realisation are not or seldom professionally trained managers. They are managers in practice, through the work or projects they lead. Management is something that is practiced in exhibition projects, but have until now seldom been taught as an academic topic in art schools or at Arts programmes at universities.

Institutions act vicariously
Institutional objectives, demands from funders and various stake-holder groups condition the work of institutions. A free-lancer is not bound to these objectives and demands, and is free to act according to own interests. The external objectives and demands that condition the work of institutions leads to a higher level of acting and thinking on behalf of or with respect to other people; to vicarious acting. This means that institutional staff cannot only act according to own interests, but need to relate their own interests to the perceived needs and demands of others.

Professional training and identity influences approaches to exhibition realisation
As shown in Chapter 2, the professional identity and professional aims influence how the exhibition as a means of communication and as entity is perceived. The contexts and systems in which the three professional groups presented in the historical overview are based, also influence the way exhibitions are approached, beside individual experiences and ideas.

Exhibitions are both unique and recurring projects
In a single project, there may be parts and/or contributors that engage in an exhibition for the first time, or in a completely new way, and such that have been used or have participated in the same form before. Exhibition realisation seems to be a recurring type of project, as regards their form, for institutions and institutionally employed people, whereas artists and to some extent probably also academic free-lancing exhibition curators see projects as unique. Permanently employed staff at museums or art venues rather quickly gathers experience of production of quite a number of exhibitions, which they have not necessarily curated themselves. This experience, together with a concern for the future public of the exhibition, makes them perhaps more focussed on effective design than on experiments as such. Curators who make an exhibition for the first time, or who develop their very own exhibition projects, on the other hand seem to want to develop their exhibition according to what they feel is necessary for precisely the specific exhibition.

But the fact that staff at institutions has a more routine approach to exhibitions does not mean that they want each exhibition to look the same. On the contrary, the wish to vary the design of exhibitions is central to exhibition production at institutions. And as we can see from the cases, the institutionally developed projects were all elaborated in relation to the exhibitions made earlier, upon which the development of the current exhibitions were based. The initiators of the institutionally developed exhibitions clearly stated that the aims of their specific project was not to create exhibitions that copied the structure and design of

those preceding exhibition projects that made them want to depart from the same model. Instead, they stressed their ambition to do something new, different, compared to the earlier projects (apart from the obvious change of topic), even though they wanted to use project models they had tested before, and had deemed successful. The new projects initiated by the Museum of Work, the directors of Swedish regional museums, and the Expo managerial group, were to be bigger, more complex etc, or otherwise developments of project models used in earlier realisations.

Institutions such as (the Museum of) Modern Art Oxford, the Photographers' Gallery, the Museum of Work, or the Swedish regional museums, can be described as organisations performing both routinised and projectised operations. The core staff at these institutions is generally permanently employed, whereas part of the projectised operations are performed by temporally employed professionals. Other organisations involved in the realisation of the exhibitions in the cases were established only for the realisation of the exhibition(s). Examples of this are Expo.02 and in a way also the Museum of Site in Hong Kong, where the Divers Memories exhibition was shown (even though the plans were not only to establish it for this only this exhibition).

THE BALANCING ACT OF SITUATED MANAGEMENT

Management is not only about finding and allocating resources, it is also to a large extent about preparing for and dealing with the unforeseen, with changed conditions, or with failed aspirations. All these factors affect original or earlier ideas and plans for action. Exhibition enterprising is to a large extent about managing the realisation of an exhibition idea in a situation where innumerable conditional factors that define and redefine the exhibition. A central aspect of project management, as presented in many project management handbooks, is the task of foreseeing and minimising risks. But this task is hard to stick to, since what will happen or fail to happen is difficult to foresee.

On the contrary, much of the realisation in the exhibition cases presented, seems to be a question of negotiation rather than risk. Also, aesthetic activities are high-risk activities, so risk is inherent in the work and management of exhibition projects should therefore depart from such an assumption rather than imagine that risks are avoidable. Situated management rather takes risks, or alternatively phrased, challenges, as its starting point than as something that is perceived as possible to eliminate or minimise.[4]

The tension field of aesthetic management
Even though work with exhibitions start with ideas and many of the characteristics of aesthetic production apply to the realisation process of exhibitions, they on the other hand are often realised in co-operation with parties for whom an accessible public address is equally important. Most exhibitions need to be realised as an intricate net of compromises between the visions and wills of participating contributors, nevertheless centred around an exhibition concept that is largely developed by one or a small number of individuals. Management of exhibition realisation enterprises then needs to host both an understanding and guarding of the quality and originality of the exhibition concept as well as the contending wills and interests of contributing parties. This means that exhibition management is undertaken in a tension field between various forces and considerations.[5]

Among the competing considerations that make up the tension field of exhibition management are the following:

- personal vision
- the will of other interested parties
- novelty/innovation
- tradition/norms
- restricted production
- large-scale production

These competing considerations have to be balanced in order for the

exhibition to be realised. Few exhibition projects have no competing considerations. Conflicting wills and agendas then are at the very core of exhibition management, and all of them have to be taken into consideration.

Firstly, management of exhibition enterprises is action undertaken in the tension field between the field and logic of restricted production and the field and logic of large-scale production, as described by Bourdieu. Exhibitions are realised with ambitions to correspond to consumption patterns in both systems. The intellectual experimental ambitions of e.g. artists or curators need to be balanced with the educational demands of public address and access.

Secondly, exhibitions are realised in the tension field between visions and vicarious action and the tension field between visions and negotiation. Exhibitions need to relate to both, if they are to be realised. Visions are drives for the development of exhibition ideas, whereas co-operating parties often are public institutions who have to act in accordance with their organisational aims and rules, which in turn effect the form of exhibitions and educational activities undertaken at their premises.

Thirdly, exhibitions are realised in the tension field between novelty and tradition and in the tension field between inexperience and experience. This means that exhibitions are realised both with consideration to innovative or new forms and procedures on the one hand, and with consideration to tradition and experience on the other. Exhibition realisation is always both unique and routine. In most cases, the basis for work with a new exhibition project is often based on experience of work with other exhibitions, or at least on exhibitions experienced. In three of our cases (Divers Memories, Vita rockar and Framtidstro), the people engaged in the projects, stated that they wanted to do a new exhibition project that built on earlier experience or earlier modes of work, but still was something new. At the same time unique and a development of what they had done before.

In short, the realisation of exhibitions is, at the same time the management of a unique project and, often, for some of the engaged parties, the management of a recurring project. This means a continuous reinvention and negotiation of the form of exhibitions, at the same time that knowledge gathered through experience lies at the bottom the individual understanding of what an exhibition is and could be. This understanding of what an exhibition is and could be, and how it can be made, differs among professional groups, but more importantly also between individuals within the same professional group. The understanding of what an exhibition can be is also defined by organisational goals and restrictions that condition exhibition enterprises undertaken in institutional settings.

IMPORTANT FACTORS OF EXHIBITION MANAGEMENT AND EXHIBITION ENTERPRISES

Given the competing considerations forming the conditions of exhibition management, some factors seem important for the management of exhibition enterprises. These factors as drawn from the case studies forming the basis of the dissertation, can be referred to four categories.[1] These four categories are the

- initiator or curator
- exhibition concept
- enablers
- resources

The thirteen factors extracted from the empirical studies, are rather evenly spread on these four aspects of exhibition enterprising. A last factor, experience, which can be referred to the aspect of the initiator or curator, remains ambiguous.

The empirical material does not give clear evidence of whether experience or inexperience is better for the realisation of exhibitions, in terms of resulting in higher quality exhibitions or the actual realisation of the

envisioned exhibition. I therefore leave this to the end of the list of factors important for exhibition realisation and the management of exhibition enterprises. The question of the impact of experience on exhibition enterprising should be further investigated.

The thirteen factors categorised by the four aspects, are as follow:

Initiator(s) or curator(s)

- Visions
- Interest and skills in the domain of the exhibition theme
- Engagement
- Negotiation skills, rhetorical skills

Exhibition concept

- Strong or high quality exhibition idea or concept
- Flexible exhibition concept
- Delimitation

Enablers

- Intellectually stimulating environments
- Institutional backup in contacts with potential contributors
- Voluntary participation by independent contributors

Resources
- Exhibition space
- Funding
- Time

The ambiguous impact of experience

Initiator(s) or curator(s)

Visions
Visions are very important for the birth of an exhibition enterprise. The vision of an exhibition fuels the will and engagement on the part of both the initiator and other contributing parties to an exhibition enterprise to the action necessary to try to realise it. The vision of an exhibition, the exhibition project, guides the action undertaken in the exhibition enterprise.

In other words we can say that the personal vision is important as strategy for an exhibition enterprise, when the strategy of the enterprise cannot be based on existing or presumed demand. As described in Chapter 3, the characteristics of aesthetic work and products entail attemptive production. But we have in this chapter elaborated this condition, as we can see that the personal vision has to be balanced with the interests and wills of other contributing parties.

All initiators and curators in the cases emphasize the compromises necessary for a realisation of exhibitions in co-operation with other people and organisations. But they also mention that they have tried to hold on to their visions and their quality ambitions. Their personal assessment of quality and visions are important driving forces in the work with an exhibition, but they need to be argued for when the realisation of the exhibition needs to be done with the help of others.

Interest and skills in the topic of the exhibition
An exhibition concept generally requires rather thorough knowledge of the topic for the exhibition. However, this is not necessary, but in such cases a strong interest in the area which the exhibition is supposed to cover is needed. Without either or both of the two, the exhibition will probably not be considered interesting or worthy of realisation by professionals approached for a contribution to the realisation of it. The knowledge of or interest in the topic of the exhibition does not, however,

replace the importance of a strong exhibition concept.

Engagement
As Chiapello listed in her characterisation of artistic or cultural work, the relationship between the creative professional and her work is passionate.[6] Given the difficult and complex conditions for realising exhibitions, the initiator need a good amount of engagement in order to have the energy to realise her visions, in co-operation with parties who may not necessarily be enthusiastic. The insecure nature of exhibition enterprises needs to be based on a very strong internal motivation of the initiator and/or curator and/or manager. This strong internal motivation, in combination with the strong and flexible exhibition concept, is the basis for the strength of rhetoric and negotiation.

Negotiation skills
Exhibition realisation is based on voluntary engagement on the parts joining such an enterprise. Exhibitions are (often) realised as a co-operation among a number of independent contributors. This means that a number of interests and perspectives need to find common ground for the realisation to be successful. Therefore, much of the work with pushing an exhibition concept closer towards realisation consists of finding people and organisations who are finding the concept, or ideas perhaps not yet clearly formed as a concept, interesting and trying to convince them to engage in the realisation of such an exhibition. This convincing work is both directed towards organisations that administer spaces for possible exhibitions, as other people and organisation that could assist with resources of other kinds, money or artistic work for example.

Rhetorical skills are closely related to negotiation skills. The work to convince potential partners requires descriptions of the envisioned project and exhibition in a number of ways that takes the aims and perspectives of the potential partner(s) in consideration.

Exhibition concept

Strong or high quality exhibition idea or concept
It seems that what is most important for the willingness of approached potential contributors to an exhibition project primarily focus on the exhibition concept presented. If they are attracted by the idea, for whatever reason, they are more likely to amount the engagement and the will to participate in its realisation. Other factors, such as other contributing parties, and financial and other resources etc., also play a part, but it is the exhibition idea or concept that is central to the offer they are presented with.

Flexible exhibition concept
The goals become more elaborated and develop over time. When work in order to enable realisation of the exhibition starts, there is seldom a clearly defined exhibition concept. Instead, the ideas may rather become clearer in co-operation with other contributors to the project, who are able to assist with other types of resources, and who engage in the realisation of the exhibition. This demands of the exhibition concept that it is not too tightly conceptualised, or planned in minute detail. Instead, a flexible concept is needed, so that changed conditions and restrictions during the work with the exhibition do not bring the project down.

Ideas are seldom completely clear when work on an exhibition starts. Ideas need time to develop, and also need some concrete measures and spaces and contexts with which to react, in order to be able to be realised. This is because each space has its own character and architecture, its own light, its own history and, perhaps most importantly, a specific cultural rank. All these factors influence the end result and all the decisions and choices concerning elements and form and positions that shape the final, materialised exhibition.

The more abstract and general a formulation in an exhibition idea or concept, the more flexible it is. By being formulated vaguely or abstract-

ly, the idea or concept can be specified at a later point in time in one direction or another. This helps the exhibition project to adapt to conditions posed by e.g. contributing parties or access to resources.

Delimitation
Practical exhibition production seems to start with delimitation. This delimitation is aimed at making the exhibition theme or idea realisable. In order to translate an abstract or a multifaceted idea or line of thoughts or even questions into a concrete exhibitions, these ideas or thoughts need to be translated into (more) concrete entities. The dual character of the exhibition creates a tension between the freedom of the abstract and the mental, and the (often) more restricted or conditioned supply of possible materialisations of these abstract elements. Also, the different parts involved in a project may set restrictions on either the mental content of exhibitions, and/or its material interpretations or *gestaltung*.

Enablers

Intellectually stimulating environments
The connection to educational institutions seems to stimulate the development of exhibition ideas and exhibition work. But is this necessary for the realisation of exhibitions? It is through experience of exhibitions, by consuming and/or working with exhibitions, that ideas of new exhibitions are born. But it seems academic environments, where practitioners can engage in a reflective questioning of conditions and situations, are important as enabling spaces for the generation and development of exhibition ideas and concepts. It seems academic environments also offer work opportunities, which in turn can further the development of exhibition projects by securing the private economy of the (prospective) curator.

Institutional backup in contacts with potential contributors
Institutional backup means that it is crucial for the individual curator

to be able to be associated with an institution which is known by the potential contributor to an exhibition, so as to guarantee the quality of, or hallmark, the individual, which may not be known to the organisation for example that is approach with a demand for participation or contribution in terms of funding, space or other resources.

On the side of institutions, such as museums or *kunsthallen*, which host an exhibition project, it is important that the exhibition is realisable, when they start working on it. This is because they have an exhibition programme, and the space they possess is to be utilised in a way that satisfies the aims of the organisation and its trustees (including the public). If there would suddenly be a period in time when the institution would fail to present an exhibition as planned, would be fatal to the institution, and question the professionalism of its staff. As we have seen in one of the cases, delay of a planned exhibition that runs the risk of not being finished in time, is a solution for a complete exhibition programme.

For the three English autonomous curators, it was very specific and individual conditions and contexts that gave rise to the questions and thoughts underlying the exhibition concepts, and they personally developed these thoughts, however with the help of staff at the venues with whom they collaborated. In the English cases, the curator was responsible for the exhibition from concept development to final realisation, controlling decisions on a much more detailed level than in the other three cases. The personal touch thus was central in the exhibitions developed by individual, free-lance curators.

In the larger projects, a larger number of people were involved in developing and realising the exhibition concepts, and the people often changed at different stages of the project, so that the people who had developed the concept of the exhibitions were not contributing to the realisation of the exhibitions themselves.

But the institutions played a very important part even in the English cas-

es as regards realisation.[7] Not only support from art venues or museums is important. Also intellectual backup in the form of university connections, seems to have been important for the three free-lancer curators. However, the co-operating venue(s) also put restraints on the curator's original ideas on how to realise the exhibition. For example Russell Roberts was not allowed to hang the exhibition as he would have wished, and his title for the exhibition was not approved as it originally read. The concern for the visitors' understanding limited the curator's ideas of how to execute the exhibition. Here again, the vicarious thinking necessary or at least practiced in institutions is discernible.

Voluntary participation by independent contributors
The basis for the realisation of an exhibition project is voluntariness. Exhibition enterprising is enterprising undertaken largely as co-operation between a number of people and organisations on a voluntary basis. Skilled professionals with highly personal aesthetic styles and domains of work, and similar organisations are to agree to contribute to the individual exhibition in order to realise it according to the ideas of the exhibition curator or curatorial team.

The specific configuration of co-operating parties in the individual project is hardly repeated again, but the contact made among some of the engaged parties may lead to further co-operation. But the basis for action is another than that of action in one formal organisation, since the action and resources cannot be demanded by reference to managerial position or higher level orders.

An exhibition project is thus something that is the basis for co-operation, where different parties contribute to the realisation of a particular exhibition through an exhibition enterprise. None of the studies exhibitions were made entirely with resources within one organisation. On the contrary, all the cases are clear examples of the complex organisation that exhibition realisation entails. Works or artefacts as well as skills need to be drawn from different directions, and in this sense the project organisation as a temporary organisation holds true.

Different professional groups engage in exhibition projects. These perceive the task of exhibition production and exhibitions as communicative entities differently. These differences seem to relate partly to the professional training and experience of these individuals, but also to the personal view on how to communicate and on exhibitions as communicative media.

Enthusiasm is important in the realisation of exhibition projects, since realisation (or parts of it) relies on the voluntary participation of aesthetic professionals or venues that are deemed important for the theme or concept of the exhibition. The source of persuasion lies in the idea itself and the personal engagement of the initiator(s). The strength of arguments is based in the person or persons who have developed the concept, since negotiation needs intimate knowledge of the dynamics of the exhibition concept. Only someone with profound knowledge of the theme of an exhibition concept can judge and elaborate a theme in negotiations with potential contributors, to adapt to or discuss their possible suggestions.

Resources

Exhibition space
As exhibitions are three-dimensional media, they require exhibition space in order to be materialised. There are no limits, however, as to what type of space an exhibition needs. This often is a result of both the exhibition concept and available spaces.

Funding
As a middleman for all kinds of resources, money is a cornerstone for the realisation of exhibitions. Exhibitions may but are seldom realised without funding of some sort. The funding is often provided through grants given by various public art or culturally oriented grant giving bodies or authorities. Sponsorship either in the form of money or barter

agreements (the latter not strictly funding but resource providing) is another source of funding for exhibition projects. Incomes through ticket sales and similar are important income for exhibition funding, occurring at a late stage of an exhibition enterprise, i.e. when the exhibition is already realised. Nevertheless, the proceeds from entrance fees may play an important role in the total funding of an exhibition.

Time
Ideas are seldom completely clear when work on an exhibition starts. Ideas need time to develop, and also need some concrete measures and spaces and contexts with which to react, in order to be able to be realised. This is because each space has its own character and architecture, its own light, its own history and, perhaps most importantly, a specific cultural rank. All these factors influence the end result and all the decisions and choices concerning elements and form and positions that shape the final, materialised exhibition.

From the cases we learn that the time that exhibition concepts need to develop, is not included in the realisation phase of an exhibition enterprise. The outline for an exhibition needs to be elaborated in order for work with the realisation can start. It is also a matter of controlling costs in an exhibition project to put clear conditions on the responsibility of the curator. Thus cost-consuming work involving e.g. technical staff at a venue or a museum is restricted to execution of defined tasks. If an exhibition project from the point of view of the museum or venue coordinator is not expected to be realised in a given amount of time, due to uncertainties of any sort, the opening date of the exhibition may be postponed. This is done to ensure maximum use of exhibition spaces during the working year of the venue.

The ambiguous impact of experience

The impact of experience on exhibition production is contradictory, if we are to draw conclusions from the case studies. We might assume that

a larger level of experience would help make qualitatively better exhibitions. But this is not what the experience from the cases tell us. According to the cases, people without experience from exhibition production may produce exhibitions that are high in quality, and novel in terms of composition and address. It also seems that to a certain extent, experience limits the number of possible forms that the contributors consider possible for the exhibition. As I have pointed out in the chapter on the exhibition as an aesthetic entity, we have to acknowledge the impossibility to foresee the end result, and hence the quality of the end result, when the process starts, and the aesthetic quality of the end result is not related to the level or amount of resources involved, personal and other.

When discussing the question of the impact of experience of exhibition production we need to be careful with what we measure when we study the impact. We can without doubt say that experience from exhibition production gives the individual understanding of a what type of contacts or type of artefact might be easier to get hold of than others. But what has been shown in the cases is that there is now way of saying if the efforts put on convincing possible external contributors to an exhibition project will bear any fruit. In the case of Collected, for example, contacts and an agreements were slowly made over a period of time, and thus enabled the realisation of the exhibition in at least somewhat the original ideas. In the case of Framtidstro, on the other hand, the continuous efforts to find sponsors failed, and also some co-operating partners that the managerial group had expected to join the project, did not choose to participate, at least not to the extent hoped for.

Each exhibition is unique, but at art venues and museums, the staff accumulates experience of exhibition production on a level that is not possible except for very experienced free-lance curators. Is experience then destroying the strive for originality? Given the small number of cases in this study, it is hard to draw any general conclusions, but perhaps the originality and the energy to fight for what is perceived as not appropriate in museums and art venues is lessened if the curator takes on a po-

sition in an institution, and has to take the institutional demands into consideration. But there might also be a chance that a free-lance curator may encounter more openness after having worked with a very specific or challenging way of realising exhibitions, if she is recognised as skilled in her work.

THE EXHIBITION REALISATION PROCESS

Finally, we will have briefly look at the exhibition realisation process. The aim of this small outline is not to compete with other existing models, but just to give the reader a short sense of how we can more abstractly describe the different phases in an exhibition project.

The whole process normally lasts for a few years from idea generation to the opening of the exhibition. Small exhibitions usually do not take that long to realise. I have chosen to divide the exhibition realisation project into three rather crude stages:

1.   development of exhibition idea or concept
2.   search for co-operating partners enabling realisation
3.   realisation

Stage 1, 2 and 3 are not consecutive, but stage 1 continues alongside stage 2 and stage3, and stage 2 often continues also during stage 3.

Stage 1: development of exhibition idea or concept
Stage one is the most immaterial phase of an exhibition project. This is the stage when the mental or idea outline of the exhibition is first formed and elaborated. Essential in this stage is a chain of thoughts or a set of questions, which encompass the exhibition as a concept. The written-down exhibition concept is an important outcome of this stage, since the concept, in a crude or a more elaborated form, is the basis for communication with potential contributors to and enablers of the realisation of the envisioned exhibition.

Stage 2: search for co-operating partners enabling realisation
This includes a number of various types of contributors, from lenders of artefacts, to artists or similar creative professionals, to funders and venues where the exhibition can be shown.

Stage 3: realisation
This phase involves continued negotiation with contributing parties concerning issues that cannot be foreseen, and concerning details of realisation. The realisation phase includes a constant review and refinement of the exhibition concept. The exhibition concept may have to be changed due to difficulties to realise the concept in its original or earlier form, e.g. if certain elements cannot be accessed.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have identified some considerations that exhibition management, or more generally aesthetic management, departs from or needs to comprise. We have further learnt that aesthetic management or exhibition management implies the balancing of a number of interests that are often conflicting. The realisation of an exhibition is undertaken with regard to both the visions and ideas of the initiator or curator, but also to other contributing parties, whose engagement is vital for the realisation of the envisioned exhibition.

Thirdly, we have discovered thirteen factors or aspects of exhibition management that seem central for successful exhibition enterprises (defined as resulting in a realised exhibition). These factors have been derived from the six cases studied and presented earlier in the book. These central factors can be found in the exhibition enterprises studied, but do not promise the success of future exhibition projects and enterprises. The reason for this, the nature of aesthetic enterprises as high risk projects, the result of which can never be foreseen.

Having recognised some factors central to aesthetic project management,

as we can describe exhibition management, we will in the next chapter look at how business studies defines project management, and if we can compare our findings with how projects are described in project management research within business studies.

Footnotes

[1] Cf. eg. Hellgren & Stjernberg's list of actors in project networks. Hellgren & Stjernberg 1995.

[2] Cf. e.g. Björkman & Lindqvist 1999.

[3] McCain 1981.

[4] The Swedish notion *gestaltning* has no direct English equivalent. The verb *att gestalta* means to give form to an idea. The German notion *Gestaltung* used here is well-known, and has approximately the same meaning as the Swedish word, but has more material connotations.

[5] Soila-Wadman writes about the aesthetics of capitulation in the management of film shooting situations. According to her, it is important for a director to allow for the capabilities of other contributors in film shooting situations, because the end result depends on optimal simultaneous participation by many individuals in each aspect of the production of a film. Soila-Wadman 2003.

[6] Wennes writes about paradoxes in the management of art organisations, between economic and artistic reasoning, between freedom and institutionalisation, between tradition and innovation, etc. The focus in Wennes's dissertation is on management within institutional, i.e. formal organisational frames. Unfortunately a title like *The Beauty and the Beast* (English translation of the Norwegian dissertation title) may evoke an understanding of artistic activities as not containing economic aspects, or of the economic aspects of art enterprises as being a destructive force rather than a neutral fact. Cf. Wennes 2002.

[7] Chiapello 1994.

[8] Thus the observation that institutional critique is dependent on the very same institutions, in the shape of public art venues or museum, for its public address, as Krauss and others have noted, holds true also in these cases. Cf. Krauss 1999.

11 CONTRIBUTION TO
BUSINESS STUDIES RESEARCH

Having explored what characterises aesthetic enterprises or projects, and factors central for the management of such enterprises or projects, we will now turn to the question of how this dissertation can further both future exhibition enterprising and scholarly understanding of such ventures.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, this book serves to broaden the understanding of exhibitions both as a unique and as a recurring type of enterprise, where the unique aspects are central, but hardly become realised without the help of rules-of-thumb developed by people engaging in projects recurrently. For future exhibition enterprisers, then, the book offers as a collection of examples of actual exhibition enterprises, and a number of factors important in the management of exhibition enterprises, that may function as a frame of reference for future undertakings.

When it comes to contribution to a scholarly discussion on enterprising within business studies, I have chosen to focus on project management research. Having, as some cultural economists,[1] judged the appropriateness of theories by their ability to render the perceived characteristics of a social phenomenon, many areas of research within business studies seemed inappropriate for my specific interest.[2]

Having conducted readings in the area of general project management research, I discerned some aspects and assumptions that underlie this area of research, that seem to be at odds with the project management that I have encountered in my empirical studies. These aspects and assumptions will be criticised in this chapter, where I propose some outlines for aesthetic project management. Together with the conclusions in

the previous chapter, that aesthetic management is situated and entails the balancing of a number of considerations and interests, the critique of general project management theory, are the main contributions of this book to business studies research.

Projects and enterprises defined

In this book, I have referred to the realisation of exhibitions as exhibition enterprises. The term enterprise is closely related to the notion of a project. Projects can be defined as plans or schemes,[3] drafts, suggestions or ideas for a method to achieve a certain (larger) result, but also as action emerging from imagined future states of the world.[4] In other words, projects are visions, sometimes leading to material and visible effects in the form of action. The terms project and enterprise both suggest some sort of risk or uncertainty as regards the possibility and outcome of the action triggered by a conception or image. Both terms also refer to courses of action oriented towards realisation of some kind. Something that extends in time, and may not have been not done before. The project can be described as relating more to a mental image or vision, and the enterprise as relating more to the undertaking and action involved in the efforts to realise this vision. In this way, the enterprise can be said to be that machinery which is put into play for this attempt at realisation, and includes such resources that are needed for whatever is pursued.[5] The project then, can be said to forego the enterprise, but the enterprise entails the project.

Projects as defined by project management research

An area within business studies research that tries to handle the question of unconventional ways of performing a task in organisations is project management research. According to most project management literature, a project is defined as "a given plannable and unique task, limited in time, complex in its implementation and subject to evaluation." [6]

Central factors for the project mode of organising is an evaluable, specific aim, a time limit or deadline, that a specific or special team and specific or special resources are needed for realisation, and that some sort of transformation occurs, creating a different state of affairs when the project is realised compared to before its initiation.[7] Lundin defines projects as temporary organisations.[8]

The project mode of organising is generally connected to an impossibility to solve problems or perform a task with existing routines within an organisation. The uniqueness of the task is therefore stressed, and the project form of organising is the mode of solving this type of task within an organisation. Projects are therefore also seen as exceptions to "normal" organising, defined as routine procedures.[9]

A few writers on project management, such as Porsander, clearly separate the project as ideas or visions from the project mode of organising work.[10] Porsander differentiates between projects as ideas, and temporary organisations created in order to administrate the realisation of a project idea. She defines the project as the idea core of the whole action related to the temporary organisation that is established to manage the realisation of this idea.[11]

If the traditional meaning of the word project is that of plan, vision, scheme, or idea, how come we have ended up with the understanding of projects as modes of organising or as a specific type of organisation in business studies research?

OUTLINES OF AESTHETIC PROJECT MANAGEMENT

When we compare the characteristics of aesthetic work and the notion of projects, we find that they have certain similarities. Both centre around an element of uniqueness. The elements of unpredictability and uniqueness are central in project management.

Exhibition production and much of artistic work seem to be undertaken in project form, where projects are succeeding each other, or even taking place simultaneously. Does the theory of projects as something non-normal, non-ordinary work correspond to what we have experienced in the field of cultural production? When we look at the assumptions of the contexts in which projects are undertaken, we can see that they do not resemble these contexts by far. What happens to the basic assumptions of project management theory if we find a field where projects are the *ordinary* form of organising? What is not addressed in general project management? What aspects of the exhibition projects and enterprises encountered in the case studies do not fit into contemporary general project management theories? What occurrences do we find in contemporary cases of exhibition realisation, that cannot be satisfactorily answered by theories of project management today? What questions and observations should form the basis for project management within the aesthetic domain?

Projects the normal mode of working
The general definition of a project within project management research is the execution of a unique task under a certain limited period. Within museums and art venues, however exhibitions are a recurring task. Here then the unique task, the project, is normal procedure. How are we to explain this paradox? We can try to identify which parts of an exhibition that are recurring, and which not.

Exhibition enterprising can be both a unique project for parties involved in the realisation of an exhibition. But the individual exhibition may on the other hand as well be only on in a number of exhibitions produced subsequently. So the individual exhibition enterprise may be a unique project, but it may as well be one in a number of subsequent projects, and thus be a routine or recurring activity.

Ekstedt et al. define projects as forms of organising for renewal of some sort. This perspective on projects however only makes sense in an environment where routinised operations are considered norm. In the context of

exhibition production, projects are the normal way of organising, simply because work in general deals with creating something new. There are no or few routinised tasks in aesthetic or cultural production. There are routinised tasks in institutions such as museums and art venues, but these tasks are linked to the public commission that these organisations have, and are often linked to the permanent character of the organisation, and the conditions for receiving public grants. Aesthetic production in itself is not routinised. The reason for this has been discussed in connection to the section on artistic and scholarly ways of working.

No parent organisation
Firstly, the organisation within which the project or temporary organisation is to be launched, does seldom exist.[12] Rather, there are individual professionals pursuing their own careers as free-lancers. Only within the museum or art organsations do we find a context similar to that indicated by project management literature. Nevertheless, in these organisations, the projects are not the exemptions to ordinary work, but at the very core of the ordinary work of these organisations.

Idea driven projects
Secondly, the initially defined task or goal and time frame do not exist. This is because the ideas (apart from clearly defined objectives for exhibitions within museum or art organisations) have often not been commissioned, but have developed autonomously, whether within or outside institutional domains.

Resources are not given
The importance of access to resources is not addressed in contemporary project management research. Perhaps this is because projects are assumedly undertaken within existing organisations. The question of access to resources is quite different if a project is undertaken outside a going concern, compared to if it is undertaken inside a permanent[13] organisation. This is obvious when we analyse the conditions for the curators in our six case studies. Not even projects within an organisation can be assumed to have the question of resources solved before the start of a

project, as is clear in the case of Vita rockar.

The impact of personal style

Some early decisions often have important effects on the end result in terms of style. Since the art and museum worlds are rather small systems, the choice of persons with which to work is important.[14] And since each artist and even curator has her own style (conscious and unconscious), the choice (and acceptance) of persons to include in an exhibition as commissioned artists, curators or co-curators or similar, brings their particular styles to the end result. The choice of persons and institutions with which to work, is very important for the end product, even though the end result at the stage of choice of collaborators is not yet known.

Motivation of external partners primary concern

Most project management literature stresses the importance of internal motivation, i.e. motivation within the project team. But most of the problems in our project cases seem to have been not with organisation-internal motivation, but with motivation of potential partaking external organisations.

In the case of Framtidstro, the concern for motivation of the contributors to the decided theme is much more stated than in the other projects where the active work of creative professionals play an important part in the creation of the exhibition. In these projects, motivation is not discussed with reference to team members towards the predefined theme of the exhibition, but instead with reference to how the contributing creative professionals and organisations can be tempted and attracted to participate in the project.

The point of departure when motivation of team members is discussed in project management literature is that the team members are already included in the project organisation. In our exhibition cases, motivation is focussed on how to make autonomous actors in the form of interesting persons and organisations, to become motivated to work with the particular exhibition.[15]

Slow starts: the task becomes clearer underway
If we define projects as project management handbooks do, we would only recognise the projects in the cases from the point where the *kunsthalle* or museum goes in with their staff to realise the exhibition according to the concept developed by the curator. The process of developing the concept would not be recognised as part of the project. This is because the definition of most project management books assume a clear task, handed to the project organisation from outside, for solution or execution. But when we try to recapitulate a process from a later point in time, find out that it is often very difficult to say exactly when it all began. This in turn is because the realisation in the form of an exhibition of a line of thoughts may not even be thought of at the start of such a process.

In all of the externally curated cases (the British cases), the exhibitions were developed over a longer period of time, and seemed to be crude when presented for representatives of possible enablers at art venues and museums. Through discussions with the curators of the institutions, the external curators were able to elaborate their concepts into a shape that was more concrete and realisable. Thus, project management theories cannot help us understand the processes that exhibition projects are made up of, only the phase of execution, and only at an organisational level. We understand exhibition project better if we assume the older meaning of the term project, as that of ideas, plans, sketches.

New ventures do not have organisational origins
Ekstedt claim that projects generally emanate from permanent organisations, and that the new type of knowledge firms are established as off-shoots of already existing industrial companies.[16] However, this does not seem to be the case in aesthetic production. In the case of artists and other similar aesthetic professions, individuals often establish themselves as self-employed after a formal degree within their domain. The individuals then work in projects with other self-employed people, and raise money for a project jointly. Or they are commissioned by an institution or similar to contribute to a project.

**Aesthetic entrepreneurship results in new projects,
not new organisations**

In entrepreneurship research, new ventures are often assumed to grow after their initiation and establishment, resulting in new organisation. But in the field of aesthetic production, most people work as self-employed, and institutions function as a more long-term platform on which to display the results of work in different forms. A new venture does not then result in a new organisation that continues to exist on a going concern principle. Instead the professionals embark on new projects and enterprises, making use of won experiences and new or old networks and connections within an existing array of institutions and venues. Artist run spaces and similar are also established, but the scarcity of funding in this field often encourages collective ventures.

Summary

If we are to summarise the characteristics of use of project forms within artistic and cultural or aesthetic production, we note firstly that projects are the normal way of organising. The project form is combined with resources linked to organisations who handle certain routine aspects connected to this field, such as exhibition space or funding. Thus, project tasks are part of the everyday work within such organisations.

Experience of different projects is important for skilled contributors to projects within the cultural, or artistic, or aesthetic, field, but it seems that many interesting projects get realised without such experience. But on the other hand, experience of projects is considered important. It seems experience of project management becomes important if the potential contributor is not contributing with special skills (such as exhibition concept in the case of curators, or style in the case of artists).

Secondly, projects seldom have a specific starting date, but often a more stressed end date, and more importantly, an opening date for the exhibition. Projects in this field seem to take a long time to develop, and there-

fore the beginning is more difficult to pinpoint than the end date of the project. Opening dates seem to be changeable at an earlier, more immaterial phase of the project, where costs are not yet depending on delays in realisation etc.

A dividing line between tasks undertaken in project form and ordinary form is, according to project management researchers and researchers of organisational learning, the possibility to use existing knowledge and skills within the (mother) organisation.[17]

There is then a need for a description of the outlines of project management of the aesthetic or cultural field, which in several respects differs from the assumptions of industrially based project management theories.

Future research

I have in this book given examples of how exhibition enterprises have been undertaken in the past and in the present. I have also pointed to factors and considerations important in the management of such enterprises. Furthermore, I have pointed out some weaknesses in existing general theories of project management within business studies. My explorations of exhibition realisation practices has also resulted in the discovery of areas or questions relating to exhibition realisation that have not been approached by scholars. Some such areas and questions I will list in this concluding section of the book.

Given the critique of general project management theories, and the lack of empirically oriented research on aesthetic enterprising in general and exhibition realisation in particular, there is much to explore in these areas. Some areas of interest that have been touched upon in this dissertation, but in no way have been granted any deeper reflection, are those of the notion of curatorship, the effects of sponsorship, and art management as a future area of research.

Contemporary curatorial strategies

The ambiguous notion and position of the curator would be interesting to read more about. What does for example the title curator imply today? Is it a position, a work-related description, an educational degree? There are easy analogies to be made with the notion and position of the producer and project manager. And what is the difference in scope between exhibition production and curatorship?[18]

Would an artist, employed as a museum curator, change her approach to and way of realising exhibitions? This is a difficult question to answer, since few artists are employed as museum curators. Does one become more traditional in one's approach to exhibition realisation in an institution? Do curators employed by museums or kunsthallen stop trying to reinvent the exhibition form? Would this lacking lust for experiments and innovation be due to concern for the public, since the public is to be able to grasp the contents of an exhibition and not be confused by unconventional design? Does experience of exhibition realisation influence the interest to experiment with exhibition form and outline?

Are there different ways of realising exhibitions, was one of the research questions that was never explored in this book. This question can be further explored, for example by investigating the three professional groups engaging in curatorial work. Such a study may offer interesting insights into the practice of curating, especially since the three types of curators I identified as the main professional groups engaged in exhibition realisation enterprises, museum curators, academic free-lance curators, and artists, seem to have rather differing ideas of what an exhibition should and could be.

The effect of sponsorship as a source of funding for exhibitions

The financing of cultural or artistic production has historically been generated out of a surplus from business or taxes that has financed art, by competent and status conscious patrons. The problem with approaching companies for sponsorship, at least in Sweden, is the legal and tax regulations stating sponsorship contracts to be made on business lines.

This forces the cultural organisation to play on the company's half of the field. When leaving the funding of cultural project to business sponsorship, the logic of effectiveness and the judgement of cultural aspects are giving the financiers an overweight, to the advantage of short-term, visible project, and discrediting long-term activities.

There are a number of European studies on the funding, and in latter years particularly sponsoring, of exhibition projects, and more generally of cultural activities.[19] These often depart from specific, contemporary or historical, cases.[20] It is, however, mostly art exhibitions and museums that have been the objects for this type of study, and not other types of exhibitions.[21] More studies of the economy of projects, and the way resources from different types of funding bodies (public and private), impact on the realisation of specific projects, would benefit research in this area.

Art management
More research within business studies on individual exhibition or art enterprises should be made.[22] Many studies or handbooks take an institution of some sort as their point of departure.[23] More descriptions and analyses of the management of aesthetic or art action and activities in themselves would broaden the field of business studies, and contribute to a bridging between historical disciplines such as history of art or theatre, and business studies. Increased interaction between the art sphere and business life would also demand much more negotiation skills from art administrators or art entrepreneurs, and more aesthetic sensitivity from business managers.[24] Perhaps research on art enterprises and management may even increase the amount of interaction between the art and business worlds, and such a possibility alone I would consider enough for invitations to further studies in this area.

Exhibition enterprise failures
It is difficult to find unrealised exhibition projects, but these probably by far outnumber the amount of realised exhibitions. In this book, I have pointed to some factors that seem central to successful exhibition reali-

sation in terms of the exhibition projects actually being realised. A study of exhibition realisation failures, in terms of exhibition projects that have not been realised, could be a future domain of research. A point of departure for such research could then be if any of the thirteen factors recognised as important for the realisation of exhibitions, were missing. It is also a possible that the list of factors and their impact could be elaborated and developed.

The impact of experience on exhibition enterprising
As was pointed out in Chapter 10, the question of whether experience or inexperience leads to better exhibition enterprising, remains open. Especially if we by better mean more interesting in terms of furthering the discourse formed by realised exhibitions. The empirical material of this study does not point in any particular direction as regards the question if experience of realising exhibitions tend to make the exhibition curator less prone to form and content experiments. There is some evidence in the six case studies included in this study that point in this direction, but since the aim of the dissertation is not to give any general answers, this is a question to be studied in greater detail.

Footnotes

[1] Mossetto 1993, Klamer 1996.

[2] For example, organisation studies focuses on action within given formal organisational frames, and not on specific projects or enterprises undertaken simultaneously within and outside formal organisations.
Entrepreneurship research broadened my understanding of the drives and considerations of aesthetic enterprising. Many analogies can for example be made between the enterprising in the six case studies of this book and the descriptions of entrepreneurs and managers by entrepreneurship researchers. Cf. e.g. Schumpeter 1912, Schumpeter 1947, Hjorth & Johannisson 1998, Sarasvathy 2001, Hjorth et al. 2003. I nevertheless chose to leave the discussion with entrepreneurship research to a future publication.

[3] *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 1995, Noreen & Warberg 1944, *Nationalencyklopedins ordbok*, 1996.

[4] Sartre 1943, Christensen & Kreiner 1991.

[5] Danielsson 1975, Guillet de Monthoux 1978.

[6] Packendorff 1995: 320. Cf. e.g. Nickson & Siddons 1997 for the hand-book type of project management book. Engwall 1995 lists several of the characteristics of projects as defined by project management consultants Cf. also Lundin & Söderholm 1995, Packendorff 1995, Lundin 1998.

[7] Lundin 1998: 197, Lundin & Söderholm 1995: 438ff.

[8] Lundin 1998.

[9] Packendorff 1995, Lundin & Söderholm 1995, Sahlin 1997, Dobers & Söderholm 2000. Many researchers mean that projects are becoming more and more prominent in the organisation of work in companies and organisations, in order to cope with a more and more unpredictable environment and future. Christensen & Kreiner 1991, Lash & Urry 1994, Midler 1995, Engwall 1995, Castells 1996. Blomberg points to a few central myths related to projects, that are contradicted by empirical studies. Blomberg 1998.

[10] Porsander 2000.

[11] Porsander 2000: 98, 144ff.

[12] Whereas project management researchers seem all to assume that projects are initiated within or at least with reference to existing long-term organisations, Porsander in her study of Stockholm Cultural Capital of Europe 1998, could find no organisation that had materialised to handle a recurring

realisation of a Cultural Capital of Europe. Rather, the notion of the Cultural Capital was to be reinvented and reinterpreted by each new town that received the privilege, whereas the organising forms (as well as interpretations) of earlier towns and years could be studied and learnt from. Porsander 2000.

[13] From a historical perspective, organisations are of course not permanent. A few organisations have survived for several centuries, but most organisations have much shorter life-spans.

[14] As proposed by Lash & Urry 1994.

[15] Cf. Guillet de Monthoux (1978) for a discussion on motivational factors among on one hand project initiators and developers, and on the other hand people employed to be part of a project machine.

[16] Ekstedt et al. 1999: 25.

[17] March 1991.

[18] There are even franchising strategies of entire museums; as in the case of the Guggenheim as prominent example. Hoffmann 1999.

[19] E.g. Alexander 1996, Herger 1996, Martorella 1996, Fehring 1998, Neuhaus 1998, Bendixen & Laaser 2000, Wu 2002.

[20] E.g. Braun & Braun 1993, Ammann 1995, Schloßstein 1996, Hermsen 1997.

[21] E.g. Mainardi 1993, Bätschmann 1997.

[22] The conferences held and journal on arts and cultural management published by the Association Internationale pour le Management des Arts et de la Culture (International Association for the Management of Arts & Culture), AIMAC, offer an insight into research in this are worldwide. The European Centre for Art and Management (ECAM) research team at the School of Business, Stockholm University, study individual enterprises and organisations engaged in artistic and aesthetic production.

[23] Cf. e.g. Clancy 1997, Fopp 1997, Selbach 2000. Cultural economists also do this type of studies. E.g. Frey & Pommerehne 1989, Heilbrun & Gray 1993, Grampp 1996, Santagata 1998.

[24] Cf. e.g. Rauhe & Demmer 1994, Hoffmann 2001.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: BACKGROUND
AND WORK PROCESS

BACKGROUND

During my studies in art history and business administration at undergraduate level, I developed an interest in art work, i.e. the question of how artists work and what artistic work is about. I became interested in the economic and social drama that unveils behind, or should one say before, the art work itself. That which influences the appearance of the artwork, and yet does not. In business studies, I have had the chance to investigate the artist as enterpriser, and what drives her or him in her or his work. During work with a museum studies course at Stockholm University in 1996, I became interested in the question of to what extent realised exhibitions were similar to what had originally been envisioned or planned.

These three interests I brought with me to the work on a doctoral dissertation on exhibitions at the School of Business, Stockholm University. I was also inspired in my work by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bergson, who described existence as duration, Danielsson, who defines an enterprise as the transformation of resources, and Guillet de Monthoux, who sees the enterprise both as practiced critique and as projects, and projects in turn as exciting uncertainty (as does Hylinger).[1]

At the outset my approach to the practice of exhibition realisation was very open. The overall aim was to investigate and try to understand the process of exhibition realisation, and what factors are important and/or recurring in the management of such enterprises. My knowledge of the field and practice has increased along with my explorations, and the research questions have become more elaborated. I wanted to find out what influenced the outcome of an exhibition project. I did not depart

from clearly defined hypotheses concerning processes and management of exhibition realisation, but rather wanted to look at a number of cases and see to what extent there are similarities and differences among individual cases.

Doing studies of enterprising, whether it be exhibition realisation or something else, means stepping into a sea of aspects, visions, wills, and politics. Vergo has pointed to some such factors in his writings, but nevertheless calls for more studies of these delicate matters.

> To examine how, and why, exhibitions are made means taking a magnifying glass to any number of sensitive, often problematic, sometimes fraught relationships: between the institution and its Trustees, its paymasters and sponsors; between the museum (or gallery) and its public; between the public and the objects on display; between conservation staff and curators on the one hand, and imported … makers of exhibitions … on the other; between the avowed or unspoken policies of the institution, and the ambitions and enthusiasms of the individual scholar or curator or designer.[2]

The general questions from which the work with the dissertation started were the following:

- What kind of enterprising is exhibition realisation?
- Where does it take place?
- What kinds of people are engaged in it?
- Are there different ways of realising exhibitions? [3]

As in other areas of life, we learn from experience in the form of stories.[4] The understanding of the realisation processes inherent in an exhibition enterprise needs close investigation. Only case studies, I felt, would provide enough detail needed to understand the intricacy of relations and give a rich enough description of the processes through which exhibitions manage to be realised. I also wanted to render an experience of the complexity and time consumed in the development and realisation of exhibitions.

Six case studies is large number for a dissertation. I felt that just one or two cases would not provide enough material for an understanding of different strategies and ways of realising exhibitions. On the other hand, a statistical approach was not relevant, since I wanted to get detailed information. The final number of exhibitions, six, was a result of a judgement I madewhen I had the six cases enclosed in this book. At that point I felt that this was enough material for rather a thorough investigation of similarities and differences, and it was also the number of cases that I felt that I could possibly handle within the frames of a doctoral dissertation.

CHOICE OF CASES

The cases of exhibition enterprising presented in this book have not been chosen in accordance to any pre-formulated plan. The reason is that I did not have experience of exhibition practices when starting work with the dissertation, and therefore I could not have any more elaborated idea of possible different types of exhibition realisation projects to cover. My level of knowledge of the field has grown with time, but all cases were chosen according to accessibility and personal introduction rather than to any model. In fact, there are no models of modes of organising exhibitions, so it is difficult to know accoring to which parameters one might choose case studies.

I set out to choose cases from exhibitions or exhibition venues that were somehow different. Different from the traditional exhibition, i.e. artefacts or works hung in any number of rooms inside a museum or art venue. I didn't have any previous knowledge of the practical organisation and realisation of exhibitions.

The choice would then be by organisational form of the hosting organisation. In fact this criterion I used when deciding to include the Expo.02 project as a case. The two Swedish cases I chose to include because they

were in some aspects different from what we would call normal or traditional exhibitions. Without neglecting the fact that all exhibitions are in one sense unique, I wanted to start with a study of a non-art exhibition where artists were included in the process of production. I wanted to see how artists influenced the work process of an exhibition. I wanted to follow work with a different type of exhibition than those I had seen so often at the large museums in Stockholm. Hence the first case study was an exhibition at the Museum of Work. The second Swedish case study, Framtidstro, was an unusual form of co-operation among a large number of museums in Sweden, the regional museums. I was afforded an opportunity to do research on the management and economy of the co-ordinating project office and three participating museums.

Exhibition projects often stretch over a number of years, and if the cases had been studied from start to end, I probably would have included only one or two cases. The information lost due to the impossibility of following all projects as they developed is I hope compensated by the gained information about a larger number of projects studied, some of which were explored in retrospect.

My initial interest in the choice of cases was that there was to be a certain level of artistic participation. This is due to my interest in artistic enterprising, i.e. the ways in which artists work. All cases can therefore be described as having different types and varying levels of artistic contribution in the realisation of the exhibitions. My interest in artistic enterprising can also to a degree be discerned in the project accounts, since several of them have a focus on the contribution of artists in the project work.

The study first undertaken was that of Vita rockar at the Museum of Work in Norrköping, Sweden. I had learnt about the Museum of Work as a rather unconventional museum, both in terms of its history and in terms of its way of working. I also had also understood that they actively worked with artists in their exhibition productions, and I wanted to follow a production where artists were involved in the process from

an early date. I approached the museum in late 1996, and the museum agreed to let me partake in meetings and to do interviews with staff engaged in the Vita rockar project. I followed the project not from the very start, but from the point in time where funding was secured for the project, about a year from the first outlines of the project. I made an evaluation report of the project for the Museum of Work. This was finished in 1998, and concentrated on the opinions of the project n the part of the external parties.[5]

A museum curator in Stockholm in early 1997 recommended me to contact a British artist called Chris Dorsett, who had been doing exhibition projects in museums both in Sweden and the UK. Since I was going to spend three months reading in the library of the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester in summer 1997, this offered an opportunity to get a British case of an artist-curated exhibition, so I contacted Dorsett when I was in the UK. Dorsett at our first meeting told me about his earlier project in the Divers Memories series. He had at this point in time just made the first contacts with the people in Hong Kong with which he would eventually realise the next Divers memories exhibition. He agreed to let me study the Hong Kong Project. The study was based on interviews with Dorsett and on documents concerning the project after the project had been realised. Thus I did not follow this enterprise in progress, but only had access to it after its completion.

When I visited Chris Dorsett in Oxford, he took me to the Museum of Modern Art in to see an exhibition, which he thought I should see, given my research on exhibitions. When I saw the exhibition, Russell Roberts's In Visible Light, I thought it was the best photography exhibition I had ever seen. The reason was, in my opinion, the overwhelming strength of the photographs themselves, and the almost aggressive juxtapositions of crime and fiction photographs, and scientific documents.

The exhibition Collected I saw at the Photographers' Gallery in London, during my period as a visiting scholar at Leicester University. I used my spare time to travel around and try to see as many exhibitions and

museums as possible. Collected also exceeded my expectations of what an exhibition could be. It was both an art exhibition and an exhibition that stretched over all possible kinds of spaces where objects are amassed and displayed for visitors. And it contributed to the museological discussion of both collecting and display. It also bridged the distance between spaces for contemporary art, museums and consumer goods. Neil Cummings agreed to let me study the process of realising Collected. This exhibition project was then approached in retrospect, since the exhibition was already realised. The basis for my account of this project therefore is based on interviews with Cummings and staff at the Photographers' Gallery, and on documents concerning the project from Cummings's personal archive and the Photographers' Gallery.

All the English exhibitions commented on and investigated the museum institution. In this way, the three English exhibitions were comments on the museum as societal and physical space, and thus reflexive or meta museum exhibitions.

The Expo.02 project was suggested to be by a Swiss researcher in 1999, after I had talked to her about my research interests and my ongoing case studies. This project, the national Swiss exhibition first due to open in 2001, but later postponed to 2002, diverted from the other cases, since it was much larger in regard to its organisation, but at the same time more ephemeral. An organisation was established for the sole purpose of realising the national exhibition, to a certain extent bearing similarities with the European Cultural Capital projects being realised in different countries within the EU since the mid-1980s. The work with Expo.01 had started already in 1995, and the organisation itself was established in 1996. I contacted people at the *direction artistique*, by recommendation from the Swiss researcher, and was welcomed for a visit and interviews in spring 2000.

The Expo office generously gave me access to people and documents. Because of the physical distance, I spent one week at the Expo headquarters in May 2000, and in October 2002, when the exhibitions were

already soon to be demounted. I also read the Expo electronic news-letters, from spring 2000, and had access to earlier issues, beginning from the beginning of 1999. The Expo homepage was also, during the period I followed the project, 2000-2002, an important and growing source of information. In this case, I therefore got some experience of the process itself in its latter stages, but I had to get an understanding of but the earlier years by interviewing employees and consulting documents of different sorts, both first and second hand sources.

The Framtidstro case originated from a smaller study I did as part of a Swedish research project around different aspects of the Framtidstro exhibition project. The original study commenced in late 1999, and is reported in an article in an anthology on the Framtidstro project.[6] I decided to deepen and re-focus this study in order to make it one of case studies of my dissertation. A second study of this joint exhibition project was thus undertaken in spring 2001, with a focus on the overall develop-ment of the project. the original study had focussed on the economics of three exhibition projects developed at three partaking museums.

As can be noted, there is a time gap between the first four case studies and the latter two. Apart from the time gap there is also a difference in terms of size and scope, between the early cases and the late ones. The last two projects are larger and involve many more people and orga-nisations, and are actually joint exhibition productions, realised under a common theme and through a co-ordinating project office.

During work with the dissertation, I first rather unconsciously, and with time more consciously, sought for some additional cases to the first four, in order to deepen the understanding of different types of exhibition production. After finding and deciding to include the Expo.02 and Framtidstro projects, I felt I had enough cases for a thorough study. At this point, I felt I had both quite an array of different types of exhibitions and types of organisation modes, and at the same time as much empirical material as I could handle.

For me especially the Expo.02 case was interesting since it was a case of a giant ephemeral organisation and realisation project. In this sense it clearly differed from the other cases, which had all been realised within the confines of an established and assumed permanent institution. This made me interested in the case, as did the fact that the organisation had assigned one of the most well known conceptual artists of the 1990s, Pipilotti Rist as their (first) artistic director.

A common trait in all cases is that they comprise some form of artistic contribution. Aspects of artistic enterprising and artistic work in connection to exhibition work, has been underlying my work with and my interest in the thesis. Thus, the starting point for work with the dissertation may be described as interest in exhibition enterprising related to artist enterprising. This perspective also accounts for the focus in some of the cases, where the artistic work is usually presented as central in relation to other types of tasks related to the realisation of an exhibition idea. This focus of interest has influenced the presentation of the cases, and can be noted in a concentration on aesthetic and artistic actors where such are involved in the core curatorial or managerial team, and their experience of co-operation with other professional groups in the enterprises.

That the studies have been executed in three European countries is due partly to opportunity, and partly to the aim of having an international perspective on exhibition enterprising. The opportunity to investigate the three British cases presented itself with a grant I received to spend some time as a visiting scholar at the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester in 1997. The Swiss case was an opportunity presented by a Swiss scholar whom I knew.

The cases from the three countries are not to be understood as typical of each country. Rather, the cases offer insights into the specific conditions that meet exhibition enterprisers in different countries, but without aspiring to be ideal types.

PROCESSING THE DATA

Some specific questions more or less implicitly guided my work with writing the case accounts of the exhibition projects studied. These were:

- What action does exhibition enterprising imply?
- Where do the ideas for an exhibition originate?
- What did the exhibition concept or idea(s) consist of?
- How were the exhibition concepts realised?
- What resources were used for the realisation?
- How did the project develop, what happened during the course of the projects?
- How did the participants understand and account for the development of their project?

By trying to consider these questions when writing the project accounts, I hoped to enable comparisons between the cases in terms of the factors that are central to each question. These aspects can be found in each of the cases, but in quite distinct ways, all depending on the unique circumstances of each exhibition realisation enterprise.

The case studies have been constructed out of material in the form of interviews, various kinds of documents relating to the projects, and newspaper articles. From information gathered through interviews and first and second hand sources, I have tried to reconstruct the development of the projects chronologically. This has been important for me in order to see what consequences certain events or altered conditions have had on subsequent action.

Since this was not to be a dissertation focussed on the exhibition medium, but on the action resulting in an exhibition, my first choice has been not to describe and analyse the exhibition as such, and semiological or other types of changes in it. I also decided not to describe or analyse the realised exhibition. This is because such an analysis requires quite different focus and methods of investigation than a study of action. And as

said, this was not the aim of my work.

Where several types of sources of information have been available to me, I have tried to use different sources complementarily. I have also tried to interview or find evidence of the opinions of several people involved in a project, in order to see if descriptions or interpretations of events differ among actors engaged in the same project. In some cases I have let newspaper interviews replace real interviews, this concerns some key figures in the Expo.02 case. This has been due to inaccessibility of the interviewees, and the simultaneous access to a large amount of newspaper interviews with the people engaged in the project but not accessible to me for interviews.

Not all the presented cases of exhibition production were followed from idea phase to opening. Exhibition projects take time to develop from idea to (possible) realisation, and it would have been difficult to follow six exhibition productions through their whole development, and one can ask if such a procedure would have given more insights into the chains of events as processes, and not just more information to process. Information on the ideas behind, and the development of the individual exhibition projects are therefore based on both interviews with initiators an other contributors to the exhibitions, but also on available written material, both first hand and second hand sources.

Material used has been primarily first-hand sources, such as written documents and interviews. There are scarce second-hand sources for most of the projects, most of which is material relating to exhibitions foregoing the actual exhibitions, but being of the same kind or confirmed as predecessors of the studied projects. Documents used for the dissertation have been in Swedish, English, German and French. Interviews have been undertaken in Swedish, English, and to a certain extent in French. The author has translated all citations from Swedish, German and French into English.

The In Visible Light case is written with information in the form of

one long interview with Russell Roberts in May 1998, and with a few other interviews with staff at the MOMA, Oxford. I also had access to economic information on the MOMA and documents concerning the In Visible Light from the MOMA archive. I also received press cuts collected by the MOMA. Furthermore, I saw the exhibition in Oxford in 1997, and in its Stockholm version at the Modern Museum in October 1998. The catalogue was important for an initial understanding of the exhibition.

Neil Cummings gave me access to his personal archive of documents of the Collected exhibition. I interviewed him and the director of the Photographers' Gallery in June 2000. The Photographers' Gallery gave me economic information on the gallery and on the Collected project. I saw the exhibition in 1997, and got press cuts and other information both from the gallery and Neil Cummings at this time. Other information on the project I have received through a talk given by Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska at IASPIS in Stockholm in April 2000, and through the book *The Value of Things* written by the two artists.

Information on Divers Memories I have received mainly through two long interviews with Chris Dorsett in May 1998 and June 2000, documents of all kinds from Dorsett's personal archive. Since the exhibition was shown in Hong Kong in 1998, I had no economic possibilities to see the exhibition or to interview people involved in the project in Hong Kong. I could only experience the exhibition through verbal descriptions and photographs.

For the Vita rockar case, I undertook thirteen interviews with the people involved in the project during 1997 and early 1998, lasting between approximately forty-five minutes and two hours. I also attended meeting or had accessed to taped recordings from nine meetings, most of them lasting between one and two hours, during the same period of time. I also had access to the archive of the Museum of work, and to various documents concerning the Vita rockar project. I followed the work with this project for most of its duration (I did not come in quite at the

beginning), and also saw the finished exhibition.

For Framtidstro, I undertook six interviews with the people involved, lasting between approximately forty-five minutes and an hour and a half. I furthermore had access to material on the Framtidstro homepage, the Millennium Committee's homepage, the archive of the Framtidstro project, and diverse other material concerning Nordiska museet, Framtidstro and Den svenska historien. I saw the Framtidstro exhibitions at Nordiska museet, Gotlands fornsal, and Kulturen in Lund and made three additional interviews with people engaged in the production of these exhibitions for the first study I made of the economy of three Framtidstro exhibitions that preceded the dissertation study in time.

In the Expo.02 case, I undertook fourteen interviews in May 2000, and a further four in October 2002, all lasting between roughly forty-five minutes and two hours. I also had access to the Expo home page, where material was accessible during limited periods of time, throughout the work with the case. An important source of information was the Expo newsletter and various newspaper articles, that I accessed both in the press archive of *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and at the *direction artistique*. Unfortunately I had no access to the general press archive of the Expo. I also received press material concerning the exhibitions. I visited the four arteplages in October 2002, and had access to guided general tours of the arteplages.

Since many of the people involved in the projects that I have studied are continuing to work in the field, comments on project co-operation tends to become person-related. In order to secure information about the projects, I have chosen to anonymise the persons involved in the cases as far as possible. Certain key persons have been named. In some cases I have gained access to more information by promising anonymity.

Since much of the information gathered in each case comes from only one source, the question of source criticism has been raised during the course of my work. I am aware that parts of my accounts are susceptible

to partial descriptions of the cases. Since it has been practically difficult to trace all or many or even a few key persons involved in a single exhibition, I run the risk of conveying biased or only partial information of circumstances or events. The question of source criticism also touches upon questions concerning memory. For example, how does time change a person's memory of events? What is retouched or highlighted in later accounts of intentions and action, and what is forgotten? I have tried to counter the obvious risks of repeating partial or biased information by clearly addressing who was the source of information. Difficulties in trying to counteract biased information have been encountered in my work in the form of inaccessibility of persons involved in cases due to geographical location. This is also a drawback in conducting studies abroad.

In the very last stage of the work with the dissertation, I let persons involved in the various cases read my case accounts, and offered them the possibility to correct errors and comment on any perceived biases or other aspects of the case accounts. The opinions and corrections of the involved parties have been acknowledged. The aim has been to present differing opinions or views on a project rather than to present one consentient version.

I have noticed that people forget quickly, and therefore have great difficulties remembering especially dates. After a chain of events, we also often automatically reinterpret the process. Explanations are sought and applied afterwards, in order to understand what happened, and give it all a meaningful development. The interest of people involved is focussed somewhere else than on the realised project, mostly on a new project, that is to be realised. They are usually not that interested in the 'old' project anymore.

I have also experienced that it is hard for people engaged in a project to remember for example how often they go to a certain kind of meeting, or other details of the action side of their assignment. They think about what to do next, and how to do it, about their aims, about conflicts of

aims, and so on. They spend less time reflecting upon literally how they do what they do. It has not been an aim to try to answer these questions in this dissertation. Nevertheless, they remain important epistemological questions.

The accounts of the six projects and processes focus around factors such as the development of the exhibition ideas or concepts, monetary resources, and organisation. The description is on a micro or actor level, with an inclusion of structural and other aspects that I thought was relevant for the development of the project. However, the purely content and form related aspects of the exhibition development I have largely left aside. They appear to the extent that they have a bearing on the management of the exhibition project. I have furthermore tried to understand and account for intentions and reactions on the chain of events as they were experienced by the persons involved in the projects. In short, what I have tried to give a description of is how the projects were realised, how the processes developed, how resources were or were not accessed and utilised, and what settings or contexts the projects were realised in.

As pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, my interest is oriented towards artistic enterprising, and therefore also the case studies are somewhat biased in this direction. This can be noticed in the cases by the greater focus placed on the relationships between curators and/or artists or creative professionals and other professional groups, where the former actors are given more space than the latter. I have also focussed somewhat more on aesthetic or creative aspects of the projects than others when choosing interviewees. But this is also due to my understanding of exhibition production as the realisation of ideas to and enterprises to which aesthetic aspects are central.

The theoretical and empirical parts of the dissertation have taken shape simultaneously, and influenced each other. The criteria for choice of theories has been the ability to catch the particularities in this type of enterprising. The theoretical discussion in this dissertation will be

coloured by the fact that the practice of exhibition realisation, studied as enterprises, with a focus on processes and conditions, must be undertaken without the support that well-established fields of research and theory-building offer. The practice of exhibition production, in contrast to for example the organisation of museums, has not been studied to any further extent within either business studies or economics. And general theories of entrepreneurship, project management, organisational behaviour and similar are seldom applicable on the field of aesthetic production, due to the specific characteristics of production in this area.

The drawback with a multidisciplinary approach is that literature surveys for example are not as concentrated as they could be if the research influences had been kept to a single discipline. The reason for the multidisciplinary approach is that a solely business studies approach would not be able to fully comprise aesthetic enterprising, since many of the assumptions underlying theorising in business studies do not hold when it comes to aesthetic enterprising. The actual conditions that influences enterprising in the aesthetic field, the aesthetic qualification, are not considered in most business studies research.

DELIMITATIONS

In contrast to most discussions on exhibition production, this dissertation does not take the permanent museum exhibition, based on artefacts from collections, as its starting point. Exhibition production is not only connected to the museum institution, but also to the work of artists and commercial fairs. Today's exhibition landscape is as populated by *kunsthallen* and other collectionless venues, as by museums. The permanent display of a choice of objects in a museum collection is now becoming rarer, as many museums re-hang their collections thematically and show any constellation of objects during a limited period of time.[7]

An explicit delimitation when I started to work with the studies was not

to approach the particular exhibition enterprises through the involved institutions. That is, I did not want to present the exhibitions within the frames of the institutions that contributed to their realisation. This is because I wanted to keep a focus on the particular project and event, and not reduce them to one among a number of exhibitions with the common trait that they were all presented within the exhibition programme of the specific institution, and thus an expression of this institution. I wanted to keep focus on the more detailed level, on the exhibition as enterprise and project itself.

I will not go into any further detailed discussion on the concepts of art and the artist. This is because an analysis of the terms would not bring us closer to an understanding of the practice of art production or the work of artists. I adhere to the institutional view on art and artists as that and those who are acknowledged as such by the art world.[8] Art and artists can not be defined outside their historical and geographical contexts.

Researchers within museum studies do excellent work in developing general typologies of collections, exhibitions as communicative media, and institutions.[9] This type of classification of the traces of action I do not intend to develop in this treatise. Others have presented general models of the exhibition production process.[10] My aim has been to investigate the individual instance of the processes that such models build upon.

Neither is the focus of interest in the treatise the exhibition as an aesthetic entity, or as a good. It is instead the ideas, concepts and realisation enterprises which produce the end result, that are the object of study. Of course the two cannot clearly be separated, but it will be clear in this treatise that there is no analysis of the end result, no description and discussion of the realised exhibition, except in relation to how it was realised. In this sense, it is a management study of exhibition enterprising, and not a study of six exhibitions as aesthetic entities.[11] Instead, the approach to the cases presented has been the projects, the processes, themselves.

In the selection of type of cases presented in this dissertation, one might

miss the 'normal' in-house exhibition, meaning a type of exhibition developed by museum curators, based on the collections of a museum. However, this perceived normal exhibition did not at the time feel as interesting to study, as I rather wanted to approach venues where exhibitions that in some sort diverged from 'ordinary' exhibitions. As I realise when I am finishing this book, one could really question the existence of normal and diverging exhibitions. It seems any exhibition project is always both based on experience of earlier exhibitions both in terms of appearance, synopsis and structure. An interesting research project would then in this context be one where several traditional, "normal" exhibitions would be compared, perhaps also historically.

Another type of exhibition that is not represented in the current selection is an exhibition curated by a free-lancing, academic curator. But here again the boundaries get blurred, since all the curators in the English case studies presented all had some sort of university position, and/or had been attending university courses during the years preceding the exhibition projects. In light of this fact, it could be interesting to compare the ways in which academic free-lancing curators develop exhibitions, compared to how artists work, and if there are any more apparent differences than that academic free-lance curators seem to work with contemporary art in strict art exhibitions, whereas artists seem more interested in interaction with different kinds of spaces, and mix art and other types of exhibits. But that would demand a future study of its own.

There are also no cases of production of world expositions in this study. World fairs have since their appearance in the nineteenth century had an importance for exhibition production and commercial display, and were especially in the beginning a popular mixture of displays of art and craft, as well as of agricultural and technical innovations. However, the interest in this dissertation has been exhibitions made in an art and museum context.

Corporate collections and exhibitions made based on such, is also a

topic that is not considered in this study. The phenomenon of corporate collections is interesting, not least when considered in comparison to private collecting, but since collections themselves are have not been the focus of my work, I leave it for future projects.[12]

Finally, I am not interested in any creative use that the consumption of an exhibition (through a visit) may comprise. I limit myself to a study of the production of the product, the exhibition.

My focus is not the organisation as formal structure, but the enterprise as realisation of ideas, how means are organised towards an end. My focus is not on institutions that produce exhibitions as part of their ordinary activities, but the individual exhibition enterprise. On the other hand, within art history and museum studies, the focus of interest is the symbolic content and appearance of entities, whether they be artworks or exhibitions, rather than the production processes preceding the end result. Therefore, the number of publications also in this field has been restricted.

Within sociology, aesthetic fields of production have been studied, but the focus is mostly on delivering an understanding of the field as a system, and different groups of actors. The focus of this dissertation differs from a sociological study in that it is more concerned with how specific projects and enterprises develop. The focus therefore is on the micro level rather than on the system or macro level.

The present study has therefore been undertaken not with the help of and in discussion with one principal area of research, but rather a wide array of approaches to the action involved in the realisation of exhibition projects. The understanding of exhibition enterprising or realisation in this book has therefore been formed through writings and research not only in the domain of business studies, but also in economics, sociology, museum studies and art history. This broad spectrum of theoretical inputs may be considered as a weakness by readers specialised in any of these disciplines. In this sense, the chosen cross-disciplinary approach

chosen may be considered a delimitation.

I am not interested in discussing the end product, the exhibition, and how changes in the conditions for realising an exhibition impacts the semiological or symbolic content of it. Such a study would have a different focus than the present, concentrating on the exhibition as a sign system. I am not interested in finding out what the different exhibitions said, but how they were made.

I will not try to define museums. There is a vast bibliography on museums conducted by historians and museum studies scholars, and I refer to this field of research for further reading on this fascinating subject. Neither will I discuss the concept of art. There is as vast an amount of writings on this subject as on museums, or even more, and therefore is left to the reader to explore by herself.

The study is not oriented towards action in organisations, defined through their formal status, but towards unique enterprises and projects. Thus, I have not studied the exhibition projects with a focus on the organisations involved, but rather at the whole of ideas, people, positions and resources, which constitute projects and especially enterprises. My point of departure has not been aesthetic aspects of management in general, but management in aesthetic enterprises, and the effects of the aesthetic qualification on management.

Footnotes

[1] "My purpose is to tell of bodies which have been transformed into shapes of a different kind", Ovid [43 B.C. - 17 A.D.] 1955: 29. Bergson 1903, Danielsson 1975, Guillet de Monthoux 1978, 1998, Hylinger 1986.

[2] Vergo 1989: 43f.

[3] Influencing my questions concerning exhibition enterprising were also some of the questions that Vergo poses in his suggestion for empirical studies of what realised exhibitions really show. These are: how do exhibitions come about, by what means and with what resources, and in which circumstances and for what reasons are exhibition made? Vergo 1989: 43.

Focus on the actual action undertaken and processes that unveil in projects and enterprises is something that entrepreneurship and project management researchers support. Cf. e.g. Bygrave 1989, Stevenson & Jarillo 1990, Hofer & Bygrave 1992.

Later in the process, further questions emerged. These questions were: How does the reinvention of exhibitions, as medium and form, and as intellectual endeavour and material *gestalt*, through actual exhibition realisation, take place and shape?, and: What is actually realised when an exhibition is produced?, as presented in the introduction to the book.

[4] Czarniawska 1997.

[5] Lindqvist 1998.

[6] Lindqvist 2003.

[7] Two well-known examples are the new hanging practices of the Tate Gallery in London and the Modern Museum in Stockholm.

[8] Cf. e.g. Vilks 1995.

[9] E.g. Wittlin 1949, Abel 1973, Pomian 1987, Pearce 1990, O'Toole 1994, Roberts 1997, Henderson & Kaeppler 1999.

[10] E.g. Dean 1996.

[11] In this sense, it is not art criticism that is aimed at in Baxandall's sense of "inferential criticism" or "historical explanation" of the finished work. In such a study, the point of departure for investigation into the realisation of the end result would be the end result itself, the work. Cf. Baxandall 1985.

[12] For an interesting and thorough investigation of corporate engagement in art since 1980s, cf. Wu 2002.

APPENDIX 2: PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

WAYS TO KNOW A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Nordenstam writes that we can try to answer the question of what something (a social phenomenon) is, in different ways. These different ways are, in his view, through a

- definition
- list of examples
- account of the different methods, perspectives, theories etc that characterise the practice and that differentiate it from other domains of practice
- account of the societal origins of the specific phenomenon
- account of the history of the phenomenon and through
- practice.[1]

Definitions alone are not enough for a thorough understanding of a social phenomenon, we need historical knowledge that presents the relationship of the studied phenomenon to the context in which it appears. Furthermore, as Nordenstam points out, all definitions are rationalisations, and often we have difficulties finding a definition that is exact enough to cover all but no other instances than the proper ones, with a verbal definition.[2]

In this book, I have used several of the modes Nordenstam mentions, of reaching an understanding of exhibitions. Firstly, I give a consciously loose definition of the exhibition as an entity, through defining it as an aesthetic entity and as a medium in Chapter 3.

Secondly, I give a very short introduction to the history of exhibition realisation and its societal origins in a historical chapter, Chapter 2, presenting three professional groups that historically have been and are involved in exhibition realisation.

Thirdly, I also present six cases of contemporary exhibition realisation as examples of the social phenomenon of exhibition realisation. In the cases, Chapters 4-9, I have tried to include some of the ideas and perspectives that influence individual exhibition enterprisers.

The acquaintance with exhibition realisation through practice I leave to the reader. I have though, myself, learnt exhibition realisation through work with a small number of art exhibition projects, which are not discussed in this dissertation.

In addition to the attempts to better understand exhibition enterprising, I discuss a theoretical model within business studies, general project management theory, in Chapter 11. General project management theory, I find, can be extended or elaborated to embrace issues and conditions central for aesthetic project management.

A HISTORICIZING APPROACH

Following a historicizing approach to events, implies recognising the uniqueness of all historical events and entities (i.e. they are not expressions of an idea or essence).[3] The approach of this study is oriented towards intentional explanation or understanding of action in the case studies presented, based not on a deductive-nomothetical model of explanation where explanation is given in terms of general laws,[4] but on an understanding of explanation of social action, where the individual act needs to be related to the intentions of the individual.[5] The basic model of explanation of action encountered in this book therefore is that of intention. Such a point of departure does not imply that intentions have to be explicitly articulated by the actor, it may be formalised in practices,

tradition and institutions.[6]
A chain of events can only be defined as a specific event in a historical perspective, i.e. interpreted at a later point in time. The historian by this retrospective and non-engaged position has a horizon of understanding that transcends that of the actors involved in the events that the historian tries to understand and describe. But there can be no pure record of events, warns Danto, because we cannot separate our interpretation of these events when we try to understand and describe these events.[7]

Dealing with pasts events, we need to be conscious of the ways in which we possibly can re-render them. Looking at the work of historians, Danto remarks that there is no possibility of being an ideal historian, if we by that mean that we would be able to tell *everything* about a past event or explain it in full.[8] As both Gadamer and Danto notes, the interpretation or description of a traditional text or an event is never complete.[9] The meaning of a text or a past event, i.e. in the descriptive comprehension we gather from it, is open in its meaning,. This is because we always understand a past event in light of today, and in our (consciousness of the) contemporary, earlier interpretations of this text or event are already sedimented. Going back to sources concerning an event, we can always draw upon new aspects, details and perspectives, and write a new version, a new interpretation, of an event.

According to Habermas, the general and ahistorical rules of behaviour that scholars within social science try to develop can only be of a limited help in understanding a past event. This is because the specific situation always allows for "creative opportunities" on the part of the individual actor.[10] The social norms and roles that offer models of behaviour can never destine the behaviour of the actor.

ON ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS AND
EXPERIENCED PHENOMENA

The striving for a theoretical contribution easily leads to the construction

of (theoretical) ideal types, to which the world as such seldom or never corresponds. The theoretical constructs are tools for us to categorise the world, and speak of fleeting phenomena in distinct ways. One should beware of believing that the theoretical construct mirrors something experienced in an unbiased way.

Bergson can help us distinguish between academic or analytical thought and the world of phenomena.[11] For Bergson, reality is movement. There are no ready things or steady states, only things becoming, and states that change. This reality is outside our spirit but immediately appearing before it. We can only try to follow the becoming of entities and to grasp the movement, but not from outside and in its ready state, but from inside and in its tendency to change.

A concept, on the other hand, is for Bergson an abstract, general or simple idea. And we cannot recreate the original thing through the accumulated separate qualities we have found as elements of the thing. Concepts divide the concrete unity of the thing into as many symbolic expressions. The real, the experienced, the concrete can be recognised through its variability, whereas the element (of analysis) is invariable, since it is simplified reconstruction or schematic picture or symbol, which is only a snapshot of the emerging reality. To try a concept on a thing is to ask the thing what it can do for us, according to Bergson. This is to use the thing in accordance with our interests.

Proper (philosophical) empiricism, according to Bergson,

> works only according to measure, sees itself obliged to make an absolutely new effort for each new object it studies. It cuts for the object a concept appropriate to the object alone, a concept one can barely say is still a concept, since it applies only to that one thing. This empiricism does not proceed by combining ideas one already finds in stock, unity and multiplicity, for example; but the representation to which it leads us is, on the contrary, a simple, unique representation; and once it is formed one readily understands why it can be put into the frame unity, multiplicity,

etc., all of which are much larger than itself.[12]

Our self, expressed in psychic states, is constantly becoming, and our present state contains our past.[13] But we do not manage to separate one state from another except in retrospect. Inner knowledge can only be attained through intuition, and not through analysis, according to Bergson. We can go from intuition to analysis, but not the opposite way.

This dissertation is in its structure caught between the belief in being able to give a unique description of exhibition enterprises (which I am aware is not possible since we make choices of what to recognise and include), and the need to contribute to a research discussion on enterprising and management. The theoretical discussion is a conscious attempt at using academic violence on the processes experienced and learnt about.

Footnotes

[1] Nordenstam 1987. In his case, he departs from the question "Hva er humaniora?", i.e. "what are the Arts?". What he refers to are the academic disciplines broadly corresponding to *studia humaniora*.

[2] Nordenstam 1987: 20.

[3] Uniqueness and demand for an understanding based on the specific context in which the phenomenon occurs are important cornerstones in the historicizing tradition since Vico and Herder. Nordenstam 1987: 74ff, 103.

[4] This model of explanation states that an explanation is given when an original situation is described, in which a specific phenomenon that needs to be explained, together with a set of general laws, of which the individual case is suggested as an expression of.

[5] Cf. von Wright 1971.

[6] Cf. Wittgenstein 1953, §337.

[7] Danto 1965.

[8] Danto 1965.

[9] Gadamer 1975: 339f, Danto 1965: 142.

[10] Habermas 1967: 35, borrowing a term from Danto 1965: 226.

[11] Bergson 1903.

[12] Bergson 1903: 175.

[13] Bergson 1903: 163.

[14] Cf. Calvino 1983, Eco 1997.

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