UNCHARTED

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report explores the emergence of values linked to culture production and heritage management. The repertoire of guiding values and the value dynamics in this area depend on the diversity of cultural sectors and the perspective of actors (cultural producers, critics, professionals, managers, etc.). On the other hand, values in cultural production and heritage management manifest in the practices of actors interacting within them in different kinds of institutional contexts and practical situations as well as in valuation mechanisms.

We focus our inquiry into the vast field of cultural production and heritage management in such a way that we encompass the greatest possible diversity of sectors that are characteristically different in terms of their repertoires and dynamics of value. In order to cover the greatest number of values that are put into play in cultural production and heritage management, we have first selected organisations, practices or events linked to creation and production within the art sector and the cultural and creative industries. Secondly, we have identified within each artistic-cultural sector those areas where intrinsic values prevail (e.g. aesthetic criteria, conservation, education etc.); areas where extrinsic values predominate (e.g. economic or social); and, finally, areas where there is an evident tension between intrinsic and extrinsic values. Thirdly, organisations, practices or artistic-cultural events, where professionals develop their cultural production, were taken into account.

Regarding cultural production, we have selected at least three case studies linked to professional cultural production, namely: (1) a case study linked to live performance and cultural production in the arts, in which intrinsic evaluation criteria -associated with aesthetic-conceptual experimentation- prevail; (2) a case study linked to cultural production in a sector of the creative industries, where, due to the type of production carried out, a tension between intrinsic values (aesthetic experimentation) and extrinsic values (economic and/or social) is manifested; (3) a case study linked to cultural production in a large company or cultural industry, where extrinsic principles of economic-profit valuation predominate.

Regarding heritage management, we have identified three case studies of heritage management: (4) A case of an intercultural museum in its long process of establishment, with conflicting values of social integration and economic sustainability changing over time; (5) A case study on the reconstruction projects of the Buda Castle (Budapest, Hungary) where in different ideological frameworks questions of representation and authenticity may be analysed; (6) A case study concerning a Roma art exhibition in the Budapest History Museum, where tensions between top-down, bottom-up and participatory curatorship may be retraced as well as different approaches of minority and mainstream heritage management.

The selection of each case study also took into account the geographical proximity of the partners involved in this area of research: Spain, Italy and Hungary, since the type of study requires both access to information sources and in-depth and peer-reviewed knowledge of contexts.

Based on these parameters, six cases of studies linked to cultural production and heritage management were identified: three cases related to cultural production, and three cases related to heritage management.

Cases studies on cultural production

- Case 1: Street art festival (Ferrara Buskers Festival): Long lasting street art festival

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> (mainly music): a variety of values between different groups of stakeholders and within them (e.g. between musicians).

- Case 2: Three types of architecture firms in Barcelona: (1) architectural firms where values linked to social commitment prevail; (2) architectural firms where values linked to aesthetic experimentation prevail; (3) architectural firms where values linked to an authorial legacy prevail.
- Case 3: A Barcelona publishing conglomerate, where values linked to economic and instrumental goals prevail more than artistic quality.

Case studies on heritage management

- Case 4: An intercultural museum (Mudec, Milan): a new museum that was designed as a centre of dialogue with extra European cultures, with a long and contradictory process of enactment.
- Case 5: Buda Castle reconstructions: the longitudinal study of various reconstruction-projects of the historic neighbourhood of Buda Castle, first during the state-socialist era and secondly during the 2010s.
- Case 6: Roma art exhibition: an exhibition in the Budapest History Museum in the framework of the Off-Biennale between June-October 2021, focusing on the painting Birth by Tamás Péli and its socio-cultural context.

The selection of the six case studies sought to give an account of the plurality of values expressed in the sectors of cultural production and heritage management. The main research questions that guide our inquiry in the six case studies selected are:

- What values of culture are identified in practice by professional cultural producers and heritage managers?
- In what types of practices do these values emerge?
- In what framework of tensions do these values appear?
- Who are the social actors that represent the different values in cultural production and heritage management? In what context?
- How are these values institutionalised? Where?

2. CASE STUDIES

2.1. Case 1: Street art festival (Ferrara Buskers Festival)

2.1.1. Case profile

The Ferrara Buskers Festival (FBF) was founded in 1988 in Ferrara, Italy. Performances are offered by buskers, *"(…) [a] person who sings or plays music for money in streets and other public places."* Performed by various types of soloists or small groups, busking includes a great variability of styles and genres. However, what really defines a busker is the collection of money (often collected in a hat).

When the FBF was founded, Ferrara was a relatively marginal town in the overall scenario of Italian art-cities. The local government of Ferrara looked at culture as an opportunity to promote Ferrara. In the mid-80s, the project "Ferrara city of Art and Culture" was initiated, involving the promotion of cultural events– among others, the FBF.

In such circumstances Stefano Bottoni, an amateur musician, had the intuition that Ferrara was

ready and willing to open to a "different" cultural offer: a one-week event at the end of August, with ten locations in the town centre staging performances of 20 invited artists starting in the afternoon; all artists' expenses to be refunded but no cachet given; moreover, access free but with donations to musicians highly recommended. Although initially delivered as a one-shot event, the formula was well received and obtained support to continue. After the first editions, the format was modified to welcome non-invited performers that started to arrive during the Festival's days and perform spontaneously. Eventually, they were included in the program as "credited" artists, with no expenses refunded. Over the years, the number of credited artists grew to 250 buskers.

2.1.2. Methodology

We studied the FBF yet in the early 2000's. In 2020, we decided to update the original case: we collected documents from the association archives (2000 – 2020), and from the Municipality. Overall, we managed to collect about 1,000 pages of documentary evidence. In addition, we made 43 interviews with organizers, artists, and public administrators, each lasting about 1 hour.

2.1.3. Actors, practices and valuations

Actors and practices

Three main actors can be identified, whose major practices are here identified:

The FBF Association: this is a private law, not for profit organization, set up by the founder with four other members that were active since the first edition of the festival. Main practices include:

- *to scout and select* artists for the Festival, in two ways: by Bottoni in person during his international tours or after the artists application. The selection process assesses:
  - if the performance is consistent with the Festival spirit
  - the artist availability
- *to design* the forthcoming event, while assessing the availability of financial resources, mostly provided by the Municipality, and spatial resources, that are the city's spaces staging artists' performances and are provided by the Municipality as well. Given that for various reasons some streets have more passers-by than others, artists are assigned to a certain post for a limited time and then rotate.
- to *produce* the Festival: during the Festival, the staff watches over the performances to monitor and overcome emerging issues: while artists are free and in charge to take care of their own show and interaction with the audience, they may need technical assistance or may infringe the Festival rules in terms of amplification or time. Also, other contextual or audience-related issues can emerge such as the hot, late-summer weather, last minute absence of artists, unexpected noise pollution between artists, to cite a few.

Artists and performers at FBF are of two kinds: 20 *invited* buskers participate upon invitation: no cachet is received but all expenses are refunded; perform for the whole Festival and can cash in considerable amounts of offerings; around 250 *credited* buskers: no cachet is offered, no reimbursements; commit to perform according to their availability of time, can cash in audience offerings, sell their own CDs and promote themselves. The practices involve:

- to *propose* themselves, in different ways: they apply introducing their shows, declare the days in which they can be in Ferrara to perform and whether they want to perform

as invited or accredited.

- to *perform*: each busker is assigned a post where he/she can perform, according to a predetermined rotation. Performances are characterized by a high level of interaction between the audience and the artist.
- to *enact the community spirit*: buskers coming from everywhere use to meet at FBF and build a community spirit, by playing music together or having a chat.

The municipality of Ferrara: the local government was actively supporting the Festival starting form early editions. Main practices include:

- to *regulate*: the Festival is currently "the" event of the city summer. Accordingly, the Municipality supports the Festival permitting the usage of streets and public spaces, along with additional services such as transportation, parking and local police assistance to the event.
- to *fund*: the Festival first editions needed moderate funding but its growth requested a stable financial support from the Municipality, circa 50k € in the past few years.

Valuations

Our analysis of practices revealed that four main values play a role at the FBF.

Participation. Organizers explained that participation characterizes the festival, fuelling the variety and number of music genres, off festival events and initiatives (such as food markets, laboratories, exhibitions and special events). Even the category of credited artists was created to include in the official program not invited artists coming to Ferrara during the festival days. As one of the festival's founders told us:

> (...) as the FBF, we have always been open to contributions, ready to respond to the requests that arose from the society, in recent years we also created a section dedicated to deaf and mute artists, just to say, because this request arose, therefore a great openness, towards society, a great attention to this great potential, this tool, which we used, of street art that really has an important strength (....).

Artistic/professional legitimation. Artists associate being selected to a consecration, appreciating the organized nature of the festival especially when this is compared to the street (e.g. allocation of space, scheduling, and assistance). Using the words of a busker we interviewed:

> (…) Clearly the street is more complicated [than a theatre or a club], if we want, in some technical aspects, because obviously the ability to be heard in the middle maybe of a walking area or even of traffic, in some circumstances passing cars and more, it is obviously more difficult to be able to hit people's attention, also because in my case I do it just and exclusively with music, (...) it is precisely the fact of trying to strike the attention with music.

As emerged during interviews, also organizers do not just look at quality, but also at artists' timeliness, compliance to the rules, and audience engagement, often co-producing the show.

Economic value. For artists, money collected at the end of each performance represents a relevant source of income. As confirmed by a busker:

> At the FBF I stopped playing after an hour, I left very happy, that's it. [I earned] a lot, a lot more than normal streets.

For the Municipality, the economic return of the festival justifies the decision to fund it, as reflected in the following words by a Municipality executive:

> (…) This is a review of street musicians, which from year to year has increased the participation of spectators, involving more and more citizens of Ferrara, but also an audience from other cities and regions, contributing to the enhancement of the image of Ferrara, from which the city has drawn undoubted cultural, tourist and economic advantages.

Civic society. The festival programme is designed considering to allow people to have fun in a safe, law-compliant manner, respecting the need of citizens who are not taking part (i.e. ensuring that citizens can use the city space according to their right: to move around, to do normal business, to sleep at night, etc). Each edition is planned through an intense dialogue with the Municipality in terms of locations more likely to be available, contingent issues such as street works or restoration of buildings. During the performances, staff members are assigned to different spots to monitor emergencies. Organizers are often forced to rearrange the show schedule during the festival to have each show functioning smoothly. For an association member, producing the festival is a:

> matter of balance related to: number of participants, the audience, the number of shows done, and the spaces available.

2.1.4. Value conflicts and tensions

Drawing on the list of values shown above, here we reflect on the relationships between values and the tensions emerging from their encounter. Data analysis revealed that conflicts and tensions originate between the value of participation on the one hand and each of the other values on the other. Figure 1 displays the tensions considering participation at the centre.

Field configuration vs. Field pollution

The FBF has contributed to establishing busking as a legitimized form of art, by bringing together distinct forms of artistic expression associated with the same way of performing – i.e. in the street, collecting money. This inclusive re-combination has progressively become institutionalized, thanks to the emergence of similar initiatives and schools. As maintained by one of the festival founders:

> (…) many artists I'm working with are really true professionals, with serious know-hows learned through education and specific schools of…let's say circus or theatre, and these were born because the Ferrara Buskers Festival set the fire for creating a true industry, with unions, representatives of the professionals…this led people to perceive the busker as a less transgressive, out-of-the-law artist.

On the other hand, we observed that participation also relates to the diffusion of side activities to renew the festival and attract a diverse audience. As acknowledged during interviews, the presence of a marketplace or food trucks must be carefully managed, to avoid turning the FBF into a countryside festival, which de-professionalize artists. In contrast to field configuration, we label "field pollution" the risk of pushing participation excessively.

Figure 1: Mapping value tensions at FBF
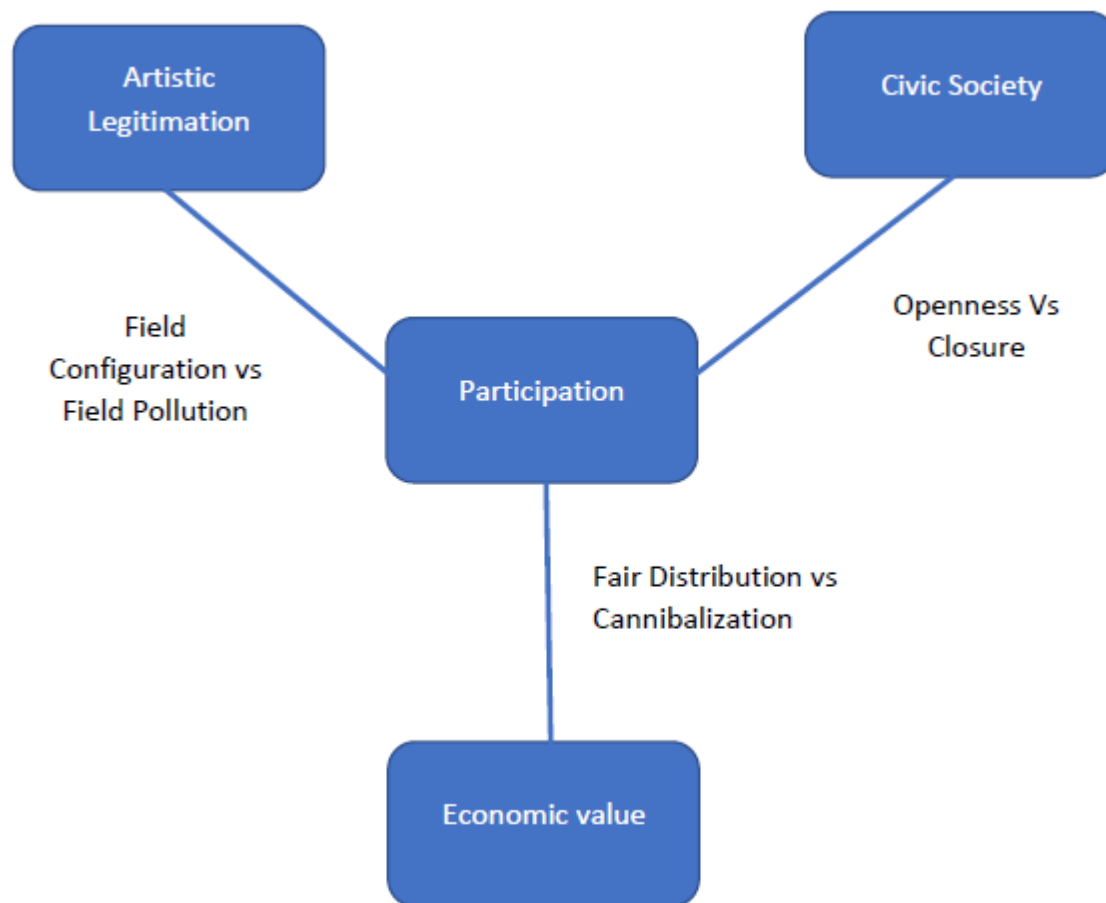
Source: Own elaboration

Fair distribution vs. Cannibalization

Also the relationship between participation and economic value can take different directions. On one side, the flow of visitors generates economic value for artists and local activities as well. The number of artists must be kept within a level that allows all actors to get a fair share of the gains (i.e. crediting 1000 artists rather than 250 would decrease the average "hat" by default). Besides, the festival organizers look for a balance between the income of artists and the various options available to visitors, such as off festival initiatives. However, when the number of initiatives is excessive, participation can lead to cannibalization. The "big Hat" initiative - a huge hat put at some entrances, where visitors were invited to give free offers to help social initiatives and humanitarian causes - epitomizes this risk. As commented by an invited artist:

> … apparently the people give [money] to this hat. Like give with the idea "this money will go to the artists", but it didn't go to the artists. It went to some other charity, or something like that. But it was so unclear, so the people didn't give to the musicians anymore, and there's so many, there were so many artists playing at the same time. Of course, they will give less because there's much more.

Openness vs. Closure

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A third tension lies in the relation between participation and civic society, i.e. in uses of city's space for the festival as opposed to normal conditions. Participation entails the idea of a festival imbued with openness while civic society calls for a "controllable" festival, achievable through a strong discipline for entrance.

2.2. Case 2: Three types of architecture firms in Barcelona

2.2.1. Case profile

This case report aims to explore the emergence, diversity and value tensions of culture in the area of cultural production. We analysed the **valuative and evaluative practices** in the processes of creation and development of recent **architectural projects** of two types of architectural firms in the city of Barcelona, namely: (1) architectural firms where values linked to social commitment and sustainability prevail; and (2) architectural firms where aesthetic-formal values prevail. Within the first group of firms, the following studios have been selected: the Cooperative Architectural firm and the SGA firm. Within the second group, the BA firm.

A total of three architectural projects were chosen. On the one hand, the projects of the Natural Museum (SGA firm) and the Barcelona Social Housing Complex (Cooperative Architectural firm) as representatives of social and sustainable orientations in architecture. On the other hand, the Middle East Cultural Space (BA firms) was chosen as a representative of a more aesthetic-formal orientation.

Each project acted as a backbone to define and articulate the social actors (direct or indirect) and the evaluation and valuation practices that take place during the creation, design and construction phases. The aim here was to account for the **evaluation and valuation contexts** (situations, actors and actions), the **evaluation and valuation practices** and **value conflict and tensions** that guided the different phases of development of the architectural projects selected.

2.2.2. Methodology

The approach of the study was qualitative. The research strategies used include **semi-structured interviews** and **content analysis**. The interview techniques were carried out through the Zoom platform to understand the evaluation and valuation practices developed during the different phases of the creation-design-construction process of each architectural project, selected by the social actors directly and indirectly involved in it. Finally, content analysis was used to understand the assessment criteria of the selected projects through the analysis of documents (books, articles in specialised journals, seminars, notes, competition programmes, etc.).

Ten people were interviewed between March and June 2021, including the directors and staff of each architectural firm who participated in the ideation, project design and construction of the selected projects (eight people in total). Interviews were also conducted with critics, researchers and juries of architecture competitions in Barcelona (two people in total). The interviews had a duration of approximately one hour to one hour and thirty minutes.

The model of analysis employed in this case report is part of studies carried out on evaluation and valuation practices and processes within the framework of **pragmatic sociology.**

2.2.3. Practices and valuations

The **repertoire of actors and the actions** that have taken place during the development of the projects selected for this case report (Natural Museum, Barcelona Social Housing Complex and

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Middle East Cultural Space) are varied. They are structured, firstly, according to the different phases in which the analysed project was developed (ideation, project design and construction); the organisational complexity of each firm; and finally, according to the presence of external consultants or companies contracted for the development of each project.

Barcelona Social Housing Complex is a building for social and cooperative housing developed by the Architectural Cooperative firm using land ceded by Barcelona City Council. The building has 28 cooperative dwellings and several common spaces (for daily and everyday use) and a wooden structure that marks its uniqueness. Actors involved during the three phases of the project development were the team of architects, who are part of the Architectural Cooperative firm's Architecture Commission, the future users of the housing complex, and an external environmental consultancy team. A construction company and a technical project manager participated in the construction phase.

The Nature Museum project arose from a public competition promoted by the City Council and a private foundation for the creation of a climate museum in a city of Catalonia. The central actor during the ideation, design and construction phases of the project was the architect in charge and a small team of four people who formed part of the firm, later joined by an external advisor who was an expert in water management. A construction company, a technical architect, and a biology consultancy were involved in the construction phase.

The Middle East Cultural Space is a large-scale international project of 140,000m2, comprising of 17 buildings including a theatre, a national museum, an art school, universities, etc. A project of this scale involves many actors and a complex division of labour in the various stages of completion. Actors involved during the ideation phase of the project were the architect in charge and the firm's group of chief architects. The project design phase involved the participation of numerous actors, including project managers, a project programmer and a committee of experts and a large team of engineers. The construction phase was carried out by the architectural firm itself, which also functions as a construction company, and involved a construction manager and a construction team.

a. Valuing the social environment and environmental sustainability

In the case of Barcelona Social Housing Complex project, we observe that **social environment** and **environmental sustainability** have been given the highest importance during the different stages of the project. During the ideation stage, social valuation is reflected in the proposal for a building where common or collective spaces prevail over private spaces and the idea to generate an open spatiality that can be appropriated by the users. Also, in the inclusion of participatory devices, such as workshops with future users of the dwelling from the beginning of the project. During the project design, the valuation of the social aspect is expressed, on the one hand, in the importance given to common or intermediate spaces (between public and private) in terms of centrality and size to the expense of the private space of each dwelling. On the other hand, by giving users an active role in the design of the architectural programme. Finally, this is also expressed during the construction stage, by generating a building with a certain degree of incompletion, with the idea that the users could modify and appropriate the private and common spaces of the building in the post-occupational stage.

The valuation of environmental sustainability was raised in the preliminary decisions of the project in aspects such as the orientation of the house, to achieve adequate natural air conditioning and the decision to build a wood-frame building (as opposed to concrete) as it was considered more sustainable in terms of environmental impact. The importance of sustainability was also reflected in the initial decision to include an environmental consultancy team

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throughout the development of the project. During the project and construction design stage, the environmental assessment was reflected in central decisions such as not including a gas system in each dwelling as it was considered to have a high environmental impact, despite the idea of comfort associated with gas, as argued by some of the users of the dwelling. Also, in the constructive centrality of the wooden structure, which marked the guiding principle of the whole building.

b. Valuing the natural environment

During the development of the Nature Museum project, the **natural environment** was given central importance as a guiding principle in all phases of the project development. This meant, firstly, evaluating the climatic conditions of the site when designing the museum and adapting its orientation to generate a natural (not artificial) air conditioning. Secondly, to evaluate the topography of the site as a key element in guiding the project during the design and construction stage. For example, incorporating the geographical features of the surroundings into the project or adapting it to the topography generated by the construction conditions themselves. Thirdly, valuating the existing vegetation to incorporate it into the project. Finally, valuing the different types of winds according to the seasons of the year, adapting the ventilation of the project to optimise the air conditioning of the construction. Valuing the natural conditions of the surroundings meant, on the one hand, a displacement and adaptation of what was built with respect to what was planned. On the other hand, a reduction in the costs of the work compared to the initial budget of the project, which contemplated non-ecological materials and artificial air conditioning.

c. Valuing aesthetic language adapted to the local culture

During the development of the Middle East Cultural Space, the **aesthetic language adapted to the local culture** of the proposal has been given a central value as a guiding principle that prevails in most of the decisions taken during the project. This valuation criterion prevailed in the ideation phase of the project, starting with research into middle eastern culture in general terms and then exploring the aesthetic expressions of this culture in architectural and ornamental terms. Finally, the criterion was used in the elaboration of a singular architectural code that functioned as a concept and guiding principle during the project and construction design. In the project and construction design phases, an attempt was made to respect this initial aesthetic idea by making technical or constructive adaptations as required.

2.2.4. Value conflicts and tensions

a. Tension between comfort, social participation, environmental sustainability and affordability

Tensions and conflicts detected in the case of the Cooperative Architectural firm are identified, on the one hand, between the users and the environmental consultancy team and the team of architects and, on the other hand, between the environmental consultancy team and the team of architects. These tensions are manifested, for example, in the decision on the size of areas for collective spaces and private housing. The valuation principle associated with social participation taking into account the voices of users who often prefer more spatially comfortable housing rather than more square metres of common space. This valuation principle comes into tension with the centrality of common spaces as an important aspect of the idea of community put forward by the team of architects. Along the same lines, other tensions were detected between a positive valuation of comfort expressed by the users in the workshops and the principles of environmental sustainability supported by the team of architects and the environmental consultancy. A clear example of these kind of tensions was expressed in the discussion on

whether or not to allocate areas of the building for parking. Another example it observes in the discussion on whether or not to install a gas installation in the dwellings. Many users associate the idea of comfort with having a parking space in the building or a kitchen with a gas cooker. These ideas are opposed to principles of environmental sustainability because of the negative impact caused by the use of cars or gas. Another tension detected was between the requirements to make a house that complies with a series of environmental requirements (such as grey water treatment or rainwater harvesting) and the need to fit the budget in order to achieve affordable housing in terms of cost.

b. Tension between comfort and environmental sustainability

In the case of the Nature Museum, a tension was detected at the beginning of the project between the rules of the competition and the proposal that was finally approved. This tension is due to the existence of two opposing principles: comfort and environmental sustainability. The competition rules requested artificial air-conditioning for the Museum that would generate an average ambient temperature of between 20º and 25º centigrade all year round. This request is based on the principle of the comfort of living, on the basis that this temperature range is considered appropriate for a pleasant visit. The project presented involved questioning the competition rules on the basis of a proposal based on natural air conditioning with no environmental impact. In practice, this alternative also meant a lower construction cost.

c. Tensions between the initial aesthetic proposal, the constructive development and production costs

In the case of the Middle East Cultural Space, tensions are detected between the initial aesthetic proposal and its adequacy in terms of construction development and production costs. The initial proposal, in terms of aesthetics and the development of plans and sections elaborated by the architect in charge and the group of chief architects, is subject to revisions and adjustments in the different phases of the project and construction development. In some cases, these revisions had to do with technical adjustments. For example, the initially proposed dimensions of the theatre had to be adapted to make the acoustics work properly based on the evaluation made by the acoustics team. In other cases, these adaptations had to do with production costs, for which the architectural firm presented various models of constructive resolution with a range of costs so that the client could choose the most convenient in economic terms. Beyond these adaptations, during the design and construction development process, the initial aesthetic aspiration is respected in all phases. To ensure this, during the construction phase, for example, there is the role of a design guardianship in charge of ensuring the aesthetic integrity of the initial proposal.

2.3. Case 3: A Barcelona publishing conglomerate

2.3.1 Case profile

Barcelona is a leading publishing center where the traditional cleavages and value tensions of the publishing world, between commercial and cultural values and between the different roles in the publishing production chain, are well present. Moreover, in recent years, the Spanish publishing world has experienced an important phase of concentration which may increase and transform these tensions. At the same time, there are also other conflicting value hierarchies in Barcelona regarding national issues for instance, between Spanish and Catalan, a minority language. We approach the complexity of this case to capture a good representation of these existing diversity of values and value tensions by selecting three publishing houses that are interrelated as part of one of the largest publishing conglomerates operating in the city: the

Marco Group[1]. Before their integration into the conglomerate, these three sub-cases selected were reputed independent houses working in three different areas of the literary publishing subsector: two of them were publishing firms in Spanish, the first one specialized in adult non-fiction (Mirada) and the second one in adult fiction (Condal), while the third sub-case was a quite big publishing house in Catalan language that in turn integrates several specialized firms (Magauris Group).

2.3.2. Methodology

We have combined different methods of collecting data: a) publishing houses' catalogues and collections; b) 12 in-depth interviews with different actors within the publishing sector including managers of the publishing group, publishers, writers and translators. The perspective of value adopted for mapping and examining the valuation processes in the interviews and the analysis combines classical literature in the Sociology of Culture and Arts and in pragmatic sociology with attention to the specificity of each case. On the one hand, we have considered previous studies on the publishers' world to identify dimensions, structures and dynamics where values emerge and are negotiated. On the other hand, we have been attentive to the potential plurality of values embedded in the synchronic and diachronic logics of the cases selected by considering, for instance, the historical and contemporary specificity of each editorial firm, their incorporation and relation within a big publishing group, their structure and organization of tasks or their orientation and objectives.

2.3.3. Actors, practices, and valuations

The entrance of independent publishing houses within the Marco Group involved a complete reconfiguration in industrial terms. They were integrated into the editorial section of the group which includes more than 40 publishing firms. All roles and activities in the chain of publishing production that were originally controlled by the publishing house team were restructured in the different departments within the Marco Group. Editors are not the head of the whole process anymore since each department, particularly marketing, controls in a professionally and specialized way each stage of the publishing process under economic solvency criteria.

Along the different phases, routines, and activities of the chain of publishing production multiple valuations are made:

The **configuration of the annual plan** is the most important valuation routine. It is prepared by the editorial team and discussed with the marketing department establishing the number of books that will be published next year and the budget for their publication. The main form of books' classification is strongly based on measures to identify types of publics considering their extension. Potential best-sellers or books that are expected to be well sold are gaining prevalence in publication plans. For example, Mirada currently focuses on upper trade non-fiction books, which have a wider public than academic books, the original offer of this firm. The editor explains how they must publish more explicitly commercial books related to "hot" topics such as health and nurture to support other independent and minority publications, including the reimpression of a large catalogue of prestigious authors. In this process, the editor defines the editorial team "as the heart" and the marketing department as "the brain" and how there is a dynamic of proposal and discussion to define if the book is relevant in commercial terms or to what extent it will work. A marketing executive of Marco Group argued that even if publishers do not like the "truth" of numbers, the quantitative marketing approach is indispensable. Moreover, all firms select books according to the flows of the market and try to increase the

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[1] All the names of the publishing firms cited here are fictitious.

potential public playing with timings, subjects, and already successful authors.

Nonetheless, some books which have a limited public are still published because they are considered valuable (e.g. classical discontinued books) and help to accomplish the cultural orientation as well as preserve the historical prestige of those firms. In more literary firms such as Condal, they would never publish books that are not ambitious and not original or are too hackneyed and too foreseeable. They search quality but not a quality too snob or with a minority interest. In Magauris Group, the specificity in the Catalan language makes it possible to articulate their own literary and commercial logic, always underlining the importance of quality, but the "elitist" literature, as they call it, occupies a peripheral place (also in the organigram). Consequently, literary quality is always traversed by commercial values. This trend is maintained also once a book is decided to be published in valuation routines of **pre-production and production** (manuscripts' editing or literary awards).

In **promotion and publicity**, although marketing strategies are quite fragmented, there is clear guidance: books expected to have a large public have a higher budget assigned to spend on promotion and publicity. The complexity of valuation routines in these processes entangles a diverse range of approaches. For example, the publisher of Condal or the elitist publisher in Magauris Group admit no comprehension of marketing approaches. Other publishers in Magauris Group or Mirada have always in mind the potential public of their books and usually use marketing categories, such as the publisher of the most commercial-oriented firm of Magauris Group that was the former marketing department's director. Although all publishers express that they have to "fight for their books" in front of marketing to increase the assigned budget, some writers complain that the investment in their books by publishers is not just too low but also too short.

Following the reception of a published book is another valuation routine. Publishers refer both to quantitative and qualitative measures, but the first ones are the most central. Technological and very expensive programs acquired by large groups such as Marco allow publishers to know from a quantitative point of view exactly how a book is being sold every week, a measure that enables them to know the market better and increases their chances to adapt to demand. Contrarily, qualitative measures as good reviews seem more difficult to evaluate. Duration is, however, the most appreciated criteria to evaluate reception. In a publishing industry where novelties prevail, a successful book that can become a long-seller is the last evidence of quality. All publishing houses have their long-sellers, even in the most commercial-oriented, which justify their work.

Finally, although differences between publishing houses emerge during those processes, they all believe that they have a cultural responsibility and try to preserve their cultural prestige as historical firms. In the Magauris Group, this approach is explicitly combined with a Catalan national project. The economical dimension does not openly appear in any general orientation or, when it does, it is subordinated to the cultural dimension: being part of a large group as Marco offers the opportunity to accomplish more thoroughly the aim to arrive at different types of publics, acquiring international rights or adapting production to demand, especially important in the cases of Magauris Group and Mirada. Furthermore, all three publishing houses claim to have almost complete freedom to choose their catalogue and minimize the economic demands of the larger group, which would only control general budgetary objectives and results.

2.3.4. Value conflicts and tensions

The most characteristic axis of value tension in the publishing world, **cultural *versus* commercial orientation** constitutes the fundamental opposition in our research. However, this opposition has a great complexity. Our study has considered (a) the change that the integration into a large archetypally commercial publishing group has meant for three reputable publishers with a very

diverse profile, (b) the different approaches and current evaluative practices of these same publishers. This double comparative look enables to appreciate the great complexity that this opposition contains.

The integration into a large group has changed the **balance between quality and commerciality**. Commerciality and budgetary accomplishments inevitably appear as a main objective in those circumstances. Budgetary restrictions apply to the three publishing firms studied. But other orientations toward profit-making, like the search for best sellers, have influenced some more than others (Mirada, particularly). Other more subtle influences in the same direction result from the fact that in working within the organizational structure of a publishing conglomerate economic objectives can be thoroughly pursued since the means to increase and control production, distribution and reception are more precise. Commercial criteria are progressively incorporated in the reasoning of publishers playing a more important role in every step of publishing books.

However, editors also try to preserve hierarchies and distinctions when they recognize that commercial books balance cultural-literary books (e.g. the compensatory theory in the annual plan). Within a publishing conglomerate the position of editors significantly weakens because they are isolated and cannot run the publishing process freely anymore; contrarily, they horizontally confront managers from the marketing to production departments that only think in economic terms. In that context, the balance between culture and commerce clearly shifts toward the predominance of commerce.

Beyond the general gravitation of commerciality which affects the three cases analyzed, the opposition with respect to culture is not a simple one. Behind the notion of cultural value there is a plurality of differential values that are present in the publishing houses examined and establish different associations and combinations between them. First, there is the value represented by **content quality**. This is an intrinsic value that refers to the textual characteristics of the book considered in the context of a certain discursive tradition with respect to which it represents a kind of excellence or valuable newness.

Second is the **cultural sustainability**. All cases studied affirm that although they need to be profitable and accomplish budgetary plans, there are some books that are published because they have a cultural responsibility in terms of the sustainability of a specific cultural context, be it the literary field, the public sphere, the national culture or the own publishing house identity. This value is much less hierarchically organized than the previous one and even if it can oppose economic value, it can also combine with it in multiple ways:

Publishing houses can be concerned about giving a chance to new authors, for example, helping to renovate the ranks of creators in the literary field. But even in this case editors try to compensate financial risks in different ways for instance through literary awards, which have an extra promotion assured.

Publishing firms also publish non-fiction books dealing with important public issues and their contribution can be much more effectively combined with commercial aims. There are some topics, however, that publishers think they are important but about which public do not show interest. In this case, the tension clearly emerges: they choose to publish some of them but in peripheral or experimental collections (e.g. in Mirada) and without expecting great sales (e.g. in Magauris Group).

In the Magauris group, for example, there is an important commitment to publish classical Catalan authors that would not be rediscovered without their engagement. This seldom produces benefits.

Finally, there is responsibility, especially in prestige historical publishing houses, to preserve and revive their catalogue. Two extrinsic cultural values are recognized and used. One is **external**

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qualifications, and the other is **public acclaim**. Both are more ambiguous cultural values and closer to commercial values. We find the first one in Mirada where they refer to quality through selecting just authors with diplomas that prove their specialization in the field (even in the case of influencers). In the most commercial literary firms inside Magauris Group, they also appeal to quality by underlining the career length of authors and tend to equate public success and quality.

2.4. Case 4: An intercultural museum (Mudec, Milan)

2.4.1. Case profile

Opened in 2015, the Museum of Cultures (MUDEC) is located in Milan and fosters the "research, collection and protection of tangible and intangible cultural expressions of non-European populations" and the "citizenry participation in the promotion […] of the museum collection" (Municipality, 2014b).

The long administrative and scientific process that led to the inauguration of MUDEC began in 1990, when the Municipality of Milan acquired an entire industrial block and limited its use for cultural purposes. Firstly imagined as a "classic" ethnographic museum, its main purpose was the exhibition of a permanent collection of more than 8.000 objects from Middle and Far East, South and Central America, Western and Central Africa, Southeast Asia and Oceania. However, after a long phase of development characterized by bureaucratic delays and political-institutional changes, the Municipality opted for a new concept based on a peculiar governance model.

MUDEC is one of the few public-private partnerships (PPP hereafter) operating in the Italian heritage sector. The partnership involves three entities: the Municipality; 24Ore Cultura, a division of the publishing group 24Ore, specialized in organizing blockbuster exhibitions and museum-related services; and Città-Mondo Association, a second level, not-for profit organization involving associations working with multicultural communities in Milan.

The different conceptions of culture expressed by the three actors incorporate a range of more or less conflicting values, which are intertwined in the different cultural programs. Our study focuses on the valuation practices implemented by the current configuration of MUDEC. Particularly, it takes into account the cultural activities produced since its opening: from 2015 to 2021.

2.4.2. Methodology

The analysis is based on archival research and 6 interviews with informants closely involved in the museum's activities and management. Our documental sources comprehend: 35 administrative acts (approx. 350 pp.); 15 documents detailing the projects and cultural programs carried on in the museums (390 pp.); 25 internal documents such as contracts, preliminary accounting and budget forecasts, communications (498 pp.); 6 exhibition catalogues; website and social media; almost 400 newspaper articles on the public debate around the museum and its history.

2.4.3. Actors, practices and valuations

Actors and practices

The actors involved in the public-private partnership and their main practices are here identified:

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The Municipality of Milan is the owner of the museum building and manage 2.464 sqm out of more than 5.500. From 2015 to 2021, main practices included:

- *To preserve and develop* the ethnographic collection: two conservators are appointed by the Municipality to preserve the ethnographic collection stored at MUDEC and acquire new objects.
- *To produce* a cultural offer related to the ethnographic collection by research and curatorial activities. The Municipality acts in two ways:
    - Through the conservators, who set up the permanent exhibition based on the collection.
    - Through ad-hoc curators – who may also be the conservators themselves - who produce temporary exhibitions.
- *To include* the non-European communities living in Milan within the activities of MUDEC. The museum building hosts the "Network Office" of the Municipality, which mediates between the museum and the non-European communities, fosters their active participation and promotes their representation inside the museum. The main project of the office is the Milano Città-Mondo cultural program (MCM): a yearly program focused on a main topic, including research projects in collaboration with communities' representatives, public events, temporary exhibitions and publications. During the COVID-19 pandemic most of the events were held online.

24Ore Cultura is a for-profit company of a publishing group that produces blockbuster exhibitions. The relationship between 24Ore and the Municipality is regulated by a contract which grants to the company the greatest part of museum spaces (3.122 sqm). 24Ore has also to plan and carry out a cultural program and provide for other services to the public – e.g., bookshop, café, restaurant, parking – upon the payment of rent. Moreover, 24Ore is in charge of all the bills related to its spaces. Main practices included:

- *To produce* "at least two international temporary exhibitions per year about the cultures of the world, even with reference to the present and the different languages of fashion and design" (Municipality, 2014a). During the first period of activity (2015-2021), 24Ore produced twenty-five temporary exhibitions in total, dealing with a great range of topics. The largest part exhibited a selection of works by famous modern and contemporary artists (Paul Klee, Frida Kahlo, Basquiat, Banksy etc.), others targeted a broader audience dealing with a pop (Barbie, Disney) or a more didactic conception of culture (Dinosaurs, Homo Sapiens, Ancient Egypt, Robot).
- *To promote* the museum through a range of communication channels. 24Ore manages the website and the social media accounts. It also crucially contributed to the launch campaign of MUDEC.

Città-Mondo Association is a non-profit second-level association. It is expected to be the mediator between the Municipality and the non-European communities of the city and to act for their inclusiveness and representation inside the activities of the museum. The interplay between the Municipality and the association changed over time. A first convention entrusted some areas to the non-profit organization: 115 sqm for the organizational activities and a 137 sqm space for the organization of exhibitions, conferences or events coherent with other activities held inside the museum. A new convention was signed three years later, establishing a reduction of these spaces. Main practice was:

- *To organize* a range of events (conferences, film projections etc.) involving the non-European communities living in Milan. According to our data, these activities ceased in

April 2016.

Valuations

Our analysis focuses upon six main values expressed by the actors involved in the activities of MUDEC.

Historical significance. This value is pursued through research and study activities that, certifying the professionalism of the conservators and curators appointed by the Municipality, shed light on the ethnographic meanings of the objects. These activities epitomize an idea of culture as a body of knowledge to be preserved.

Cultural diversity. By exhibiting an ethnographic collection, MUDEC fosters the representation of non-European culture within the cultural offer of Milan. The protection and promotion of cultural diversity have always been the main purposes of the museum since the first stages of development. What emerges distinctively from our analysis is the emphasis on the plurality of cultures as something intrinsically valuable. A catchphrase frequently emerging from press interviews to city councillor is: "we aim to achieve, through the differences between cultures, a culture of difference".

Participation. MUDEC aims to be "a cultural centre for the encounter of foreign communities" (Municipality 2013). The Municipality, in fact, tries to engage the non-European citizenry in the development of the cultural offer, in two ways: within the production of a more "dialogical" permanent exhibition and by involving members of the foreign communities in MCM activities.

Economic value. The activities produced by 24Ore well embodies the need to attract a broad audience in order to maintain financial stability. 24Ore explicitly refers to a business-oriented vocabulary classifying visitors in "customer segments" aiming to acquires new targets. The cultural offer produced by 24Ore, in fact, is evaluated by mostly looking at one indicator: the number of visits.

Hedonism. The prominence of temporary exhibition related to renowned contemporary artists entails the idea of culture as something entertaining and aesthetically enjoyable. The hedonistic value is also expressed by the broader offer of 24Ore, including a Michelin-starred restaurant and a Design Store which "aims to be a reference point for trends in contemporary design".[2]

Self-representation. The foundation of Città-Mondo Association and its involvement within the MUDEC governance certifies the need of non-European communities to take part in the decision-making of the museum. Our informants, in fact, make the case for the problem of a fair and consistent representation of each community by urging that the voices telling their stories are those of original members of these communities.

2.4.4. Value conflicts and tensions

Hedonism/Economic vs. Historical Significance

The configuration of the PPP implied that 24Ore, despite the limitations of the contract, is rather unconstrained about its exhibitions. The choice of artists and themes is crucially aimed at attracting a wide audience. Although the managers of 24Ore are required to inform the

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[2] https://www.mudec.it/eng/services/#designstore.

museum's director (member of the municipality) about their cultural programming, there is no formal veto mechanism. Thus, in some instances, 24Ore has proposed and produced exhibition having little or nothing to share with the ethnographic approach of MUDEC. As an example, 24Ore produced an exhibition dedicated to Barbie which, according to the 24Ore manager, created:

> huge difficulties for the city councillor because a newly born ethnographic museum was not supposed to have an exhibition dedicated to a toy, […] this clearly was a glamourous choice made to bring a certain kind of audience to the museum.

Analogously, the museum director told us that some of these choices "had to be accepted". This and other examples are informative of how the particular governance mechanism of MUDEC entails the ever-present tension between an idea of culture as generative of hedonistic and economic value *versus* the value of historical significance which is pursued by the museum curators through research and conservation.

Economic vs. Cultural diversity/Participation

From our data analysis it emerges how the creation of economic value from culture, purposefully pursued by 24Ore, is frequently perceived as contrasting with one of the main tenets of the museum, namely the generation of "a culture of difference". This is exemplified by those exhibitions, produced by 24Ore with the intention to find an alignment with the objective pursued by the municipality which were deemed disappointing in terms of economic performance:

In some years we performed much better than in other. It depends on the program of the year: one year we had Frida Kahlo and Banksy, this signed a huge difference with respect to the first year when we opened with the exhibition dedicated to Africa which amounted to 30.000 visitors, isn't it?" (24Ore manager).

Thus, for what regard the cultural offer of the museum, being faithful to its inter-cultural mission is perceived to be potentially detrimental in economic terms, according to 24Ore.

Besides the programming of the cultural offer, this conflict is also partly evident in communication activities. Our informants told us that the activities connected to Città-Mondo Association and to the MCM program are underrepresented in the museum's channels. As a result, these initiatives are promoted in separate channels: through a blog and a Facebook page different from the official MUDEC's one.

Participation vs. Self-representation

Although the activities promoted by the Municipality's network office are supposed to foster the self-representation of non-European cultures through a participatory process, we have detected some good deal of conflict between the valuation processes of participation and self-representation. This conflict originates in organizational issues: to give voice to the many different diasporic associations in the city, the Municipality involved the second level Città-Mondo Association in the MUDEC project but, according to members of the Network Office, this Association was not able to coordinate and advance consistent cultural offers. On the other hand, despite an initial enthusiastic reaction from members of the Association to their involvement in the city's cultural life, they later lamented a substantial lack of support from the Municipality with the consequence of lowering their available resources and engagement level. After one year and a half in which these different communities were to some extent included in

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the cultural programming, the Association got progressively disengaged from the Museum. This culminated in 2017 when the Association signed another convention with the Municipality relinquishing the spaces dedicated to them. Nowadays, all of the activities aimed at including foreign culture through a participatory process are fully directed by the Network Office under the label of Milano Città-Mondo.

2.5. Case 5: Buda Castle reconstructions

2.5.1. Case profile

This case report aims to explore the emergence, significance and value tensions of culture heritage in the contemporary political, social and cultural exploitation of highly important symbolic places through the analysis of the current reconstruction of the Buda Castle area (BCA). In the European context, the reconstruction of symbolic places, which were destroyed decades ago (as the Berliner Stadtschloss, the baroque Castle Garden in Bratislava or the Marian column in Prague) or by a recent disaster (Notre Dame de Paris) generate ample debates not only among professionals (e.g., historical ruin versus contemporary ruin) and politicians, but also in the general public, which feels concerned by the use and re-use of these memory places integrated into their references of identity long time ago. Hence, the examination of the reconstruction can reveal **intrinsic characteristics of contemporary European cultural production**.

The current reconstruction of the BCA entitled as 'National Hauszmann Programme' (NHP since 2014 as a plan having the first reconstructed buildings in 2019), is one of the major cultural and architectural projects of the Orbán regime (2010-) in Hungary. The NHP is embedded in the last 150 years of the history of the Buda Castle, which is partially underlines, partially overwrites the periodization of the political history of the country. The modern history of the Buda Castle and its political utilization can be summarized in the following phases, which are all present – directly or indirectly – in the current political agenda:

Period	Context	Character of the Buda Castle area	Reference for NHP
1967-1918 (constructions: 1880-1905)	Austro-Hungary; Budapest as an imperial, but not residential capital	Centre of political power	The absolute reference – its aim is the revival of this period (Alajos Hauszmann was the main architect of the period in charge of the urban development of the BCA)
1920-1944	Interwar period with governor Horthy, who resided here as the ruler of the country (first time since the 16th century)	Centre of political power	The absolute reference as a centre of political power, where the ruler resides and exercises its symbolic power
1946-1958	Stalinist regime, post-WWII plans to reconstruct the totally destroyed BCA without much tangible results	Centre of political power	Counter-reference because of the demolitions following the WWII.
1958-1980s	State socialism with	Centre of	The absolute counter-

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	post-1956 consolidating intentions. BCA became a World Heritage site (1987)	culture and science	reference – it destroyed fin-de-siècle architecture and deprived the BCA from its original functions
1990s-2010	Post-state socialist period, democracy	Centre of culture and science	Counter-reference, since it kept the cultural character of the BCA and missed the reconstructions
2010-	Orbán regime	Centre of political power	Reconstruction of the first two phases both in character and aesthetics

The analysis is based on the objectives, self-representative actions and results of the NHP and their reception among architects and experts of monument protection. The principal aim here is to identify the **evaluation and valuation contexts**, the **evaluation and valuation practices** as well as the **value conflicts and tensions** according to which the power (NHP) and the professional audiences (monument protection and architecture) position themselves.

Beyond the outstanding significance of the reconstruction of the BCA in the current Hungarian nation building, the NHP is also crucial from the urban development strategy of the Orbán regime placing this plan into the general reconstruction and renovation plans and actions of Budapest with special focus to the triangle of the Kossuth square (the square of the Parliament and the linking Liberty square) and the City Park, which will be turned into a Museum Park of Budapest, severely condemned by green activists, and the BCA as the **summit of power** both morphologically and politically.

2.5.2. Methodology

The approach of the research was qualitative and interdisciplinary. The qualitative research strategies used included **semi-structured interviews** and **content analysis**. The interview techniques were carried out on online platforms and in face-to-face meetings to understand the evaluation and valuation practices of the NHP plans and achievements as well as in the related public debates. The core of the interviews was determined by the twelve architects and heritage experts, who expressed him/herself in an open debate about the recent achievement of the NHP. It was completed by interviews with three principal experts of heritage protection and with representatives of the NHP, who manage the reconstructions. The interviews had a duration of approximately 1:00 hour and 1:30 hours.

Content analysis was used to analyse the collected documents (books, articles, reports, guides, governmental instruments) about the history of the fin-de-siècle constructions and the reconstruction of the BCA as well as the documents of the NHP including its representative exhibition entitled the '*Hauszmann Story'* (since May 2021).

2.5.3. Actors, practices and valuations

Actors and practices
Three main groups of actors can be identified, whose major practices are here identified:

State and political actors – NHP is a result of a government decree in 2014 (No. 1377) for the period of 2014-24, which was completed by two decrees and one law (on Budapest) in 2018. The reconstruction of the BCA is a priority for the Orbán regime (2010-), which is managed by

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the Castle Guard Integrated Regional Development Center Nonprofit Private Limited Company (established in 2018 by the government).

Monument architects and art historians (monument experts) – Since the independent institutions of monument preservation ceased to exist in the second half of the 2010s, experts of built heritage express themselves independently. 60% of the interviews were made with experts of tangible heritage.

Architects and urban planners – since the reconstruction of the BCA is significant from the perspective of the urban development of Budapest, many architects – directly or indirectly involved – as well as critics of architecture expressed themselves. 60% of the interviews were made with architects.[3]

Valuations

The analysis focuses upon four main values identified by the actors involved in the NHP and in its public evaluation.

Democracy (ideology, politics): The NHP is an extremely costly urban rehabilitation project financed by the State in one of the most symbolic places of Hungary, which consequently generates debates among professionals. As the official description of the NHP states: "We have placed (…) human and community-focused approach at the centre of all our concepts related to the development projects". However, the decisions have been highly criticized by professionals, since they were made (1) after the State "having executed the institutions of monument protection"; thus, (2) there was no considerable consultation with urbanists and heritage preservation experts; (3) financial resources were channelled for these reconstructions without consulting the municipalities of the 1st District or that of the Hungarian capital; (4) the programme is not debated in public, it is not an object of "socialization"; etc. For some, the undemocratic reconstruction of the BCA is a result of the failed democratization of the Hungarian symbolic architecture during the decades following the fall of the Iron Curtain:

> "(In Hungary) there was no sign that the democratic political value system would express its new values through a democratic use of space and through contemporary architecture. (…) The Hungarian republic after State socialism (…) did not rebuild symbolically, expressing its values through the means of architecture, its basic institutions of power."

Authenticity (history, representation, nation, memory): Authenticity is the major value of monument protection since the 19th century, which was codified in the Venice Charter (1964) and defined as the principle of tangible heritage in the World Heritage Convention (1972). Hence, it is used in the debates as a major reference with a great variety of interpretations. The current reconstruction is against the rules of monument protection (in which conservation is authorised, reconstruction is allowed only in the case of necessary innervation through which additions must be recognizable). Initiators, developers and supporters of NHP interpret authenticity as the unity of urban atmosphere, style (as opposed to a patchwork of different consecutive periods) as well as emotional categories such as faith, nostalgia, illusion. Another criticism of the NHP does not only aim at it lacking monumental authenticity, but also its missing historical authenticity, since the reconstructions blur the historical responsibilities of the Horthy regime.

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[3] There are experts who are simultaneously architects and specialists of monument preservation.

Well-being (entertainment, free-time): The BCA became a cultural quarter in the 1970s, which increasingly attracted interior then international tourism, which was served by tourist attractions and popular festivals. The NHP intends to re-establish the BCA as a residential area, in which the historical atmosphere is not replaced by a historical scenery. According to many professionals, this intention is not realized because of the lack of participative consultations with the residents and because of the missing ecological aspect of the reconstructions. However, the public debate about the spending of public resources should be a crucial element of the well-being of the society.

Aesthetic (beauty, excellence, autonomy of art, competence, uniqueness): The aesthetic value of buildings reveals the clashes between professional (architectural) and public taste for modern architecture. Since the reconstructions bring about the deconstruction of the 20th century (State socialist) solutions and additions, the role of modern architecture, its public appreciation and its political instrumentalization are interpreted together by the social actors. The professional categories of judgment ('true' and 'false' architecture, original pieces and copies, etc.) do not coincide with the public ones (traditional and modern, habitual /'secure'/ and original) and the power mixes these dissonances for its political purposes.

2.5.4. Value conflicts and tensions

Based on the four identified values, the relationships between these values and the tensions emerging from their encounter are summarized in Figure 2. Our analysis revealed that conflicts and tensions are crystalized around the complex value of Authenticity, which is displayed in the centre. The conflicts link three major fields of action and reference: political representation/use of the past; urban development and the social acceptance of modern architecture; monument preservation.

Figure 2. Mapping value tensions at the Buda Castle Reconstruction
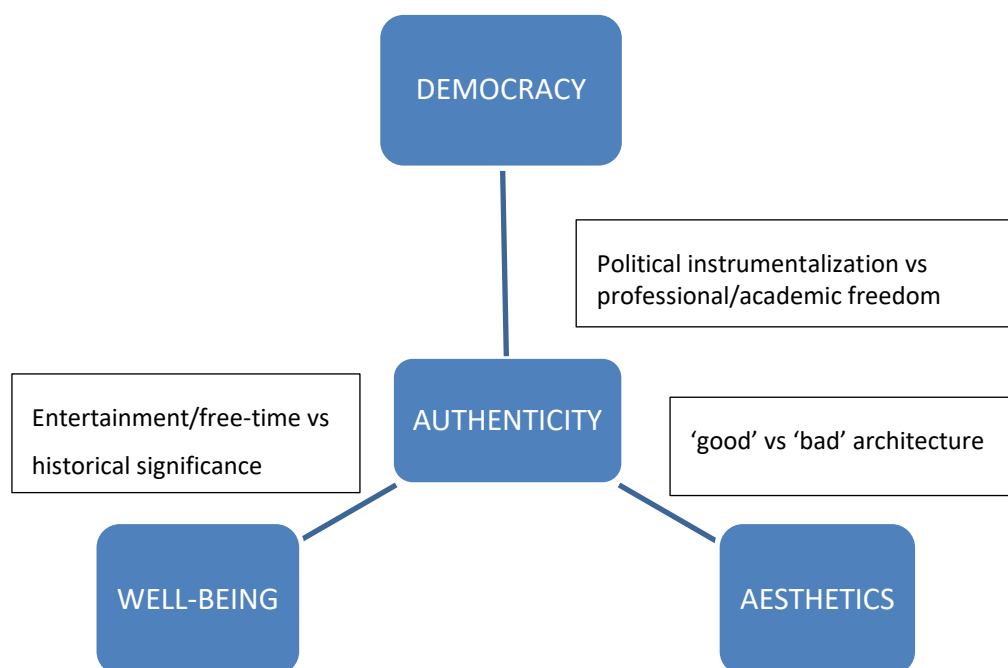
Source: Own elaboration

Political instrumentalization vs professional/academic freedom

The different interpretations of Authenticity are considered as indicators of the political practices of the actors, i.e., how they use the society as a reference: is the reconstruction of the BCA **achieved for or with the society**? Thus, this reconstruction can be interpreted as the rectification of the tormented history of Hungary in the 20th century by healing the wounds caused by the WWII and State socialism and by the re-establishment of the authentic (i.e., fin-de-siècle) atmosphere and urban setting. If this intention does not meet the expectations of monument experts and some architects, who either wish to follow the standards of international monument protection or appreciate certain accomplishments of the 20th century architecture, their opinion and their claim for **participative (both professional and public) decision making** can be ignored in the name of contemporary nation building. This debate defines a series of conflicts rooted in the lack of democratic decision making and in the variety of the interpretations of authenticity as a fundamental value, which are determined by the **definition of nation building (exclusive or inclusive)**; the conflictual significance of reconstruction; the conflictual interpretation of historical periods.

Entertainment/free-time vs historical significance

The interpretations of the authentic BCA are based on **two divergent understandings of the past**: one regards it as a continuous entity, in which ruptures can be repaired and the built environment can be embellished in order to create an appropriate decoration for contemporary events reuniting with the glorious past. Some architects and the official exhibition about the reconstruction impart that it is the lost glory, which is reconstructed, which is particularly appealing for events resuscitating the good old times. On the other hand, the critical interpretation of the past, which is guided by the determination of ruptures and by the demystification of illusions and it intends to prepare a present, in which ecological perspective of constructions and the critical processing of dark heritage are take into consideration. It is not

the purposes of the two understandings, which are in conflict, but the **instrumentalization of these interpretations**, which can reverberate the populist vs professional conflict presented in the previous section.

'Good' vs 'bad' architecture

The notions of 'good' and 'bad' architecture are **intellectual constructions to justify one's position in debates about the preservation of modern architecture in the context of monument preservation** (authenticity) and public acceptance and taste (aesthetic value). These notions alter from one social actor to the other as much as from one period to the other. While fin-de siècle architecture was not appreciated in the second (post WWII) reconstructions of the BCA ('bad' architecture) it became intriguing by certain art historians in the 1990s and worth of reconstructions in the 2010s by the power. Modern architecture of the second half of the 20th century, however, never gained an approval from the Hungarian public, which is extremely traditionalist from the perspective of its architectural taste. This **public taste** justifies reconstructions avoiding architectural innovation and producing edifices deemed to be worthless, old-fashioned and false by contemporary architects and critics. The distinction of 'good' and 'bad' post-1990 architecture also creates collision between contemporary architects satisfying and astonishing the public or the power.

2.6. Case 6: Roma art exhibition

2.6.1. Case profile

This case study analyses the preparation work and the collaborative establishment of a unique fine-art exhibition where cultural participation, the representation of minority heritage and the questions and tensions around cultural democratization appear together. Tamás Péli's (Hungarian Roma artist and political activist, 1948-1994) *Birth* is an enormous piece of art of unparalleled significance in many respects. Painted on fibreboard, the panel painting of nearly 41 m^2 (9 x 4.5 m) was completed in 1983 by Péli with the contribution of his disciples. *Birth* was commissioned during the state-socialist era by Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Council, and it was installed on the wall of the refectory of the orphanage in the Andrássy Castle in Tiszadob. When the Castle began to be renovated and converted into a hotel in 2011, the monumental panel was removed and hauled in four pieces to the Jósa András Museum in Nyíregyháza. It was stored in the museum's corridor, covered – safe, but unseen.

Birth presents an imagined-invented Roma creation myth surrounded on the one hand by episodes recounted through symbolic figures of Hungarian Roma history, and on the other hand by figures of a new genesis – the emerging Hungarian Roma intelligentsia. In this triple birth, a people, a historical narrative, and through its creators, a culture is brought to life and the point of intersection, the manifestation of this triple genesis is Péli's gigantic piece.

The exhibition entitled *Collectively Carried Out* came to be as a collaboration between OFF-Biennale Association and the Budapest History Museum with the purpose of not only rendering the painting visible but to introduce it into the collective public space – generated by discussions and interpretations. An important goal of the 'collectively carried out' act is to initiate a dialogue about the final placement of the work in a space where not only can it regain a visibility and accessibility, worthy of its art-historical value, but also the historical / civil rights narratives it embodies, of which it is one of the fundamental and founding pieces.

2.6.2. Methodology

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Participative observation of the project: observing every stage of the work from a very close perspective. The ELTE team observed the following phases:

● planning and preparing the exhibition material (archival documents, audio-visual material related to the painting and Tamás Péli himself)
● interview-making with Roma artists, art historians, former friends and colleagues of the painter
● curatorial work and museum pedagogical side-programmes

Interviews with the six actors (semi-structured interviews through zoom, approximately 30-60 minutes each)

Each of the interviews has been structured by the team along the same three sets of operations:

1. **heritage preservation in the past and future:** appropriate and authentic place for the artwork.
2. **participation and collaboration:** involvement and relationship of the various actors; tensions and conflicts of bottom-up and top-down approach (e.g., anti-establishment art initiative together with public institution); co-creation experiences.
3. **accompanying programs' objectives and expected impacts:** educational programme, educative goals and other long-term impacts.

Figure 3: Methodology rationality
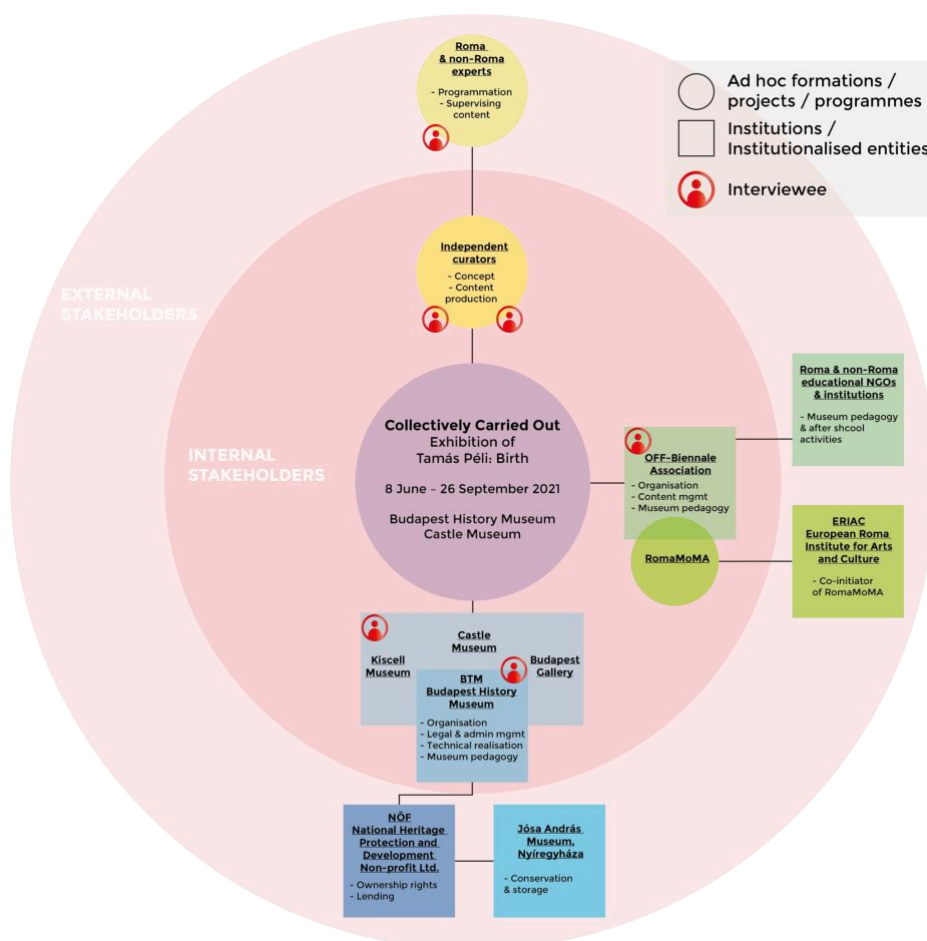
Source: own elaboration

2.6.2. Actors, practices and valuations

The participants of the project represent a wide range of actors from the field of cultural production and heritage management. In this special case of co-creative / collaborative work, the following actors are elaborating the project together:

● Internal stakeholders:

Three **independent curators** who have been involved in Roma cultural initiatives before.

OFF-Biennale Association organises the largest contemporary art event in Hungary since 2014. Their mission is to make the independent contemporary arts scene stronger and to initiate public discourse about urgent yet neglected social, political and environmental issues.

Budapest History Museum (BTM) is maintained by the Municipality of Budapest, supervised by the State Secretariat for Culture of the Ministry of Human Capacities. The exhibition takes place in the Castle Museum, located in Building E of the Buda Castle since 1967.

● External stakeholders:

National Heritage Protection and Development Non-profit Ltd. (NÖF) is a state-owned company, established to carry out asset management tasks of historic buildings, relics and artworks as in the case of Péli's *Birth*. BTM contracted with NÖF for lending the painting.

Jósa András Museum is a county museum in Nyíregyháza, in Northeast of Hungary, maintained by the Municipality of Nyíregyháza. Its collection includes ethnographic, historical and artistic relics from Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county.

European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture (ERIAC) is a European-level organization for the recognition of Roma arts and culture. In 2019, OFF-Biennale Association, in partnership with ERIAC, launched the initiative called **RomaMoMA** which is a collaborative, process-based, trans-disciplinary, transnational, discursive art project that points to the lack and necessity of a Museum of Roma Contemporary Art.

Roma and non-Roma experts are involved in the organisation and programmation of the exhibition (a larger pool of actors from whom some are closely working in the project and some only intervene occasionally).

Roma and non-Roma NGOs and institutions are involved in the realization of several collateral events, in principle related to museum pedagogy, after school activities, andragogy and mediation.

The common mission of the stakeholders is to bring changes in current values and value dynamics in Roma cultural heritage management. Social value of art, cultural diversity and democratization are emerging as driving factors in the realization of the idea. There is a quite broad consensus that Roma representation and cultural heritage are associated with many previously marginalised values, which have been made deliberately irrelevant by majority society. In this context, value dynamics are defined by predominated values and contrasted values.

When **defining the valuated object**, one may be confronted immediately with the complexity of the case study. On the one hand we can define the painting as the object of valuation, both in

its art historical, aesthetic quality and socio-cultural narrative; on the other hand, the exhibition itself, as a collaborative project; on the third hand, in a broader sense, the Roma cultural representation. To better understand the evaluation context, the research team deliberately left open the exact definition of the valuated object before the interviews. This was reserved for the interviewees, so with this method, we hypothesized that the representations activated by the object(s) could be empirically captured and the study of its manifestations becomes possible.

Regarding the valuated object, the interviewees related it mainly to the exhibition as a project and to the sets of problems around Roma cultural heritage and representation. There was less talk about the specific evaluation of the painting. Stakeholders' impact valuation process is largely shaped by the **social value of art**, including the painting itself and the exhibition organized around it. This appears not only on a conceptual level, but also in the programs associated with the exhibition. In this explicitly declared mission, space must be given to the socio-political agencies that this artwork carries.

The exhibition title *"Collectively carried out"* involves several layers which highlight the core value principles and confirm the socially driven valuation processes. On the one hand, to make the painting physically visible, with which it can reach a much larger public, it could even be said that it will be – even temporarily – **accessible to everyone** for the first time. On the other hand, the act of collectively carrying out is symbolically about the invisible Roma cultural heritage, more precisely about its **representation in the mainstream canon**. Their mission is to give space to these deliberately marginalized topics in mainstream political and cultural discourse.

In addition to the eruption from invisibility, the eruption from the so-called 'conceptual ghetto' is identified as one of the main challenges of the exhibition. Some interviewees reflect on how Roma art comes into such a naive, exotic, ethnographic interpretation. The act of **writing (back) to the canon** is thus filled with both scientific and political will, as it is carried out from the interpretive medium in which it is stuck.

Cultural diversity is increasingly entering the agenda of heritage institutions and is even becoming a determining factor. These, sometimes traditional, long-standing, national institutions open up to minority groups and develop programs that aim to present the cultural heritage of these groups. This mode of operation requires new approaches and methods of interpretation that were not previously available on either a theoretical or practical level. These value dynamics generate new contexts by (re)discovering many values previously thought to be irrelevant. New forms of established values could be observed as in the case of **authenticity** which is an essential issue of the third regime of cultural heritage. Identity values have different impacts on stakeholder groups, largely depending on their degree of institutionalization and their links to the Roma communities. These dynamics certainly affect which of them can reach out, involve and empower communities.

2.6.3. Tensions and conflicts in valuation

We could say that the most fundamental tension is given by the explicit and implicit directives of today's Hungarian cultural policy, which generate rather paradoxical situations in connection with **bottom-up initiatives**. In addition to the general weakness of civil society, the government is trying to keep it under control through legislation. The state authorities do not promote such initiatives, they must, in any case, come from "below". However, as in the case of the Péli-exhibition, once the initiative reaches a certain state of elaboration, the state institutions do not hinder or even support its implementation, even though it is a civic initiative. From then on, top-down state institutions can connect to it without any further ado.

D2.4. Report on the emergence of values in cultural production and heritage

Several tensions can be identified regarding the organization of the exhibition. These are largely between institutional and non-institutional stakeholders. These only affect evaluation routines to the extent that **institutional and non-institutional logics and practices** collide. Firstly, these are purely operative aspects which concern efficiency, speed of decisions, protocols to be followed. The independent curators identify the division of labour between institutional partners as mainly cost-based which is less formulated around certain value principles.

Another aspect of tensions generated by **different working protocols** is when the concept-developing independent curators, after finding institutional partners, at an advanced stage of the project, began to feel left out of many – mainly operative – tasks. They are aware that they would not be able to realize the exhibition if the two internal institutional stakeholders, had not entered the project.

These issues, formally coming from institutional tensions, lead directly to the questions of the discursive presence of Roma and non-Roma stakeholders, in a broader sense, the **(re)appropriation of Roma cultural heritage**. When it comes to the involvement of Roma artists / experts, there is a specific sensibility and vulnerability that should be acknowledged which is complemented by a more general fragility in minority heritage management. Once the cultural practices / artwork of minority origin is exhibited, there is a danger of essentialization and cultural appropriation. In other words, once the majority society (in this case, the institutional stakeholders) address a Roma artist / artwork, (s)he / it can only express as *the* Roma art(ist) and the fluidity / hybridity of this ethnic / cultural identity becomes static and essentializing.

Buda Castle as the exhibition venue was not included in the basic concept, but once it became reality, the interviewees unanimously attach a **symbolic value** to it. The exhibition is hosted by this large, representative institution and location with national and international visibility. Buda Castle is a special context in Hungary today: *Birth* is located a few steps from the reconstructed St. Stephen's Hall, which is one of the major symbols of the Hungarian government's cultural policy.

Although, as the project stands now, the interviewees have no influence on the **post-exhibition fate of the artwork**, it nevertheless fundamentally determines the valuation criteria of what is the appropriate location for the *Birth*. In a public, national museum or in an institution that is related to the education of disadvantaged (Roma) children or in other public spaces, open to a larger public (libraries, galleries, community houses)? There is palpable agreement on what is described by the expression of *"discursive environment"* which is continuously constructed and functions as an agora-like space. This includes factors such as accessibility, which means that the interactions about the painting can be maintained continuously. This must be reconciled with artefact protection considerations.

3. COMPARISONS BETWEEN AND LESSONS FROM THE CASE STUDIES RELATING TO CULTURAL VALUES

Specific relationships between actors, actions and valuations can only be understood in the context of each case study. However, we can identify some common elements that allow us to establish certain affinities and comparisons between cases. In this section, firstly we attempt to identify valuation affinities among cases which refer to certain common value principles. Secondly, we compare the profiles of the cases in terms of the relationship between actors and practices in order to put these valuations into their context of emergence. Finally, we elaborate a synthetic representation of the valuations, and the axiological tensions present in the different cases showing affinities between valuations, as well as homologies between the logics linking actors, practices, and valuations.

D2.4. Report on the emergence of values in cultural production and heritage

3.1. Identifying valuations: common value principles among cases

This is a complicate subject. Multiple views and readings are possible. We plan to continue working on these issues beyond this deliverable. Based on a comparative analysis, here we have elaborated just one preliminary representation, in which we have identified certain affinities between the valuations that emerge in the different contexts of the case studies analysed. The use of the qualitative analysis programme Atlas.ti has allowed us to group the similar valuations detected into a semantic network and associate them with more general common value principles (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Value principles detected in cultural production and heritage management
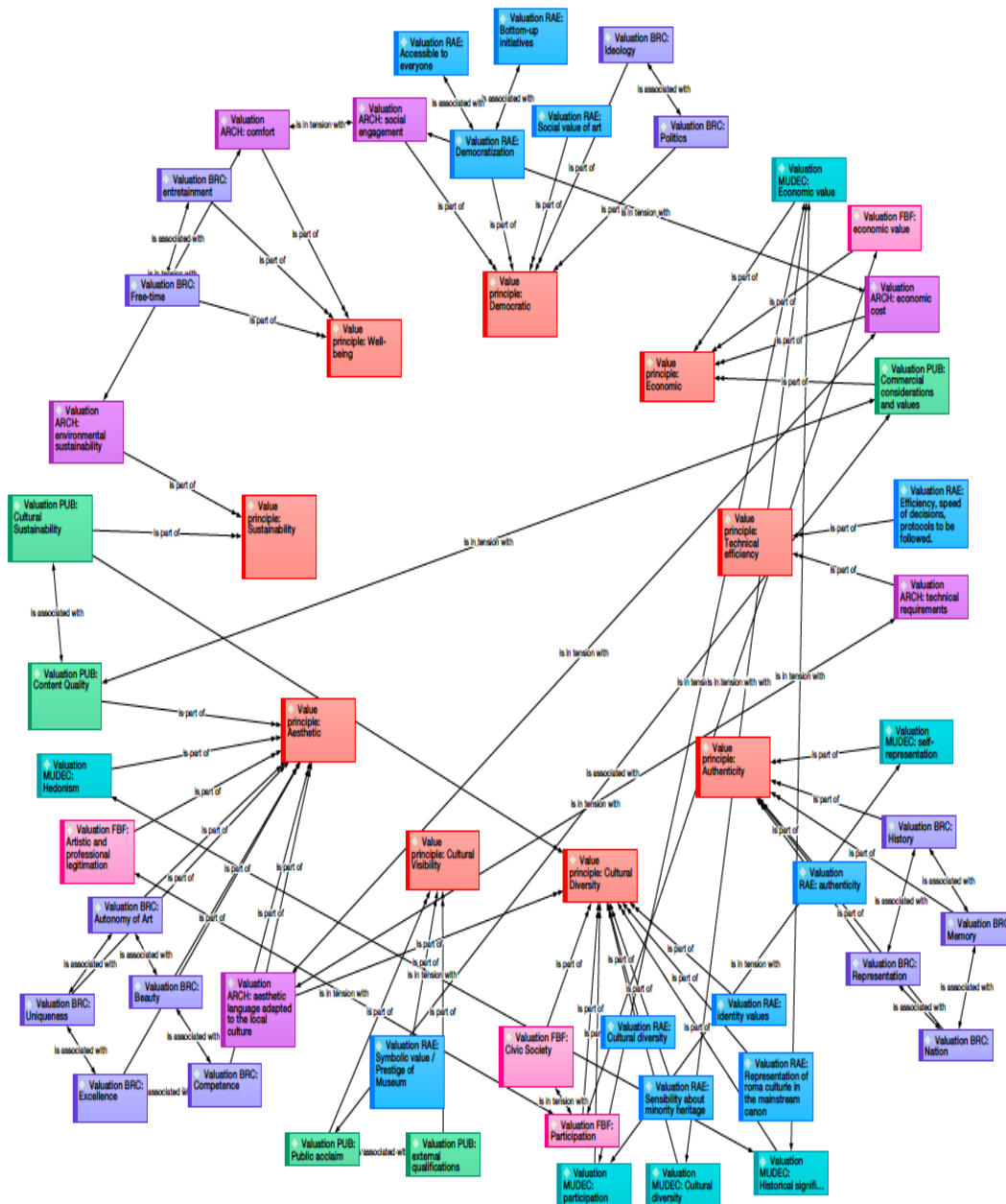
Source: Own elaboration using Atlas.ti.

D2.4. Report on the emergence of values in cultural production and heritage

We have detected nine **value principles** in our analysis detailed below: (1) **Aesthetic**. This principle is mainly associated with formal aspects in terms of language and artistic quality. (2) **Democratic**. Associated with participation, accessibility and horizontality. (3) **Cultural Diversity**. Linked to the positive valuation and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions. (4) **Authenticity**. Associated with the correct representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their expressions. (5) **Sustainability**. Based on the positive valuation of the natural and cultural environment, its preservation and care. (6) **Economic**. Focused on the importance of the costs and profits of an activity, product and artistic-cultural proposal. (7) **Technical efficiency**. Associated with the centrality given to the technical requirements that make the development of a certain project and/or cultural proposal possible. (8) **Well-being**. Linked to the positive valuations of comfort, quality of life, etc. (9) **Cultural Visibility**. Based on the positive valuation given to the prestige, acclaim and visibility of some artistic-cultural expression or proposal.

Once the common valuation principles that emerge from the valuations detected in each case study have been identified, we will analyse them within the UNCHARTED project theoretical framework. This will be a first analytic essay of the issue. It will involve framing our analysis within the studies on evaluation and valuation from a pragmatic sociology perspective (Lamont, 2012; Heinich, 2020; Kaszynska, 2015; Meyric, 2016). Pragmatic sociology places the actor at the centre of its analysis (his or her critical capacity, agency, and judgement) and the situations in which his or her practices are inscribed. In the case of value studies, this means focusing on value practices (rather than values), inscribing them in their context of emergence, to capture their diversity and tensions. According to this perspective, on the one hand, we will identify the actors, actions and context of each case study analysed, establishing some common affinities among them. On the other hand, we will put into context the valuation principle identified in our preliminary analysis and detect some common axiological tensions.

3.2. Contextualising: repertoire of actors, actions and contexts

In the field of cultural production and heritage management, we observe a diverse set of social actors who participate, directly or indirectly, in practices that make the development of an architectural project possible, a publishing proposal, a festival or artistic-cultural preservation and exhibition project. This diversity of social actors can be classified according to the role they play in the creative, productive and management processes in which they participate.

In the first place, we observe a set of social actors who constitute a **core team.** They are usually dedicated to the central tasks, such as the creation and development of a cultural proposal or project, or the preservation, organisation, and management of an exhibition. The FBF Association, the group of lead architects, and the editorial team constitute the core teams, dedicated to the creation and development of a specific cultural proposal or project. In the case of the FBF Association, these tasks are associated with the scouting and selection of artists, and the design and production of the Ferrara Buskers Festival. In the case of the lead architects' group, they are involved in the ideation and design of an architectural project. Finally, the editorial team is dedicated to the configuration of the annual editorial plan, the acquisition of rights and manuscripts' editing. Regarding the cases linked to artistic-cultural preservation and exhibition, the actors that constitute the core team are usually in charge of selecting, designing, and organising the artistic-cultural material to be exhibited. In the case of MUDEC, the core team is represented by the team of the Municipality of Milan in charge of preserving and developing the Museum's ethnographic collection, carrying out research and curatorial activities, and organising events involving the non-European communities of Milan. In the case of the Roma art exhibition in the Budapest History Museum within the framework of the Off-Biennale, the team of the OFF-Biennale Association and the curators of the Budapest History Museum are the core team in charge of creating, developing, and organising the exhibition.

In addition to the actors linked to the core teams, we observe a second set of actors who participate in the creative and organisational processes analysed, not in a central but auxiliary way. These actors make up **support teams** and dedicate themselves to tasks of development and materialisation of the actions proposed by the core teams. In the case of the Ferrara Buskers Festival, we can identify within this group the artists, musicians and performers who give content to the festival. Although these artists develop creative practices, they do so within the framework of the festival design developed by the FBF Association. In the case of the architectural projects analysed, the support team is constituted by a plurality of actors (committees of experts, project managers, construction teams, etc.) in charge of supporting the development of the project in terms of technical and constructive assistance. In the case of publishing houses, the support teams are part of the various departments that make up the publishing houses (marketing, production, and accounting departments, etc.), which are responsible for producing and promoting the books published. In the case of MUDEC, there are two organisations (24Ore Cultura and Città Mondo Association) involved in the promotion of the Museum and the production of part of the exhibitions (24Ore Cultura) and in the development of content, bringing a vision of non-European communities to the content and presentation of the Museum (Città Mondo Association).

Finally, we identified a third set of actors who assist, pay and, in some cases, regulate the creative and organisational processes developed by the core and support teams. In the case of the Ferrara Buskers Festival, these external actors are represented by the officials of the Municipality of Ferrara, who participate in the festival by providing a regulatory framework and financial support for its development. In the case of architectural projects, the external actors are represented by the users and promoters who, in some cases, participate directly in the design of the project but mainly establish the general frameworks of the projects (especially in architectural competitions) and are the ones who pay for the work. In the case of the RAE, the actors outside the organisation (National Heritage Protection and Development Non-profit, Roma and non-Roma expert, José András Museum, European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture, Independent curators) are the ones who provide organisational and content support for the development of the exhibition.

3.3. Putting valuation in context: repertoires of valuations and tensions

Actions developed by the different social actors observed are sustained by evaluations and valuations of what they do, the objects they work on, and the actions carried out by others. We understand these evaluations and valuations as practices that are strongly embedded in the context in which they emerge and develop. In this section we will identify some common patterns of valuative and evaluative practices in each case study, paying attention to the context of their emergence, possible affinities and the tensions derived from them.

Actors involved in the core teams are usually those who participate in the central actions that define the specificity of a cultural project (such as an architectural project or an editorial line), the organisation of a festival (such as the Ferrara Buskers Festival) or the curatorship of a permanent exhibition (as in the case of MUDEC) or a temporary exhibition (such as the Roma Art exhibition). In these situations, we observe a repertoire of diverse evaluations and valuation practices that emerge in the **contexts of creation and design** of the proposals, projects and productions analysed. These specific evaluations can be related, by affinity, to broader value principles. In the following, we detail the value principles associated with the contexts of creation and design of the case studies analysed:

D2.4. Report on the emergence of values in cultural production and heritage

(1) **Aesthetic.** This principle can be observed in the valuations centred on artistic and professional legitimacy when scouting and selecting the street artists participating in the Ferrara Buskers Festival. This can also be seen in the importance of the aesthetic language associated with the site in the ideation stage of one of the architectural projects studied. Finally, it appears in the criteria of literary quality used by the publishers when configuring the annual plan of the publishers analysed. In these cases, we observe an importance given to artistic and formal qualities in terms of language and artistic repertoire.

(2) **Democratic.** This principle is observed in different ways in the cases analysed. In one of the architectural projects this value principle is present in the importance given to the participation of users in the process of creation and design of collective housing and in the centrality of common over private spaces by the architects. In the case of the Roma Art exhibition, the democratic principle is observed in the generation of an accessible and open proposal, which involves the participation of representatives of the Roma community in its design. In these cases, we observe a valuation focused on the participation and accessibility of the proposals and projects.

(3) **Cultural Diversity**. This principle is observed in MUDEC's proposal for the preservation, development and production of a cultural offer of non-European communities living in Milan, as well as in the Roma Art exhibition proposal. These are cases in which the singularity and significance of historically marginalised communities is valued, favouring cultural diversity in museum offerings.

(4) **Authenticity.** This principle is associated with the valuations made by organisations representing non-European communities (Città Mondo Association), and experts, curators and institutions representing the Roma community regarding the importance of the correct self-representation of their cultures and the sensitivity placed on the heritage of minorities.

(5) **Sustainability.** This principle can be observed in the value placed on the preservation of the natural environment by the architect responsible for one of the architectural projects studied. The valuation is reflected in all the phases of development of the architectural work and is crystallised in the selection of the orientation of the building, the air-conditioning system and the materials used. In the case of the publishing groups analysed, the principle of sustainability appears to be associated with the preservation and development of a diverse cultural environment, as an important value that guides the configuration of the annual plan. In both cases, there is a positive valuation of the natural and cultural environment and an awareness of the role that the proposals and projects developed play for its preservation and safeguarding.

The support team and external actors are mainly associated with tasks of development, materialisation, assistance, promotion, support and regulation of the actions carried out by the core teams. In the contexts where these practices are developed, a repertoire of valuations emerge that are different from the ones we find in the contexts of the project creation and design. These kinds of valuations appear in **contexts linked to the development, support and regulation** of the project proposals, productions and exhibitions studied. From those case studies, the following common value principles are identified:

(6) **Economic**. Economic valuation is associated with the importance that social actors attach to the costs or profitability of a given artistic-cultural proposal or project. In the case of the Ferrara Buskers Festival, this valuation appears in the artists and performers when they give importance to the economic income that participating in the festival brings them. It is also seen in the valuations made by the Municipality of Ferrara in terms of the profitability generated by the festival to decide on its economic support. In the case of publishing groups, the economic valuation strongly appears in the commercial

considerations – in terms of profitability – that people from the marketing department make to influence the design of the annual publication plan. In architectural projects, these valuations emerge with force in the construction stage, associated with the costs of the work by the architects and developers themselves, in terms of affordability and profitability. In the case of MUDEC, the economic valuation appears in the proposals developed by 24Ore Cultura to achieve a greater number of visitors through more commercial exhibitions that bring income to the Museum.

(7) **Technical efficiency**. This valuation principle can be observed in the importance given to the technical requirements that make the development of a project or cultural proposal possible. In architectural projects, these valuations strongly emerge in the design and construction stages of the project, based on the adequacy of what was conceived to the constructive reality. This type of valuation can also be observed in the principle of efficiency that governs the assembly of the exhibition in the case of the Roma Art Exhibition by the team from the Budapest History Museum.

(8) **Well-being**. The principle of well-being can be observed in one of the case studies associated with comfort in the dwelling, which was put forward by the users who participated in the design of the collective housing projects and in the architectural competition regulation of one of the architectural projects as requirements for guaranteeing a comfortable temperature in the at the Museum.

(9) **Cultural Visibility**. This principle is associated with the prestige, acclaim and public recognition that many publishers use as a criterion for acquiring publishing rights and defining awards.

Tensions between the valuations that emerge and come into play in each context of action can only be understood based on the specific analysis of each case study. However, once affinities are found, different patterns of valuation tensions can be established. Firstly, we observe a main set of tensions between the valuations emerging in the contexts of creation and design of the proposals, projects and productions analysed and those valuations that arise in the contexts linked to their development, support and regulation. The first set of valuations are those that define the central decisions that come into play when defining a proposal; the second set of valuations are associated with their development and implementation.

Secondly, we observe a set of major tensions between economic valuations and the valuations that emerge in the contexts of creation and design, especially those centred on aesthetic principles, cultural diversity and democracy. It is impossible to reduce these tensions to an opposing set of valuations between intrinsic (aesthetic) and extrinsic (economic) principles, since in many of the cases analysed the valuations that define the centrality of a proposal include principles associated with participation (democracy) and cultural diversity, sustainability and authenticity. Therefore, rather than talking about intrinsic (aesthetic) versus extrinsic (economic) valuations, it is more convenient to talk about the predominant valuations in the creation and design stages of a cultural proposal and those valuations that emerge in the contexts in which these proposals are materialised and developed. In these contexts, the valuation principles that end up coming into tension are those that are put into play in the creation and design of a proposal (aesthetic valuations, participation, sustainability, diversity, etc.) and those valuations that are considered so that these proposals can be materialised (linked to economic costs, technical requirements, visibility and even well-being). Figure 5 shows this interplay of tensions observed in the case studies analysed, clustered by the contexts of emergence.

Figure 5: Valuation tensions and context of emergence.
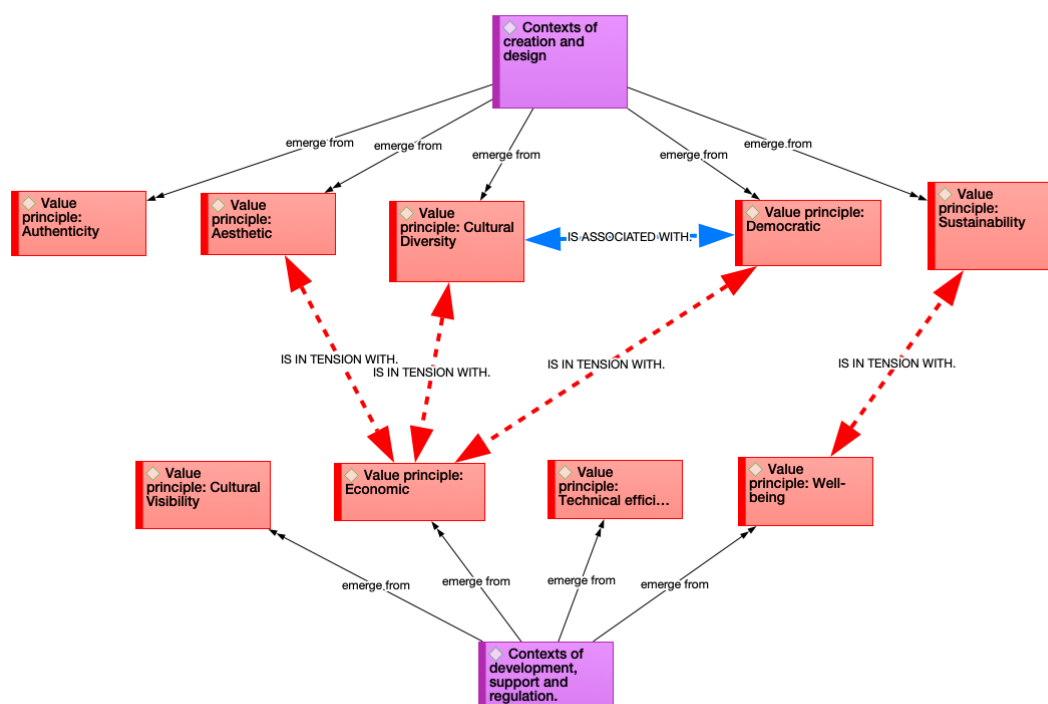
Source: Own elaboration using Atlas.ti.

4. **CONCLUSIONS**

The different case studies examined reveal a diversity of existing evaluative practices in the fields of cultural production and heritage management. As can be observed, these value practices emerge in specific contexts of action. The report showed, firstly, how these diverse valuations can be grouped according to common value principles in accordance with certain homologies and affinities. In this respect, nine value principles associated with the field of cultural production and heritage were distinguished: **aesthetic, democratic, cultural diversity, authenticity, sustainability, economic, technical efficiency, well-being and cultural visibility**.

Secondly, in accordance with the specificity of the case studies analysed, it was possible to distinguish the contexts in which these valuations emerge, identifying actors and practices that are homologous between cases. In this way, we distinguished, on the one hand, between actors and actions framed within **contexts of creation and design** of a cultural proposal or project, and on the other hand, between actors who developed their practices in **contexts linked to the development, support and regulation** of the project proposals, productions and exhibitions studied. This distinction allowed us to identify specific value principles linked to each context. We found, in particular, that aesthetic, democratic, cultural diversity, authenticity and sustainability value principles are associated with the creation and design contexts, and another set of values (economic; technical efficiency; well-being; cultural visibility) are associated with the context of material development, support and regulation.

Finally, it was observed that the main tensions were between those values emerging in the contexts of creation/design of a cultural proposal or project and those values that come into play in the context of their materialisation. The first set of values is associated with the actions

that define the specificity of a proposal or project (be it aesthetic, linked to participation, diversity, sustainability or authenticity), whereas the second set of evaluations is associated with the actions and practices that make their materialisation and development possible. In these contexts, the valuations that prevail are practical, aimed at guaranteeing their development (in terms of cost and profit, technical efficiency, visibility, etc.).