

Understanding, Capturing and Fostering the Societal Value of Culture



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1. INTRODUCTION

This document embodies the concluding phase of the WP2 work and reflections based on the 26 case studies developed within the four research fields of UNCHARTED: 6 cases in cultural production and heritage management carried out in Spain, Italy and Hungary, 4 cases in cultural participation in live arts and culture in France and Portugal, 4 cases in cultural participation through media in the United Kingdom and Norway, and 4+8 cases in cultural administration about Spain, Portugal, France, United Kingdom, Norway and Hungary. For each of the four fields a separate section presents the multiplicity of valuations and their tensions in the case studies, which are, in the last section, discussed through a synthetic summary.

In cultural production and heritage management an initial list of critical values allowed to see their association with different groups of actors (core, support, and external) in distinct contexts (creation and design or development, support and regulation). Then, three levels of valuation were identified: product (the artwork itself or the artistic activity), type of organization, and societal impacts (referring to multiculturalism, economic development, or environmental issues). The analysis pinpointed two typologies of conflicts: conflicts within levels (associated to power imbalances) and conflicts between levels (which can be managed by finding a balance or trading-off different values).

In cultural participation in live arts and culture the pandemic sanitary restrictions were a point of departure to reflect on the specificities of in-person collective reception. The variations in valuation were identified concerning types of participation and social trajectories (the roles and positions of the participants and their social characteristics) and different degrees of institutionalization of cultural projects. The analysis allowed to find several "internal" tensions between values within the same case study, and "external" tensions between values promoted in the case studies and values promoted by external fields of cultural activity. Mainly, the values of aesthetics, hedonism and individual freedom appear to be in contrast with principles existing in the cultural policies, in the institutionalized culture, and in the political definition of priorities in the context of the pandemic contingencies.

In cultural participation through media the pandemic context was also the frame for the analysis of the plurality of values attributed to digitally mediated cultural participation. A first mapping locates the activities, actors, and core value clusters for each case study, and the analysis points to some significant synergies in the attribution of values across the varied contexts – however an important distinction must not be forgotten, between modes of online participation as a response to the contingencies of the pandemic and, on the other hand, the modes that were already designed to be delivered online. Some "analytical" tensions were identified amongst the expressed values between virtual and co-presence experiences, between educational offer and audience demand, among music genres in online concerts and, also, between aesthetic and non-aesthetic values. In cultural administration the analysis encompassed a plurality of cultural policy models and orientations across local, regional and national administrations. They were identified nine value principles for national and regional administrations and another

eight for local cultural administrations (from which seven overlap). Then, three levels of principles were identified (Economic/Participation, Aesthetic/Identity, and Equality/Education/Wellbeing), with variations in the national/regional and local administrations mainly visible in the value accents. Some axiological tensions were detected between value principles, however, the form these tensions adopt is, in an important way, dependent on the context (e.g., territorial factors).

The last section is a synthetic summary of the valuations and tensions identified in the four fields, considering the contexts of emergence, the actors involved, and the conflicts and tensions between the valuations detected. A plurality of seven valuations was identified: (1) Aesthetic, (2) Economic, (3) Technical efficiency, (4) Democratic/Participation, (5) Authenticity and Identity, (6) Sustainability, and (7) Hedonism/Entertainment/Emotions/Wellbeing/Comfort. From all these, the Aesthetic, the Democratic/Participation and the Authenticity and Identity valuations are transversal to all the fields. Yet, the highlights are: in cultural production the dominant valuations are Aesthetic, Economic, Technical efficiency and Sustainability; in cultural administration predominates the Economic and the Democratic/Participation; in cultural participation through media the Democratic/Participation and Emotions are prevalent; in cultural participation in live arts the main valuations are Democratic/Participation, Sustainability and Hedonism. A final synthesis allowed the observation of two sets of values and their tensions. On the one hand, the Aesthetic, Economic and Social values which are central in the fields of cultural production (more or less professional), participation and cultural administration. On the other hand, the values linked to Authenticity/Identity, Hedonism/Well-being and Sustainability that emerge as central in the fields of less professional cultural production, cultural participation (face to face and digitally mediated), heritage management and cultural administration. The presentation of two diagrams translates both sets of values in their tensions and in the specific relation with the research fields.

Throughout the document all these addressed questions will be illustrated with the respective references to the case studies. Also, some fundamental connections are done with the following work packages' aims.

2. REPORT ON THE VALUE TENSIONS IN CASE STUDIES OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Introduction

In this section we explore two perspectives to understand the multiplicity of valuations and their tensions in the case studies analysed in WP2 linked to cultural production and heritage management. The first perspective is based on an analysis centred on the actor and their contexts, in order to understand the value dynamics of cultural production and heritage management. The second perspective - complementing the first approach - is based on an analysis in which different levels of analysis are distinguished to shed light on tensions and value conflicts and help develop hypotheses on how conflicts are

managed.

1. Understanding valuation practices in cultural production and heritage management from the point of view of actors and their contexts.

In this section, we show the first perspective on the analysis of valuations in the field of cultural production and heritage management centred on actors and their context. To achieve this aim, 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.

1.1. Identifying valuations: common value principles among cases

We identify some common elements that allow us to establish certain affinities and comparisons between cases in cultural production and heritage management field. Firstly, 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.

1.2. Contextualising: repertoire of actors, actions and contexts

Secondly, 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 has been 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 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).

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

Thirdly, in accordance with the specificity of the case studies analysed, it has been 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

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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.).

Figure 1: Valuation tensions and context of emergence.



Source: Own elaboration using Atlas.ti.

2. Disentangling valuation practices in cultural production and heritage management: a multi-level proposal

The previous section elaborated a list of critical values in cultural production and heritage management, showing how these values can be associated with different groups of actors (core, support, and external) that refer to them in distinct contexts (creation and design or development, support and regulation).

This section complements the comparison presented in section 1 by bringing into the discussion the issue of how valuation happens at different levels or concerning distinct

aspects of the object of valuation. It will be suggested that understanding valuation levels can shed light on conflicts and tensions and help develop hypotheses on how conflicts are managed.

2.1. Introducing levels of valuation

Starting from the case-specific values detected in section 1 (the outer circle in Figure 4 in D2.4) and systematically comparing the case studies, we highlight that valuation is performed at different levels in each case study. For instance, in the FBF case, the value of "quality entertainment" is mobilized to evaluate the festival's artistic performances. On the other hand, the value of "participation", intended as the Festival openness to different initiatives and artistic genres, refers to a vital tenet inspiring the festival's organization. Lastly, "economic impact" and the value of "civic society" emerge when discussing the festival as part of the city regarding the valuable impacts it generates on the territory.

Similarly, in the case of architectural firms, comfort is valued when referring to the building as a place to live. On the other hand, "cost control" is valued when the building is intended as a project to be implemented. The value of the "environment" is mobilized when the building is conceived as part of the neighbourhood or the region.

By applying this scheme consistently across cases, three levels of valuation can be identified: product (the art work itself or the artistic activity in its core elements), organization and society. Table 1 displays the values emerging from the cases, organizing them by level.

Case	Seen as	Values	Level of valuation
FBF – Festival as:	Performances	Quality entarteinment	Product
	Set of activities	Partecipation	Organization
	Part of the city	Economic impact, Civic society	Society
MUDEC – Museum as:	Collections	Historical significance, Hedonism	Product
	Organization	Partecipation, Financial sustainability	Organization
	Part of the city	Cultural diversity, Urban regeneration	Society
BCA – Project as:	Area	Authenticity, Beauty, Well-being	Product
	Consultation	Autoritarianism, Partecipation	Organization
	Idea of the Country	National identity, Democracy	Society
Architects – Building a	Place to live	Comfort	Product
	Project	Cost control	Organization
	Part of the world	Environment	Society
Publish.– Book as:	Reading experience	Newness, excellence	Product
	Part of an editorial plan	Commercial success	Organization
	Part of the cultural field	Cultural sustainability	Society
Roma – Exhibition as:	Painting	Historical relevance	Product
	Initiative	Inclusiveness	Organization
	Roma culture	Self-representation	Society

Table 1: Levels of valuation in cultural production and heritage management

Following the approach already used in section 1, we differentiate levels in relation to the actors involved and the context of valuation. However, we do not attempt to

integrate the two models fully or to position the issue of levels of valuation into a broader theoretical discussion (the analogy between levels of valuation and Goffman's "frames" is, for instance, intriguing, yet it deserves to be explored further).

Following Table 1, the first level of valuation relates to the cultural product, both in its tangible and intangible forms. Actors involved at this level are temporally or spatially close to the object. The work invested in producing value at this level enhances the product's artistic, historical or aesthetical qualities.

With the second level of valuation, we move from the product to the organization. What is valued at this level is the organizational container of the product, e.g. the exhibition, the museum, the festival or the company, usually focusing on additional meanings and values, such as economic viability or patterns of inclusion or exclusion of relevant stakeholders or activities.

By further zooming out, we can identify a third-level object of valuation, which refers to the societal impacts of the cultural product. Depending on the case, societal impacts refer to multiculturalism, economic development, or environmental issues. Public officials, who are temporally or spatially far from the cultural product, are most often involved in mobilizing societal-level values.

2.2. Exploring value tensions and conflicts: a tentative typology

Disentangling different valuation levels offers a new understanding concerning how value conflicts originate. Drawing on the case studies, we can pinpoint two typologies of conflicts: conflicts within levels and conflicts between levels. These are further elaborated below.

Conflicts within levels

This typology of conflict happens when there are diverse views concerning values at each level. For instance, in the MUDEC case, we can identify conflicts at:

- the product level: while the Municipality of Milan stresses the "historical significance" of the collection, for the private partner, the objects displayed should contribute to a pleasant visitors' experience, where "hedonism" is the primary product-level value.
- The organization level: when planning activities, the Municipality values "participation" (e.g. including migrant communities in decision-making). On the other hand, the private partners guiding value is "financial sustainability".
- The society level: for the public partner MUDEC should impact society by promoting "cultural diversity". For the private partner, the broader impacts of the museum relate to urban regeneration and economic return.

Conflicts within levels have also emerged in the Buda Castle case. For NGOs and conservators, the Buda castle project should problematize "authenticity" while for the government "authenticity" materializes in a selected use of history (product level). Besides, for the former group of actors, the project should be open to stakeholders'

"participation" (organizational level) and eventually promote "democracy" (society level). On the other hand, the government operates in an authoritarian way at the organizational level and aims at promoting national identity at a society level.

It should be pointed out that conflicts originate because actors express different values at each level are easily associated with power tension, wherein one agenda tends to be hegemonic and constrains the other. At MUDEC, for instance, the private partner has resources to implement its program: it controls most of the museum's space, and its museum concept is financially sustainable. In this context, the Municipality value system is marginalized. Similarly, the Buda Castle project is sponsored by the government in an illiberal democracy context. It should be no surprise that the opposing coalition has little political voice to influence the development of the renovation process. Therefore, the case studies point out that within level conflicts happen in situations characterized by power imbalances of economic (MUDEC) or political (Buda Castle) kind.

Conflicts between levels

In this ideal typical situation, values emerging at one level conflict with values emerging at other levels.

The episode relating to installing a gas cooker in the dwellings presented in the architectural firms case illustrates this conflict. Conceiving the building as a place to live (product level), users positively valued the "comfort" of such cooking system. Conversely, under the perspective of the impacts of the building on the "environment" (society level), consultants opposed such a solution. An additional conflict of this kind observed in the architectural firms case study involved the contrast between compliance with environmental requirements (society level) and the need to control cost or fit the budget (organization level).

Also the publishing company case offers an interesting example of between levels conflict as it is shown that an editorial plan focusing on "commercial success" (organizational level) minimizes the publication of books that are valued in terms of "newness" or "excellence" (product level) or "cultural sustainability" (society level).

2.3. The way forward: how can value conflicts be managed?

The analytical distinction between conflicts happening within or between levels can offer preliminary insights into how value conflicts can be managed (and indeed a lens on how conflicts dynamics could take place).

As shown, within level conflicts are associated from power imbalances. While one party has economic or political resources and can effectively put its values into action, other parties and other values are marginalized. A preliminary step to reduce the marginalization of values would, in these cases, involve a reduction of the power imbalances. In the MUDEC case, for instance, adequate funding would facilitate the realization of the Municipality agenda centered on "historical significance", "participation" and "cultural diversity". Given the distance between the value systems

involved, the issue here is not to find an agreement but to ensure enough space – even physical – to both views so that the conflict becomes evident, explicit, and open to discussion.

On the other hand, preliminary evidence seems to suggest that conflicts between level can be managed by finding a balance or trading-off different values. The architectural firms case study provides many examples of situations where a mutually satisfactory balance between "comfort", "cost control", and "environmental issues" was achieved after discussion and adaptations of the project.

While trade-offs are developed at a project level in the architectural firms case, the publishing company case highlights a portfolio approach to managing conflicts. When drafting an editorial plan, it is assumed that commercial books will subsidize quality and "cultural responsibility"-type of books, thus balancing the values involved. Interestingly, therefore, aiming at commercial success constrains and, at the same time, enables the publication of books that are relevant from a cultural or social point of view.

These initial insights concerning different approaches to managing value conflicts – i.e. modifying power balances, project-level trade-off, portfolio trade-off – could guide the development of hypotheses to be explored in the following stages of the research, in WP3.

3. REPORT ON THE VALUE TENSIONS IN CASE STUDIES OF CULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

1. Introduction

This section synthesizes the **mapping of values in cultural administration** conducted as part of Task 2.5. It also provides additional analytical insights regarding these mapping on the basis of debates with external experts held at the Oporto Workshop in Month 18.

Deliverable 2.5 addresses values and value tensions in cultural policies in Europe by examining **twelve local, regional and national administrations** in six different countries representing a plurality of cultural policy models and orientations. Sampling criteria included cultural policy models (i.e., liberal, central European and Nordic) (Zimmer & Toepler, 1999), levels of government (local, regional and national) and overarching policy regimes (i.e., the creative city, neoliberalism or illiberalism in cultural policies). This conceptual scheme allowed us to construct a set of cases useful to identify what values administrations integrate into policy design and how they prioritize them. In this regard, a distinction must be established. Cultural policies can be understood as "value-based" since they are driven by implicit and explicit values embedded in their actors, programs or activities. However, they can also be conceived as "value builders", given their capacity to administer symbolic, aesthetic and cultural capital. D2.5 focused on

the first, institutional register.

Values were studied in all cases through discourse analysis applied to official documents, including statistics, plans and evaluation reports. Moreover, four cases within the twelve-case sample, comprising the City Councils of Barcelona and Bragança, the Portuguese Ministry of Culture and the Xunta de Galicia¹, were examined in depth by means of interviews and focus groups with relevant stakeholders. This methodological strategy sought to identify values as they are articulated within institutional discourses and policy narratives and as each interviewed actor manifests them. Finally, data from these documentary and fieldwork sources were triangulated before conducting the overall comparative analysis.

2. Values in European cultural policies from a comparative perspective

Following the logic of semantic network analysis, values identified in the 12 cases study were grouped into semantic affinity areas and associated with common value principles (e.g., "social development" and "social cohesion" into the "social value" of cultural policies). As a result, we detected **nine value principles** for national and regional administrations and another eight for local cultural administrations, from which seven overlap. The Table below describes dominant narratives for each of these value principles:

Value principle	Dominant framing and associations
ECONOMIC	Focused on the importance of quantitative performance and profit, generated by products, heritage and artistic-cultural assets targeted by cultural policies. These outcomes are particularly associated with innovation, territorial growth, exports and investment.
IDENTITY	Associated with cultural policies' constitutive dimensions, such as nation building, ethnic grounds, heritage, language or territorial branding.
AESTHETIC	This principle is mainly associated with formal aspects of cultural products, arts and heritage, in terms of excellence, quality and distinction.
PARTICIPATION	Associated with the integration of different social and sectoral actors into cultural activities or in cultural policy design and implementation. This may also be achieved through decentralization, fostering social cohesion.
CULTURAL DIVERSITY ²	Linked to the positive valuation and promotion of the diversity of cultural heritage, practices and discourses ensuring media

¹ The other eight cases included the French Ministry of Culture, the Norwegian Ministry of Culture, English Arts Council, Creative Scotland, Hungarian Secretary of Culture, and Bergen, Montpellier and Budapest City Councils.

² Present only at the national and regional levels.

	pluralism and sociocultural inclusion, often concerning immigrants.
EQUALITY	Based on different educational and cultural policies, as well as governance models, oriented towards ensuring (gender, immigration, socioeconomic, etc.) equal social inclusion in and through culture and the arts.
EDUCATION	Associated with the centrality given to formal arts education as a space for cultural capital redistribution impacting the cultural field/life.
WELL-BEING	Linked to the positive contribution and valuation of culture regarding comfort, quality of life, health, safe places and clean environments.
SUSTAINABILITY ³	Related to the contribution of cultural policies to strengthening the resilience of the cultural sector or to the contribution of culture to environmental protection.

The above value principles were identified for the national/regional levels of government on the one hand and the local level on the other hand. In the image below, they are organized according to their overall importance (position) and frequency of appearance (numbers + colours) concerning each level of government group:

Figure 2: Value principles of the national/regional and local levels of government



Source: own elaboration.

As we can see, cultural policies share a programmatic and discursive focus on economic, identity, aesthetic, and participation value principles. The abstraction of the multiplicity

³ Present only at the local level.

Identity

Economic (+ and -)

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of identified values towards value principles and the classification of the latter by level of government reveals that they are positioned at the following three levels:

- i. Economic/Participation: the economic value framing prioritizes culture as a means for economic and productive growth and development. Together with this, participation is placed as a ground and requirement for promoting cultural democracy or legitimate public management.
- ii. Aesthetic/Identity: culture's aesthetic value, which is often understood as excellence and competitiveness in the arts, is vital for cultural policies. This is more evident for national and regional than for local levels of government. Moreover, while identity is key for all levels of government, national and regional cultural policies provide more centrality to constitutive dimensions such as national or ethnic elements. Instead, this value principle has slightly different associated values at the local level, such as urban or historical heritage.
- iii. Equality/Education/Wellbeing: these are values expressing a broader understanding of the social contribution of culture. They convey both cultural policy goals and a transversal basis for cultural democracy often associated with economic and cultural capital redistribution.

Differences found between national/regional and local administrations chiefly concern value accents. The municipal level pushes back economic-related values while prioritizing participation. The latest is characteristic of proximity policies and first-hand administration of cultural facilities. As a result, the other two classic drivers for cultural policies, namely economic and aesthetic values, are moved to the second and third positions. Lastly, while the cultural diversity value principle is only manifested in state and regional cultural policies, sustainability-related policies and discourses replace it at the local level.

3. Tensions between value principles in EU cultural policies

The case study analysis has allowed us to detect a series of axiological tensions between value principles. In the configuration of values corresponding to national and regional administrations, tensions detected mainly concern the values and value principles that we have identified as predominant (Economic, Identity and Aesthetic). The form these tensions adopt is very much context dependent. Specifics of each value tension disclose the Economic value as opposed to the Aesthetic or Identity values based on different arguments, valuation processes and trajectories.

For example, in the **Xunta de Galicia**, nationalism (Identity) is translated into an ofteninstrumental appreciation of the local heritage and language supporting tourism-driven internationalization (Economic) in tension with sectoral demands and rural participation

> (Economic-Social). This can be explained by the region's particular social, economic, and political conditions, including limited industrialization combined with significant heritage assets (such as the Camino de Santiago). Moreover, the Popular Party (liberal conservative) has governed it for decades,

contributing to this policy approach.

administrations or cultural agents.

Differently, the Hungarian Secretary of Culture integrates conservative nationalism (Identity) into the discursive framework of distinction and excellence (Aesthetic), often in tension with (Social) values such as freedom of expression. In this case, Fidesz (far-right wing), in power since 2010, has used exclusionary and cultural-based nationalism as part of their illiberal agenda. This political scenario has greatly determined the hegemonic value configuration, and value tensions have manifested in political disputes between the central government and local

In the configuration of values corresponding to local administrations, prevailing value principles (**Participation and Economic**) also give rise to the most prominent tensions. Participation, which appears as central at the local level, is contrasted with the Aesthetic value in various ways, mostly related to poor social or community representation in official artistic or cultural repertoires and infrastructure. Given its centrality, Participation is also opposed to other value principles such as Sustainability.

For instance, in **Barcelona City Council**, innovative programming with distinct, high culture or creative (Aesthetic and Economic) value is frequently opposed to programming suiting everyone's tastes, interests and contribution (Participation). In this case, the project of the left-wing government led by *Barcelona en Comú* (2015-) has built its value framing on criticism towards what is seen as adverse externalities

of the creative city model. This includes a set of elements ranging from gentrification or exclusion of suburban neighbours from the local cultural network.

Instead, in Bergen City Council, a tension between local sectoral development and



creative-oriented internationalization has been identified in the context of an overall participatory approach to cultural policies. In particular, municipal cultural policies, governed by a liberal-left coalition since 2019, show tension between local

needs of creators (Social and Aesthetic) and intense internationalization policies (Economic) expressed in an intense task of cultural branding.

4. Summary analysis

As shown by the literature, public policies are always based on underlying assumptions justifying problem definitions, derived measures and supporting policy propositions (Hoogerwerf, 1990, Leeuw, 1991). The set of judgments, perceptions and values behind policy positions, which translate assumptions into propositions, have been defined as policy theory or **policy frames** (Schön & Rein, 1994). We have analysed values as shared mental representations and policy frames' components, identifying two highlighted aspects.

Firstly, the "plasticity" of the policy problem definition in cultural policies is expressed in the **reproduction and endogamic translation of a shared repertoire of values into dissimilar contexts**. This often leads to a weak alignment of dominant values integrated into policy propositions with stated problems (i.e., the extended economic justification of culturally based branding under unproved capacity to ensure capital attraction). It is also expressed in discordances between explicated fundamental values and policy implementation. In this regard, studied axiological tensions show conflicts between the values embodied in political discourse (laws, programs, objectives) and the values embodied in actions and budgets. Strong and very explicit dissonances have been identified in some cases. For instance, in the Xunta de Galicia, in relation to the scare protection of culture in the Galician language under (instrumental) nationalist claims. In this regard, our research shows that institutional cultural policy uses value framing to privilege consensus. This means that, at the institutional level, these discordances are "solved" through frames narratives seeking to express sound and coherent value associations, often in the form of propositions hiding certain assumptions.

Secondly, it must be acknowledged that beyond the explicit tensions highlighted by our analysis, other **concealed tensions** with respect to subaltern positions, **antagonisms and demands often exist**. They relate to conflicts about cultural memory, immigration or non-recognized ethnic groups. They also concern the limited capacity of cultural policy to act beyond traditional cultural institutions such as museums (i.e., the vast sphere of digitalized culture). This set of antagonisms are expressed in the pressing character of certain cultural policy "problems" manifested by interviewed actors and introduced by studied cultural programs. The Bragança case study provides an example of these value tensions. Interviewed social organizations focus their demands on the perceived disproportionate benefits of foreign artists and cultural producers when valuing the distribution of the municipal budget. Such inclination to prioritize external cultural actors would mirror an undervaluation of local artists and associations when supporting creation, payment or role in events' programming. Therefore, these sorts of participatory and economic demands often mirror identified dominant value tensions.

Along these lines, values show to be context and in-action dependent. The study of commonalities among institutional actors and our initial valuation context analysis have allowed us to identify leading associations grounding our nine value principles. Thus, this examination has allowed us to understand values in valuation processes further. Values behind the same policy (e.g., an international art exhibition) can be framed more positively or negatively depending on the kind of narrative, accents and associations established within the valuation process performed by each actor. In this regard, an international exhibition can be justified by local policymakers under its contribution to the economy (+ economic value) and rejected by local art galleries due to its negative impact on sales (- economic value), rejected by social organizations (which can be understood as citizen frame) due to its impact on gentrification (- social value) or supported by them due to its contribution to employment (+ social value). Therefore, from the institutional perspective, instrumentality transcends the economic value of culture -which has been the main literature focus (Belfiore, 2012; Gray, 2007, 2008; Vestheim, 1994)- and it is frequently explained by specific evaluative acts (Heinich, 2020: 77).

5. Closing remarks and next steps

The above study analysis was aimed at **exploring values in EU cultural policies**. Along these lines, several elements explaining the emergence, amalgamation and consecration of identified values -such as the specific bottom-up social demands- or certain territorial factors -such as the presence and location of cultural heritage- are mostly considered as contextual variables supporting systematic classification and the initial comparative analysis at the EU level. In this way, we should not understand these value mapping outcomes as in-action frames since they only partially address their social conditions for emergence and development.

The project will nonetheless go **beyond this descriptive classification of values in cultural policies, further addressing valuation contexts**. Work done at this stage will be used through the rest of the project activities to address interrelations between identified values, value framing and actual policy action—also models and extra-institutional demands and actors. In doing so, we will tackle questions that can be grouped into two main dimensions.

On the one hand, we will address to what extent and **how certain value configurations** and antagonisms between value configurations identified at this stage **explain cultural policy orientations** (the value-action relationship) or **how values "shape" cultural policy** design and action. This includes, for example, cultural policy evaluation processes (i.e., awards, staff selection, artworks assessment or heritage selection) or value contradictions translated into governance arrangements (i.e., distribution of competencies mirroring value tensions). The investigation that we will carry out in WP4 will analyze it in detail.

On the other hand, as part of WPs 3 and 4 activities, we will contrast whether **variables beyond the cultural policy field explain hegemonic values and their aligned policy models**. These variables include state policy regimes, identitarian processes mobilizing political actors, economic crises, or relative immigrants' presence in a territory. From this broad perspective, the value framing of cultural policies is also embodied and manifested by social actors and citizens. Therefore, methodologically, they become critical sources for avoiding "rhetorical framing" advanced by policymakers or agents while providing elements to understand policies' "action frame" as well as internal contradictions between these frame levels (Rein & Schön, 1996).

Along these lines, we will also further analyse how actors "decide whether a valuation is acceptable or not" (Heinich, 2020: 79). The in-depth analysis of the four Iberian cases has allowed us to glimpse the diversity of the types of actors and the diversity of practical perspectives from which they act. This dimension has led us to identify that sometimes tensions between values occur as tensions between actors (ruling and opposition politicians, high-level professional or technical staff, external experts, etc.). These different actors, in fact, are often characteristically linked to specific values so that the tensions that are drawn between one and the other are articulated through the various categories of actors, inside and outside the administrations. We will further explore these issues across the project.

4. REPORT ON THE VALUE TENSIONS IN CASE STUDIES OF PARTICIPATION IN LIVE ARTS AND CULTURE

1. Introduction/Context

Restrictions linked to COVID-19 (e.g., closure of cultural venues, bans on events and gatherings) severely impacted live arts and culture over the last year. During this particular time, our research allowed for the emergence of reflections on the **specificities of in-person collective reception**, linked to spatial proximity, the sharing of a unique and ephemeral time, and interactions with other participants. We found the COVID-19 pandemic period accentuated social aspects of participation in live arts and culture activities, highlighting the importance of the sociability aspect of live arts and culture, felt through its absence due to the cancellation and shut-down of live cultural events and through the organization of illegal activities that were held in the face of and *against* these restrictions.

For example, in craft-teaching and -making activities, the in-person experience is considered to be crucial and "the only way to feel the creative atmosphere." The social relations, the connections to each other, and the feeling of integration and sharing are considered not to be possible other than in in-person situations ("online all that would be lost"). This is particularly the case for training activities conducted by elderly artisans. In the community-engaged arts project, these issues assume a particular relevance since the core of such projects focuses on connecting different sectors of a community through the use of public space. Although individualized activities and strategies of community connection were used, and adjustments to the final performance were made, pandemic restrictions directly impacted the number and the type of participation of local residents in the performance and other project activities. The mandatory reduction of group sizes was considered a loss for the experiences. Groups with less people represent less interaction, less sharing: "if it's a larger group, the interaction is different, you can share other experiences and know-how."

2. Variations in valuation

From an analytical perspective, valuation and evaluation processes can be seen through different angles depending on the subjects, objects or contexts. Differences were observed in valuation processes according to types of participation, social trajectories and degrees of institutionalization, reflecting on the patterns in and by which activities are produced and valued.

Differences according to types of participation and social trajectories

Roles and positions. The specific role assumed by a participant and the responsibilities

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D 2.7. Overview of the multiplicity of values of culture and its controversies

of that role shapes what types of value are attributed to the cultural activity. For example, in the community-engaged arts case a resident who shares his/her own life story to feed into the dramaturgy of a play will identify more with individual values than an association leader, who will be more focused on promoting the development and recognition of the association for his/her associates (external and contextual). In most cases, spectators tend to affirm values through the subjective experience of the event, at an individual level (emotion, sensation, pleasure, pride...) whereas organizers tend to affirm values in the form of impact objectives on individuals, on the collective, and on society as a whole. For instance, in the case study on the contemporary circus in Montpellier, the professional members were the ones most valuing the challenges of social inclusion for different types of audiences. In a way, it is also a difference of intellectualizing, generalizing, or objectifying the values of cultural experiences.

Social characteristics and trajectories. Personal perspectives are shaped by one's life circumstances, experiences, demographics, and other personal characteristics. In the culture-based creative tourism case participants expressed differences according to **generational perspectives** (with "eyes on the future," younger practitioners with no connection with these ancient arts and crafts are focusing on local balance/equilibrium and sustainability using natural materials; on the other hand, with "eyes on the past," older generations, recovering memories and connections to the past, as a healing process, are recovering their identity and gaining pride); and **nationality or place of residence** (long-time local residents are more accustomed to these practices so, in general, have less curiosity and attribute less importance to learning these arts and crafts).

Differences are also revealed with regard to individuals' social trajectories: those who are better endowed with cultural capital, or who have incorporated the vocabulary of cultural institutions, also tend more to formulate values as social objectives. For instance, theatre students who encountered in "De Portas Abertas" the opportunity for an artistic experience with professionals expressed values connected to artistic learning and professional integration. Another example can be found in the resident-participant profile, where life trajectories, family traditions and strong emotional experiences related to professional transformations tend to direct the type of participation and the types of values discussed.

Different types of valuation are also linked to unequal relationships of individuals to the appreciation of the aesthetic experience. There are social conditions of access to the formulation of certain values. As Bourdieu (1984) demonstrated, the **"aesthetic disposition"** is an unevenly distributed "competence" linked to the "bourgeois way of life" (distancing oneself from the artistic object; being able to operate a pure gaze separated from everyday life; mastering codes of aesthetic appreciation...). This explains how differences in the endowment of cultural capital (through family; level of education; cultural practices; professional sector) often seem to determine certain differences in valuations. These variations can be observed both in individuals' ability to detail political values and in the originality with which they present the values they cherish.

Differences according to degrees of institutionalization of cultural projects

The degree of institutionalization of projects may influence the values among organizers. Partnership relationships with institutions, or the need for public subsidies, may lead them to formulate values according to the values advocated by the sponsoring institutions in order to "fit" their expectations, searching for validation and support. It is also possible that this analogy of values is the result of a professional or social incorporation of the values as defined by the cultural institutions (i.e., the use of vocabulary such as "social inclusion," "social links"). For example, in the case of the culture-based creative tourism project, artists/artisans (volunteers or professionals) express a sense of social responsibility, using expressions as "local development", "preservation of the local identity", "addressing tourism seasonality", "giving the city renewed vitality", and "and creating employment" when characterizing the importance of these arts and crafts experiences.

When autonomous projects seek institutional partnerships, financial support or public recognition, the values advocated are transformed. In the case of the circus, the autonomy and informality enables the deployment of values that are less common in more institutionalized events (e.g., experimentation). Institutionalization provides the opportunity to address other values (e.g., democratization) but in doing so, the organizers lose some freedom and autonomy (e.g., the need not to offer the public only unfinished acts; the choice of venue). In the case of totally autonomous projects, such as "garden cabarets," raves and clandestine concerts, we find more 'illegitimate' values from the point of view of institutions, values that would be risky to assert for organizations financially dependent on public institutions and policies (e.g., "having fun," "party," "trance," "friendship," "risk-taking," "experimentation").

These differences in valuation are also the result of **field dynamics** (professional or artistic). Values held by organizers are partly in reference to legitimate values in the field in which they operate, either to conform to them or to claim alternative values. Rave party organizers, for example, see themselves as acting in a totally autonomous field, in total opposition to external norms: independence vs. institution; free vs. market; freedom vs. discipline, surveillance, control; individual responsibility vs. consumer. Clandestine concerts or DJ parties, on the other hand, are carried out by 'outsiders' of the musical field, who claim values that are partly common (e.g., concert as a social link) and partly different, and plead for a redefinition of legitimate values in the field (e.g., legitimization of minority aesthetics; redefinition of sanitary norms and of social control). In the case of the circus, professionalized members of the group claimed "experimentation" as a value, to counterbalance a professional world where circus performers have to spend most of their time on formalized production, touring and educational activities.

3. Tensions between values

Which values are the subject of the greatest tension and opposition between them? We noticed several "internal" tensions between values within the same case study; and "external" tensions between values promoted in the case studies and values promoted by external fields of cultural activity.

Aesthetic values in question

Analyzing the case studies, one specific value emerged as a subject of controversy among participants: the place of aesthetics as a value in participating in live arts and culture. As principles of judgment, aesthetic values are often related to the notion of 'beauty', to formal appreciation (technicality, excellence, artistic quality...) or to the place of the artistic object in a particular field (innovation, experimentation, authenticity...) (Heinich, 2014). In several of the cases studied, other principles were used to judge the artistic contents. In rave parties, for example, it is the physical sensation and effectiveness of the dance and trance that is the primary principle of judgement. In the community-engaged arts project, the possibility for recognizing community voices and problems through arts expressions was strongly invoked as a judgment principle by the members of the community. In this case, the aesthetic value was directly linked to the collective value of social intervention and community collaboration.

In many cases, it seems that collective cultural activity can be seen as a "social pretext" in which relationships, collective creative processes, pleasure, joy and happiness as well as healing through sharing memories and experiences are more important than the artistic content itself. For concerts, we see that in some cases it is a "pure pretext" – the artistic content doesn't matter (e.g., "it's a party, we meet new people and get drunk together, no matter what concert") – but in most cases, the specificity of the artistic content is important in the experience of the values (e.g., a concert is perceived as a ceremony, a social ritual; particular relationships and emotions are triggered by a particular concert, a specific creative environment where one is able to feel inspired and create, or a particular theme of a performance that makes one go back in time and emotionally relate). The fact that the process is more important than the product, or that the social form is more important than the artistic content does not, therefore, detract from the specificity of the values of cultural experience. It simply invites us to re-evaluate the place of artistic aesthetics in the hierarchy of experienced values. For instance, in the culture-based creative tourism case, although the aesthetic is not the main focus of the experiences, as expressed by the non-artist/artisan participants, it seems to be something important for a sense of higher self-satisfaction and accomplishment. From the artists/artisans point of view, aside from sociability, aesthetics is the main focus: making something according to the 'proper' techniques ("as I was taught"); making something beautiful and pleasant that gives pride and recognition, honours memories, or gives joy ("when people see something beautiful they feel happier").

Aesthetic values as defined in cultural policies and legitimate culture are not necessarily central in more autonomous areas or more distant fields (socio-cultural sector, social sector...), where values such as identity, social links – relationships, encounters – or pleasure may be prioritized in participants' judging principles (DeNora, 1999; Acord & DeNora, 2008). This **non-centrality of aesthetics**, claimed by the participating actors, calls into question the theory of "artification" (Heinich et al., 2014): certain segments of artistic activity legitimize themselves on values other than aesthetics, and do not

necessarily seek artistic recognition (e.g., rave parties). Others, on the contrary, seek a joint recognition of aesthetic and other values, for instance, community-engaged arts projects that seek to associate new forms of creative processes to social and political intervention and to strategies of audience development. In this case, the artistic agents and the artistic activities seek to cross different fields, (artistics, political, social), enacting multiple orders of value and valuation. In the circus field too, aesthetic values and extrinsic values (e.g., democratization of access to culture) come together. Furthermore, aesthetic values are differentiated – while certain aesthetic values are not particularly sought after (beauty, quality, technicality), others are central for the circus performers and organizers (creation, experimentation, authenticity).

Hedonism, entertainment vs. politicization, emancipation

Another tension concerns the place of "hedonistic" values (physical pleasure, mental pleasure, joy, "fun," etc.), which can be among the first cited in the hierarchy of values by participants. However, in the values of cultural policies, we rarely find any reference to these types of values; moreover, the world of legitimate culture sometimes rejects these values as "entertainment" or "leisure," as opposed to "art," which is said to have emancipating, civic, citizen-raising, reflective, etc. virtues. This contradiction also exists within our case studies: opposition between an art that must be "useful" and emancipating and an art that is viewed as a non-legitimate leisure activity. This may also be a division between defining values by immediate experience (the experience of a participant) and defining values by reference to broader, longer-term social or political goals (see section 3.2). The appearance of hedonistic values that are not legitimate in cultural policies invites us to reflect on the "top down" definition of values, imposing "virtuous" objectives on cultural activities without taking account of participants' valuation principles.

Independence, freedom and autonomy vs. political and market influences

In the case of autonomous events, many values are claimed in opposition to the values of the institutional and market fields. This concerns, first of all, the value of freedom: a relative suspension of social norms and total individual freedom are advocated, in opposition to the norms of security, control, discipline or surveillance that exists, for instance, in nightclubs or concert halls. This 'total freedom' is linked to a value of responsibility and ownership, which puts participants in the position of actors rather than consumers. Free and non-controlled entry to the event is opposed to paid and supervised spaces, as a value of non-discrimination and openness to all types of public, even the most marginal and deviant. The opposition of values also concerns the independence of artistic programming and aesthetic diversity, which would be reduced in commercial and institutional spaces by the weight of profitability constraints or by political specifications and professional cultures in the institutional music sector. The values of disinterestedness, generosity and voluntary work are also opposed to the spaces in which the professionalization of actors and market logic create other types of relationships; the values of empowering people through the "do it yourself" philosophy are linked to this.

In more institutionalized and market-oriented activities, such as the culture-based creative tourism case, values such as freedom and creativity exist in the same space as market demands and sometimes in conflict. The urge to feel inspired, be innovative and creative versus traditional views defining craftwork leads to a constant dialogue between artisans who prefer "making creations rather than obligations" and others who don't acknowledge this creativity. As well, the development of "meaningful work" doesn't always align with the economic value attributed from the outside. The need for economic sustainability enhances the feeling of a lack of recognition for the importance of these arts/crafts, as it puts in conflict aesthetics, creativity, innovation and economy.

Political hierarchies of values? Health, economy, socialization, culture, freedom and risk

During the pandemic period, policy choices concerning which activities are permitted or prohibited have revealed a particular hierarchy of values, sacrificing some to others. For example, certain sectors of activity have been considered 'essential', such as groceries and churches, while artistic and cultural activities have been considered 'non-essential'. Many interviewees question this distinction, asserting the "essential" role of culture, and denouncing an "injustice" and a lack of recognition they have suffered. In the case of rave parties and clandestine concerts, restrictions on freedoms in the name of health risks were challenged in the name of the values of individual freedom, the right to take risks and the need for social ties. Thus, some actors refused to "sacrifice" their social life in the name of protecting biological life ("zero risk is heresy, you can't stop living to avoid dying!"), stating that a "naked life," without social contacts, without cultural relations, was not worth living, and that risk-taking should be an individual right.

5. REPORT ON THE VALUE TENSIONS IN CASE STUDIES OF CULTURAL PARTICIPATION VIA NEW MEDIA

1. Introduction

This research, comprised of four case studies, explores the plurality of values attributed to digitally mediated cultural participation during the Covid-19 pandemic. While the case studies share this specific temporal moment, they explore different examples of digitally mediated cultural participation across two geographical locales: UK (London, Belfast) and Norway. Table 2 maps the activities, actors, and core value clusters for each case study.

Table 2: Map of Activities, Actors and Core Value Clusters, Case Studies of Cultural Participation via New Media

UK: Reimagine, Remake, Replay (Museum Makerspace – Online Iteration)			
Activities	Actors	Core Value Clusters	
Participants undertook	16–25-year-old participants.	 Socialisation and 	
a range of remote		communitas	

creative activities across both teleconferencing and designated platforms. These activities were designed to enable creative responses and engagement with museum collections and broader socio-political themes.	These comprised (1) those who had attended Reimagine, Remake, Replay activities in person prior to the pandemic and (2) those who chose to attend the online iteration during periods of lockdown and social distancing instigated in response to Covid-19. It was noted that participants in the online programmes	 (overcoming pandemic isolation) Emotion regulation and attentional distraction Spatial-temporal affordances Identity consolidation Skills and capabilities
	tended to be older (23-25) than those in the pre- pandemic physical events (16- 18).	 (creation and maintenance) Aesthetic and socio-epistemic values Phenomenological indexicality Modulation of bodily reactions
UK: Choirs and Choral So		
Activities Participants undertook	Actors	Core Value Clusters
a range of musical and social activities under the broad umbrella of their choir participation. The primary mode of online participation was via online teleconferencing platforms, where participants sang on mute and thereby could not hear fellow singers. However, the case study also captured the experience of participants who used mediatory technologies (i.e. Jamulus) which enabled them to hear	Choir participants. Two archetypal models of choir, as a socio-musical formation, reflect two subject positions: (1) MRC: a 'Mixed-repertoire Recreational Choir' model comprising popular music and light classical repertoire which does not demand high musical competency, such as reading music. These choirs tend to be run on a commercial, for-profit basis and serve a younger and more diverse constituency of singers. In our study, this choir type tended to engage effectively with several online modalities, ranging from	 Socialisation and communitas (overcoming pandemic isolation) Emotion regulation and attentional distraction Spatial-temporal affordances Identity consolidation Skills and capabilities (creation and maintenance) Aesthetic and socio-epistemic values

other remote singers in parallel. While the act of 'collective' singing represented the primary mode of participation, it was clear that a secondary source of value was the wider choir world comprising social networking, charity events, and other instances of collective activity beyond singing. For many participants, these online choir worlds were key drivers to participation and valued accompaniments to the act of remote singing – often used to justify participation in light of the experiential disincentives of online participation in choirs.	Classical Choir' model with a more traditional classical repertoire, often demanding reading music and other competencies. These operate on a not-for-profit, charity basis. These choirs are often longstanding institutions and comprise a more homogenous, older constituency of singers. These choirs tended to focus their activities on teleconferencing technologies. They rarely used multitracked recordings and never deployed networked music performance technologies. Members of these choirs often expressed frustration at the digital modalities and longed for a return to pre-pandemic practices.	indexicality • Modulation of Bodily Reactions
Norway: Cultural Rucksac		
Activities	Actors	Core Value Clusters
Participants undertook a range of cultural activities as part of (1) attending school concerts/performances, or (2) educational training within the framework of culture	6-19 years old school/culture school pupils. These comprised (1) pupils that had attended Cultural Rucksack programs at primary and lower secondary and upper secondary schools, and	 Education Spatial-temporal affordances Democracy / access Socialisation and communication

schools [kulturskolen]. The primary mode of online participation was via online teleconferencing platforms, with artist to pupil/school-class interaction and dialogue.	(2) attended cultural schools prior to the pandemic.	 (reaching parents) Testing new technology
	s at Live Streamed Concerts	
Activities	Actors	Core Value Clusters
Participants undertook a range of digital, online concerts, ranging from singer-songwriters, country and western artists, jazz artists and folk musicians to classical and contemporary classical music.	Digital concert audiences. Audiences attending both free and paid for digital concerts. The paid for concerts involved digital box office system or an online, digital donation system. The concerts also involved various online, digital audience response systems, that were in some cases interactive. Here the audience could post comments to the performance, communicate with the band and/or with other audience members.	 Collectivity Sociability Co-presence Synchroneity Bodily experience of music Aesthetic experiences Communication

Despite the clear differences in mediated cultural practices across these case studies, it is striking how there are significant synergies in the attribution of values across the varied contexts. Indeed, the general values captured across the four case studies could be applied to other modes of co-present cultural participation forced to migrate to modes of remote delivery in response to Covid-19 social distancing regulations. However, generalisable values and value tensions attributed to online cultural participation beyond the 'crisis bias' of the Covid-19 context may be limited as the online activities undertaken across the four case studies were the result of necessity and often advertised as a temporary or necessary solution to social distancing measures.

2. Reimagine Remake Replay

Participants were consistent in their valuation of online participation: distraction from the Covid-19 environment, the ability to structure time in monotonous lockdowns, the facility to transcend spatial limitations, the consolidation of identity, creative and technological skill acquisition, and the agency and legitimacy to create during lockdowns. These clusters of values did not appear to operate in conflict or tension but rather were deployed in an overlapping and mutually sustaining plurality.

While value tensions or conflicts were minimal, a minor fault line in ascribed values did emerge regarding the extent to which online experience was evaluated as a platform for social or creative practices or whether there were wholly social endeavours. In contrast to participants who prioritised the social affordances of online activities, the lack of organic, improvisational co-creation in teleconferencing platforms was criticised by others who deployed an axiological grammar more focused on informal creative experience. However, those expressing disappointment at the formality of online experience deployed other value clusters to counteract such disincentives, or 'negative values', resolving a potentially detrimental value conflict.

Online Choirs and Choral Groups

A plurality of values emerges when looking to participants in online choir worlds. Most of these values are strongly associated with counteracting the impacts of Covid-19 through ritualised practices that have been deterritorialised to the online realm. Such values occupy certain spaces of value production: emotional, social, spatial-temporal, identity consolidation, and capabilities. Many of these were deployed to rationalise a mode of cultural participation deemed unsatisfactory when compared to offline, copresent singing.

It is notable that value justifications appear with relative coherence within individual choirs. For the more open, recreational choirs, the values of fun, silliness, and self-expression were important: 'Not a huge pressure'. Similarly, a focus on enjoyment over accuracy was prioritised, as when choir leaders instructed singers to 'Be wrong, be strong'. However, as one moves towards the more formal, professional choirs, the values of proficiency, intellectualism, and professionalism became increasingly dominant: 'The music is amazing, and the quality of the musicianship is very high. I get a kick out of that'. This could be read in terms of two contrasting value grammars, albeit not operating in direct tension – one framing choir participation as a more ludic undertaking and the other predicated on a conception of the choir as an intellectual endeavour. Indeed, the former would appear to value online choir experience as more directly ameliorating the universal set of absences generated by the pandemic moment while the later sought to recapture a pre-pandemic experience.

Value for money is a traditional index of assumed value and, understandably, most participants who had overcome the disincentives of online participation deemed online choirs as 'value for money'. Despite its experiential drawbacks, online participation in the choir was for some considered as 'priceless', particularly when viewed as a resource to ameliorate the socio-emotional impacts of lockdown. However, those more critical of online experience expressed concerns about subscription costs (even when these were reduced) but continued to pay in order to preserve the choir for a return to offline operation post-pandemic. For some, online participation was also rationalised through values of continuity and obligation, rather than satisfaction – or even enjoyment – some participants refusing to perform online but attending online sessions to be seen to support the choir. Nonetheless, for the vast majority of research participants across both choir types, it remains that online participation was valued as a socio-emotional

resource that enabled a valued aspect of their pre-pandemic cultural life to continue during a period of unprecedented upheaval.

Cultural Rucksack and Culture Schools

Digital technologies and the Internet undoubtedly have changed the premises for cultural participation and education. From the Internet's early days to the pandemic outbreak, the research literature has mobilized different discourses with regard to cultural values. Some of the literature accentuates the positive possibilities, opportunities, and advantages brought fore by 'the digital turn', among them the possibilities to reach out to new audiences, and the emergence of new forms of participation. A more critical discourse characterizes other parts, accentuating the downsides of the digital turn when it comes to cultural participation, democratization and power structures. In our analysis of *kulturskolen* and the CR during Covid-19, we detect the same ambiguous picture of optimistic and pessimistic attitudes among stakeholders to the impacts and values of cultural education and participation through digital platforms. Seemingly, digital solutions under the pandemic have reinforced value conflicts and tensions that have been present for a long time within this particular part of the cultural policy field. Several tensions and areas of tensions are observable, of which we find two particularly interesting.

The first relates to the status of the body in the valuation of educational progression and art experience. Here we observe an increased accentuation of the physical encounter as an irreplaceable corner stone in the education of music, drama, dance etc., and an insistently highlighting of the importance of the bodily aspects of watching, hearing, smelling, listening and touching the art. However, it is also possible to observe the opposite, a curious attitude to what innovations digital formats might offer. One example is the discourse that points out the possible impacts of digital technologies on learning and art experience through so-called *gamification*, understood as the practice of adopting game elements.

The second tension relates to the relationship between paternalism and audience demand. For both *kulturskolen* teachers and artists within the CR, this deals with the question to what extent pupils' or parents' desires and demand should decide the content of the program/teaching, rather than the ambitions and desires of *kulturskolen* teachers and CR artists. Our data shows that many teachers and artists eager to utilize and comply with the digital environment, at the same time felt their autonomy limited by the same environment.

Digital Audiences at Live Streamed Concerts

A physical concert represents a totality of values that is difficult to recreate in a digital format. Digital concerts hence also functions as reminders of the values of the nondigital, traditional, material, analogue performances; the physical, material, spatial, immersive and multi-sensory qualities. A survey respondent describes a specific kind of reminder: 'The longing to stand in a huddle is the worst thing about digital concerts.' We might read the implicit or explicit comparison between physical and digital concerts as

a kind of value tension. The digital concert format is still rather new to most people, and the valuation of this format will then tend to be held up against the physical, real concerts. It is hence challenging to value digital concerts purely on their own terms.

Several of the respondents expanded upon his answer by underlining the value of *simplicity* for digital concerts: 'Simple productions with few people involved show their strength in this format. It gives room for stories and for downscaled versions with a minimum of instruments. Stadium concerts demand a much bigger format, while dance band concerts come across as pure karaoke shows (...).' Or, put differently, the value of *intimacy*: 'It works best with smaller groups, creating a nice intimacy at the concerts.' Many respondents to the survey emphasizes the quality of intimacy.

Another possible tension that is evident in our data can be read as differences of genre. Although our selection of concert events is limited, they seem to represent or reproduce the traditional traits of different genres. This relates especially to whether the music – the art – should speak for itself or if communication with an audience is an integrated part of the musical performance. A contemporary avant-garde concert and a Bach recital were clearly the most introvert and non-communicative of the concerts observed: no talking, no presentations or greetings, nobody looking in the camera. The pianist from the Bach recital was interviewed on the experience of performing digitally, and he explained it in this way: 'You sit concentrated to the degree that you in many ways sit and play to yourself.' On the other hand, the concerts representing entertainment, dance and popular music, were ripe with interactions, both between artist and audience and among the attendees themselves.

3. Conclusion

The clusters of values attributed to the different modes of digital participation and cocreation across the four cases often comprise mutually supportive heterarchies rather than conflictual hierarchies. However, it must be noted that these values are subject to their conditions of production, namely the pandemic moment, with value justifications actualised in the socio-emotional and institutional realities of successive lockdowns and social distancing measures. Moreover, while the focus has been upon digital participation, the modes of online engagement explored in the case studies are often aspects of a reactive turn towards remote delivery in response to the demands of the pandemic moment. This is radically different to modes of online cultural participation that were always designed to be delivered online. Therefore, for interviewees experiential indexicality was often valued, namely, the degree to which the participative experience of remote delivery replicates offline, pre-pandemic experiences. Such a dynamic has clear implications for axiological judgements of the activity and the conflicts therein.

Moreover, while expressed cultural values have been presented as a mutually sustaining plurality, one could still infer certain 'analytical' tensions amongst the expressed values. These include a tension between virtual and co-present experiences (including the importance of the body) for participants in cultural experiences that moved online during the pandemic, a tension between paternalistic and audience demand in

Norwegian cultural initiatives for pupils, and tensions among music genres in online concerts. An assumed tension between aesthetic and non-aesthetic values, or so-called intrinsic or extrinsic values can be discerned. For some participants, digital cultural participation was deemed beneficial for creative, cultural, and aesthetic content and practices while others clearly prioritised what could be deemed non-aesthetic values most notably social aspects. However, such an assumed tension is historical with aesthetic values, themselves often derived from idealist philosophy, serving practical uses in facilitating ostensibly non-aesthetic values and vice versa. In seeking to map the tensions presented in the case studies, there is a danger that longstanding philosophical oppositions are imposed on axiological regimes rather than acknowledging the plurality of non-conflictual values articulated by those who have rationalised participation online as valuable. Indeed, tensions between values could be much more present in the accounts of previously active participants who could not justify participation - the axiological priorities of non-participants representing an area of study beyond the scope of our research programme. Similarly, we propose that a cartography of value tensions in supply-side cultural production, rather than cultural consumption, could render more explicit conflicts between values and their relative prioritisation.

6. VALUATIONS AND TENSIONS DETECTED: A SYNTHETIC SUMMARY

This section elaborates a comparative synthesis of the valuations detected within each field analyzed, namely: cultural production and heritage, cultural administration, participation in live art and culture and cultural participation via new media. For this purpose, the contexts of emergence, the actors involved, the conflicts and tensions between the valuations detected are considered.

1. Plurality of valuation

Aesthetic Valuation

Aesthetic emerges as a valuation mainly in the fields of **cultural production**, **heritage management** and **cultural administration**. Within the first field, the aesthetic valuation appears associated with formal aspects in terms of language and artistic quality of a project and proposal. Aesthetic valuation can be observed at the context of creation and design during the creation and development of a cultural proposal or project, or the preservation, organization, and management of an exhibition. For example, aesthetic emerges in the valuations centred on artistic and professional legitimacy when scouting and selecting the street artists participating (in the Ferrara Buskers Festival). This kind of valuation can also be observed 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 all these cases, we observe an importance given to artistic and formal qualities in terms of language and artistic repertoire at product level (during the artistic activity in its core elements), carried out by professionals dedicated to core tasks, such as the creation and development of a cultural

proposal or project, or the conservation, organisation, and management of an exhibition.

In the field of **cultural administration**, aesthetic valuation is associated with formal aspects of cultural products, arts, and heritage, in terms of excellence, quality and distinction, expressed in innovative programming of high culture or creative discursive framework of distinction and excellence. For example, aesthetic valuation can be observed at National, regional, and local level of cultural administration in the discursive framework of distinction and excellence at Hungarian Secretary of Culture, and in the innovative programming with distinct, high culture or creativity at Barcelona City Council.

In the fields of **cultural participation via media**, aesthetic valuations do not have the same centrality as in the fields of cultural production and administration. However, aesthetic valuation can be observed associated with professionalism in the online participation in a semi-professional classical choir forced to migrate to modes of remote delivery in response of COVID-19 social distance regulation. In this context aesthetic valuation appears associated with proficiency, intellectualism, and professionalism.

In several case studies of the field of **participation in live arts and culture** other principles are used to judge the artistic contents different to aesthetic criteria: i.e. in rave parties the physical sensation and effectiveness of the dance are put in the center; in the community-engaged art projects, the collective value of social intervention and community collaboration; in culture-base creative tourism the aesthetic is not the main focus of the experiences.

Economic Valuation

Economic valuation emerges as a key aspect in cultural production and cultural administration domain. This type of valuation is mostly associated with the importance of the costs and profits of an activity. Economic valuation can be observed at the context of development, support and regulation of a project and cultural proposal at organizational level in the cultural production and heritage management field. The organizational level works as a container of a cultural product, usually focusing on additional meanings and values, such as economic viability or patterns of inclusion or exclusion of relevant stakeholders or activities. For instance, 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 for participating in the festival. 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 (private partner) to achieve a greater number of visitors through more commercial exhibitions that bring income to the Museum.

Within the field of **cultural administration**, economic valuation is associated with the importance of quantitative performance and profit, generated by products, heritage and artistic-cultural assets targeted by cultural policies. These outcomes are particularly associated with innovation, territorial growth, exports and investment. Economic valuation can be observed at the national, regional and local levels of cultural administration. The economic value framing prioritizes culture as a means for economic and productive growth and development. For example, in the Xunta de Galicia and Braganza, nationalism is translated into an often-instrumental appreciation of the local heritage and language supporting tourism-driven internationalization. In the Barcelona City Council we can observe economic valuation in innovative programming with distinct, high culture or creativity aiming to local development.

Technical efficiency valuation

Valuation centered in technical efficiency is associated with the centrality given to the technical requirements that make the development of a certain project and/or cultural proposal possible. 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.

Democratic / Participation valuation

This principle is observed in different ways in a significant number of cases analyzed in the field of cultural production and heritage management, cultural administration, and cultural participation. Within the field of cultural production and heritage management, 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. The value of participation is also observed when the Ferrara Buskers Festival openness to different initiatives and artistic genres refers to a vital tenet inspiring the festival's organization. At the organization level of MUDEC, participation valuation appears when the Municipality planning activities that include migrant communities in decision-making. This kind of valuation also appear when the former group of actors, in the Buda Castel-project, postulate that the proposal should be open to stakeholders' "participation" (organizational level) and eventually promote "democracy" (society level). In all these cases, we observe a valuation focused on the participation and accessibility of the proposals and projects.

Democratic valuations are associated with the integration of different social and sectoral actors into cultural activities or in cultural policy design and implementation in the field of **cultural administration**. Participation is placed as a ground and requirement for promoting cultural democracy or legitimate public management at the regional and local level in the Xunta de Galicia, the Barcelona City Council and the Bergen City Council. In the Xunta de Galicia are represented as sectoral demands of rural participation. In the Barcelona City Council participation valuation can be observed in the programming centered in everyone tastes interest and contribution. In the Bergen City Council participation and democratic values is set up as Local needs of creators.

In **cultural participation projects**, democratic or participatory valuation is understood as direct participation, social integration of different types of audiences and social responsibility for the local environment. For example, professional members of the Contemporary Circus in Montpellier valuing the challenges of social inclusion for different types of audiences. Finally, in "De Portas Abertas", theater student (with more cultural capital) valuing positively the artistic learning and professional integration as social objectives.

Authenticity and Identity valuations

Authenticity and identity appear associated with the correct representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their expressions in the **cultural production and heritage management domain**. Authenticity and identity as valuations emerge during the creation and development of a cultural proposal or project in this field. These principles are 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 selfrepresentation of their cultures and the sensitivity placed on the heritage of minorities. Authenticity and Identity valuation can be observed at product level as historical significance of the collection in MUDEC or as authenticity of an urban area of Budapest in Buda Castel Project or when in the same project the government operates in an authoritarian way and aims at promoting national identity at a society level.

In the **cultural administration** domain Identity valuations appear associated with cultural policies' constitutive dimensions, such as nation building, ethnic grounds, heritage, language or territorial branding. It is associated with all levels of government. National and regional cultural policies provide more centrality to constitutive dimensions of identity such as national or ethnic elements. For example, in the Xunta de Galicia, national identity is translated into an often-instrumental appreciation of the local heritage and language. In the case of the Hungarian Secretary of Culture, it is integrated into the discursive framework of distinction and excellence. Instead, this value principle has slightly different associated values at the local level, in urban or historical heritage.

In **participation in live arts and culture**, on the one hand, authenticity value sometimes is associated with memories and past. For instance, when in the cultural-base creative

tourism case, older generations positively value memories and connection with the past in its practices. On the other hand, in less institutionalized projects, authenticity is valuated as "freedom", "independence" and "experimentation", in opposition to artistic professional worlds (as in the case of circus) or external norms (as in the case of garden cabarets, raves and clandestine concerts).

Sustainability valuation

Sustainability valuation has to do with the positive valuation of the natural and cultural environment, its preservation and care. This principle of valuation is particularly evident in the fields of cultural **production and heritage management and participation in live arts and culture**. For instance, 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. In the case of the publishing groups analyzed, 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 the case of culture-base creative truism, younger practitioners (with no connection with traditional arts and crafts) valuing positively local balance/equilibrium and sustainability of the project. In all these 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 (societal level).

In **cultural administration**, sustainability appears related to the contribution of cultural policies to strengthening the resilience of the cultural sector or to the contribution of culture to environmental protection specially at local administrations.

In **cultural participation projects** sustainability is associated with the responsibility for the local environment. This is the case of the culture-base creative project, where artists and artisans -volunteers and professionals-, assume institutional values and positively value the sense of social responsibility, understood as local development and preservation of the local identity.

Hedonism / Entertainment / Emotions / Wellbeing / Comfort valuations

Valuation linked to emotions, wellbeing, comfort, etc. are generally used as criteria of justification by users or practitioners to evaluate their participation in a cultural proposal or practice in person or online. From the point of view of the people involved in the creation and production or in professional cultural organization, this series of values is used as a convenient image for representing the participation of the users of the products or events they organize. Cultural administrations express this series of values in terms of the well-being that a public policy can generate in the citizens. In all cases analyzed this is a user-centered evaluation.

In the field of **cultural production and heritage management** these set of valuations emerge at the context of development, support and regulation of a project and cultural proposal as producer and organizers evaluation with respect to the users and

practitioners experience. For instance, these set of principles can be observed in the architectural case 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 at the Museum. In the MUDEC case, this set of values is put forward by the private partner, when evaluates that the objects displayed at the Museum should contribute to a "pleasant" visitor's experience, where "hedonism" is the primary product-level value. In the Ferrara Buskers Festival case, the value of "quality entertainment" is mobilized to evaluate the festival's artistic performances.

In the **cultural administration** field, this set of values is associated with the positive contribution of culture regarding comfort, quality of life, health, safe places, and clean environments. Wellbeing is a value that express a broader understanding of the social contribution of culture. These values convey both cultural policy goals and a transversal basis for cultural democracy often associated with economic and cultural capital redistribution.

In the field of **participation in live arts and culture**, these kinds of value are specially linked with a hedonist dimension of participation. In autonomous projects as raves and clandestine concerts during COVID-19 restrictions, the hedonist dimension is part of "Illegitimate values" from the point of view of participants and organizers (outsiders of institutionalize musical field) as "having fun", "party", "trance", "friendship", "risk taking", "experimentation". In the **digitally mediatized cultural participation** field, emotions, entertainment, etc. emerge as central elements in valuing cultural practices during the COVID-19 restrictions. For instance, in the Museum Makerspace online iteration practices, "emotions" regulation and attentional distraction appear as central elements in the valuation of the museum online experience by young participants. In Choirs and the choral society, values of "fun", "silliness" and "self-expression" (more ludic) emerge during the pandemic, as an aspect to ameliorate the socio-emotional impacts of lockdown. In the digital audience of a live streamed concert emerges the values of "simplicity", "intimacy" and "entertainment" as forms to valuate concerts by audiences.

In the areas of cultural participation (digitally mediated), we also identified the emergence of a series of values associated with wellbeing in the context of restrictions caused by COVID-19. These values are centered on a set of oppositions both to the restrictions caused by the pandemic and to the desire for a return to face-to-face participation in the context of digitally mediated cultural participation. For instance, participants in Cultural Rucksack and in Culture Schools online mediated experience underlined the importance of the physical encounter as an irreplaceable corner stone in the education of music, drama, dance etc., and insistently highlighted the importance of the bodily aspects of watching, hearing, smelling, listening, and touching the art. Live streamed concert audiences refer positively to the values of the non-digital, traditional, material, analogue performances, the physical, material, spatial, immersive, and multi-sensory qualities.

2. Valuation by domains

Summarizing the valuations detected in the case studies analyzed, we can observe a plurality of emerging values by thematic field. In the **field of cultural production and heritage management**, for example, value principles associated with aesthetics, economics, participation, authenticity/identity, well-being/comfort/entertainment, technical efficiency and sustainability were detected. Within the field of **cultural administration**, the value principles identified were authenticity/identity, economics, aesthetics, well-being, participation/democracy, sustainability, education, equality. Within the **participation in live arts and culture** field, the emerging values are linked to participation, hedonism/entertainment and authenticity. Finally, within the **cultural participation via new media** field, the main values detected are associated with aspects mainly related to well-being/emotions, pleasure, and issues associated with aesthetics.

If we move beyond the value plurality detected, we can observe the existence of **predominant, transversal and subsidiary valuations by domain**. For example, in the field of cultural production and heritage management, aesthetic valuation (associated with formal aspects in terms of aesthetic quality) and economic valuation (linked to costs and profit) are predominant. If we move to the field of cultural participation (face-to-face and mediatised), the valuations associated with hedonism, well-being and emotions are especially relevant together with democratic valuations linked to direct participation, social integration of different types of audiences and publics. Within the field of cultural administration, economic valuations are central in terms of promoting excellence and innovation, territorial growth and investments in the cultural field. In the local sphere of cultural administrations, participatory and democratic evaluations emerge strongly, associated with the inclusion of different sectors in cultural activities or in the design and implementation of cultural public policies or actions that pursue social cohesion through cultural activities.

Aesthetics is a historically central value in the artistic-cultural field. Within the fields analyzed, it appears as a transversal value that is predominantly present in the areas of cultural production and heritage management, in cultural administrations and, to a lesser extent, in the field of cultural participation. In the field of cultural production, it emerges at the level of products, associated with formal aspects (as in the case of some architectural projects) and quality (as in literary production). In cultural administrations, aesthetic valuations appear associated with programs that promote artistic-cultural quality and excellence. Within cultural participation, aesthetics appears as a marginal or subsidiary valuation, close to more institutional or professional experiences, where valuations close to professional excellence prevail.

Another valuation that emerges in the different fields analyzed is linked to participation/democracy, which is particularly evident in the experiences of cultural participation and cultural administrations. In the first case, it is associated with direct participation and the integration of different types of audiences. In the second case, it emerges strongly at the sub-national level in terms of democratic promotion and management (as in the case of the Xunta de Galicia) or inclusion (as in the case of the Barcelona City Council). In the field of cultural production, participation appears as a

subsidiary value associated with the involvement and participation in decision-making in the creative and organisational processes of users and stakeholders, as in the case of the participation of future users of housing in its design or the inclusion of migrant communities in decision-making in the case of MUDEC.

The valuation associated with principles of authenticity and identity is another case of value transversality, detected in the fields of cultural production and heritage management, cultural administrations and cultural participation. In the field of cultural production and heritage management, this value principle is linked to the correct representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their expressions as in the case of Roma Art Exhibition, the importance of the historical significance of the collections in MUDEC or the authenticity of an urban area as in the case of the Buda Castel Project. In the case of cultural administrations, this valuation is expressed in policies aimed at strengthening national or ethnic identities through heritage preservation, the promotion of language, territorial branding (as in the case of the Xunta de Galicia) or the nationalist discourse associated with excellence and distinction (as in the case of the Hungarian Secretary of Culture). In the field of cultural participation, this valuation is expressed on the basis of the idea of authenticity, as opposed to institutional or commercial values, linked to the idea of "freedom", "experimentation", "independence". This kind of valuation is stronger in the less formalized spheres of participation in institutional terms and more affected by the restrictions caused by COVID-19, as in the case of the Circus, or "Garden cabarets", raves and clandestine concerts.

Sustainability appears as an emerging valuation in the fields of cultural production in terms of a harmonious relationship with the natural (in one of the architecture projects) and cultural (in the case of one of the publishing houses) environment. Also, in terms of responsibility for the local environment in the more institutional projects in the fields of cultural participation (as in the case of Cultural-Base creative tourism). Technical efficiency, on the other hand, appears as a subsidiary valuation specific to the field of cultural production and heritage management, linked to technical aspects that make the development of a cultural project or proposal possible (as in the case of the architectural projects or the idea of efficiency in the development of the Roma Art Exhibition proposal), and to a lesser extent in the more professional groups in the field of cultural participation (face-to-face and mediatized), in terms of professionalism (as in the case of one of the cole analyzed).

3. Tensions by domains

The valuations detected emerge in a set of tensions that characterizes the value dynamics of the domains studied. Within the field of cultural production and heritage management, a series of tensions can be detected between the valuations that emerge in the contexts of creation and design (associated with aesthetic issues, sustainability, authenticity and participation) and those that emerge at the moment of materialization of a cultural proposal or project (more associated with technical, economic and wellbeing issues). This situation is reflected at the product level, in the conflict between the historical relevance (identity) of the MUDEC collection embodied by the municipality's

agents and its hedonistic valuation put into play by one of the private partners. In the same case, at the organisational level, the tension is reflected between valuations close to participation (sustained in order to include different migrant groups in the design and development of the proposal) and the financial sustainability of the proposal (as a value sustained by the private partner). In the case of the publishing houses studied, as in one of the architecture projects, the tensions detected are present between commercial success/viability (at the organisational level) and the aesthetic dimension and excellence (at the product level).

In the cases of cultural administrations, on the one hand we observe a tension between aesthetic and identity values at national and regional level, as in the case of the Xunta de Galicia and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture, where identity nationalism generates an appreciation of heritage that is opposed to aesthetic values. On the other hand, at the local level, the most prominent tension opposes aesthetic and participatory valuations.

Aesthetic valuation is not a central element in all the cases of cultural participation. In this domain the sets of valuation tensions are between hedonism and entertainment in opposition to institutional values or values conceived as authentic (as "freedom", "independence") in opposition to external norms and regulations (associated with "control" and "security"), especially in the less institutionalized and more autonomous cultural proposals such as in the case of the Montpellier Circus, raves and clandestine concerts. In the cases of more institutionalized cultural proposals, as in the case of culture-based creative tourism, the predominant value tension identified is between creative freedom (in terms of authenticity) and the demands of the market (in economic terms).

In the case of cultural participation via new media, no predominant value tensions are detected, but rather mutually supportive heterarchies instead of conflictual hierarchies. As in the cases of cultural participation in live arts and culture, where a low level of internal value tensions is detected, they are mostly external amalgams or oppositions ("freedom" vs. "external norms"; "authenticity" vs. "market" or "institutional demands"). The absence of a principle of strong internal value tension can be interpreted as resulting from the smaller plurality of interacting social actors. However, there are implicit tensions, relatively limited in the evidence gathered probably due to the lack of more institutional or closer to legitimate culture case studies, where value tensions between aesthetic and entertainment principles could emerge more clearly. On the contrary, in the fields of cultural production and heritage management and cultural administrations, of a more institutional character and with a greater plurality of actors intervening, strong internal tensions can be detected. In these fields, some central tensions stand out: the tension between aesthetic and economic valuations in the field of cultural production and heritage management, and the tension between economic and aesthetic valuations (at the national level) and between participation and aesthetic (at the local level) in cultural administrations.

4. Synthesis of valuation centralities and analytical tensions by values

Finally, from the cases analyzed, two sets of values and their tensions can be observed. On the one hand, the aesthetic, economic and social values that emerge as central in the fields of cultural production (more or less professional), participation and cultural administration. On the other hand, the values linked to authenticity/identity, hedonism/well-being and sustainability emerge as central in the fields of less professional cultural production, cultural participation (face to face and digitally mediated), heritage management and cultural administration.

Economic, social, and aesthetic valuations and their tensions

On the one hand, aesthetic valuations are associated with formal aspects in terms of the artistic language and professional quality of the projects, proposals and policies analyzed. On the other hand, economic evaluations appear to be linked to organizational aspects in terms of the costs and benefits expected from the implementation of a project or proposal, or the importance of the economic impact of a public policy. Aesthetic and economic values appear in tension and conflict, as was observed in the case of the publishing sector (between commercial success and the excellence of published works). These values and their tensions are refracted in the sphere of cultural administrations, marking a public policy agenda where the promotion of artistic excellence comes into tension with the expected economic impact. The cultural policies focused on cultural creativity implemented by the Barcelona City Council are a clear example in this sense.

As we move away from the sphere of institutionalized culture, these valuations and their tensions lose their centrality. In less professional cultural production, aesthetic valuation loses relevance and more social or participatory (democratic) aspects gain protagonism, as it happens in the cases of the Contemporary Circus of Monpellier, the experience of "De Portas Abertas" and in Culture-base creative tourism. In those cases, the social dimension of participation emerges strongly as a criterion for justifying their practices in terms of direct participation, integration, and social responsibility. However, social participation in cultural proposals and projects in the field of cultural production and more institutional heritage management is still a significant valuation on the part of organizers and producers. Social and democratic valuations appear to be associated with a positive vision of participation, which often comes into tension with questions of the economic sustainability of a proposal (as in the case of MUDEC). Cultural administrations positively value the social dimension of their policies, which are expressed in terms of participation and social inclusion. In this field, social or participatory valuation also comes into tension with economic valuation, as was observed in the case of Barcelona City Council between programmes centred on cultural creativity (in terms of economic development) and programmes based on everyone tastes interest and contribution (participation) or in the case of the Bergen City Council, marked by the tension between programmes centred on satisfying the social needs of artists and the internalisation of cultural policies based on cultural branding (economic).

Up to this point we can observe a first set of tensions between aesthetic, social and economic valuations, in the fields of cultural production (more or less professional), participation and cultural administrations. On the side of more professionalised cultural production and heritage management, the main tension emerges between aesthetic

and economic valuations, while on the side of less professionalised cultural production and cultural participation this tension shifts to the conflict between social and economic valuations. Cultural administrations refract these conflicts from their more social, economic or aesthetic policy and programme orientations (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: Analytical tensions by values 1

Authenticity / Identity, hedonism / wellbeing, sustainability and their tensions

The second set of values is linked to authenticity/identity, hedonism/well-being and sustainability. These values emerge in a more or less central manner in the fields of heritage management and cultural participation (face-to-face or digitally mediated). The valuation linked to authenticity and identity is present in the field of heritage management linked to the correct representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their expressions. This valuation enters into tension with values associated with entertainment and hedonism, as was observed in the conflict between the municipality and the private partner in the case of MUDEC. The hedonistic valuation linked to the cases of cultural experiences is central in the cases of cultural participation (face-to-face and digitally mediatized), in opposition to an aesthetic-institutional or even social or emancipatory vision of art, as we could observe in the cases of the clandestine raves, or the digitally mediatized experiences of participation.

The valuation associated with leisure and well-being is present in the field of cultural production from the point of view of the users, as could be seen in the case of one of the architectural projects, where the future users of the dwellings positively valued comfort above other criteria. This dimension of well-being associated with comfort comes into tension with environmental sustainability criteria, as could be seen in the case of the users in the housing cooperative and in the bases of one of the architectural

projects, where air conditioning was required that was detrimental to the environment.

The cultural administrations reflect these evaluations in terms of well-being but not in terms of entertainment. Art and culture as entertainment seems to be part of the valuations of users and practitioners, but also from the point of view of the private sector, as we could observe in the case of MUDEC in terms of attracting audiences and linked to possible economic returns, entering into tension with a more historical-significant or identity vision of its exhibitions expressed by the Municipality. In this sense, the identity dimension is a central valuation of cultural administrations in terms of the construction of diverse national, ethno-cultural and patrimonial identities. In governments where there is a significant nationalist rhetoric, identity valuation can generate actions centered on an appreciation of local heritage and language, articulated with the internationalization of tourism (economic) and opposing sectorial demands for participation (democracy), as in the case of the Xunta de Galicia, or associated with a discourse of excellence (aesthetic) in opposition to social valuations (such as freedom of expression), as in the case of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture.

As we have observed, hedonistic valuation is central for publics, audiences, users, and citizens in the spheres of cultural participation, just as aesthetic valuation is central for creators and producers in the sphere of professional cultural production. This hedonistic / welfare-oriented valuation often comes into tension with sustainability criteria and valuations centered on historical-significant or identity aspects (see Figure 2).

Figure 4: Analytical tensions by values 2



Source: own elaboration.

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