Cultural Managers as 'Masters of Interspaces' in Transformation Processes – a Network Theory Perspective

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Abstract

Recently, we can observe a shift – or let us term it a "rediscovery" – of cultural management approaches with regard to cultural politics in rural areas as well as in urban settings. This rediscovery highlights cultural managers as the central players within cultural development processes. It recognizes a new need for the reorganization of cultural infrastructure that is deeply rooted in socio-environmental changes such as globalization, demographic and technological change, and financial crises. What cultural managers actually do is to screen, explore and finally reorder the existing network structures of a given field and facilitate the implementation of new networks. Hence, it was only a matter of time to introduce basic network theoretical thoughts into the academic field of cultural management and cultural sociology research.

The article gives an overview about the contemporary state of the art with regard to recent changes in cultural management approaches. In addition, it will provide the concept of cultural managers as 'masters of interspaces' who need to be empowered – not only by formal institutions, but also by local stakeholders. In this way, they can successfully fulfil their task and contribute to fruitful transformation processes within the cultural field. 'Interspace management' is the most important skill that modern cultural managers need to obtain. Here, network theory comes into play. Basic network theories are used to lay a foundation for a better understanding of the mechanisms that underpin cultural interventions. This starts from trust building and ends with the transformation of structural holes into weak ties. Here, five different roles that cultural managers can exercise during their mission are introduced. At the end of the article, an empirical case study of a cultural development process in the German state Thuringia is introduced in order to give an example for the importance of network theories and methodologies connected to cultural management.

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1. Cultural management and change

Changes in the area of culture[1] are often met with indignation and fear. There is barely any other area of public life where we regularly encounter this strong emotionalization of factual issues. We often witness such a type of reflex-like reaction, whereby changes, or calls for change, are perceived as threats. If we take a look at the frequently cited area of cuts, structural redistributions and reorientations within budgets for cultural projects frequently referred to, it becomes clear that the focus is always on the issue of who will be among the winners and who will be one of the losers as a result of these changes. This quickly leads to the opposite positions of an allegedly radical cultural policy, on the one hand, and a group of institutions and creative lone fighters that passively or actively accepts what has been decided, on the other hand. Not least, moral and symbolic aspects come into play. Often enough, change is conceived as automatically intending a negative development instead of a reorientation towards improved structures and positive developments. Moreover, it appears to block collaborative attempts to establish systems that are more open and thus better adapted to an ever changing environment.

At the communal level in Germany, these structural challenges can be seen when cities and municipalities with stagnating budgets have to sustain an extensive cultural infrastructure (*INSTITUT FÜR KULTUR-POLITIK* 2010). Often, politicians are confronted with the critical situation that there are not enough people who take advantage of cultural opportunities and are willing to partake of them. Among these structural challenges, one would assume that cultural management would start out with the competencies gathered in this field, namely mediation, moderation/facilitating, communication/translation, consensus-building and cooperation/networking (FÖHL/WOLFRAM 2014; BERG 2007). The

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1   In recent years, hundreds of definitions about the meaning of the term 'culture' have been gathered from very different academic and artistic contexts. Therefore, it is important to note that no universally valid concepts of culture exist, but that the word culture is exposed to an ongoing battle of interpretation. Generally, a narrow and a broad definition of culture can be distinguished from each other. The narrow concept of culture includes categories and genres such as dance, theater, cinema, film, literature and visual arts. The wider concept of culture offers a stronger connection with artifacts, objects, behaviors, rituals and symbolic codings. It is important to reflect how the term is used, particularly with regard of its political and ideological appropriation. No culture is 'worth more' than another. Hierarchical ideas of the term culture often tend to be part of ideological debates or even political abuse. Hence, an analytical and reflective approach to the concept of culture should be submitted centrally to the beginning of every project or process.

acknowledgement of the importance of these new requirements with regard to the competencies of cultural managers leads to the following questions: Is this already happening to a sufficient degree? And do cultural managers see the potentials and barriers that await them? Additionally, these questions of empowerment of cultural managers with respect to their tasks have to be connected to the dimensions of competence already mentioned.

2. Cultural managers as translators and 'justifiers' in cultural development planning processes[2]

We can already see a positive tendency with respect to these issues in the area of cultural development planning. More and more German states, municipalities and cities demand the specific competencies of cultural managers. These managers can appear as external consultants or as employees of cultural administrations with explicit backgrounds in cultural management in order to control politico-cultural planning processes (FÖHL/SIEVERS 2013). An ambivalent role like this can be found in international contexts as well (FÖHL/WOLFRAM 2012).

At an international level, we observe a changed understanding of new alliances and partnerships, especially between partners who traditionally were not considered part of the cultural scene. Not only cities but also communities and regions wish to achieve new cross-border visibility as a result of these alliances. In recent years, we have also witnessed an increase in the promotion of so-called 'interface projects', such as in the area of cultural promotion by the European Commission, but also in numerous national culture promotion institutions. Here, items such as culture and social projects, culture and environmental protection, culture and tourism, culture and scientific theory, culture and business, culture and law, as well as culture and integration/migration have moved to center stage. Therefore, new 'interspaces' are appearing for cultural managers who need to be able to understand and moderate the logic underlying activities in other fields and accept it with its specific approaches.

The development described above poses the central question of cultural participation anew: Who is actually included in art projects and

2   Parts of chapter 2 through 5 have been published in FÖHL/WOLFRAM (2014). These practical and theoretical models are – as new categorization and approach – taken up again in order to underline them with network theory.

who remains outside the boundaries of cultural production? Many projects, including those in Europe's cultural capitals, would not have been conceivable in recent years without these expansions. As a result of the integration of certain social groups such as migrants, who are often marginalized within globalization, sociocultural discourses have also had a much greater influence on concepts of sustainable cultural work. This also applies to topics that span national borders. For example, the project *Imagine2020* (<http://www.imagine2020.eu/>), which spans nine European countries, and brings together ten diverse, highly motivated and experienced cultural institutions, integrates climate protection and art on a high artistic level. Many international film festivals, e.g., the *Environmental Film Festival of Accra* in Ghana (<http://www.effaccra. org/>), rely on a similar orientation. It is easy to ascertain the reasons for these developments, as these kinds of interfaces always indicate important, topical sociocultural subjects at the respective venues as well. Here, visibility comes about as a result of networking, the recombination and sharing of resources.

3. Relationship management as a key task of cultural management

Taking into account the previous mentioned developments, it becomes clear that we witness a shift – from traditional cultural management approaches to new ways of managing the arts – not only at a national level in Germany but also all over the world. We live in a century where the boundaries between different societal sectors become blurred. The cross-border tendencies can be interpreted not only as a consequence of mere globalization but also as the result of constantly changing environmental conditions, which include: demographic and technological change, migration, financial crises and decreasing resources – to name only a few (FÖHL/PEPER 2014: 54). Even if one might not immediately associate the fields of arts and culture with environmental changes, they are affected by them. Only looking on the aspects of media and digital development makes it very clear that innovations are affecting arts and culture more rapidly and the question is how to react. Even more importantly, we have to consider how to use them for audience building-strategies (Borwick 2012) and cultural practice – ultimately the digital spaces create new and lucid rooms for cultural production and discourse.

Considering the recent calls for change, it does not come as a surprise that governmental representatives have initiated cultural development planning processes throughout Germany in recent years (FÖHL/SIEVERS 2013). Furthermore, there are cultural development processes going on in many other countries as well (e.g., China, Egypt, USA and many other European countries). Public funding is still a fundamental source for artists and cultural institutions in order to survive but the state cannot support the whole cultural infrastructure on its own. The hope lies in a better coordination with other societal fields such as the market (economy and tourism) and the civil society (e.g. local heroes, schools and churches). An improved coordination and cooperation among the actors of these societal domains promises access to otherwise disconnected pools of non-redundant resources. But the interconnectedness of these given fields does not work as a self-fulfilling prophecy. It requires agents who are in charge of that task and who have the abilities to connect people and their institutions with each other. Here, the cultural manager enters the stage of cultural development planning. He is not only willing to play this role but in most cases also holds a perfect position regarding his own social embeddedness to fulfil the task of bridging the gap between interspaces. As an external actor who only enters a new cultural field of intervention for a certain amount of time he can be seen as having a very high degree of structural autonomy that makes him the ultimate broker.[3]

The fuzzy boundaries between different fields of interaction go hand in hand with the need for an improved 'togetherness' of increasing cross-cutting issues such as cultural education, cultural tourism[4] and hybrid cultural production[5] (i.e., creative alliances between museums, theatres, choirs, etc.). Especially in peripheral areas[6] there is often a lack of resources to make culture accessible for everyone. Furthermore, tensions between traditional cultural heritage activities and contemporary arts can be observed. In many cases prejudices dominate a given field

3   The 'broker'-term is rooted in network theoretical concepts. Later in this article, the idea of cultural managers as 'masters of interspaces' will be connected with these concepts, which describe intermediary-positions from a structuralist point of view.

4   See exemplary for the potentials and the challenges managing cross-cutting fields FÖHL/PRÖBSTLE (2013).

5   See continuative on cultural hybridity BHABHA (2012).

6   Recently, the authors of this paper worked in different functions in two German regions to improve the local communication structures between different stakeholders. In 2014 they intervened in two German model-regions in Thuringia (<http://www.kulturkonzept-hbn-son.de> and <http://www.kulturkonzept-kyf-ndh.de>). Since 2015 they operate in Havelland county in Brandenburg in East Germany <http://www.havelland.de/Kulturentwicklungsplanung.2696.0.html>.

of intervention. A lack of communication between the existing players of a cultural field prevents the overall network from being more dense and interconnected. Often, the people in charge do not have the time to invest in strategic networking and to establish new contacts to the actors of other domains. Sometimes, it is not only the time-aspect that hinders them to cooperate with people and institutions from other societal domains but also the lack of knowledge about the opportunities they have and about the critical resources that might be embedded in far distant subnetworks.

As a 'master of interspaces' it is the cultural manager who can be in the position to gain an overview about the existing network structures of a given field, to explore the stories behind the various relationships and to develop strategies for the reorganization of these structures. Hence, a reordering of structures can stimulate creative alliances and innovation (FÖHL/WOLFRAM 2014). In this way, cultural managers, from a network theoretical point of view, act as 'broker' who bridge the gaps (so-called 'structural holes') between otherwise disconnected subnetworks in order to optimize the coordination between these fields and create synergies. To be successful in this task, cultural managers first of all need to conduct a screening of the field which can involve different methodologies (such as a structural analysis, expert interviews or, more recently, an explorative network analysis). In an international context – not only in theories of cultural management but also in the practical field of cultural development planning – such a screening process is termed as "cultural mapping" (STEWART 2010).

4. Prerequisites for successful 'Interspace Management'

There are a few requirements for interspace management to succeed sustainably though. For fair and credible cultural management to work in the long term, it must embody the following aspects:

- Cultural managers must not try to assume the role of cultural politicians – unless they want to take on a corresponding political office – or think they could act as a substitute here, because they were not elected for this role and therefore do not have any democratic legitimacy for it either.
- Cultural managers act between the conflicting priorities of cultural policy, cultural organizations and artists, and in their respective

fields as well. As employees within cultural organizations, they form part of the functional system of cultural organization (here, too, they should act as integrative enablers). As external advisors, such as in cultural development planning, or as external project developers, though, they should assume independent positions as mediators, which allow them to have an integrative influence.

- Cultural managers work in (international) networks and especially assume a role of making sure that the players are more or less equal. Institutions must not outdo or dominate individual players. Recipients of public (international) grants must make sure not to block other players – who may perhaps not be visible to the public sector yet – from view due to their understandable particular interests.

- Rather, cultural managers are mediators, translators, cooperators, networkers and facilitators who act on the part of cultural policy as well as on the part of cultural players to empower cultural development processes as well as individuals. This makes credibility in the sense of independence in judgment and in the recommended behavioral patterns indispensable. Naturally, the same applies when culture is imparted to a (potential) audience (BEKMEIER-FEUERHAHN et al. 2012; OSBORNE/RENTSCHLER 2010).

- Cultural policy is a functional system (RADTKE 2012) of policy with specific forms of logic, rules and its own vocabulary that members of the cultural scenes often fail to understand. Here, cultural managers act as translators – and as justifiers. In politics, investments require specific grounds which all too often encounter the difficulty that investments in the cultural field are successful in a different context of impact in terms of structure, time and participation. Cultural managers should communicate and shape that.

- Cultural managers must point out the special value system of cultural work. Art does not develop as a result of rules, but rather by experimenting, forming networks and by discourse orientation.[7] These have been the value systems of western societies since the Age of Enlightenment, which must not be lost due to the imperatives of the creative business or structural constraints to save.

- Cultural managers must be able to distinguish between politico-cultural conditions at both a national and an international level. In this

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7   SCHERER (2011: 294ff.): "As we can't rely on a case of instruments with pre-fabricated solutions for these new social conflicts, a free space within which drafts of social activities and meaning can be tested is of key importance. Art constitutes this kind of space for experimentation […]."

context, they must assume the task of discovering the potentials of new interfaces in order to actively resist the – virulent (in Europe at least) – discourse of an administration of budgets with a tendency to stagnation or cuts by self-confidently supporting a form of tapping new recourses that is appropriate for artists – without making concessions to pure economic logic.

5. Cultural management of Interspaces

In summary, we can confirm that cultural managers have always worked in the numerous interspaces of cultural fields – and still do – and that these interspaces and interfaces are currently growing larger as described. One need only mention the expansive development of cultural tourism and cultural education on the cultural political agenda in many countries around the globe. Sustainable and meaningful development, though, can only succeed if cultural management is keeping with the times. Thus, – as the formerly mentioned 'broker' – it has to translate, negotiate, coordinate and reveal spaces of possibilities for participation that ideally take place in the spaces between culture and education, as well as culture and tourism. Otherwise, we run the risk of these horizontal fields to degenerate into fig leaves of allegedly innovative cultural policy or desired results not being attained, because the respective poles fail to meet.

Now, what specifically does that mean for the work of cultural managers? It might help to use a case example to answer this question. If, for example, a cultural development plan is set up in a medium-sized city in Germany and there is the unanswered question of how to distribute the available funds in the future, one can assume that there will be fear among local stakeholders to be affected by cuts or structural changes. If a major share of the previous expenditures accrues to the municipal theater, a change in the existing situation may become inevitable in the medium term. Options like reductions in staff and sectors, cutting funds or investments in measures for new audience development, etc. are being discussed. The cultural manager has two options: He can behave in accordance with his own convictions and force a certain strategy – or he can start to communicate the impending change in a manner that causes all of the parties involved to abandon the classical winner-loser discourse. In this way, he can leave the trampled path of renovation (keywords: savings as a substitute for policies, punctual optimizations,

etc.) and question whether theater may have an 'anchor function'. This creates the chance to assume a new relevance of meaning – for different creative projects as well as for the inclusion of local stakeholders. Hereby, the cultural manager opens the view upon new spaces of possibilities – precisely where many previous approaches had obviously not found any far-reaching effects in dealing with the virulent social challenges.

6. Interspace management – a network theoretical perspective

The management of relationships – here described as interspace management – can be seen as the most important task of current cultural management approaches. For a better understanding of the mechanisms that lay beyond the accompanying processes it seems useful to put the interspace management-approach into a theoretical framework. Network theory which has its roots in sociology, anthropology and physics is well suited to fulfil this task even though there are already other scientific approaches that include some rudimentary network ideas: for example BOURDIEUS field theory, LUHMANNS system theory, neo-institutionalist concepts or the Governance-approach. But all of them are lacking a real explanation for the functions and mechanisms of social networks. Furthermore, they don't deal with social networks in an empirical way. The absence of a theoretical framework for the explanation of networks can be seen as a white spot on the map of cultural sociological research. The theory and method of social network analysis fills this gap and opens new ways to explore and to measure the structures of network interactions. The central concepts of network theory are the following:

- social embeddedness,
- relations,
- strong ties/weak ties,
- structural holes/brokerage,

Social embeddedness. The social embeddedness-theorem represents the key concept of network research and is the starting point of network analytical case studies. The concept involves a general "relational" way of thinking, in other words "thinking in networks". Relational thinking includes the assumption that almost all worldly things have some sort of connections that put them in relation with each other. From this point of view, no object, person, group, place or domain can be considered as

isolated from its environment. Based on older sociological constructs of social space and as their expansion the 'godfather of network theory,' Harrison White, formulated a network theoretical idea which he coined 'netdom'. The name derives from the terms – net (network relationships) and domain (sector). A domain is characterized by the specific cultural forms, e.g. the habitus and the conventions, which are embedded in a specific subnetwork. People can form one or more identities within a netdom. White assumes that people are in search for control between varying network contexts. He believes that people can navigate ('switch') between network domains and adapt specific identities ('social footing') by creating 'stories' (interactions with other stakeholders) in order to reduce uncertainty. This means that each switching represents a decoupling of a domain context and the footing within another netdom (WHITE 2008: 2, 7f., 12). One task of a cultural manager is to adapt to new netdom-interfaces in order to gain access to non-redundant contacts and subnetworks which might contain different values, ideas and other resources. In doing so, he needs to identify the social embeddedness of the actors in a given field and find strategies to improve the 'ecosystem'.
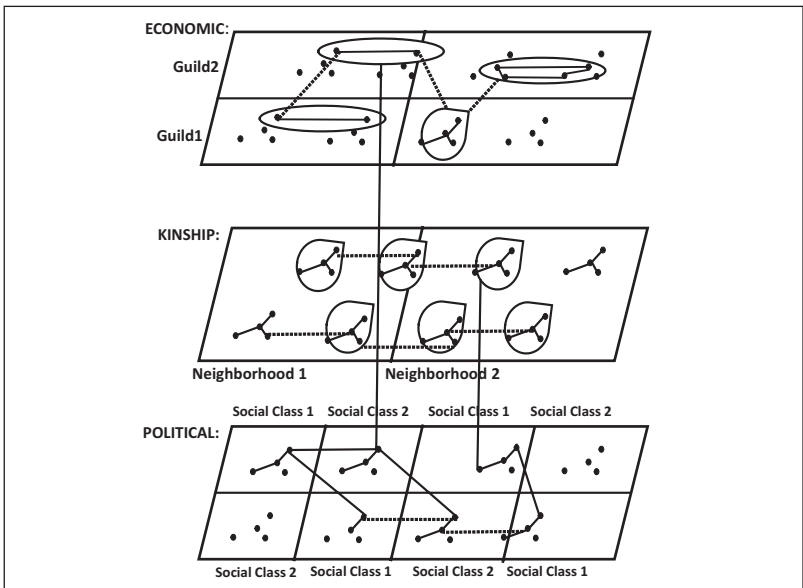

Fig. 1: *Netdom switching between different stakeholders: Solid lines are 'constitutive ties', dotted lines 'relational social exchanges' and oblongs represent formal organizations. Dots are individuals* (PADGETT/MCLEAN 2006 in WHITE 2008: 8).

Figure 1 highlights that there are individuals who connect multiple actors 'within' a societal domain. In addition, it can be seen that some in-

dividuals do not only establish relationships 'inside' the boundaries of societal domains but also 'between' different domains. These multiplex relations allow actors to switch between different societal domains and contexts which open up access to critical resources.

Relations. Network structures build on interactions between actors and can be stabilized if the actions are repeated and if they are not a 'one-way road' but if the flows point in both directions – which leads, in network theoretical terms, to reciprocity. But how do dyadic relationships evolve? What are the means to stabilize relationships over time? One answer is: trust. Trust reduces complexity and uncertainty. In this regard, trust is considered to be a component of the (meaning) structure formation of networks. Building trust functions as the main foundation for further establishments of network ties and also stabilizes ties that already exist (FUHSE 2002: 413; 2015). The reduction of uncertainty as well as the development and stabilization of communication relationships play a decisive role in cultural policy change processes.

Strong ties/weak ties. An extension of the characterizations of relations provides the "strength of weak ties" – argument by Mark Granovetter (1973: 1361). His theorem is based on the assumption that network relations can be distinguished between strong and weak. Accordingly, the strength of a relationship consists of a combination of invested time, emotional intensity, intimacy and reciprocity. It has been proven empirically that especially actors who have strong connections to each other are also similar in other aspects (BURT 1992: 64; GRANOVETTER 1973: 1362). Strong ties can exist between the members of a family, in certain corporate departments or in sports clubs. Weak ties, on the other hand, can be understood as 'bridges' to reach other actors from distant subnetworks. A weak relationship can be a casual acquaintance or a contact to an old school friend which was still latent but not activated for many years. As with bridges on the highway, a bridge often represents the only way for actors to reach other domains. This means that the social distance between actors is dependent on the question of whether there exists a strong or a weak tie between them. The absence of any connection creates a gap and is termed "structural hole". Hence, strong relationships mark the 'density' of an actor's network, while weak ties represent rather 'loose' couplings and provide access to a larger and more diverse set of actors (GRANOVETTER 1973: 1369). So, the main argument here is that ideas, information and influences circulate over weak ties that

could not be reached via strong ties. These "weak tie"-contacts open access to other subnetworks that contain non-redundant information and thus add value to one's own dense network which is characterized by "homophily" (GRANOVETTER 1973: 1370). Access to non-redundant subnetworks might also stimulate creativity and innovation as the reorganization of network structures and the (re-)combination of resources can lead to further possibilities with regard to cultural production.

Structural holes/brokerage. The amount of critical resources that are accessible for an actor correlates with the number of non-redundant relationships the actor builds (Ronald Burt defines the number of non-redundant network accesses as the degree of 'structural autonomy' an actor has). Structural autonomy is an expression of power. In the case that an actor is positioned between two subnetworks and thus connects two otherwise disconnected network components with each other he bridges so-called "structural holes". An actor may obtain information advantages once he has bridged structural holes and use them strategically for his own purpose (BURT 1992: 65). If two players have the same contacts, they are in a "structurally equivalent" position. Multiple relationships with these stakeholders do not pay off as they do not gain access to new resources (BURT 1992: 66). Generally, it can be stated that a broker is someone who holds a position between other actors who need to cross this position in order to reach each other. Marsden (1982: 202) defines brokerage as a process "by which intermediary actors facilitate transactions between other actors lacking access to or trust in one another." Thus, any brokered exchange can be thought of as a relation involving three actors, two of whom are the actual parties to the transaction and one of whom is the intermediary or broker. In this manner, the otherwise disconnected actors are dependent on the broker who can regulate the interaction flow between them. This can be phrased as "path dependency". A broker loses his position as soon as the other actors create direct relations with each other that make the broker position irrelevant for them as they do not need to cross this node anymore in order to reach each other.

Inside network theoretical discourses there are some debates about the different possibilities of role interpretation for an actor in charge of a broker position. Is a broker someone who selfishly plays off other actors against each other? Or is he rather someone who knows how to bring actors together? These are the two basic alternatives which are attributed to brokers. Georg Simmel and David Obstfeld describe the two possible

characteristics of brokers with the terms "Tertius Gaudens" ("the laughing third") and "Tertius Iungens" ("the third who joins") (BURT 1992: 75; OBSTFELD 2005: 120).

Looking at these basic elements of network theory – social embeddedness, relations, strong and weak ties, as well as structural holes and brokerage – there is no doubt that these concept play a crucial role in combination with current challenges faced by cultural managers who themselves act as intermediaries to improve the ecosystems that surround cultural infrastructure. The following aspects can be interpreted as the most important tasks of cultural managers that enter new fields of intervention, especially in cultural development processes. Here, a cultural manager needs to

- reduce prejudices and bring people from different domains together,
- find content overlaps and develop common narratives,
- assess expectations and reduce complexity,
- transform 'opportunity spaces' (interspaces/structural holes) into weak ties which might transform into strong ties in the long run.

In short, he is responsible to find new ways (i. e. innovative structures) of coordination. It is important to note that there are not only "structural holes" but also "cultural holes" that need to be bridged by a cultural manager. These cultural differences define the boundaries of subnetworks (BREIGER 2010). It is not enough to understand networks a purely structural. Different values, shared identities, vocabularies and different amounts of social capital within certain subnetworks need to be taken into consideration by a cultural manager before he enters the field.

One approach to make a common area of cultural interest more visible and to activate local citizens focuses on the development of strong narratives. The city of Berlin, for example, is known to be "poor but sexy" (as its former mayor Klaus Wowereit used to say). Ulrich Fuchs suggests a "psychoanalysis" for places where people have forgotten about the potential of the place itself – often because the given space is associated with rather negative images due to historical reasons. Cultural managers should think about new ways to change the perception of the place and to involve citizens in the process of renewal. Soft-power approaches do not necessarily need to cost any money but make use of the creative potential of single artists who work together with the community and can help to maintain a common neighborhood identity (FH KUFSTEIN 2014).

Empowerment and trust building. The knowledge about the most important concepts of social network theory and the methodological approaches can help cultural managers in their work as external consultants who enter a new field of cultural interaction. Cultural managers, who are often engaged by public administrations and/or political parties, need to build trust to the many different stakeholders of the given field. Here, we understand the term empowerment as a dialogic role definition of a cultural manager which means that the existing cultural infrastructure is mapped even before the actual intervention. The mapping is important for understanding the specific cultural patterns of a region, to gain access to local subnetworks and to create sustainable cooperation. In line with this, it is assumed that through the mapping process a cultural manager can establish relations with local stakeholders and build trust. It may help him to adapt to interspaces, so-called structural holes, position himself and thus be able to act as an intermediary between different local network domains.

7. Mind the gaps — bridging cultural and structural holes

A promising approach to foster a creative climate in rural areas (but also in denser regions like cities) is to strategically build up so-called "issue networks". This means that cultural managers, after the mapping process, are enabled to reflect on the given structures of the place of intervention. As they now know about the missing links between certain subnetworks, they can act as mediators between local stakeholders and bridge the missing links between these groups. An 'issue' can be a specific project where stakeholders use their variety of resources for the stimulation of creative innovation. As soon as such a project ends, the persons involved may move away from each other, causing the network structures to change again. But these short-time interactions can be very sustainable as the whole local network gets denser in terms of connectivity over time. The creation of trust and the enhanced understanding of the relational culture of other local subnetworks help the community to become united (FH KUFSTEIN 2014). This goes hand in hand with the assumption of the famous sociologist Richard Sennett who claims in his book (*Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation*)

that "rituals" can help to establish a healthy balance between coopera-
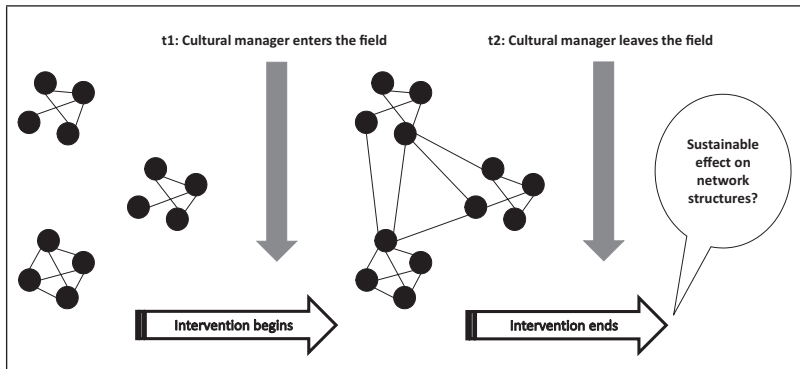tion and competition (SENNETT 2012).

Fig. 2: *The development of network ties over time* (© R. Peper).

An important question that has to be asked is whether the shortly ac-
tivated weak ties between subnetworks, which are a result of the inter-
vention of the cultural manager, can sustain over time. In most cases,
the cultural manager and his team of experts only stay in a region for a
certain amount of time. In the given time they try to connect the various
domains with relevance to cultural production with each other. Often,
the involved stakeholders did not know each other prior to the cultural
manager's intervention. In many cases it is the result of initiated work-
shops and round tables that these actors first and foremost get to know
each other. It provides them with the possibility to make new contacts
to people from other domains and hence offering them access to new re-
sources. An example: There might be a museum director who has plenty
of space in his museum building but who complains about not having
enough contacts to motivated artists who could exhibit in his building or
schedule short-term events like concerts. On the other hand, there might
be a young artist who has great creative potential but does not have any
contact to institutions that might engage him for an exhibition. Further-
more, he does not have enough space to work on his paintings and to
store them. Here, the cultural manager can help as he brings together
these disconnected players and encourages cooperation. Both actors can
benefit from an exchange as both of them obtain resources that the other
seeks. The museum director can profit from the young artist who exhib-
its his paintings in the museum's gallery and who vice versa makes the
museum more attractive for a younger target group. The artist benefits as
he can now use the museum's atelier and depot for his paintings and as
he receives more awareness via the exhibitions. If the expectations about

the cooperation are confirmed by both sides over time (this means, that both actors profit from each other in the long run), reciprocity is granted and the relationship can be established over time. Eventually, what was once a weak tie can be transformed into a strong tie after a while. If these micro-processes of building dyadic partnerships between stakeholders take place in many instances, the cultural manager has fulfilled his task to densify the overall network.

A big challenge that cultural managers face in these contexts is the problem of cultural differences between stakeholders. In the case of the museum director and the artist it is possible that the museum director has a very traditional and conservative view on "what is art and what is not" and might usually only circulate in certain subnetworks that consist of people who share his belief and strengthen the internal culture of only investing in traditional art (this might result in closed network boundaries which are not open for new ideas).[8] The task of a cultural manager now is to find narratives and content overlaps that might stimulate a climate facilitating cooperation and enabling starting points for a growing 'cultural similarity'. In recent cultural development processes (e.g. in the German region of Thuringia as well as in Brandenburg) it became clear that cooperation can be encouraged best when there are content overlaps and when there is a need for resource-complementarity. The bridging of cultural holes must therefore be understood as the basis for sustainable bridging of structural holes between subnetworks.

8. The 'ultimate broker' – is the cultural manager himself!

During the cultural mapping-process a cultural manager analyses the field of intervention – he spots all the relevant persons and institutions – be it museums, theatres, art clubs, municipalities, tourism offices, schools, churches, companies, banks and foundations – and he tries to identify which of these stakeholders are already very well connected in order to give them responsibility for future cultural development improvements. So, it can be stated that a cultural manager identifies the most important broker positions and structural holes and different kinds of relations (e.g. communication, conflict, cooperation etc.) to decide about further strategies for the reorganization of the field.

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8   DiMaggio mentioned in 1987: "Ritual boundaries [are] barriers that make it difficult for artists and enterprises to move among genres." (BREIGER 2010: 39)

Nevertheless, a cultural manager acts very much as a broker himself as he reflects and localizes structural holes and takes decisions to bridge these gaps. It is his hope and also his task to establish new ways of interconnectedness that go beyond the traditional boundaries of different societal domains. Of course, these new interaction-structures (which might become visible in the form of new established communication platforms and round tables) should not only last until the cultural manager, who came as an external consultant, leaves the field. Rather, they should have a sustainable effect on the communication system within the intervention area. But still it is very important and observable that the cultural manager is the 'ultimate broker' who needs to be in a position with a high degree of structural autonomy to act as flexible and unbiased as possible. For the purpose of bringing together separated network components he needs to exercise different roles and therefore acts like an anytime color-changing chameleon as he navigates between many different domain-contexts. Not only does he need to talk and understand the language of politics and administration but also those of arts and culture, economy and tourism as well as civil society. By entering the field, the cultural manager himself establishes many new contacts to representatives of subnetworks that he did not know and interact with before. Role switching and identity switching define the heart of modern cultural management.

Legitimization for the cultural manager to enter the field and establish contacts to the relevant stakeholders arises out of personal stories (such as former engagement in the given field by the manager himself) or formal empowerment by someone else (a person or an institution) who is known and accepted in the given field (and therefore enjoys legitimacy) and introduces the manager to the field. The past experiences of the authors of this paper show that also other aspects (like being communicative and to highlight the serious interest in the stories behind the people) can help to facilitate access to new subnetworks and can decrease the skepticism that some actors of the intervened field might have towards the cultural development process which often has its roots in decisions made by politics and administration (as a consequence, artists and cultural institutions sometimes fear that the initiation of a cultural development process goes hand in hand with the intention of cuts with regard to the promotion of culture).

Additionally, it has to be considered that a cultural manager is also a member of many subnetworks himself. These networks exist outside the boundaries of the ecosystem of the field he intervenes. As a power broker

he is well connected with experts from outside the field. In this sense, he has access to a huge pool of resources (especially specific knowledge but also social capital in the form of contacts to influential players from politics and administration) which he can use for the varying cultural fields that he needs to improve. Thus, a cultural manager is supposed to be cooperative by nature. As someone who works in flexible project structures he needs to find suitable partners for every new context of intervention who can support him to fulfil the task of improving the existing cultural infrastructure. According to this, it can be useful to choose experts as partners who are well embedded in network clusters that deliver non-redundant resources. Another example: If it is one of the key tasks of a cultural development process to develop a museum region it would be good to engage an expert from museum science or museum consulting who can easily activate his own network contacts (either academic peers or colleagues) in order to optimize the museum structures. The same goes for other fields like cultural tourism, the independent scene and the music sector as well as theatres.

As a master of interspaces and therefore as the ultimate broker the cultural manager has certain roles to play which are very close to the Tertius Iungens-concept by Obstfeld. There are already some different scientific articles about the possibilities of role-exercises of broker in sociological literature which can be combined with the tasks of modern cultural management. In the next part of this article we illustrate a typology of five different broker-roles that can be adapted by a cultural manager.

9. Clarity of roles

In summary, when discussing role models for cultural management and harmonization of the relationship between cultural policy and cultural management, we must answer systemic questions, achieve clarity of roles. It presently appears that particular aspirations of individual players and the respective own political attitude affect such a debate like smokescreens. Even if these discussions reveal the potential scope of action of the field of cultural management in the overall view, we must make sure not to lose sight of what is feasible and necessary, specifically: Enable culture by taking account of the fields of consensus which can be produced between all the parties involved, with this also meaning between diverse social fields. If the cultural manager appears authentic

and as independent as possible here, the fields of action are often larger than expected. That also means not only to look on the tasks cultural managers can fulfill through the mandates they have by the cultural or political institutions which hire them. They always need a so-called second mandate through the people and partners they work with. Being involved in different roles within different social spaces requires a perpetual process of acceptance through partners, not only through the first mandate.

As shown, cultural managers are vitally needed to accompany discourses in the context of cultural development and change processes both nationally and internationally. This is a (potential) genuine function that can reveal a lot about a contemporary understanding of cultural management. Merely restricting cultural management to the often cited cultural management toolbox would be setting demands too low, whereas a role in processes related to cultural policies which conducts a discourse or is even normative would set demands too high, even if cultural managers must naturally master the former and at least be familiar with the latter. Accordingly, the aim is to develop credibility with regard to descriptions of function and the radius of action for contemporary cultural management which is produced when cultural management perceives and establishes itself as an enabling authority in processes of transformation and development. To put it in a nutshell: The success of a cultural manager is measured by whether his deeds contribute to both courageous and well-founded decisions in the area of cultural policies and in cultural operations/projects in the long-run. Furthermore, it has to be evaluated if he has achieved 'rapprochement' in the interspaces between social actors.

10. Five types of broker-roles – Sharpening the interspace approach by sociology and organizational theory

Föhl and Wolfram (2014) introduced five types of roles that a modern cultural manager can adapt. She or he can act as a

- translator,
- mediator,
- cooperator,
- networker,
- and facilitator.

These five types of role-functions can be combined with systematizations from other scientific fields such as sociology and organizational theory. These are:

- the promoters-model (Witte 1973; especially relation-promoters and process-promoters),
- the typology of brokers, empirically tested by Gould and Fernandez in 1989 (they also identified five types of brokerage: coordinator, itinerant broker, gatekeeper, representative, liaison),
- and the five types of interaction flows described by Richard Sennett in 2014 (here, the focus is not on the broker himself but on the different kind of cooperation-ties that he can build: altruism, win-win, differentiating exchange, zero-sum exchange, and the winner takes it all).

Important in this context is the fact that cultural managers should not only define this role for themselves. They need also, within all these dimensions, an accompanying process of empowerment through the involved stakeholders and partners.

Baring these concepts in mind, the five roles of a cultural manager can be described in the following way:

The cultural manager as 'translator'. In most intervention cases a cultural manager has to act like a "liaison officer" who shows a high sensitivity for the interests of various groups. As he has access to the thinking and language cultures of the actors from different departments, he is able to build bridges between the subgroups. This bridging is termed 'boundary spanning'. Thus, the cultural manager, in the role of a translator, can be recognized as a so-called 'boundary spanner' since he spans relations across borders (HAUSCHILDT/SOLOMON 2011: 81). This role is considered to be very important in order to overcome resistance in change processes. This is due to the fact that a cultural manager can soften perception and knowledge conflicts and thus help to enforce decision-making. Hence, with regard to the implication that a cultural manager creates a cooperative climate as he melts the boundaries between stakeholders from divergent subgroups, he can be understood as a process promoter. This goes hand in hand with the Tertius Iungens-concept in the way that the cultural manager brings people together instead of separating them.

At the beginning of his mission it is important that a cultural manager explores the different subcultures of the relevant networks and that he

also takes into consideration the stories of interaction which shaped the observed network structures. Only by taking into account the stories that have influenced people to make specific contacts or to avoid certain communication becomes it possible for the cultural manager to develop the most suitable strategies in order to improve the coordination between separated clusters. This idea goes back to concepts of network theory as found in the following quote by Charles Tilly 2002 (cited in WHITE 2008: 29):

> Most of social life consists of interpersonal transactions whose consequences the participants can neither foresee nor control. Yet, after the fact, participants in complex social transactions seal them with stories [...] Identities are social arrangements reinforced by socially constructed and continuously renegotiated stories [...] we can *contextualize* stories, which means placing crucial stories in their nonstory contexts and seeing what social work they do.

It is not necessary for a cultural manager to understand the complete spectrum of different stories, organizational cultures and discipline related jargons – with regard to the often small amount of time that he has to intervene in a new field. He rather needs to be in possession of a variety of methods that help him to explore the core structures of a given context very quickly. In addition, he needs profound analytical skills and knowledge of human nature to reduce complexity right from the beginning of the process. As a translator he facilitates the communication between stakeholders who would otherwise not communicate at all or at least misunderstand each other (e.g. politicians and artists from the independent scene or museum directors and representatives from regional companies). Hence, playing the role of a 'translator' increases the possibilities to reduce the social distance between separated network clusters and to fill the gaps of cultural holes. The bridging of cultural holes can be seen as a consequence of the manager's ability to improve communication and reduce uncertainty between separated actors.

The cultural manager as 'mediator'. The mediator's role is very similar to the translator's. Nevertheless, the focus here lies even more on the task to act as an intermediary – not only between subnetworks that lack communication but also between groups whose relations are dominated by conflict lines. Here, it is up to the cultural manager, who entered the field mainly as an external consultant and therefore ideally as a rather objective observer and unbiased analyst, to reduce prejudices and to build trust. This is a two-dimensional task: First of all, he himself needs to be accepted by local stakeholders as the new person in charge for the

improvement of the cultural infrastructure (this refers to the 'empowerment of cultural managers'). Secondly, he needs to understand the contextual stories and the associated conflicts that are embedded in the given field in order to change negative ties[9] into positive ones. In this way, the cultural manager needs to create opportunity spaces that give the involved stakeholders the possibility to talk about conflicts, to get to know each other and to solve problems. These communication arenas might be offered by the manager in the form of workshops, round tables or even bigger get togethers like regional culture conferences. Expert interviews and participatory network analyses can help the manager to understand whether conflicts are only a 'one-way-perception', that is a directed conflict line, or if they are mutually perceived. Furthermore, one-on-one talks can help to enhance the understanding of the content, which means the stories, of existing conflict lines. In these cases the cultural manager even works similar to psychologists who also try to understand the stories behind structures. In short, a cultural manager holds legitimacy (trust and agreement) on both sides which empowers him to play the mediator's role. In this role, he initiates positive communication where there would otherwise be either conflicts or no exchange at all.

The cultural manager as 'cooperator'. This third broker-role is closely related to the (ideally) strong cooperative human nature of a cultural manager. Due to his empowerment as a short-term coordinator for the reordering of network structures, he does not only need to cooperate with local institutions but also with experts from outside the boundaries of the intervention field. Regarding the many different cross-cutting issues that can be found in a new field of cultural production, it is of great importance for a cultural manager to be able to draw on network contacts that relate to these fields. In this sense, not only does he need to make contacts with local stakeholders but at the same time build his own network outside the house of cultural development processes. Therefore, a cultural manager can be understood as the ultimate broker himself. Time and space are the two dimensions that he needs to deal with very efficiently. He needs to make contacts with as many representatives from non-redundant subnetworks as possible to make sure that he can use the resources (such as knowledge and social capital) which are embedded in these networks for his purposes. Nevertheless, it is important

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9   A negative tie can either be a communication tie which is often very conflictual or a 'negative space' (e.g. a cultural and structural hole where no expressed communication takes place as a result of mutual negative expectations).

that he can also draw on a small and dense network of strong relationships with peers that he trusts and he can always rely on. Here again, it is important to differentiate between strong and weak ties. A quote from Richard Florida (2004: 277) underlines the assumption that a modern manager tends to build a small circle of strong ties and a rather big pool of weak ties:

> I am not advocating that we adopt lives composed entirely of weak ties. That would be a lonely and shallow life indeed... But most Creative Class people that I've met and studied do not aspire to such a life and don't seem to be falling into it. Most maintain a core of strong ties. They have significant others; they have close friends [...] But their lives are not dominated or dictated by strong ties to the extent that many lives were in the past. In a classic social capital community, a relatively small and dense network of strong ties would dominate every aspect of your life, from its day-to-day content to its long-term trajectory. You would hang out mostly with people you knew very well and who would shape your career, tastes and personal life according to their values. Life in modern communities is driven more often and in more aspects by a much larger number of loose ties. Interestingly, people seem to prefer it this way. Weak ties allow us to mobilize more resources and more possibilities for ourselves and others, and expose us to novel ideas that are the source of creativity.

With regard to this quotation it can be added that a cultural manager also acts as a manager of weak ties. He usually ignores differences between personal and professional domains. For him the world is a network of potential contacts. As such, there are no bad contacts. He knows how to track down the productive resources and to distinguish the contacts that run parallel to existing lines of communication from the contacts that offer a rich potentiality-spectrum. He makes optimal use of his time as he deliberately selects his contact persons and avoids contacts with people who occupy similar positions like him and would therefore offer only redundant information and relationships (BOLTANSKI/CHIAPELLO 2006: 159f.).

The cultural manager as 'networker'. Every mentioned broker-role is related to networking-activities by nature. Still, this explicit networker-role highlights the ability and the need of a cultural manager to improve and expand the network structures of a cultural infrastructure.
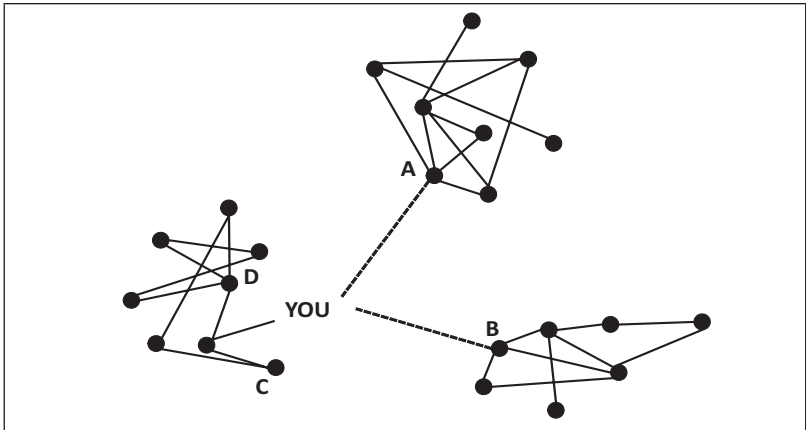
Fig. 3: *Structural Holes and Weak Ties* (BURT 1992: 72).

Figure 3 shows the typical process of bridging the gap between two sep-
arated clusters. The node which is marked with 'YOU' connects A and B
with each other. The dotted lines can be interpreted as weak ties. A and
B are not directly connected but have to go the way via the broker (YOU).
If a cultural manager acts in the roles of a moderator and a facilitator he
will try to connect A and B with each other. In his role as a translator he
will try to close the cultural hole between A and B to enable the closure of
the structural hole. In the long run it is his aim to establish a reciprocal
weak tie between them, which might even become a strong tie after a
while. The cultural manager will probably quit this triadic constellation
at the end of the cultural development process and leave behind a coop-
erative dyad between A and B. This bridging-process reveals the dynam-
ics that go along with the change of network structures.

The cultural manager as 'facilitator'. Last but not least there is a fifth
broker-role that can be closely associated with a cultural manager. It is
the one of the "facilitator". This concept draws on the assumption that
a cultural manager transports information between different stakehold-
ers. This sounds like a trivial discovery but what appears to be an easy
concept can turn out to be more complex than expected. There are dif-
ferences with regard to the direction of the communication transactions
in which the cultural manager is involved. Furthermore, the transactions
that take place "inside" defined sectoral boundaries and transactions
that "leave" the boundaries of a given sector have to be differentiated
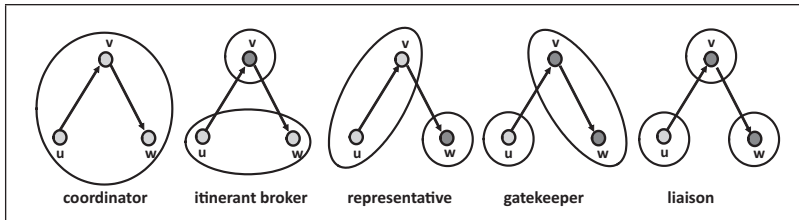(GOULD/FERNANDEZ 1989: 91).

Fig. 4: *Broker-Typology by Gould & Fernandez* (NOOY et al. 2005: 151).

The rounded lines in the figure 4 illustrate group boundaries. In the first broker type, the coordinator-role, all actors are within the group boundaries – 'v' mediates internally between 'u' and 'w'. In the second case, 'v' belongs to another group. He acts in the sense of an 'itinerant broker' ('Wanderer'). He receives 'something', for example a piece of information, transmitted from 'u' and then passes it to 'w' and thus back into the group. In a third role exercise a broker acts as a 'representative'. He receives information from his own group and then hands it over to external parties. In the fourth case, the broker acts as a classical gatekeeper. He receives information from external parties and can then decide whether he will forward it to group members or not. Finally, the fifth possibility is that a broker creates a 'liaison' between himself and other groups. In this case, all actors belong to different groups. The broker receives information from a group and passes it on to another group (GOULD/FERNANDEZ 1989: 91). It can be stated that, with regard to the brokerage-model which was designed and empirically tested by Gould and Fernandez, a cultural manager is most likely to play the role of an itinerant broker and a liaison officer.

11. A cultural development process in Thuringia as a case study

The importance of cultural managers, who interpret their role in the previously described ways, can be shown with the following example of a recent German transformation process. In 2012, the cultural concept of the German state Thuringia was adopted. Based on the recommendations of this concept, the former Thuringian Ministry of Science, Education and Culture selected two model regions and supported the development of inter-communal cultural development concepts. Out of a large group of applicants the counties Hildburghausen and Sonneberg – alongside the model-region Kyffhäuser/Nordhausen – were selected for a participato-

ry and scientifically based cultural development process (FÖHL 2015). The *Institute of Cultural Politics* [*Institut für Kulturpolitik*] of the German *Cultural Policy Society* [*Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft e.V.*] was commissioned as an external agency to carry out the planning processes.

The cultural development concept for the two counties Sonneberg and Hildburghausen shows how intense and pluridisciplinary a cultural development process can be. Since winter 2013, about eighty to one hundred cultural operators have been holding discussions in expert-led workshops, advisory board meetings and other formats in order to develop a concept and to activate model projects for the future of the cultural life of their counties. Not only have they discussed the establishment of new action and coordination structures but also other possibilities such as the foundation of an institutionalized museum area, the strengthening of associations and so-called local heroes and enhanced networking of libraries. The overall goal of the cultural development process was the development of model-like approaches in order to enable a timely and viable cultural landscape.

Participation – buzzword or the future way of cultural development planning? As already stated in the introduction of this article, cultural managers mainly face the challenge of making existing cultural structures visible and help local people to combine their resources in a better way. Especially in rural districts, where large parts of the cultural work are based on volunteerism, creative people do not have time for active networking. On the occasion of the first cultural workshops in the region of south Thuringia, participants discussed the assumption that there is a deficit of reliable network and decision-making structures – one of the most important topics of contemporary culture development planning. Due to this fact, there is a need for the installation of new governance structures that could be organized by counties or even between counties. In addition, the participants expressed a desire for individuals in larger communities to take over responsibility. However, the workshop participants advised against installing artificial parallel structures. Therefore, it became important for the intervening cultural managers to primarily identify the existing structures and to make them useful for the implementation of effective communication, participation and cooperation paths within the model regions.

First time-use of social network analysis (SNA) in a cultural development process. With the task of improving the local cultural structures in

mind, the Institute of Cultural Politics initiated a sociological network analysis to identify communication and conflict structures as well as so-called white spots. Conducting a network analysis as part of a cultural development process was a novelty and should be tested as an accompanying method for the first time. Fourteen qualitative interviews with selected cultural stakeholders from all relevant sectors were conducted. The cultural managers in charge used this methodology as an exploratory mapping tool in order to reflect on the given structures of the place of intervention.

The advantage of SNA lies in its possibilities to uncover formal and informal relations between any kinds of social units. In contrast to traditional sociological approaches the focus is not set on the attributes of individuals but on the relations that connect these actors with each other. The strength of the methodological approach is based on its ability to reveal hidden network structures that lie beyond our awareness. By quantifying network measures it becomes possible to visualize a network picture that helps us to understand the constellations between different stakeholders. This can be very important when it comes to the exploration of decision making in governance-processes or to understand the power structures of a given field.

Mixed-Methods: bringing together qualitative and quantitative approaches. One aim of a network analysis is whether innovation in the cultural sector can be stimulated by collective decisions in networks and how actors may block or slow down innovation and for what reasons. For this purpose it was decided to choose a mixed-methods research design. In recent years it has been acknowledged that qualitative methods can make important contributions to the analysis of social networks. Its strengths lie in the exploration of the field, in the assessment of the network, in describing practices and in the interpretations of networks and their contribution to the understanding of network effects and network dynamics (DOMÍNGUEZ/HOLLSTEIN 2014; FRANKE/WALD 2006; HERZ et al. 2015; JÜTTE 2006).

The combination of qualitative and quantitative data analysis strategies promises the most profitable results. Such mixed-method designs help in the selection and localization of individual cases, they shed light on the distribution, the terms and the consequences of action patterns and network practices. They support the validation and confirmation of the results and contribute to a broader, i. e. more diverse, image of social phenomena. Even in studies in which network data is to be analyzed

exclusively with the established, formalized methods of social network analysis (SNA), it may be important to make use of rather open data collection methods along with the highly standardized survey process. Systematic and standardized queries, which aim to be comparable and investigate the relationship between alteri as well as the content of the relation, involve considerable survey effort. In standardized studies of complete networks usually only a few contact or relationship dimensions are collected and often only very general patterns of relationships are surveyed.

With regard to the data collection it may sometimes be more economical to concentrate on individual aspects. This is especially true for very heterogeneous groups (as found in policy networks) and high multiplex relationships. In these cases, open-ended questions that focus on the contexts of meaning and relevance of those contexts, the multidimensionality of networks can be better reflected. A 'soft' access in the context of qualitative interviews may sometimes be the best – or only – way to access information about certain groups. The advantage of low-structured interviews over standardized questionnaires is that they tend to have the character of 'everyday face-to-face communication'. Furthermore, they can be flexibly adapted to the respective interlocutor and the requirements of the situation. This may be important in order to receive network information of actors from certain groups who have little time (e. g. politicians).

The sub-standardization in the process of network mapping allows for later comparison and merging with the ego-networks of other operators. By means of quantification the core structures and structural holes between sub-networks become visible which could otherwise not be seen. The interview gives the interviewees the chance to talk about individual relationships, opportunities for cooperation and barriers to progress. The visualization of latent power structures, their reflections as well as the activation of the interview partners for future assumption of responsibility and cooperation are set in motion by the Net-Map[10] process. Not only does the Net-Map process help cultural managers to visualize latent power structures and their reflections. It also motivates interview partners to assume responsibility and cooperate in the future.

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10   The Net-Map-methodology was developed by Eva Schiffer who uses it to analyze Governance-processes in rural areas around the world (SCHIFFER/HAUCK 2010).
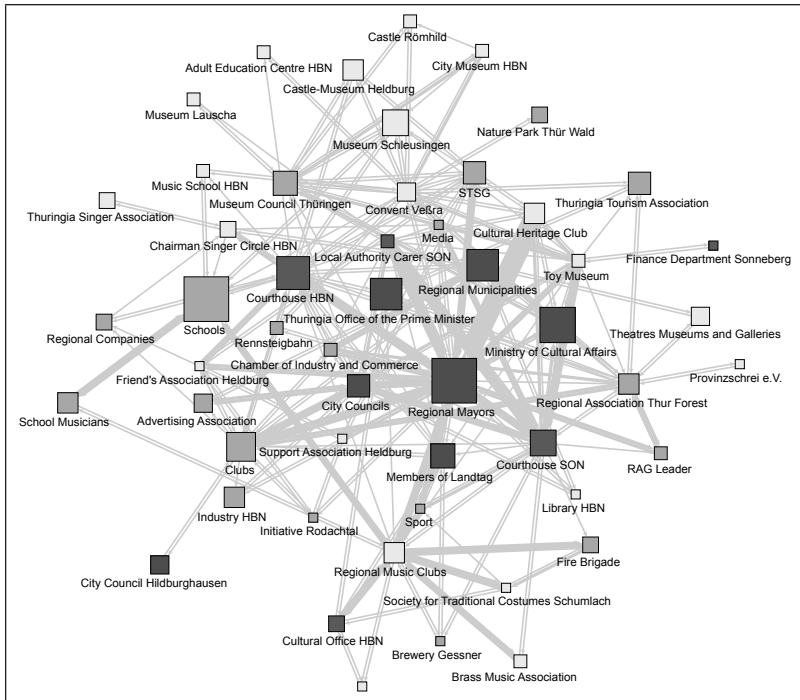
Fig. 5: *Core network of the south Thuringian model region, based on communication relations.*

12. Network Analysis as a complementary method in cultural development process

The evaluation of the network analysis in Thuringia produced some surprises. Previously unknown key actors and core interactions that are crucial for the future cultural development of the model region were identified. For example, a regional tourist association was found to be extremely well connected and could be identified as a significant potential strike for cultural operators in order to obtain access to the business sector. In addition, the local mayors proved to be the central nodes of the studied network, comprising a total of 167 actors. Missing relations could be localized between artists and schools. Many local actors named the establishment of a network between cultural and educational sectors as the most important task for the future.

Due to the mapping process, cultural managers analyzed the structural holes in the region and tried to contribute to their closure. With

regard to translation and moderation processes they enabled a climate of cooperation and communication. As a consequence of the recommendations that were provided by the external experts, the Thuringian state has created the vacancy of a regional coordinator, who will be responsible for bridging cultural and structural holes in the long run and to link the different societal domains in a profitable kind of way. This example strongly underlines that the concept of cultural managers as 'masters of interspaces' is not just a theoretical concept, but has already arrived in the cultural and political practice.

Thus, the expectations that were associated with the first use of a network analysis in a cultural development process were fulfilled. The study is now an important part of the process. The use of the method in science is booming. It can be seen as a tool that helps cultural policy in the 'design of relations'. The use of network analysis supports cultural policy by providing the necessary care for the strategic creation of relationships: the identification of important key players, the visualization of existing sub-networks, important structures and lack of relationships. It also allows cultural managers to elicit expectations of local actors and to localize influential stakeholders.

In all these cases cultural managers were needed to bring the artistic innovation in a sustainable form and to overcome static structures that were identified as the main barriers for cultural innovation. Cultural Policy can help to support the engagement of civil society and to maintain visions for smaller places to become more visible over the time but in the end it is up to the local community to interact with each other and to share resources for the stimulation of creativity. To bring together these separated local innovators can be finally understood as the key task of arts managers in the future.

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