Production networks in the cultural and creative sector: case studies from cultural heritage, archives and libraries

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21 March 2023

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme.

This report is part of the CICERONE project, which has received funding from the European Commission's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Program under grant agreement no. 822778.

The project is conducted by

The CICERONE project is coordinated by the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) at the University of Amsterdam, which is located at

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Report March 21, 2023

This report is to be cited as

Gmeiner, R., Kolokytha, O., Plebańczyk, K. (2023). *Production networks in the cultural and creative sector: case studies from cultural heritage, archives and libraries* (CICERONE report D2.2) https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6884843

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Production networks in the cultural and creative sector: case studies from cultural heritage, archives and libraries

Project name	Creative Industries Cultural Economy Production Network
Project acronym	CICERONE
Grant agreement ID	822778
Deliverable number	D2.2
Responsible partner	University of Vienna
Work package	The CICERONE project consists of seven work packages (WPs). This report is part of WP2, which constitutes the empirical backbone of the project. WP2 contains case study research that focuses on networked production in eight cultural and creative industries: 1) architecture, 2) archives (including libraries and cultural heritage), 3) artistic crafts, 4) audio-visual media (film, TV, videogames, multimedia) and radio, 5) design, 6) festivals, as well as performing and visual arts, 7) music and, 8) publishing. The purpose of the case study research is to understand key linkages and mechanisms within real-life production networks in the cultural and creative sector (CCS) and the relationships of these networks to context-dependent variables. Drawing on the case study research, the CICERONE project explores a policy framework that may contribute to enhancing policy support for the cultural and creative sectors. Furthermore, the case study research facilitates the identification of gaps in extant sources of quantitative data, suggesting approaches on how these gaps can be plugged. For this reason, WP2 is not just the empirical backbone of CICERONE, it also provides critical inputs for the work in other WPs (most notably WP4 and WP6). This deliverable (D2.2) reports on the case studies from cultural heritage, archives and libraries. Together with reports D2.1, and D2.3 to D2.8, it provides strategic snapshots of the rich and variegated tapestry of European production networks in the CCS. All deliverables of the CICERONE project are publicly available on the website of the project (www.cicerone-project.eu) and through its Zenodo community (https://zenodo.org/communities/cicerone-h2020).

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Executive summary

The cultural heritage, archives and libraries sector is probably the largest industry in the CICERONE research project, and it is definitely not uniform. Instead, it is characterised by a wide variety of organisations, entities and actors. In our empirical research, we explore three case studies. Each represents a different segment of the industry. The selection process is discussed in the corresponding sections of the report. The cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry is also probably the least commercialised industry in our project, a feature that may be attributed to its association with collective identity and cultural memory. It is very much oriented towards services and values, and its commercial value tends to be treated as equal to or even lower than its historical, symbolic and social importance.

In light of its association with collective identity and cultural memory, cultural heritage is probably one of the most regulated segments of the cultural and creative sector. Regulation is enacted not only at the national level, by national governments as well as by regional and local authorities, but also at the supranational one, by organisations such as UNESCO and the European Union. There are four categories of key actors in the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry: 1) policy actors, such as the aforementioned organisations and authorities; 2) delivery actors, such as institutions and organisations in the public and the private sector as well as venues and community initiatives; 3) professional actors, such as, among others, associations, producers, entrepreneurs, employees and volunteers; and 4) community actors, such as local groups, visitors and the lay public.

Cultural tourism, a sector that is strongly associated with cultural heritage, has been affected adversely by the COVID-19 pandemic, not just directly by the drop in the number of visitors at museums and heritage sites but also indirectly through the decline of related sectors such as hospitality, gastronomy, transport and commerce. Fewer guests stay at hotels, restaurants and cafes are facing declining footfalls, and income from souvenir shops and commerce in general has fallen.

This report includes three case studies from Austria and Poland. In our view, they are important and showcase different dimensions of and perspectives on the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry, which is extremely large. The first case study is on the Jagiellonian University Museum, the second is on the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*, an example of intangible cultural heritage, and the third is on the archive of Austrian Popular Music. Each of the case studies serves a different purpose within the framework of the project and the empirical research. The rationale behind the selection of the case studies is explained in the corresponding sections of the report.

Key words

Cultural heritage, archives, libraries, museums, intangible cultural heritage, cultural policy, GPN approach, CCS

Introduction

The CICERONE approach to production networks

The point of departure for the analysis of the Cultural and Creative Sectors (CCS) is the Global Production Network (GPN) approach, which was developed by Neil Coe and Henry Yeung on the basis of the Global Value Chain (GVC) approach (Coe & Yeung, 2015; Kloosterman, Pratt, D'Ovidio, Greco & Borén, 2019). The GPN approach is increasingly used to unravel production networks that involve a complex cross-border spatial division of labour. Such production networks have proliferated across many sectors as a consequence of technological advances in communication and transport as well as due to the liberalisation and deregulation of trade (Kano et al. 2020). These processes have also affected (many) CCSs. However, the GPN approach has rarely been applied to them (Coe, 2015 is an exception). By opting for this innovative approach to the CCS, the CICERONE project generated new insights on its functioning.

In a sense, we have used the GPN method to spatialise. Sociological approaches were already proposed by Howard Becker (Becker, 1982), with his concept of the *art world*, and by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1996), who developed the concept of *field*. Both approaches, the differences between them notwithstanding (Buttero & Crossley, 2011), aim at embedding the process of creation into a broader societal setting and at going beyond the identification of individual genius. When we use the GPN approach, we cannot simply position the CCS in that broad context – we must also highlight its spatial footprint. We thus employ the GPN approach as a tool for analysing a wide variety of production networks in the CCS. In other words, the approach is a heuristic tool that explains how the products of the CCS progress from inception to sale and whether and how they may be preserved for future generations.

On the pages that follow, we first briefly summarise the key elements of the GPN approach that guided our fieldwork. Thereafter, we focus on the process by which we selected the units of analysis for our case studies. This section is followed by an explanation of the manner in which our sample of case studies lays the foundation for a concise typology of the CCS which can be used by policymakers to devise more targeted combinations of interventions to foster economic growth and employment as well as social and cultural diversity.

Key elements of the GPN approach

Phases and the spatial footprint

Evidently, the most obvious feature of the GPN approach is the carving up of the value chain into distinct value-adding stages which can unfold in different locations and which may involve different sets of actors (including other firms). We have inserted the archiving phase into the value-adding stages because many (if not all) of those who participate in cultural and creative endeavours draw on the works of their predecessors in one way or another (Pratt, 1997). Therefore, in the CICERONE project, we, in principle, distinguish between the following stages:

1) Creation (the initial conception of an idea or a set of ideas that define aesthetic quality),
2) Production (the realisation of those ideas through an actual good or service),
3) Distribution (the sale of the good or the presentation of the service in front of an audience),
4) Exchange (the wider setting which enables distribution), and
5) Archiving (the formal preservation of the cultural product).

Creation

It is in this part of the cycle that new ideas, processes or approaches are devised. The notion of “creation”, in the sense in which the term is used here, is a social one – what is new is also relational, situated and conditional. Therefore, a “creative process”, that is, a method, is involved (“design” is an example). Reference is also made to history and to previous instances of creation (the preceding stage). Sometimes, this is referred to as “ideation”, that is, having ideas.

Production

An idea or a creative new thing remains provisional, potential and conditional until it can be stabilised or made. The intervening period is often called the prototype stage. Usually, the product is also developed during the multiple (or mass) production phase. Technology and labour costs, production decisions, and technological and regulatory standards affect costs and potential access to the products. Marketing and advertising are also relevant, but we allocate them to the exchange phase here.

Distribution or circulation

Products, even if they are new and unusual, are unformed and inaccessible unless they can be moved or migrated to markets or audiences. Physical distribution is clearly a key issue for access and reach. The same is true of digital approaches, which may overcome some barriers. Generally, distribution systems (or platforms) are expensive to develop and susceptible to monopoly control.

Exchange

Exchange is the stage at which the product of service engages the audience or customers. It is a critical moment of information exchange, and one in which (e)valuation occurs. That (e)valuation may take forms as varied as market transaction, participation or critique. Values are made and stabilised at this stage. Therefore, marketing and expectation setting provide a link to distribution. In the experience economy, and particularly in the cultural one, the negotiation of value is a critical element of the transaction, and institutions have been developed that normalise it and reduce risks. The engagement of the audience or consumer is also shaped directly by advertising and marketing – to refer to the previous stages once more, the exchange process can determine which products are available for production and distribution.

Archiving

Since cultural value is relational, history and cultural diversity always interact with the present. Moreover, the process of reflection and learning (or that of rejection) is part of the critical appreciation of culture. The archiving of culture creates both normative structures that enable cultural production systems and the disruptive elements that facilitate new approaches. This stage also includes education (of audiences or consumers as well as of creative practitioners), institutions such as universities and media systems, and repositories such as libraries, museums and galleries. It is at this point that heritage is identified and later mobilised via the production system. More generally, archiving constitutes the resource from which new ideas are developed, which refers back to creation.

Source: D'Ovidio et al., 2019

We treat this model of the phases as a *point of departure*, not as a given, and we employ the case studies to explore the extent to which these distinctions may explain production in the CCS. As Throsby (Throsby, 2010, p. 25) observed, in some production processes in the CCS, there is no simple and neat sequence, and "[t]he apparent linearity of the value chain may be replaced, for some cultural products, by something more akin to a value network, where multiple inputs, feedback loops, and a pervasive 'value-creating ecology' replaces a simple stage-wise process". Although he was rightly critical of the slavish application of a value chain approach to the CCS, he also observed that "[f]rom a policy point of view, depicting the cultural production process as a value chain allows an analysis of the effects of policy intervention at various points in the chain. For example, in assessing the impacts of existing policy measures, or in determining the optimal point at which to apply prospective measures, the policy analyst can use the value-chain concept to clarify where the effects of intervention have been or will be felt, and who are the affected stakeholders upstream or downstream from the point of intervention".

It therefore stands to reason that one should start with the conceptual framework of these stages and then determine which phases can be identified as distinct, which boundaries are blurred and which phases overlap or are deeply intertwined. Subsequently, we locate phases or combinations of phases – the spatial footprint – and we identify the parties that are involved. In this manner, we extend our focus beyond creation to include other parts of the input-output structure of the CCS.

Governance

The second element that we derive from the GPN approach and which we use to open the black box of the production network is the concept of governance. The complex global value chains and production networks which have been studied (mostly in manufacturing) typically exhibit asymmetrical power structures, with one lead firm engaging in explicit coordination (Gereffi, 2005). This lead firm may be involved in the production phase (producer-driven chain) or in the distribution phase (buyer-driven chain). If power dynamics are asymmetric and a lead firm takes charge of coordinating the network, it may be inferred that it is capable of forcing the other actors to act in a certain way but also that it can capture much of the value that is created in the network. Similarly to our approach to the stages, we do not take the existence of a lead firm in the CCS for granted. Instead, we attempt to identify a more explicit hierarchical power distribution or a more dispersed horizontal one. Furthermore, we do not assume that the presence of a lead firm or actor necessarily results in an asymmetrical distribution of (economic) value, and we examine this issue as a research question.

Embeddedness

The third element that we use to understand the production networks of the CCS is that of embeddedness. In his seminal work on the transformation of the British economy in the 19th century, Karl Polanyi (Polanyi, 1957) emphasised the importance of the institutional context in which all economic actions are embedded. In this context, differences in embeddedness affect economic actions, the likelihood of their occurrence, the manner in which they unfold and their consequences (Granovetter, 1985). This view became widespread in economic sociology, organisation studies, strategic management (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005) and, somewhat later, in economic geography. The GPN approach explicitly aims to apply embeddedness to make sense of the spatial footprint of the production network: why are such-and-such activities located in such-and-such places? According to Kleiber and Horner (Kleibert & Horner, 2018), the operations of actors within the same universalistic category of a transnational production system is very much contingent on their embeddedness in a particular society, place and social network. Embeddedness thus becomes crucial for understanding the spatial and social division of labour within a production network. The forms of embeddedness are also critical for the design of effective policies for the CCS (Salder, 2022).

We have adopted the multi-layered approach to embeddedness that Coe and Yeung (2015) proposed. We therefore distinguish between three levels of embeddedness.

i. Societal embeddedness: the influence of institutional contexts on the actions taken by actors in production networks (rules, laws and regulations) which are mainly located at the EU level and the national level.
ii. Territorial embeddedness: the local context of the location where a certain activity takes place, which is closely related to local clusters and ecosystems with distinct sets of agglomeration economies that selectively sustain and foster economic activities (Scott, 2000).
iii. Network embeddedness: the linkages between different actors and the functional and social connectivity of those relationships (e.g. social network relationships based on trust).

As with the phases, the boundaries between these forms of embeddedness are not set in stone. Place-based communities are an essential element of agglomeration economies, but they are also closely linked to social networks. We analyse these levels of embeddedness more comprehensively.

Unit of analysis

The CCS are characterised by their emphasis on unique aesthetic qualities and, importantly, on near-infinite horizonal differentiation (Caves, 2000), volatile (cross-sectoral) cooperation, and, crucially, forms of collaboration that are often ad hoc and usually involve several actors with different skills and functions. Those forms of collaboration often permeate the legal boundaries of firms. This particular way of producing involves, as a result, "complex teams – the motley crew property", as well as "close temporal coordination of their activities" (Caves, 2000, p.8). Watson (Watson, 2012, p. 617) added that "[t]he complexity of the [jointly produced product or service] necessitates the coordination of multidisciplinary skills" and that permanent centralisation is not economically efficient (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2005). Production must often be completed under severe time constraints (Hobday, 2000; Staber, 2004) Temporary networks, interpersonal collaboration and projects in the CCS are therefore very much intertwined. As de Klerk (de Klerk, 2015, p. 829) observed, "*[t]he dynamic environment in the industry is mostly project-based… thus often obliging these workers to find alternative employment between projects to optimise their limited work opportunities. Bricolage results from working arrangements structured by festivals or special assignments where creative workers move in and out of networks as they are needed*".

The GPN approach has mainly been used to analyse the large-scale production of goods. Some CCSs, such as parts of the fashion industry, seem to fit this format of production well. However, at least a some CCS activities are different from the usual subjects of the GPN literature, which tends to focus on production networks in which large firms manufacture large volumes of standardised goods. In other segments, small firms predominate. Instead of churning out many similar (tangible) products, they focus on creating products, such as goods and services, in small numbers (often just one) that require production networks to be more or less ad hoc. The composition of those networks typically fluctuates. A performance, a song or an album, a painting and the design of a theatre are all unique products which are typically created by such ad hoc production networks that vary from product to product (Power & Hallencreutz, 2002; Power & Jansson, 2004; Pratt, 2006).

It must be noted that projects in some CCSs are less volatile (for example, the spring and summer collection and the autumn and winter collection of a large fashion firm, which may involve the same designers, suppliers and sellers). Therefore, they resemble the type of networks which are prominent in the GPN literature. In other CCSs, such as architectural design or festivals, the composition of the networks is much more variable and contextual, and sequences of projects may have different networks and stakeholders.

In order to cover production networks in the CCS that are volatile and project based, we focus in most case studies on projects as a unit of analysis. This approach is very much in line with the literature on the forms of collaboration in the cultural and creative industries. In more recent economic-geographic studies and in sociological research on CCS, project-based work, which involves a multiplicity of organisational and personal social networks, is a key component of the analysis (see Watson, 2012 for a very thorough overview). Notably, studies on labour conditions in the CCS have benefited from departing from the project-based approach. The important role of project-based work has been corroborated in many CCSs (de Klerk, 2015).

In the CCS, then, the firm should not be granted a privileged ontological status. Instead, networks should be central. One could even go a step further and conceptualise the firm as a more permanent or sustained project or as a collection of long-term projects (although it is evidently subject to recombination and change) that has been solidified into a legal entity. The temporal dimension of the project and therefore of its network then become a crucial variable for the case studies. This shift evidently dovetails into our GPN approach, which emphasises the role of networks. In the CICERONE project, we conceive of these networks not *a priori* in terms of firms but in terms of interpersonal networks that are organised around a specific project. In *Art Worlds*, Howard Becker also highlighted interpersonal relationships (Becker, 1982). Our focus also allows us to emphasise the role of cultural value, which may trump economic value, and the salience of motives other than profit maximisation, especially in the creation phase. These distinguishing features of the CCS have significant consequences for the functioning of its production networks.

A more practical advantage of circling on specific projects is that it enabled us to select respondents more easily – we could simply focus on those individuals who were involved in a given project. It then also became easier to limit the number of respondents (only project-related key or lead actors or firms, strategic partners, strategic suppliers and key customers) that we had to consider.

Selection of cases

The main purpose of the CICERONE project is to provide a new foundation for CCS policies on the basis of a production network approach that generates novel insights on the functioning of the CCS and its cultural and social impact. Our approach situates the CCS in networks of production that extend far beyond the creation phase. We use case studies to map the configuration of production networks and to analyse relationships between actors in creation, production, distribution, exchange and archiving. The case studies are thus intended to uncover linkages and mechanisms within these production networks and to lay the foundation for more informed policies which not only extend beyond the creation phase but also take spatial footprints and governance structures into account.
Business models within the CCS vary widely. That variance obtains not only across sectors but also within them. There are differences in staff numbers, turnover, type of products, barriers to entry, the use of technology, capital needs, end markets and strategies, to name but a few. Networks also differ

in terms of power relationships, shape and organisation, and the nature, complexity and geography of their linkages. At present, no data sets cover these characteristics comprehensively. Representative sampling is certainly not feasible within the timeframe of the CICERONE project. The investigation of the variance in question, accordingly, is a voyage into uncharted waters.

We have therefore opted for a purposive selection of cases, whereby researchers select the units to be sampled on the basis of their knowledge, which in our case is the background research that we conducted prior to the cases studies. The aim of this selection was to include cases which may plausibly be assumed to represent a sufficient range of easily assessable variations in key business model characteristics, notably staffing and turnover. This approach yielded cases that typify a significant proportion of the population of the CCS while also exhibiting sufficient differences to represent its variability (Gerring, 2007). In the case study reports that follow, each case study is positioned within the wider sector.

Typology matrix

While the case studies are intended to present a rich picture of the key mechanisms and the main linkages that show how spatial footprints, governance structures and levels of embeddedness are intertwined in real-life situations, a higher level of abstraction that transcends the study of individual production networks must be accessed if general insights are to be derived. We must simplify characteristics and relationships in order to present a clear narrative for policymakers. The key elements of our approach – spatial footprints, governance structures and multi-layered embeddedness – guided us in reducing the complexity of the case studies so as to distil insights from findings.

The first step is to position concrete cases from the CCS in a simple grid which combines the spatial footprint with the governance structure. The two variables are crucial determinants of societal effects. A completely local production network with a horizontal governance structure and a mainly global and hierarchical network that is coordinated by a lead firm or actor differ starkly in their social, economic and cultural impact and in the policy interventions that they require. Furthermore, if creation is local but production and distribution are global, targeting policy only at the creation phase may have unforeseen consequences for the wider network.

In principle, the typology matrix of production networks distinguishes between different phases. Since these phases may overlap, as is the case of many forms of visual art, they may be merged. For each phase or set of phases, it is possible to determine whether a single actor is in charge of all activities. Different phases may then exhibit different governance structures. It may also be the case that one actor is ultimately in charge of the whole network and is clearly present in the coordination of each phase. Alternatively, a small number of actors may control the network. The typology matrix allows more nuanced representations of this kind. Using this typology matrix enables us to draw cross-sectoral comparisons between cases and therefore to depart from the conventional siloed approaches. We expect that certain combinations will transpire to be much more likely to occur than others: the likelihood of a small local network having a more horizontal governance structure is evidently much higher that of a complex and truly global network adopting such a form of governance, which requires much more extensive coordination.

CCSs are embedded in multi-layered contexts, which range from the EU and the national level to that of the territorial and social network. Our empirical work shows how these contexts affect individual cases. Cross-case analysis shows how the forms of embeddedness are related to the typology matrix more generally. Power relations, for instance, may also depend on institutional conditions. Those conditions may allow an actor to assume leadership or to take advantage of the network.

This typology matrix is a starting point for an exploration of the potential role of hard policy levers (e.g. tax breaks, subsidies and such like) and soft policy levers (e.g. strengthening the institutional framework, establishing platforms for collaboration, improving education and so on) that various policymakers at different spatial levels may in principle manipulate. Policy makers can use this typology matrix as a tool for assessing the key characteristics of the concrete CCS populations, which may be defined narrowly or widely, whose societal impact they wish to improve. Filling this typology matrix clearly also requires new sets of data which allow the larger CCS populations to be profiled.

The typology matrix is crucial to constructing an overarching narrative that transcends the idiosyncrasies of individual cases. Moreover, it supplies a basis for our policy recommendations, which are phase and location specific and must be sensitive to the organisation of network governance. We strove for high uniformity to enable comparisons. We present a guide to achieving that goal below.

It is often difficult to compress information for a whole production network on the spatial footprint dimension from the outset. Instead, we divide the network into phases and then locate the actors in each phase. This process yields a refined stepwise analysis of the production network. The next step is to summarise the findings for the whole network. Production networks may be local from the creation phase to archiving or global from start to finish. It may also be the case that creation and production are entirely local or regional but distribution and exchange are national or even global. Identifying such spatial footprints would convey important information to policy makers.

Similarly, we adopt a stepwise approach to assessing the organisation of network governance. For each phase, we inquire which actor initiates, organises, monitors and controls activities. It may be that one actor is in charge of the whole network. It may also be the case that two actors are in charge of different phases. A more horizontal governance configuration without clear leading actors is also a possibility. How policies impact production networks depends on their governance configurations. Throwing money at a specific cultural and creative industry which is controlled by a transnational corporation that is located outside the EU would be a different proposition from financing a network in which the leading actor is close to the others, in the same country or even in the same city.

We use the typology matrix to systematise the classification of the cases that we studied. This matrix must be completed by using the actor categories in Table 2. We use the labels from Table 2 to ensure consistency.

Table 1. The typology matrix

PRODUCTION NETWORK PHASES	Local/regional	National	Intra-EU	Global	GOVERNANCE
Creation					
Production					
Distribution					
Exchange					
Archiving					
Network level					Lead actor/ multiple actors/ horizontal

Table 2. Key actors in the production networks

Creators	Actors who participate in the initial creation (individuals, such as writers and musicians, or collectives, such as fashion brands and film crews)
Suppliers (specialised)	Suppliers that provide specialised/dedicated services or products and are hard to replace in the short term
Strategic partners (private sector)	Providers of strategic resources (capital, labour, knowledge and certifications) such as banks, educational institutions, professional associations, tastemakers and critics
Strategic partners (civil society)	Actors that operate at neither the state level nor the market level and which provide essential goods, services or resources (funding, labour, information and certifications)
Strategic partners (public sector, multilevel)	Public sector actors at the level of the EU, the national, the regional or the local government that provide strategic resources (e.g. funding and certifications)
Distributors	Actors (individual or collective) in charge of delivering the good or service to the customer or consumer
Consumers	B2C (business to consumer): final market with large number of buyers
Customer	B2B (business to business): final market, typically with a single buyer (e.g. real estate firm commissioning a design for a building)
Lead actor(s)	Actor(s) who initiates, organises, monitors and controls the activities of the network

Phases

We depart from the GPN approach with its five phases. In many cases, however, the phases overlap, and borders are blurred. Such issues can be addressed easily by merging the cells for phases that overlap or by drawing dotted lines if the phases are distinct but their boundaries are blurred.

The spatial scales

We distinguish between four scales: the local or the regional, the national, the intra-EU and the global. These scales, in principle, correspond to different policymakers and, in many cases, also to different policies (from local policies to provide workspaces through national subsidy programmes to EU competition regulations and trade policies). The anchor point for *the local or regional* scale is the point at which initial creation occurs, that is, the point at which the aesthetic component of the good or service is created. This spatial level may coincide with a particular city, a large metropolitan area or a rural region. The origin of the value chain may be located elsewhere, as in the case of architectural design, a domain in which the customer may be located across the globe. However, our focus here is on the first moves of concrete actors from a specific CCS. We then inquire, for each phase, where the other key actors in the production network are located. The location of an activity is where the actors are from: e.g., flying in a choreographer from Norway and a light engineer from Israel to create a modern dance work in The Hague is still a form of global import.

Governance

Governance pertains to the whole network. We distinguish between three options: a) networks with a lead actor, b) networks with multiple lead actors (not more than 2 or 3) and c) bottom-up horizontal arrangements.

PART 1. The European production network of cultural heritage, archives and libraries: an overview

1.1 Overview of the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry

1.1.1 Profile of the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry

Heritage, in its physical manifestations, provides the concepts of identity and belonging with a material reality. It can help social groups such as ethnic minorities and geographical, cultural or regional and local groups to define and represent their sense of identity: “Like history, it fosters the feelings of belonging and continuity” (Smith, 2006). Heritage is passed on from generation to generation “as the immaterial heritage of place *per se*” (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2013, p. 45).

It is therefore crucial to involve different communities in recognising and constructing a pluralistic definition of cultural heritage rather than to limit that process to high culture (Europa Nostra, 2015, p. 70). Heritage sites can serve as community hubs and as places of encounter where people interact, meet and converse. They carry symbolic meanings, foster social inclusion and stand for diversity and tolerance. Heritage can also attract new residents and support their integration (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2013, p. 45). Therefore, “heritage can play a key role in urban and rural regeneration, which can not only impact in the physical aspects of a place, but also the social renewal” (Europa Nostra, 2015, p. 73).

For European citizens, cultural heritage is a source of pride (European Commission, 2017b, p. 4). According to Eurobarometer data, eight in 10 European citizens think that cultural heritage is important to them personally, to their local community and to the European Union, and an even larger proportion believe that cultural heritage is important for their region and their country. Furthermore, most Europeans agree that living close to cultural heritage improves their quality of life, enhances diversity and fosters social cohesion. Almost all European Union citizens also consider cultural heritage to be important for the European labour market and the economy (European Commission, 2017b, p. 5).

Museums and archives are important institutions of cultural memory and preserve cultural identity. Since memory is not fixed but a process and “just as history is not the past, archives are not memory” (Brown, 2013, p. 88), it is contemporary society that uses archives and museums to make sense of the past. Cultural heritage is embodied in cultural memory and reminds the community of historical events. To that extent, memorials are important sites not only for cultural experience but also for reflection. For example, sites that are related to the Holocaust and the crimes of national socialism can also serve as means to prevent similar atrocities and as such are crucial to European history and collective memory. It is the societal and cultural embeddedness of cultural heritage that defines and determines its potential.

Cultural heritage, archives and libraries lie at the heart of the CCS and make the identity, values and reputation of Europe visible as well as being a source of soft power on the global level (Voices of Culture, 2017). Cultural heritage is strongly politicised due to its links with national identity and culture, and it occupies a special position in the EU political agenda (Hristova, 2017). Cultural heritage is dual in nature: it is both a public good and a form of material culture. This duality causes it to possess both intrinsic and commercial value. Cultural heritage has been seen as a tool for development because of its association with tourism, social cohesion and community involvement (Auwera & Schramme, 2014). The definitions of cultural heritage subsume tangible and intangible heritage, movable and immovable heritage and natural heritage (UNESCO, 2019). Cultural heritage is seen to mediate between the past and the present, to be related to inheritance and identity and to be connected with values and discourses (Winter, 2015).

Cultural heritage is the oldest and, at the same time, one of the newest industries in the cultural and creative industries. Cultural heritage products can be much older than paintings, music, architecture, fashion and such like. At the same time, the commodification of cultural heritage is a new phenomenon. The legal framework for cultural heritage was an accomplishment of the 20th century, when the United Nations and its agency UNESCO were formed. Concerning the protection of cultural heritage in particular, the UN's Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its Protocols were released in 1954 and stipulated that "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world". Thus, "the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world" (UNESCO, 1954).

Review of extant studies and research on sector: identification of relevant themes and transformations (in general terms and with some national or local specificities where useful)

Understanding heritage as the legacy of previous generations points to its role – it attests to the lives of ancestors, it teaches individuals about their roots, it helps to explain the past as well as contemporary systems of values and ways of interpreting reality, and it shapes individual and group identities. The developmental potential of heritage stems from its historical, scientific, artistic, aesthetic, social and economic values. Within the last 30 years, the regulation of the industry has intensified markedly. Heritage is increasingly recognised as important to cultural cohesion and the identity of local communities (Harrison, 2002). It is considered one of the essential factors that contribute to the attractiveness of European countries (especially in the context of tourism development). This tendency finds tangible expression in the commodification of heritage resources through the creation of tourism products, which, paradoxically, can both stimulate and obstruct culturally sensitive local development (Plebańczyk, 2021). Processes such as digitisation, globalisation, international tourism and extended travel options as well as armed conflicts, political change, the recalibration of power structures and, currently, the Covid-19 pandemic, have prompted the promulgation of new rules and guidelines. According to Mignosa (2016), there has been a "devolution of power to lower levels of government and an increasing role of the private (non-profit) sector for the implementation of cultural policies" (Mignosa, 2016, p.227) over the last two decades, especially as a consequence of the recent economic crises.

There is no single universally recognised definition of the term "heritage", and individuals and groups attribute different meanings to it. Cultural heritage, although it consists of old products, is created by the present. It is a contemporary social construct that is associated with ever-changing past phenomena in a continuous process of modification. The ongoing processes by which cultural heritage is created socially are characterised by the inclusion of an expanding range of products from past societies. The term "cultural heritage" is now used with increasing frequency in science as well as in journalism and in political discourse. The concept of heritage was dematerialised and legally sanctioned through, among others, the adoption and ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by most countries of the world. Currently, much emphasis is placed on cultivating customs, traditions, holidays and on the immaterial meanings of objects or places. It should be noted here that the distinction between material and non-material heritage is unjustified because these two dimensions are linked inextricably. For example, the site of the Battle of Waterloo, which took place in 1815 and witnessed the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, does not have much value other than the meanings that successive generations have ascribed to it, the memory of the events in question and their importance, and, finally, the large-scale contemporary reconstructions of the battle (Plebańczyk, 2021).

The process of identifying, selecting, defining and interpreting cultural heritage is highly political and occurs at different levels. Agencies as well as national and local authorities act on the state level, whereas UNESCO releases its well-known World Heritage list by identifying cultural heritage globally. The concept of cultural heritage and the process of defining and claiming it are not neutral. The common understanding of cultural heritage can differ from the labels that public authorities, academics and experts use (European Union, 2018). New entries on the heritage list must obtain the approval and support of public administrations.

In the 1970s, UNESCO focused mainly on tangible, traditional or Eurocentric heritage, such as archaeological sites and historical buildings. It has expanded its focus over the last decades. The current lists also include natural landscapes as well as intangible, living and underwater heritage across the globe. The importance of that heritage is not only historical but also social and technological (Mignosa, 2016, p. 229). As Bertacchini et al. (2016) highlighted, being on the list can generate international attention and serves as a marketing tool for tourism and economic growth. It can attract firms and donors, and it can even become a powerful political tool (Bertacchini et al, 2016, p. 96).

Values attributed to cultural heritage

Cultural heritage and the archives and libraries industry differ from other cultural and creative industries because their economic value cannot be mapped and measured conventionally. *Value* in cultural heritage is mainly generated by non-economic considerations, which may be historical, symbolic, spiritual, aesthetic, social or related to authenticity (Throsby, 2012, p. 85). There are many categories of values, including the historical, the aesthetic, the economic, the social and the scientific (the literature on this subject is extensive, and this is only a selection; see further (ICOMOS, 2013; Lipe, 1984; Riegl, 1998; Torre, 2002). Most theorists consider cognitive value and emotional value to be the most important criteria for recognition as heritage, and they are often grouped together as "historical values" or "historic values" (Kurzątkowski, 1989, pp. 80–81). In this way, they provide a basis for political decisions. From a value chain perspective, the positioning of the phases of the production of cultural heritage differs from that which is observed in other industries: the main activities revolve around preserving, maintaining, presenting and explaining cultural heritage and occur at the beginning and at the end the production cycle, in the creation and archiving phases (Geser, Prahauser & Strasser, 2014, pp. 9–10). Cultural heritage institutions such as museums and galleries are not industries *per se* but inspire the creation of other cultural and creative products that are covered by the framework of the creative industries. At the same time, some creative projects, historical events and cultural artefacts become valuable to society and need to be archived, maintained and protected, which makes them cultural heritage.

The value of a specific cultural heritage object can be measured on three completely different dimensions, namely the financial, the functional and the symbolic (Carman, 2005, pp. 51–59). The financial measurement scale reflects the treatment of heritage as a commodity (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986), which is justified by the existence of real markets for heritage objects and by accounting and reporting requirements which, in many countries, require public institutions such as museums to determine the monetary value of their collections. The second measurement scale on which the value of a particular cultural heritage object can be assessed is usefulness or functionality, that is, values at given moments (consumer values) and potential future values (Darvill, 1995; Frey & Pommerehne, 1989). The consumption of cultural heritage can take the form of research, education, tourism and recreation, political justification, integration and social solidarity, advertising and illegal trafficking, reflecting an attitude towards heritage that is based on the pursuit of profits (Kobyliński, 2017).

Those who finance the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage, who are usually taxpayers, neither make decisions nor generate profits. The top-down processes in which elite experts, politicians and bureaucrats define heritage may differ from the values of under-represented groups, minorities or other segments of society (Throsby, 2012, p. 85). Stakeholder groups have different demands, which are far from exclusively economic. Some citizens benefit from cultural heritage because they live in historical buildings, some use sites for religious or spiritual reasons, some seek inspiration or knowledge for scientific, artistic or aesthetic reasons. However, “the importance of economic value seems to have been increasing, given the attention given to it by governments, local populations, real estate companies, the tourism industry and so on” (Mignosa, 2016, p. 232).

Table 3. Values attributed to cultural heritage (Affelt, 2009, pp. 5–20)

Cultural values	Socio-economical values
Social identity	Social utility
Authenticity	Behaviour of functions
Integrity	Economic potential
Uniqueness	Educational
Artistic	Aesthetic
Historical	Political
Special meaning, e.g. the diversity of the cultural landscape	

1.1.2 Goods and services

Product and content characteristics of goods and services

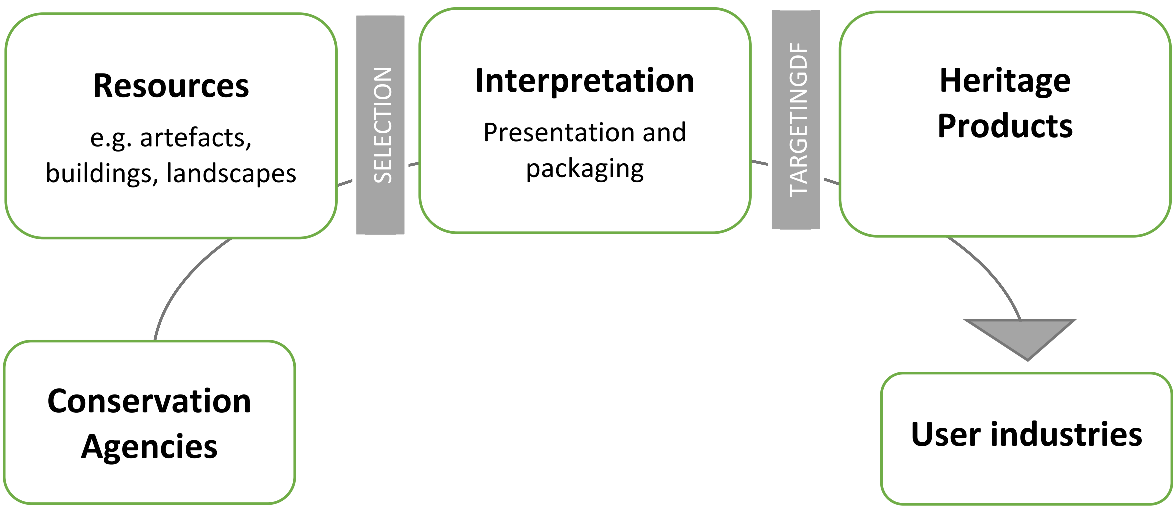
What is the value of the Eiffel Tower? How much does the Austrian National Library cost? These questions sound bizarre because the Eiffel Tower and the Austrian National Library are not exceedingly likely to be sold. Assets such as these are mostly public goods or services, and their value is neither interchangeable nor measurable. Nevertheless, they are precious. However, there are occasions on which cultural heritage can be converted into a concrete and marketable product and valuated conventionally. This is true of antiquities, artefacts in auction houses, buildings on the real estate market and tickets for certain sites, museums and libraries.

A museum offers both a product and a service, and the boundaries between the two are often unnoticeable. The products in question are not limited to material goods. Many are service oriented. Cultural service providers (e.g. of concerts, performances, exhibitions, etc.) need to be aware of the service features of these products. The four most characteristic properties of services are immateriality, integrity, uniqueness (heterogeneity) and impermanence (Bateson, 1989). Cultural goods, in the economic sense, have traditionally been treated as works of art, that is, as objects which for some reason possess special social value. The museums market is only one of several in the cultural industry, which is fairly wide. The activities that are undertaken in this industry are aimed at producing and promoting artefacts that are defined as non-usable. Those artefacts reflect the beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours of a given community or group or the observations of (exceptional) individuals. There are also man-made artefacts or performances that move the public and expand public knowledge of the world and the individual, which may be supplemented by “numerous activities on the border of culture and art, such as fashion – clothing products, decorative items, gastronomic products – kitchen, sports, product appearance designs, computer graphics and commercial art" (Cowen, 2000, p. 5).

Defining cultural heritage as a concrete product or service and placing it into a predominantly economic context is neither common nor usual because of its cultural and social value. However, heritage is seen as an industry, and heritage products are produced and consumed just like other cultural products. Who exactly produces heritage, and who consumes it? Consumers or producers may not even be aware of their role in this relationship. Heritage is associated with the past and with the history of certain places, events, cultures and peoples. However, history is not just the past but also its record, and it can be used in various ways and for different purposes. Artefacts of history can be seen as products that are selected to meet consumer demand and adapted to fit the market. To that extent, heritage is a "contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption. One becomes the other through a process of commodification. Such a process is not unique to history but can, and has, been applied to other aspects of human activities and creativity, such as the arts or music" (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 16).

The heritage industry is organised around the production of marketable products. The raw materials that are used for heritage products are historical artefacts and events, mythologies, personalities, memories, literary and artistic associations, and places and towns with symbolic meaning. "The past is thus best viewed as a quarry of possibilities, only a very small proportion of which will ever be utilized as heritage" (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 16). Therefore, resources and raw materials are not history or heritage *per se* but need to be selected and interpreted in order to become final products of the heritage industry. This process of utilisation and commodification is adjusted to the demands of the market and those of customers rather than to supply. The product is developed in the course of market-segment identification and targeting (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 17). Figure 1 (adapted by Ashworth & Larkham, 1994; cited by Sigala & Leslie, 2005, p. 9) shows the process of turning raw materials into products and adapting them to the demands of heritage.

Figure 1. Components of heritage (adapted by Ashworth, 1994; cited by Sigala/Leslie 2005, p.9)

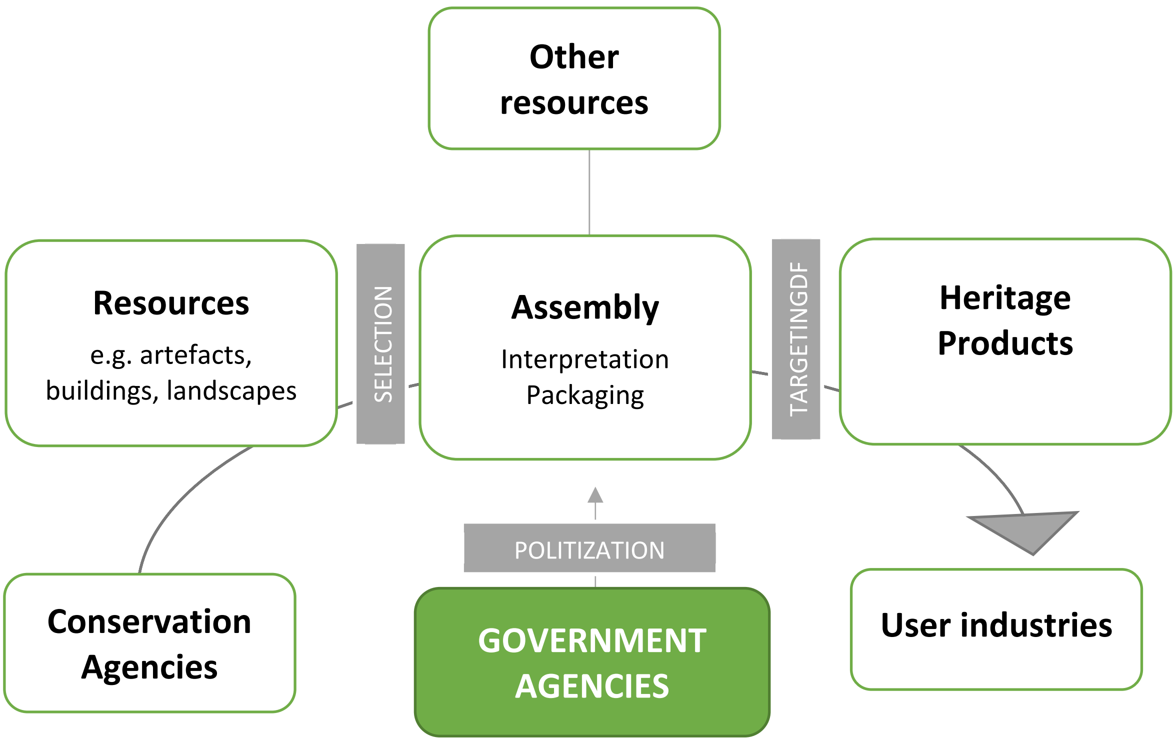


Heritage, an end product, is not historical raw material; it is imbued with highly specific meanings. There must be a legatee, and there must be users and consumers, be they actual or just latent. “More correctly, there is no national heritage product but an almost infinite variety of heritages, each created for the requirements of specific consumer groups; viewed from the side of the customer, each individual necessarily determines the constitution of each unique heritage product at the moment of consumption” (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 17). The raw materials can be converted into fairly heterogeneous products and traded on different markets. The interpretation process is crucial. One could argue that it is the interpretation that is being traded, not a physical resource. Laurajane Smith (2006) wrote that heritage is neither a site nor a cultural artefact nor a building but rather the events that unfold at these locations (Smith, 2006, p. 44). Heritage is the way in which individuals engage with history – acquiring heritage is what people do.

Interpretations (and not resources) are the subjects of the economic process of trade. An interpretation is a specific experience and a feeling of pleasure, and it contains messages which are mostly created by governmental authorities that define particular forms of cultural capital and ideologies (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 20). Ashworth and Larkham (1994) wrote that there is a triangular relationship between heritage, identity and tourism. Heritage supports tourism and commodification, whereas heritage tourism supports individuals’ appreciation of certain places and their political identification. Finally, heritage forms political identities and politicises.

According to Ashworth et al.’s (1994) adaptation of Long et al.’s (2015) model, politicisation influences the entire process of heritage commodification “though the selection of heritage resources and targeting to different markets via tourism products under the direction of government agencies” (Long, Bui, & Lee, 2015, p. 198).

Figure 2. Commodification and politicization of heritage, adapted from Long, Bui & Lee, 2015, p.198



The International Council of Museums (ICOM), in defining museums as institutions, stated that its aim is to serve society and its development. Eight aspects of the broadly understood social role of a museum can be distinguished:

1) Emotional – the perception of exhibits is related to certain emotional experiences, which are often pleasurable, and to sensory-intellectual feelings.
2) Aesthetic – the museum satisfies the need for communing with beauty.
3) Cognitive – viewing the exhibits leads to knowledge rapidly, easily, safely and pleasantly. Museums have often been subordinated to science or education, which has met with considerable criticism.
4) Educational – the superiority of learning about humanistic values in a museum over learning through words may be attributed to the possibility of authentic experience. The need to teach universal values and to accept racial, physical and cultural differences is expressed.
5) Providing inspiration – a museum should be a place where new judgments, attitudes and values are born and where the meaning of the world is found and not imposed by established truths. The museum is an instrument that provides answers to questions and problems or brings individuals closer to such answers. It is a place of interaction with an audience and multidimensional dialogue.
6) Developing interests (between the cognitive aspect and providing inspiration) – the museum must accommodate as large an array of individuals, interests, requirements and levels of knowledge as possible. The relevant tasks include recognising, awakening and satisfying cultural needs and interests.
7) Shaping personality and identity – the reconstruction and enrichment of the modern personality is a necessity in light of the effects of the development of civilisation and the dehumanisation of interpersonal relations. Preserved in the museum, the principle of continuity allows one to develop a sense of security in a constantly changing reality and to strengthen one's sense of belonging to a group or a culture.
8) Entertainment – in the mid-20th century, museums were perceived as repositories for unnecessary things. They had to become centres of social life and cultural entertainment. For that reason, their managers focused on cafes, cinemas, concerts, auctions, fashion shows and such like, and exhibits were side-lined. Exhibitions, which should be interesting and comprehensible, ought to provide incentives to visit museums, not other attractions. Currently, ICOM recommends that exhibits be made available for research, education and entertainment purposes (Bodo et al, 2013).

At present, according to ICOM, "museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people. Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing”.[1]

Museums produce cultural goods that meet spiritual and cultural needs. Therefore, the development and processing of products must treat spiritual needs as essential. The product contains a set of elements that form successive layers around a core, which includes basic (aesthetic and emotional) benefits for consumers (Kotler, 2015; Levitt, 1980). Around the core lie the elements that constitute the actual product and are necessary to provide the consumer with an experience that accords with the essence of the product. Those elements are processes, activities, atmospheres, conventions and the surroundings of the place in which the product is offered. In order to make the product more attractive and distinguishable, its features are enriched with new material and service components. This is how an extended product is created. There are additional services that modern museums offer, including exhibitions, tours, masterclasses, lectures, conferences, seminars, souvenirs, recordings and restaurants. Since "products and services must be subject to changes in order to keep pace with the evolving needs and expectations of customers" (Hill, O’ Sullivan and O’ Sullivan 1997 p.6), an additional element may be distinguished. That element may be understood as a potential product or as added value.

They all provide basic benefits that a potential consumer derives from participating, experiencing or possessing a product. They constitute the four levels of the culture product (Hill, O’Sullivan and O’Sullivan, 1997), a set of basic and additional museum services and goods that are offered to visitors. In this way, museum products meet the needs of visitors and distinguish museums from their competitors.

Trading antiquities

The trade in antiquities has been practiced since the 16th century and has “grown in scope as more of the world’s archaeological cultures have been discovered and subsequently received as art” (Brodie, 2014, p. 33). The downsides of these discoveries are looting and illicit trading. Antiquities have cultural and symbolic meanings and are usually collected as historical documents, relics, objects of art and curiosities. The more distinct their cultural value and the higher their relevance to scholars, the larger their economic value. The price of antiquities can be extremely high: the Euphronios Krater, a Greek artefact, was bought for $1 million by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1970s. It was believed to have been taken from an Etruscan cemetery in Cerveteri, sold to Giacomo Medici for $88,000, smuggled to Switzerland and acquired by Robert Hecht for $350,000. Hecht finally sold it to the Metropolitan, realising a profit of $650,000. Antiquities can become so valuable because their cultural value is open to consensual judgment, which creates quality hierarchies. In turn, “quality hierarchies create scarcities, a fundamental precondition for market formation” (Brodie, 2014, p. 35) Antiquities and cultural heritage are always unique. Demand and prices reflect quality and scarcity, and antiquities and cultural heritage are always unique.

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[1] See https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/#:~:text=%E2%80%9CA%20museum%20is%20a%20non,education%2C%20study%20and%20enjoyment.%E2%80%9D

Trafficking of cultural heritage objects

The EU combats the trafficking of cultural goods, their illegal importation and exportation, and transfers of ownership in items that are important for history or archaeology. The forms of trafficking include theft from private collections and institutions but also the looting of archaeological sites and the displacement of cultural property during war. Such actions impoverish the cultural heritage of countries and can be linked to money laundering, organised crime and even terrorism – some terrorist groups obtain their income from illicit excavations and trade. The European Commission has identified a lack of consistent legal definitions, terminologies and legislative instruments across the Member States. Authorities must be informed about the trafficking of cultural goods. Cooperation between the Directorates-General for Home Affairs, Justice, Enterprise and Industry, and Taxation and Customs Union can strengthen the policy framework. Additionally, CEPOL, Europol, Eurojust and EU_CULTNET can aid investigations and support the exchange of information between states (European Commission, 2019).

UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime) acts on international crime and the trafficking of cultural property. UNODC works with governments and NGOs, aims to strengthen the rule of law and combats “the growing threats of transnational organized crime and corruption” (UNODC, 2007). Another important actor in this field is the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (Unidroit), which published the 1995 Unidroit Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects in Rome (Unidroit, 1995).

Private collections and property

Cultural heritage can also be owned by private individuals or institutions. The important stakeholders in that field are art collections, churches, auction houses and real estate proprietors. Given the large variations in national legal frameworks, Unidroit assists domestic legislative bodies in establishing a legislative framework for heritage protection. At present, 38 states have signed the 1995 Convention. In a follow-up meeting in 2017, it was proposed that cultural objects created before a certain date should not be acquired by private actors. If those objects are already in private hands, the state should still be considered responsible for them, and it should only be possible to export or lease them with state approval (Unidroit, 2017, p. 10). Together with UNESCO, Unidroit worked on the Model Provisions on State Ownership of Undiscovered Cultural Objects, which stipulate that it should be “the general duty of the State” to encourage persons who find archaeological objects to hand them to competent authorities for preservation and protection (UNESCO/Unidroit, 2011, p. 4).

The real estate market and the conservation of buildings are sparsely regulated internationally and in the EU. However, some sites and historical quarters are protected by UNESCO. This said, the main responsibility for preserving historic buildings is shouldered by national authorities.

Auction houses, the used goods market and the antiquities trade are thought to be large and untransparent. Objects can be bought and sold anonymously, often without the trade being registered officially, especially on online platforms. Figures are hard to obtain. The United Kingdom has the third largest art and antiquities market in the world, trailing only the US and China. “In 2013, it accounted for 54% of all imports to the EU by value and 55% of exports“ (BAMF, 2014, p. 16). In 2013, 7,850 registered British businesses were active in the art and antiquities, supporting more than 40,000 jobs. Total sales within the British art and antiques market were at £8 billion in 2013 (BAMF, 2014). Christie’s is the largest auction house in the world. It was founded in 1766 in London. Christie’s trades in the fine and the decorative arts, photographs, collectibles, jewellery and so on, and it holds approximately 350 auctions every year (Christie’s, 2019). In 2018 alone, its revenues from selling fine art amounted to almost €5 billion.

The Vienna-based Dorotheum, which was founded in 1707 by Kaiser Joseph I, offers 700 auctions in 40 different categories every year. Of those auctions, 400 take place online. The auction house employs 100 experts (Dorotheum, 2019). Auction houses such as the Dorotheum can also be seen as cultural heritage themselves and are part of European history. Based in the centre of Vienna’s Old Town, the *palais* of the Dorotheum attracts not only customers but also tourists and visitors. The showrooms are designed and curated like museums, and a virtual tour is available on the Dorotheum website. Total sales and revenue numbers are unavailable, but some of the highest prices that have been paid are known. For instance, a private individual bought a painting by Egon Schiele for €2.34 million in 2017 (Dorotheum, 2017).

Ability of products to cross borders

The ability of cultural heritage products to cross borders depends on their type. Immovable cultural heritage, such as historic buildings and landscapes, cannot physically cross borders, but its brand and reputation can. Movable goods, such as paintings, pottery and souvenirs can be moved easily. Still, for the concept of cultural heritage, it is crucial to always refer to the origins of such goods and to their social and cultural embeddedness. A product must be assigned to a specific historical epoch, place of origin and cultural context. Therefore, the tangible good and its intellectual, spiritual and symbolic meaning must cross borders together.

Turning to archives and libraries, digitisation opened new possibilities for travel. It is mainly intellectual content that determines the value of archives and libraries. Online access enables the service to be consumed all over the world, provided that the consumer can access the Internet. At the same time, copyright issues and national regulations, such as those that govern freedom of information, must be considered. There are regions in which certain services cannot be accessed due to political or economic considerations.

Archives, libraries and their services

How are goods and services linked to the archives and libraries industry? Which goods and services do archives and libraries offer? The term “archive” refers to both a place for storage and preservation and to the institutions and organisations that are involved in these activities. Archives, as institutions, analyse and categorize materials and make them available (Williams, 2014, p. 2). The actual product of the industry is a process, the archivalisation of social memory. Certain material needs to be identified as being of sufficient importance to warrant preservation. According to Cook (2001), the paradigm has shifted away from "looking at records as the passive products of human or administrative activity and towards considering records as active and ever-evolving agents themselves in the formation of human and organizational memory" (Cook, 2001, p. 29).

Still, the product of an archive or library is not just the content that it stores, a single record or a book. The product also includes entire collections, their contexts, their designs, their interpretations and the relevant access procedures – an archive may be defined as the sum of many small parts. Therefore, the product of an archive includes both materials and the institutional context in which they are stored. Visitors use an archive as a service in order to retrieve information and access different kinds of media.

Cultural heritage and cultural tourism

Tourism is a highly service-driven industry which provides "products and services for people participating in activities in places other than their residence" (Sigala & Leslie, 2005, p. 4). Tourism involves many products and services that fulfil the needs of domestic and foreign visitors. The development of a product necessitates cooperation between multiple suppliers; a typical tourism product, such as an excursion or a vacation, involves linked suppliers such as travel agencies, airlines, trains, busses and taxis, hotels, restaurants, museums and other cultural institutions, shops, tourist guides and so on.

Sigala and Leslie wrote that tourism is "used as an economic justification for heritage preservation" and that it "serves to preserve artefacts found in many parts of the world" (Sigala & Leslie, 2005, p. 4). According to Nowacki, "in the case of heritage tourism, the main criterion for the choice of destination is tourist attractions" (Nowacki, 2005, p. 235). Heritage products are often produced to fit the needs of tourists, as in the case of theme parks and reconstructions. Many sectors are interlinked with and dependent on the tourism and heritage industry. These include restoration, preparation, conservation and tourist guides (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, p. 6).

Unlike cultural tourism, heritage tourism refers specifically to historical sites and buildings and the experiences that visitors consume by engaging with them. At the same time, tourists do not experience sites or other forms of culture authentically but rather in a staged, curated and highly selective fashion. Tourism is thus a product that is designed thoughtfully (Sigala & Leslie, 2005).

Silberberg (1995) divided cultural tourism products into institutions, lifestyle or heritage opportunities and events. The three are likely to be linked. If a product is superior, it attracts more tourists who spend more and stay longer. However, Silberberg (1995) also indicated that not all sites and museums aim to become significant tourist attractions. There is a continuum of cultural products, and only some can attract tourist. According to Silberberg, heritage products can be evaluated by using a checklist (Silberberg, 1995, p. 362). The checklist contains the following items:

- perceived quality of the product,
- awareness,

- attitude to customer service,
- sustainability,
- extent to which product is perceived to be unique or special,
- convenience,
- community support and involvement, and
- management commitment and capability.

When tourists from outside a region visit sites or museums and consume a certain product, they spend money. That money stays in the region, and its products can thus be seen as exportable. On this reasoning, a certain product can be exported if foreign individuals visit places, consume heritage experiences and leave. In this way, immovable heritage products cross borders (Silberberg, 1995).

1.1.3 Labour

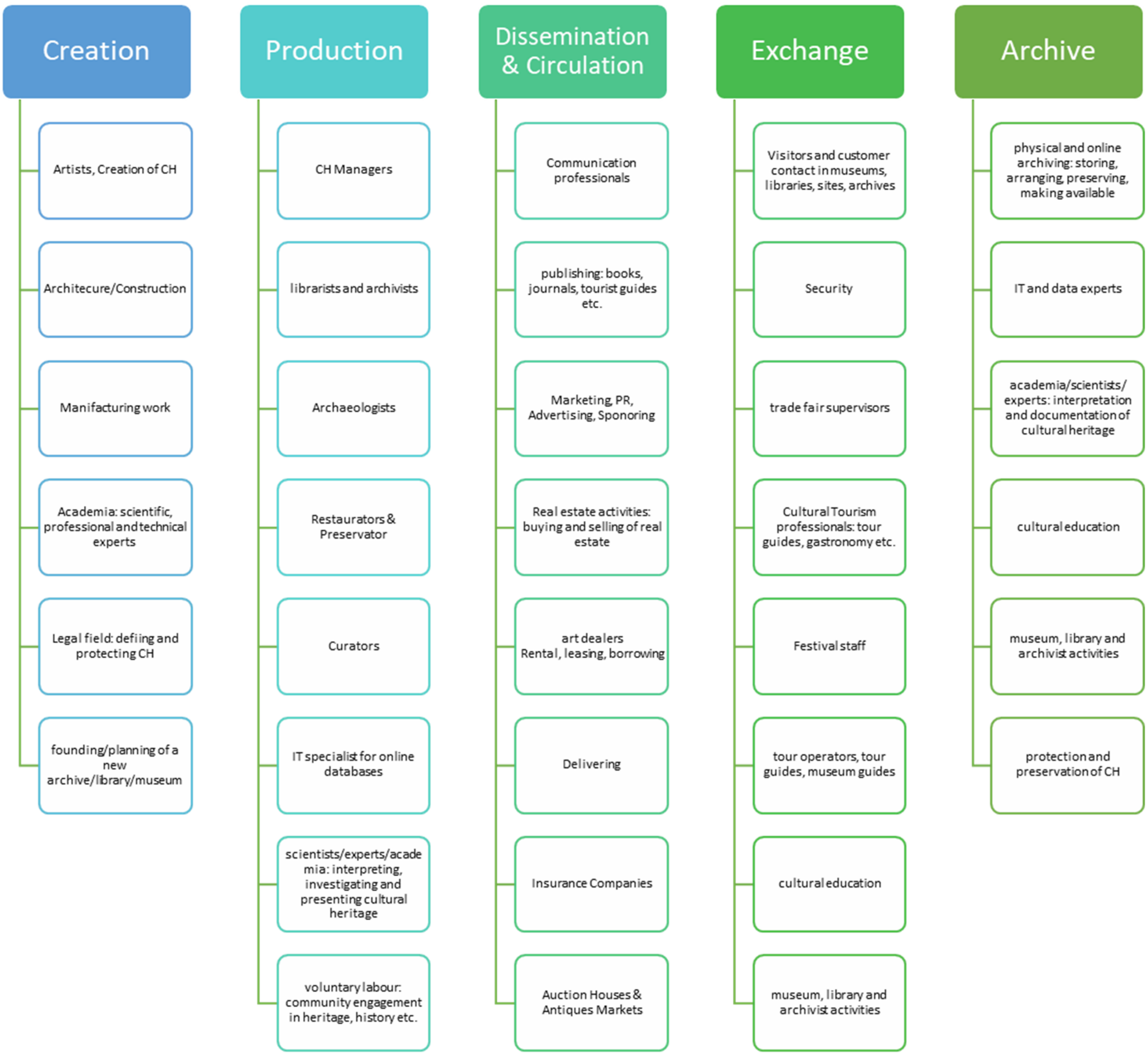
Cultural heritage activities can be very diverse, mirroring the role of cultural heritage as an umbrella concept. Therefore, jobs can vary across types of cultural heritage. There are roles that explicitly and undoubtedly pertain to cultural heritage, such as those of conservators, archaeologists, museum professionals, cultural tourism guides, archivists, librarians, historians, and the managerial and operational staff of historical sites, among others. For practical reasons, we only discuss the conditions and characteristics of the labour that is directly connected to the cultural heritage industry in this report.

This said, not all labour in the industry is performed by professionals. Austrian statistics show that there only 287 Austrian libraries are led by paid staff. Professionally ran libraries are mostly located in densely inhabited cities and regions. There are 1,192 volunteer-led libraries, which are usually found in more sparsely inhabited areas (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2012, p. 3). The Austrian Association for Museums (Österreichischer Museumsbund, 2014) conducted a survey of 562 participating museums, approximately 80% of all national museums, which revealed that volunteers account for a large proportion of the workforce in the industry: 3,670 individuals were working for free, and 5,631 were being paid for their labour. Many of the latter were part-time employees. The industry employed 3,236 women and 2,205 men.

Labour in different phases of the production phases

Figure 3 (see next page) displays numerous activities that are related to the production phases of cultural heritage. The lines between the different phases, although they appear clear in the table, are blurred in reality, and the classifications are not mutually exclusive. In addition, some job roles may occur in more than one phase of the production cycle. For example, a professional archivist may be involved in the creation phase by planning or creating a new archive and in the production phase by inspecting new material and maintaining the archive. An archivist may also be involved in the dissemination process: they might organise events, make content available to the public or order and borrow materials. In the exchange phase, the archivist interacts with users and visitors directly and assists them with finding materials and accessing information. Finally, archivists participate in archiving by storing material online and physically as well as by acting as guardians and repositories of history, cultural heritage and collective memory. Some roles appear in fewer phases. For example, artistic creation only occurs in the first phase. Likewise, security professionals at museums and cultural heritage sites are much more important in the exchange phase than in the other phases.

Figure 3. Activities related to the production phases of cultural heritage



Different occupations in the cultural heritage industry

Some professions and activities are only associated with the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry, such as those of historical art museum guides or librarians at national libraries. Other occupations are common in both cultural heritage and other sectors (manager, PR or legal counsel). Finally, some archivists and librarians work at non-cultural-heritage institutions such as banks and companies.

Not all activities and job profiles that are linked to the industry of cultural heritage, archives and libraries are therefore part of the creative and cultural sector. This can be problematic for statistical classifications and attempts to measure the economic dimensions of the sector. The current NACE code system, for example, only uses one category to capture all activities within the sector, namely "DIVISION: 91 Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities". The subdivisions are "91.01 Library and archives activities", "91.02 Museum activities", "91.03 Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions" and "91.04 Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities" (European Commission, 2008).

To address this issue, the European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations (E.C.C.O.) has suggested focusing on the "mission" of an activity. If an activity is intended to affect cultural heritage, it should be associated with it. Therefore, treating cultural heritage as a new NACE sector would be sensible, and "heritage should be accorded sectoral status" (E.C.C.O et al., n.d., p. 9).

Professional associations and ethical guidelines

Guidelines and standards for professionals in the field of cultural heritage are defined by UNESCO and by several smaller and more specialised associations. The ICOM sets minimum professional standards for the international museum community. It has developed an ethics codebook for natural history museums and an ethics checklist for cultural property ownership. The ethical guidelines define the professional roles and the status of museum staff. Museums need to "preserve, interpret and promote the natural and cultural inheritance of humanity" (ICOM, 2004, p. 2), they need hold maintained collections in trust "for the benefit of society and its development" (p. 8), and they "hold primary evidence for establishing and furthering knowledge" (p. 17). Professionals must provide "opportunities for the appreciation, understanding and management of the natural and cultural heritage" (p. 23), "hold resources that provide opportunities for other public services and benefits" (p. 9) and work in "close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve". Finally, the ethical guidelines require members to work legally and professionally, which means that they should be aware of national and international legislation on cultural heritage, media and communication laws and museum policies. The relevant legislation includes the UNESCO conventions and the Unidroit rules on stolen or illegally exported cultural objects (Unidroit, 1995).

In order to ensure quality, the Austrian ICOM committee and the Museumsbund, the Austrian Association for Museums, introduced a seal of quality in 2002. It is granted to museums that act responsibly for the preservation cultural heritage, adopt suitable ethical standards, and offer high-quality presentation and visitor services (Österreichisches Museumsgütesiegel, 2020).

Similarly to the ICOM guidelines for museums, the Universal Declaration on Archives (ICA & UNESCO, 2011a) was published by UNESCO and the International Council on Archives (ICA). Although it is only one page long and describes the role of archives in society in highly general terms, some passages are related explicitly to the "role of archivists as trained professionals" who should be educated continuously and must serve "their societies by supporting the creation of records and by selecting, maintaining and making these records available for use" (ICA & UNESCO, 2011b). In order to protect the knowledge that civilisation has generated and to embrace democracy, societies must preserve and safeguard archives. Resources must be allocated accordingly, and professionally trained staff must be employed to ensure the adequate management of archives.

There are also national professionals associations such as the Austrian Verband Österreichischer Archivarinnen und Archivare (VÖA), the UK-and-Ireland-based Archives and Records Association and the French Association des archivists français. The VÖA, for example, refers to the ICA and UNESCO declaration on archives and offers opportunities for Austrian professionals in the field to connect and interact. It organises events, conferences and excursions, it publishes books and journals, it acts as an advocacy group, it is involved in discussions about labour conditions, and it is connected to similar international associations (VÖA, 2020).

Libraries: skills, education and labour

The work of librarians and the role of libraries have changed dramatically over the last decades as a result of digitisation. The tasks, skills and education of librarians have also changed, as reported by the Austrian Association for Libraries (BVOE). At present, professionals need to manage not only physical media but also digital content and new ICTs (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2012, p. 12). Librarians have two places of work: the office and the visitors' area. The office activities include selecting and ordering new media as well as cataloguing, editing and other routine administrative tasks. Work in the visitors' area includes providing information to visitors, giving recommendations, assisting with research, booking and loaning media, and sorting books (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2020, pp. 5–6). The importance of libraries as physical places that can be visited has not declined since the advent of digital media. Digitisation created new ways in which individuals can use libraries (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2012, p. 2). Visitors use libraries not just for educational and informational reasons but also as meeting places and as spots for relaxation and entertainment.

Library specialisation creates distinctions that are important for librarians as professionals. Some institutions focus on specific social groups. For example, libraries for young individuals may offer more multimedia content, and libraries for citizens with a migratory background probably focus on international literature. The surrounding area is also important. Is the library at a senior institution, at a research centre, or exclusively online? What topic does the library focus on? Is it a highly specialised scientific library, or does it offer fiction and artistic literature? Staff needs to possess skills that are attuned to the orientation of the library, such as IT skills, social competencies, knowledge of specific disciplines or foreign languages, creativity, management, and communication and organisation skills (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2012, p. 3).

Librarians must develop numerous competencies to cope with the demands of their profession. They need to possess excellent communication skills to address the needs of different categories of visitors, they must focus on good teamwork, and they should respond to feedback. In the digitisation era, they must be well-connected media experts and adjust their skills constantly to adapt to changes in media, ICTs and society (Büchereiverband Österreich, 2012, pp. 3–4).

Specialised training is provided by higher education institutions. In Vienna, for example, the Library and Information Studies programme is ran cooperatively by the University of Vienna and the National Library. The curriculum includes, among others, library and repository management, ICT, organisation of information, communicational competences and project management (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2020). The University of Vienna also offers a master's degree in Auxiliary Sciences and Archival Studies. The Archival Studies and Media Archives module, for example, covers "archival appraisal, archiving technology and management, legal questions, media analysis, digitalisation and public relations of archives" (Universität Wien, 2020).

The museum industry

Job profiles

The individuals who work at museums possess very different competences and skills. The number of employees can range from one to several hundred depending on the scale of the activity, the collections that the museum owns, and its organisational and financial background. Many museum employees discharge technical and administrative duties. They are security guards, receptionists and employees who are responsible for supervising and maintaining the exhibition areas of the museum. However, the activities of the museum are based on the work of professional employees whose duties are related to their education. The profession of a museum curator, that is, a person who deals with a collection, emerged in the 19th century. The creation of professional collections in special buildings was accompanied by the development of new professions such as researcher (historian) and art restorer. The opening of collections to the general public in the 20th century led to the creation of new professions, such as educator and museum guide. Subsequently, there was a need to promote museums, which precipitated the recruitment of marketing and public relations employees. These positions might vary on a case-by-case basis. The ICOM International Committee for the Training of Personnel listed 20 of them (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010). At present, museums offer a large number of positions. An indicative list follows:

- Archivists – responsible for storage of documents for subsequent sharing.
- Conservators – working in archives and on the preservation of historical items. Their task is to comprehend the material aspect of objects of historic and artistic significance and to use techniques for the physical treatment of the collection objects. A conservator needs to be familiar with the science of conserving pieces of art and artefacts. The activity of the conservator-restorer consists of technical examination, preservation and conservation.
- Curator – responsible for the collection. Curators engage in the following activities:
  - co-creating programmes,
  - the development of temporary exhibition concepts and the supervision of their implementation,
  - the supervision of museum objects,
  - the appropriate storage and protection of museum collections,
  - the coordination of catalogues and other publications that the museum issues,
  - curatorial cooperation, and
  - the expansion of museum collections and selection of works for purchase (based on job offers; see POLIN, 2020; Pracuj w kulturze, 2022).

- Exhibit Designer – responsible for the layout and display of an exhibition.
- Graphic Designer – in charge of the design of all museum publications.
- Historian (Researcher) – responsible for conducting historical research.
- Educator – responsible for educational programmes at the museum.
- Security Guard, Receptionist and other technical staff – responsible for the supervision and maintenance of the exhibition areas in the museum as well as for constructing and arranging exhibitions.
- Administrator – responsible for ensuring the smooth functioning of the museum, the implementation of future projects and for current documentation (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010; McCall & Gray, 2014).

In addition, many museums run volunteer programs, internships and apprenticeships. Members of the public engage in such cooperation willingly when they see its value for their development.

The general concept of a museum worker or museologist is also part of the professional lexicon. The duties of the museologist are as follows:

- collecting relics,
- cataloguing and processing the available collections scientifically,
- storage of the collected monuments in appropriate conditions,
- securing and preserving collections,
- arranging temporary and permanent exhibitions,
- providing opinions on works of art that are offered to the museum for purchase,
- organising research and scientific expeditions,
- conducting educational activities (e.g. museum lessons),
- providing collections for educational and scientific purposes,
- ensuring that conditions for visiting and using the collections are appropriate, and
- managing publishing activities (Zawody regulowane Website, 2022; Career Ride, 2014).

The European Group of Museum Statistics has adopted an approach to classification whereby it distinguishes between substantive employees, who are known as specialists, and other employees who work in museology: “Specialised staff: personal who has graduated the faculty of university level as well as personal with secondary education having graduated in a special training course in the museum sector” (EGMUS & Bina, V., Cardona, J., Frank, G. & Hagedorn-Saupe, 2004). This classification is ambiguous because there are national particularities. For example, in Poland, the corresponding descriptions and qualifications are as follows:

Scientific positions:

- Certified Curator – doctoral degree in museology or a doctoral degree in the arts in a field that is related to the core activity of the museum as well as work experience in museology (at least 10 years)
- Curator – higher specialist education and postgraduate studies on museums or professional achievements related to museology, knowledge of a foreign language and a minimum of 7 years of work experience

- Assistant Professor – higher specialist education, 4 years of work experience
- Assistant – higher vocational education

Non-scientific positions:

- Guide or Educator – a person who conducts tours, lectures and other educational events (for children and adults). Usually, they also participate in the development of the entire educational programmes.
- Documentary Filmmaker – a person who maintains records of museum collections, develops and manages the museum database and controls the condition of collections.
- PR Manager or Marketing Specialist – a person who actively promotes the activities of the museum, for example by conducting promotional campaigns for new exhibitions.

There are also positions that are related to digital development, which involve tasks such as running social media channels, content marketing, preparing content for search engine optimisation and customer service.

Another post is that of an interpreter guide, lecturer guide or lecturer. Lecturers accompany visitors (most often in groups) through the exhibition galleries and provide them with information about the exhibition and the objects on display. In essence, they follow the principles that are relevant to guided visits. A lecturer can been joined by an animator, an individual who is in charge of workshops or other experiences that form part of communication methods of the museum. A cultural projects coordinator intermediates between the collections and the public. Their aim is to interpret the collections and to encourage the public to take an interest in them rather than to teach systematically or to deliver preformulated content. Increasingly, web masters play a fundamental role in communication and mediation at museums. A head or project manager (who may be a scientist or a museographer) is responsible for all of the methods for implementing museum activities and recruits specialists in the fields of preservation, research and communication in order to execute specific projects, such as temporary exhibitions, new galleries and such like (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010).

Estimating the number of museum employees is difficult. ICOM and European Group on Museum Statistics (EGMUS) data provide statistics on employment by (European) country and year. The data for some countries is recent. For example, there is data on Lithuania for 2019. For other countries, data coverage extends back to 2012. For others still, there is no data at all (e.g. the United Kingdom and Italy). For example, in Austria 6,351 individuals, including 1,950 specialists, were permanently employed in 2017. In addition, there were 4,089 volunteers (including 640 specialists (https://www.egmus.eu/nc/en/statistics/complete_data/). For comparison, the 2004 EGMUS report contains a figure of 2,906 employees, but it is not clear how many of them were specialists (EGMUS & Bina, V., Cardona, J., FraNk, G., Hagedorn-Saupe, 2004). In Poland, there were 18,669 employees in 2017, including 7,573 specialists. The 2004 report does not contain any data.

Workplace conditions

Decades of debates have failed to solve the general problem of the role of the museum in society (Cameron, 1971; N. Kotler & Kotler, 2000). At the same time, the pressure on museums to function and be managed as businesses, for example in the context of corporate social responsibility, has increased. This pressure requires new competences to be developed (Holden, 2004). The organisational culture of museums is changing. It is increasingly based on the values of individual employees and their career needs (Hofstede, 2001). The contribution of technical and administrative staff to the daily operations of the museum is beginning to be recognised. However, discussions of how museums can or should work are still limited to leadership groups within the industry as traditionally conceived (Davies, Paton & O'Sullivan, 2013).

Skills and education

In many sectors, the competences and skills that are acquired during the education process must be augmented at a later point in time. Completing studies in the field of art allow one to secure a scientific position at a museum, but those studies then transpire to be insufficient. The importance of lifelong learning is commonly emphasised in contexts such as critical thinking (Herz, 2007) and information literacy (Marty, 2006). For example, curators, who were mentioned above, should be professional guardians of collections but also be capable of organising exhibitions. These responsibilities require numerous competencies. In many museum-related professions "the emphasis is upon the skills and knowledge that staff have in terms of their function – whether this be more traditional ideas of curatorship or more recent importations such as marketing – these roles defined by function run alongside ideas of team working across the organisation to create solutions for the issues that confront individual museum services" (McCall & Gray, 2014).

In 2017, Voices of Culture launched a discussion between the European Commission, heritage organisations and various stakeholders. That discussion focused on skills, training and knowledge transfer in traditional and emerging heritage professions (Voices of Culture, 2017). Its outcomes show that heritage professions require "broad skillsets, in-depth expertise and a strong foundation in ethics" (Voices of Culture, 2017, p. 2). In general, training should focus not only on traditional competences but also on broad transversal skills (e.g. fundraising, management and communications), multidisciplinary work, ethics and expertise in new technologies and digital forms of heritage. In particular, in the context of digitisation, it is necessary to renew the skills and qualifications of cultural heritage practitioners. Current developments demand new communication skills, partnerships with other sectors, novel approaches to user demands, the deployment of modern tools and media, and innovative thinking (Geser et al., 2014).

The EU-funded project *EU Heritage – Skills for Promotion, Valorisation, Exploitation, Mediation and Interpretation of European Cultural Heritage* investigated labour conditions, specific education programmes and skills within the industry. The project considered the following activities as relevant: 1) heritage promotion and advertising; 2) "heritage valorisation as a set of competences to valorise a heritage asset, the productive use of a resource, the use or application of something (an object, process or activity) so that it is financially remunerated or generates value" (EU Heritage, 2019b, p. 5); 3) heritage exploitation, that is, benefiting from heritage; 4) mediation and setting disputes; and 5) creating a "relation between the elements of the site or collection and the meaning making and value frame of the visitors" (EU Heritage, 2019b, p. 5). Stakeholders could be mapped in many different fields. For example, there are cultural heritage managers who work for institutions, education and outreach staff, ICT professionals, curators, visitor-services staff, marketing, fundraising and communication experts and professionals who are involved in the cultural tourism value chain. Professionals who reproduce intangible forms of heritage such as traditional music, handicrafts and food were also included in the study.

The mapping of over 380 training programmes showed that the organisations that provide training programmes most frequently are educational institutions (82%) such as universities and colleges. Only 7% had partnerships with public or private organisations and NGOs. Most training organisations were in the public sector, and only a third were private enterprises. Almost half of all programmes focused on management and organisations, while 20% were cross sectoral (e.g. art studies and practices, tourism, research of cultural heritage), and 17% focused on communication and media (EU Heritage, 2019a). According to cultural heritage professionals, the most important skills in the industry are communication and problem-solving skills, flexibility, and creativity and conceptual capacities (EU Heritage, 2019a).

Demand for skills in the cultural heritage industry is not limited to the academic professions. Conservation and restoration, for example, also require the skills of craftspeople. This is particularly true of the interplay between crafts and conservation. The preservation of historic monuments would not be possible without crafts. Furthermore, experienced and well-trained craftspeople are vitally important to the production of traditional local artefacts, which are prized in some regions. Craftsmanship is a highly valuable resource, but that field tends to shrink. The reasons for the decline of traditional knowledge and skills include modernisation and digitisation as well as the unavailability of hands-on in-depth training. The Voices of Culture (2017) report indicates that the conservation-restauration curriculum has expanded in theoretical content but contracted in duration, with less hands-on training. At the same time, the former apprenticeship-based education model has become less relevant and is being replaced by expensive specialised courses. Furthermore, craftsmanship does not seem prestigious enough, which often leads individuals to become frustrated and to seek alternative employment. Technology, in particular new methods of manufacturing and producing goods, has rendered some skills obsolete (Voices of Culture, 2017, p. 19).

1.1.4 Embeddedness

Spatial

Although there are different kinds of cultural heritage (tangible and intangible, movable and immovable), cultural heritage exists and makes sense within its sociocultural context. Furthermore, it is spatially, culturally and socially embedded in its surroundings. Movable and tangible cultural heritage can be taken out of its context, as opposed to living heritage or immovable sites, which are anchored and spatially embedded in local communities. Museums and archives, which are some of the most explicit manifestations of cultural heritage, are highly important for the cultural identities of places and communities and are often related to geographical surroundings and the specificities of particular places. If cultural heritage is taken out of its context, the term "cultural appropriation" becomes appropriate. This term describes the “unacknowledged or inappropriate adoption of the customs, practices, ideas, etc. of one people or society by members of another and typically more dominant people or society” (Oxford Lexicon, 2020). From a consumer perspective, cultural heritage is an extended experience. It is related to leisure and entertainment and strongly associated with local economies and infrastructures. For example, tourism sites are often surrounded by cafes, shops and hotels and are well connected to transport systems.

In the case of cultural heritage, spatial embeddedness is related to geographical, historical and cultural resources. “Similarly to cathedrals, parliaments and stock exchanges, a museum’s presence in a city is a symbol of the power detained by the municipality, especially capitals” (Mairesse, 2016). Historically, it was not until the 18th century that museums were created and opened to the public, a process that was particularly intensive in cities. The ascendant bourgeoisie converted existing establishments, such as palaces and abbeys, into museums. The Louvre in Paris is an example. Museums were opened in all major European capitals in the first half of the 19th century. That period witnessed not only the conversion of existing buildings into museums but also the construction of new ones. The Altes Museum in Berlin, for example, was built between 1825 and 1830 and later became the Museumsinsel: “This museum’s location particularly symbolised the place of a cultural institution within a city: placed facing the imperial palace, adjacent to the arsenal and a cathedral in Berlin, its location seems to illustrate the new role of culture, gaining independence from the power of the Prince, the Church and the military” (Mairesse, 2016). Museums became highly symbolic places for cities and nations as expressions of power and sovereignty. Countries would compete constantly over prestigious cultural heritage exhibits.

Museums in capitals and large cities focus on high culture and prestigious cultural heritage as well as on modernity and technological progress. In contrast, rural museums are smaller in size and focus on regional and specific themes, such as local artists and traditions or local cultural heritage. There are also museums and archives that collect and present artefacts from their surroundings. The British Rural Museums Network brings “museums of farming and the countryside closer together” (Rural Museum Network, 2020) and connects more than 60 rural museums in the United Kingdom. These museums present local resources and landscapes. The examples include the Lakeland Museum, the Agricultural Museum in Kent, the Museum of Leathercraft and the Museum of English Rural Life in Reading. Places with unique landscapes, flora, fauna and historical buildings are often associated with museums that showcase their heritage. Similarly to museums, libraries and archives are often connected to specific places as repositories of the history of their communities and cooperate with local institutions, such as universities, schools and research centres.

The spatial embeddedness of cultural heritage is also connected to resources, including transport systems and infrastructure. This connection is particularly important for tourism: in order to attract tourists and enable them to travel and visit certain areas, it is important to have adequate transport systems, hotels, restaurants and guides as well as to establish high standards of security. Meeting these demands also requires human resources – trained staff who work and live close to the local heritage are needed. In many cases, such human resources are scarce, and seasonal workers need to be employed temporarily, as in the case of winter tourism in the Alps.

“Historic buildings, monuments and spaces shape how our towns, cities and rural areas look and feel. They add to the unique character of places signifying the culture of places and playing an important part in shaping peoples’ perceptions and authentic experiences of a place” (Historic England, 2018, p. 4). Cultural heritage attracts individuals and businesses, and it regenerates areas. According to Deloitte, there is a “strong economic case for regenerating historic buildings – the benefits relate not only to the individual buildings but also to the wider area and community” (Deloitte, 2017, p. 4).

Hampton reflected on the complex relationship between local communities and international mass tourism: “the historical specificity of any given attraction may be helpfully considered as a being a social construction. In other words, its particular meaning and significance are in fact created and then shared by a particular human society at a given time and place in world history. Any analysis of the site should be viewed within this context“ (Hampton, 2005, p. 738). Buddhist temples amid Muslim communities and Roman temples, with their ancient European polytheism, provide salient examples of the difference between contemporary values and the worldviews of past societies. This difference does not necessarily result into contradiction or conflict, but it must be studied, discussed and embedded into contemporary sociocultural contexts continuously.

The effects of the embeddedness of tourism into cultural heritage are not exclusively positive. Tourism and commercialisation can cause local interests and traditions to be disregarded. Traditional industries may decline because the local population focuses on tourism, a tendency that is particularly pronounced in areas that rely exclusively on tourism. Furthermore, properties in popular tourist areas can be bought by foreigners and large corporations. The “Airbnb effect” (Barker, 2020), which is akin to gentrification, exemplifies this trend: as the economic value of property in an area increases, tenants are squeezed out because they cannot afford high rents (Cocola-Gant, 2016). Mass tourism can also lead to environmental pollution and the dissipation of resources.

Economic

Mowforth and Munt (2003) studied the economic characteristics of new tourism and compared them to those of conventional tourism. New tourism includes backpacking, independent travel and some forms of ecotourism. New tourists prefer local foods, craftwork souvenirs and small guesthouses, homestays and lodges. Conventional tourism, conversely, involves mass products, large and standardised international hotels and mainstream restaurants. New tourism expenditures “appear to be mainly upon locally-produced goods and services, and that expenditure flows directly into the local economy” (Hampton, 2005, p. 746). Therefore, there are “lower leakages, more capture of the spending in the local area, and easier entry into the business due its lower capital requirements” (Hampton, 2005, p. 747). Economic participation is also stronger. New tourist accommodation tends to be locally owned and provides employment opportunities to less skilled individuals and to those with limited educational attainment. The literature (Hampton, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2003) shows a trend towards the exclusion of “poor tourism”: many touristic areas are more open to welcoming wealthy international tourists who stay in four- or five-star accommodation than to hosting backpackers, who are often neglected despite their positive impact on rural areas and their role as trendsetters (Hampton, 2005, p. 744).

Local communities do not benefit from sites directly but from tourist expenditure on souvenirs, food, drinks, crafts, transport and accommodation. Small-scale businesses must be supported and included in planning processes because they serve the local economy and local interests. In this way, the danger of separating attractions from the economies that surround them can be reduced (Hampton, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Cultural tourism also has disadvantages. Cities such as Venice or Amsterdam have reacted to excessive cruise-ship tourism by introducing landing taxes for day trippers. Amsterdam also increased its tourist tax to 7% throughout the city and, according to the city website, “companies operating sea and river cruises should pay a tourist tax of 8 euros per passenger. This ‘day tripper tax’ will only apply to cruise passengers who do not live in Amsterdam and are only stopping over, not to passengers who are starting or ending a cruise in Amsterdam” (Amsterdam official city website, 2018). The Hallstatt in Austria exemplifies a similar tendency. The small historical town, with its 753 inhabitants, attracts almost one million visitors every year. Not all residents feel comfortable with large masses of tourists who photograph their houses and crowd the streets. Some experience these developments as intrusions into their private lives and display slogans such as “Hallstatt is no museum” or “point of silence” on their doors, as reported by popular media outlets (Kurier, 2018).

Heritage and real estate

There is an interplay between heritage value and real estate value. The conversion of an old building into heritage entails preservation, restoration and creative reuse. According to Berg, former industrial sites in Norway could be transformed into valuable real estate products through commodification: “Creative use of the historic elements of these sites has inspired development of historic property in general and brought along a commodification process transforming heritage from a resource to a product” (Berg, 2017, p. 304). In that case, cultural and economic interests merge, and social and environmental benefits can be obtained by preserving and reusing older buildings.

The value of historical buildings exceeds that of non-heritage ones. The presence of the former also affects the prices of the latter. A case study on Greater Dublin revealed that “distance to the nearest historical buildings has a significant and robust effect on housing prices” (Moro, Mayor, Lyons, & Tol, 2011, p. 1).

Institutional

Museums, archives and libraries cooperate with other institutions to exchange, borrow and lend pieces for special exhibitions as well as in research and networking. The industry is highly institutionalised, and the number of networks is large. Europa Nostra, for example, connects hundreds of smaller heritage networks, enabling the transmission of knowledge and skills. The Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO) connects European museums. There are also networks and transnational co-operations with specific thematic foci such as the European Route of Industrial Heritage and the Future of Religious Heritage. Some umbrella organisations cover geographic areas. The Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in South-Eastern Europe is one example. Digitisation appears to have contributed to the acceleration of globalisation in the field, for example by facilitating communication and the exchange of data.

Museums, libraries and archives often cooperate with other institutions, such as research centres, universities, schools, festivals, restaurants and local businesses. The Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna, for instance, has been collecting audio recordings since 1899 and supports various research projects. It also publishes books and organises exhibitions and events (Phonogrammarchiv, 2019). The Centre George Pompidou in Paris has a public library, cafes and shops. It is also host to the IRCAM lab, a centre for music and acoustic research (Centre Pompidou, 2020).

Cultural heritage and museums develop relationships with private companies that can augment their reputations and incomes and those of local communities. The famous Kunstforum Wien, which was set up in 1988 by the Austrian Länderbank and which nowadays has Bank Austria as its official sponsor, is a salient example. The first exhibition after the renovation of 1989, which focused on Egon Schiele, attracted almost 200,000 visitors. Due to its success, it travelled to London, Munich and Wuppertal. "The Schiele exhibition in the Kunstforum was the first major debut of the then little known Leopold Collection; it thus functioned as a booster for the Austrian Republic to purchase the collection and set up the present-day Leopoldmuseum" (Kunstforum Wien, 2020).

Private companies are also interested in sponsoring art and culture because doing so can provide them with "access to cultural, symbolic, and social resources, which can add value to and differentiate wealth management services" (Lund & Greyser, 2015, p. 1). Furthermore, sponsors can demonstrate their values, initiate interactions in informal settings, strengthen and create relationships with clients and expand their networks. Cultural institutions can benefit by reaching larger audiences, acquiring new works and fostering international relations with other museums, partners and donors (Lund & Greyser, 2015).

Covid-19

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, archives, libraries, museums and heritage sites have put content online and made it accessible all over the world. The importance of networks has grown. Since institutions needed new survival strategies, they had to find novel ways of distributing and exchanging their services with audiences. The IFLA reports, "While many libraries already had a strong digital presence, many others have now moved to create one in order to continue serving members… the share of libraries offering online programming jumped from 12% of respondents to 86%" (IFLA, 2020a).

Online networks, particularly social media platforms, improved experiences of cultural heritage during the Covid-19 pandemic. Homes, as physical places for cultural consumption and exchange, have become equally important. Experiencing the cultural heritage that became available during the pandemic requires digital literacy, special equipment and access to the Internet. Cultural heritage has thus been connected with several other industries. This trend also raises issues such as social inequality and the digital divide. Those issues stem from the expense of acquiring equipment and accessing the Internet.

The link between tourism and cultural heritage became even more obvious during the pandemic due to its impact on related industries such as transport, hospitality and trade, which was sometimes catastrophic. The absence of cultural tourists had several consequences, such as fewer hotel reservations and fewer customers in cafes and souvenir shops. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) reported that most countries have adopted economy-wide stimulus packages in order to support SMEs and self-employed workers financially and to promote job retention (UNWTO, 2020b).

Cultural heritage policy strategies during the Covid-19 crisis

Various strategies have been implemented to address the Covid-19 crisis. UNESCO reported that the current solutions include compensatory grants, tax relief and short-time work models. In order to support the symbiosis between domestic cultural tourism and regional economies, authorities provide incentives such as vouchers and reduced ticket prices at sites, museums and tourist areas. For example, in Asia, politicians have tried to compensate for the loss of international tourism by supporting cultural tours that focus on ethnic minority cultures, niche music, and local production and cultivation, which can appeal to domestic tourists. Globally, leaders have treated culture as a part of their recovery strategy (UNESCO, 2020c, p. 6).

The European Commission launched the Europe's Culture – Close to You campaign to promote the rediscovery of the cultural diversity of Europe and to support regional tourism in a safe and sustainable manner (European Commission, 2020). The Re-Open EU Interactive Map shows travel restrictions at various destinations, making it easier for tourists to arrange travel. Apart from state authorities, civil society, cultural associations and foundations have also been active in collecting data and organising online events to support the cultural industries that were affected heavily (UNESCO, 2020b, p. 5).

ICCROM, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, emphasised how the *#HeritageintimesofCOVID* hashtag is proving to be powerful, in terms of building resilience within communities and disseminating advice and resources that are relevant to the closure of heritage sites and institutions as well as to other concerns. At the European level, the European Heritage Alliance and Europa Nostra launched the Europe Day Manifesto – Cultural Heritage: A Powerful Catalyst for the Future of Europe. Many countries have also launched programmes to support heritage-oriented activities. One example is the Culture in the Web programme that is ran by the Polish government.

Covid-19: closures of cultural heritage sites and their consequences for tourism

Tourism is one of the most important economic sectors that is related to cultural heritage in Europe. Since the outbreak of the pandemic, tourism was limited by travel restrictions, closed borders, travel warnings and the disruption or cancellation of flights and transportation in general. Furthermore, hotels and restaurants were fully or partly closed or could only open if they could follow strict rules. Most cultural heritage sites, museums, concert halls, archives and libraries were closed to the public as a result of the pandemic measures. Restrictions were mostly implemented on the national or, in the case of local infections, the regional level. The World Tourism Organization had predicted that international tourism numbers would fall by between 60% and 80% in 2020, relative to 2019, because of the pandemic (UNWTO, 2020a).

UNESCO warned the public of the consequences of the pandemic for cultural heritage: conservation and archaeological work cannot be financed anymore, work conditions vary, and looting, poaching and illicit trafficking have intensified in certain areas (UNESCO, 2020c, p. 2). UNESCO organised an online expert meeting on June 26th, 2020. Its topic was "combatting illicit trafficking on cultural property during Covid-19 – illicit excavations and online trading" (UNESCO, 2020a).

Copyright, digitisation and Covid-19

During the lockdowns implemented as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, archives, libraries, universities, schools and research centres could not be accessed physically. The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) suggested that, at least for the duration of the crisis, libraries could request several concessions from stakeholders, such as open access to materials that are related to Covid-19 from all relevant disciplines. It requested that "rightsholders facilitate simultaneous access to eBooks" to "promote the value of books and reading" (IFLA, 2020b, p. 2) and that they liberalise access to educational content because schools and universities remain closed. Furthermore, the IFLA suggested that governments "need to enact flexible copyright legislation" to ensure that users do not "have to deal with the failure of copyright laws" while accessing online materials (IFLA, 2020b, p. 2).

In addition, many cities used digital platforms to share information and cultural content while easing the sense of isolation and unease that had spread among the public. Rome launched the initiative *#laculturaincasa*, which includes access to the digital resources of libraries, virtual tours of museums, the *#FinestresuRoma* contest as well as live online music, theatre and opera performances. In Paris, 14 city museums and cultural entities provided free online access to more than 320,000 items, virtual visits of recent exhibitions and special content. Several cities, including Bologna, Lisbon and Lyon participated in the ROCK programme, which is based on the promotion of cultural heritage and historical city centres. Those cities have also reflected on democratic access and communication (UCLG, 2020).

Similarly, most museums have expanded their digital services. According to a survey that was published in May 2020 by the NEMO, almost half of all museums developed online services during the crisis. Some museums saw the number of online visits increase, and some were able to change staff roles or even create resources that are related to digital services (NEMO, 2020). However, the losses that were caused by the pandemic are enormous. Most museums reported losing an average of more than €20,000 a week. Many museums saw income fall by between 75% and 80%. According to ICOM, almost all museums in the world were closed in April 2020, and 13% of them may never open again (International Council of Museums – ICOM, 2020, p. 2). Museums in tourist areas were particularly likely to suffer economic harm – "cultural tourism accounts for 40% of all European tourism" (NEMO, 2020, p. 2). The network asked European, national, regional and local authorities to support museums in various ways, for instance by plugging income gaps, by investing in cultural heritage and acknowledging its value, by supporting the reopening of museums and by devising appropriate safety measures (NEMO, 2020, pp. 3–4).

The UN is currently working on a roadmap for digital cooperation to combat the growing digital divide, online human-rights violations and cyber threats. Now that the Covid-19 crisis has accelerated digitisation, guaranteeing equal opportunities for online participation and access has become a matter of urgency. The UN, which will work with all of the partners of UNESCO, focuses on eight key areas for action: 1) achieving universal connectivity by 2030; 2) promoting digital public goods to create a more equitable world; 3) ensuring digital inclusion for all, including the most vulnerable; 4) strengthening digital capacity; 5) ensuring the protection of human rights in the digital era; 6) supporting global cooperation on artificial intelligence; 7) promoting trust and security in the digital environment; and 8) building a more effective architecture for digital cooperation (UN, 2020).

1.1.5 Policy

The process of identifying, selecting, defining and interpreting cultural heritage is highly political and occurs at different levels. Agencies and authorities, both national and local, act on the state level, whereas UNESCO releases its well-known World Heritage list by identifying cultural heritage across the globe. Neither the concept of cultural heritage nor the process of defining or claiming heritage are neutral. The common understanding of cultural heritage can differ from the labels of public authorities, academics and experts (European Union, 2018). For anything to enter the heritage list, it must obtain the approval and support of the state administration.

Regulations and policies on cultural heritage, archives and libraries focus mainly on identifying cultural heritage and on its protection, preservation and maintenance. Copyright and other digitisation-related and accessibility regulations are also important, particularly for archives and libraries. What follows is a table of policy measures and regulations that covers the different stages of the production cycle.

Table 4. Policy measures and initiatives in different stages of the global production network (authors' own table)

Phases	Creation	Production	Dissemination, Circulation	Exchange	Archiving
Cultural Heritage	Tax incentives, copyright, acknowledgement as cultural heritage	Tax incentives, funds, preservation orders, heritage protection laws, listed buildings, historical preservation, environmental measures	Tax incentives, anti-trafficking laws, price regulations, quotas, grants	Tax incentives, museum guidelines, vouchers, infrastructure, ticket policies, opening hours	Maintenance laws, preservation orders, copyright issues, data access regulations
Archives and Libraries	Copyright, grants and funds	Funds, grants, laws which require the	Grants, quotas, price regulations,	Visiting and lending rules, copyright,	Copyright

		documentation and storing of materials, education laws, UNESCO	copyright, tax incentives, copyright	opening hours, prices for access and lending, anti-discrimination laws for equal access	
Covid Regulations	• Closed borders, travel restrictions, transportation disruptions • Closed infrastructure or limits on number of visitors, e.g. at exhibitions, concert halls and offices, cancelled fairs and conferences • Different copyright implications of expanded digital accessibility → e.g. libraries and publishers offer more digital content (see IFLA), open access to Covid-19-related materials, open access provision by rightsholders to allow continued learning at schools and universities • Local policies: e.g. Vienna Kultursommer, Gastrogutschein (vouchers for restaurants), Covid-19 tests for tourism				

The models of heritage policy differ in their degree of centralisation. In most European countries, “direct government provision and finance of cultural heritage has traditionally played the lion’s share” (Mignosa, 2016, p. 233). Italy and France are the prime examples of those policy models. The opposite model entails the reduction of direct intervention and indirect support, as in the USA. Policy strategies can also be combined: direct provision and financing are complemented by “indirect support and a wide participation of the private sector” (Mignosa, 2016, p. 233). The United Kingdom exemplifies that hybrid approach. The government plays a crucial role in delegating and steering activities that are related to the preservation of cultural heritage. At the same time, the private sector also holds considerable power.

The need to protect cultural goods by law was first recognised in European legislation in 1666 in Sweden. The Swedish law was enacted for the explicit purpose of protecting national monuments. Beyond blackletter law, the prohibition on the destruction of heritage dates back to classical Greece and the Roman period, when “it was accepted that culture would only be destroyed as a last resort” (Techera, 2007, p.3). However, it was not until the 19th and the 20th century that rules and regulations for the protection of cultural property were officially enacted in most European countries. The international community felt a particularly acute need to protect cultural goods during wartime. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 (based on the American Lieber Code (1863) and the Declaration of Brussels (1874)) did not prevent incalculable harm during the two world wars – historical monuments were destroyed, and books and libraries were put to the torch. The international community had to establish robust legal regulations (Papaioannou, 2017, p.258).

The first important milestones for cultural heritage law were closely related to the formation of the United Nations and its agency UNESCO in the 1940s. At that time, post-WWII trauma led to nationalism becoming discredited, having been “accused of being one of the reasons of the global conflict” (Jakubowski, Hausler & Francesca Fiorentini, 2019, p.42). In 1945, the United Nations officially came into existence, and representatives from 50 countries drafted the United Nations Charter (United Nations, 2019), which was followed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Focusing on the protection of cultural heritage, the Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its Protocols were issued by the UN in 1954. They stipulated that “damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world”. Thus, “the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world” and therefore needs international protection (UNESCO, 1954). In 1972, UNESCO issued another pertinent declaration in Paris, noting that cultural and natural heritage were increasingly threatened by social and economic change, decay, destruction and damage, which led to the impoverishment of heritage around the world.

Today, UNESCO is one of the most important decision-making actors in defining cultural heritage. A good is assessed on three complementary levels. At the first level, the value of the good is evaluated, and its outstanding universal value (OUV) is determined. The definition of OUV assumes the property represents phenomena (in a broad cultural sense) that are “supraregional” in nature. The definition of that term is difficult to operationalise – it is unclear when an area ceases to be “regional”. Likewise, there are no minimum "units" of culture (or civilisation) that should be represented on the UNESCO list. The assessment is comparative and is made on the basis of 10 criteria (six for cultural properties and four for natural properties). On the second level, a specific assessment of the "quality" of a good is conducted by assessing its authenticity and integrity (only integrity is assessed for natural goods). At the third level, the entire property protection and management system is evaluated. The assessment includes, among others, the determination of the boundaries of the property and its buffer zones, an appraisal of its management plan and systems, monitoring and risk analysis.

A good example of the contemporary approach is the decade-long struggle for Tarnowskie Góry to be entered on the list (the campaign succeeded in 2017). Initially, only the historical silver mine was of interest. When it entered the list it was already a complex of 28 sites and UNESCO approved the entire heritage programme after long discussions and many revisions.

The influence of political and economic power structures on the UNESCO World Heritage list (UNESCO, 2019) has been criticised. Income levels and membership in the UN Security Council appear to be relevant factors. The procedure did not always take this form. For many years, goods, or objects, were entered on the list without any management requirements. The list is probably the most effective instrument for the protection of heritage as well as a driver of tourism and sponsorship. It is discussed once a year at a session of the World Heritage Committee. Experts from two of the official advisory bodies of UNESCO, ICOMOS and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), present nominations that are proposed by state parties. Thereafter, 21 member states that are chosen by the World Heritage Committee make the final decision. There are arguments that decisions “have diverged systematically from the scientific opinions of the advisory body” or were “ruled by political trade-offs” and “dominated by career diplomats” rather than by specialists (Bertacchini et al., 2016,

p. 96). Bertacchini et al. (2016) investigated the decision-making process over the 2003-2012 period and found that “both political and economic determinants have influenced the final decisions as well as the behavior of Committee members” (Bertacchini et al., 2016, p. 125).

In the 1970s, UNESCO used to focus mainly on tangible, traditional or Eurocentric heritage, in forms such as archaeological sites and historical buildings. Its purview has expanded over the last decades. The current lists also include natural landscapes as well as intangible, living and underwater heritage all over the world. The importance of the latter is not only historical but also social and technological (Mignosa, 2016, p. 229). As Bertacchini et al. pointed out, being on the list can generate international attention and serve as a marketing tool for tourism and economic growth. An entry can attract firms, donors and even become a powerful tool for nations to advance their political interests (Bertacchini et al., 2016, p. 96).

The Council of Europe also plays an important role and has embarked on several legal initiatives in the field of cultural heritage over the last 50 years. As early as the 1970s, the Council of Europe indicated that heritage creates capital that has a cultural, social and economic value that is irreplaceable (Council of Europe, 1975). The first legal instrument, the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, was released in 1969 and was intended to raise awareness of cultural and historical value and the need to preserve and protect them. The most recent framework of the Council of Europe, the Faro Convention, was released in 2005 (Council of Europe, 2005). The Council of Europe does not have the power to create binding laws, but its policy documents on cultural heritage have contributed to the development of legal frameworks and cooperation in different fields (Hristova, 2017). For a list of Council of Europe documents that are related to different categories of European cultural heritage, see Hristova, 2017, p. 7.

The European Union has also played an important role in the domain of cultural heritage, with activities, policies and initiatives that are aimed at safeguarding, protecting and highlighting it in Europe. A list of European Union initiatives and documents that are related to cultural heritage from areas that range from culture to maritime and environment policy can be found in the European Commission’s *Mapping of Cultural Heritage Action in European Union Policies, Programmes and Activities* (European Commission, 2017a). Today, directions for European Union states are set by *Europe 2020*. The strategic goals include development towards an economy that uses resources (including cultural ones) effectively and which is environment friendly and competitive. The document directs Member States to create national, regional and sectoral strategic documents. Cultural heritage is treated as worthy not only of protection but also of further development. In 2014, the Council of the European Union adopted the *Conclusions on Cultural Heritage as a Strategic Resource for a Sustainable Europe* (Council of the European Union, 2014), which was followed by the European Commission document *Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage for Europe* (European Commission, 2014). These documents promote a holistic approach to cultural heritage, recognising it as a resource that increases social capital in Europe and acknowledging its economic impact.

One of the key initiatives of the European Union in the field of cultural policy is the European Heritage Label programme that was established in 2011. The purposes of the European Heritage Label are to highlight shared cultural heritage in order to strengthen citizens' sense of belonging to the European Union and to improve dialogue between cultures. Moreover, heritage plays an important role in the economic development of European regions, in particular through cultural tourism. Table 5 (see next page) describes objects that are eligible for the label.

So far, 48 sites have been selected to bring the European narrative and the history behind it to life. The European dimension of the sites is emphasised, and access to them is provided as stipulated in Decision No 1194/2011/EU. The value chains that are built around heritage have also been supported by European Union registers such as the Register of Protected Designations of Origin, the Register of Protected Geographical Indications and the Register of Traditional Speciality Guaranteed. Their constituents have a combined sales volume of €74.76 billion (Beaucherie, 2022).

Table 5. Objects eligible for the European Heritage Label (European Heritage Label Sites, 2022)

Type	Example
Monuments	Site of Remembrance in Łambinowice (Poland)
Natural places, underwater, archaeological, industrial or urban objects	Underwater Cultural Heritage of the Azores (Portugal)
Cultural landscapes	Living Heritage of Szentendre (Hungary)
Places of remembrance	The Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland
Cultural goods and objects (i.e. items with an artistic, historical or archaeological value for a given country)	Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Austria
Intangible heritage related to a given place, including contemporary heritage (e.g. oral traditions, rituals and performing arts)	The May 3, 1791, Constitution, Warsaw, Poland

Further legal frameworks for the governance of the cultural heritage industry were created by the Treaty of the European Union (Article 3.3) as well as by the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Article 167 & 107), the ICOMOS (official advisory body of UNESCO) Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites of 2008 and the IUCN. Nevertheless, the brunt of the responsibility for safeguarding cultural heritage is shouldered by national, local or regional authorities. Guidelines differ across Member States. These differences manifest in, among others, federal laws and local preservation orders. UNESCO provides a list of all national cultural heritage laws on its website (UNESCO, 2022a).

Archives and libraries are also regulated by international associations and networks, such as the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA; IFLA, 2019), which set standards, guidelines and best practices for the sector, as well as by other relevant associations that are related to particular subsectors, such as the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres (IAML; IAML, 2019). National regulation is also enacted through laws that are relevant to the libraries and archives industry.

For example, the legal basis for the existence of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) is the Austrian Federal Museums Act 2002, which grants it the legal status of a federal scientific institution under public law. Like any other Austrian national museum, the ÖNB acts as an autonomous legal entity. It fulfils its “cultural-political and academic mandate as a non-profit public organisation”, it is a “repository for the spiritual and cultural identity of Austria”, and it “preserves unique material that is part of the world’s cultural heritage” (ÖNB, 2019).

In the museums industry, the French Centre George Pompidou (CNAC-GP) is a non-governmental national public establishment of an administrative nature that is accountable to the Ministry of Culture. It acts as public body, it is legally and financially autonomous, it receives grants from the government that are supplemented by its own resources, and it recruits its own staff (Centre Pompidou, 2019).

The National Archive of Berlin follow the archives legislation of that city (ArchGB) – all citizens are allowed to access them. Reference is made to protection periods. Usually, an object can only be accessed 10 years after it enters the archive, but the period is extended to 60 years for confidential documents. The National Archive of Berlin must store all materials (documents, films, photographs, electronic data, maps and so on) that may be relevant to science and history or which are important for legislation and administration (Landesarchiv Berlin, 2019).

1.2 Production network configurations

Unlike other cultural products, cultural heritage is unique and non-reproducible. It develops over time, and it is primarily a public good, in that heritage status is dependent on recognition by a community or a public institution (KEA, 2017). In the cycle of cultural production, the creation phase includes not only physical creation but also the acknowledgement of an artefact as cultural heritage. The creation of value begins in this phase and continues throughout the cycle. Production includes protection, maintenance, digitisation and management. The dissemination of cultural heritage is directly linked to communication, promotion and marketing but also, in the case of tangible and movable goods, to selling, donating and borrowing. Contact with consumers occurs in the exchange phase, which can unfold in museums, archives and exhibitions or at festivals. Archiving is a particularly important twofold process. It includes both physical archiving, in that materials are stored in archives, databases, catalogues and such like, and symbolic archiving, that is, the preservation of collective cultural memories and identities. The revenues from cultural heritage are usually not captured by creators and producers in their entirety because many intermediaries, agencies, actors, retailers, platforms and so on are involved in the different links of the value chain. The digitisation of cultural services and products, in particular, has prompted new actors to enter that chain, which can further depress revenues for artists and creators (EPRS, 2019, p. 9). Table 6 below displays a scheme of the key phases of the production network for cultural heritage, and Table 7 (see next page) displays the same scheme for archives and libraries. It is interesting to note how the exchange phase and the dissemination phase can be interchangeable – some activities may feature in both.

Table 6. Key phases of the production network: cultural heritage

Creation	Artmaking/formal recognition as cultural heritage
Production	Management, protection and maintenance, digitisation, enhancing availability and access, assuring continuous valorisation
Dissemination, circulation	Acquisition, promotion, marketing, communication, sales, donations, borrowing
Exchange	(online) exhibitions, museums, festivals, archives, tourism
Archive	Physical archiving: online databases, sustainable development; Symbolic archiving: preserving collective memory and identity through cultural heritage

Cultural heritage is a non-renewable common good whose preservation, restoration and enhancement are responsibilities for society as a whole, including its political, legal and administrative spheres (Voices of Culture, 2017, p. 3). Cultural heritage requires multilevel governance, effective cross-sectoral cooperation and an appropriate interplay between public authorities, private actors, NGOs, civil society organisations and the voluntary sector (European Union, 2018, p. 12). Many cultural heritage institutions were originally created by civil society. Over time, most of them came to be financed by public authorities and began to employ experts (Voices of Culture, 2018).

Table 7. Key phases of the production network: archives and libraries

Creation	Conceptualisation, building (physical and digital)
Production	Acquisition, management, protection and maintenance, curation, collection, cataloguing, storage, digitisation, enhancing availability and access
Dissemination, circulation	Making the library accessible to the public, access to digital archives, lending and borrowing; Acquisition, promoting, marketing, communication, donating, borrowing
Exchange	Use of the library/archive, lending, use of knowledge
Archive	Development of systems for archiving material, metadata; Symbolic archiving: preserving collective memory and identity through cultural heritage

Cultural heritage is mostly owned by public and state authorities, but it can also belong to private owners or institutions (e.g. the church), especially in the case of tangible goods such as paintings or buildings. In the public field, state authorities, associations and networks, such as UNESCO, shape the governance of cultural heritage; private and commercial properties are more likely to be exploited by auction houses, realtors and the like.

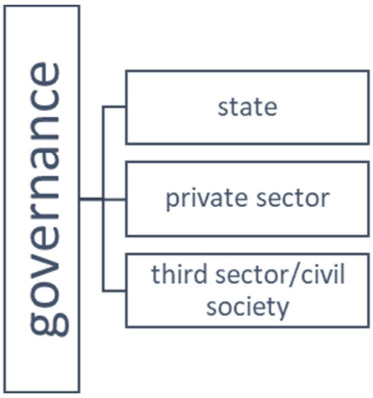
Interorganisational relationships and the business sectors that are related to cultural heritage are characterised by a multiplicity of actors that operate on different levels. Voices of Culture (Voices of Culture, 2015, p. 7) identified the following four categories of key actors:

- policy actors, such as supranational institutions (EU, UNESCO), national and local governments, and NGOs;
- delivery actors, such as national institutions, public sector organisations, venues and agencies, private institutions, charitable organisations, community initiatives and social enterprises;
- professional actors, such as professional associations, artists and producers, entrepreneurs, curatorial and operational staff, managers, consultants, advisers and researchers;
- community actors, such as community organisations, volunteers, local groups, audiences, visitors and citizens in general.

The table below shows the different categories of actors that are involved in the governance of cultural heritage. It is important to emphasise the multilevel operations of the state, which participates in the governance of cultural heritage through local, regional, national and supranational organisations.

The protection of cultural heritage from, among others, illicit trafficking, smuggling, theft and wanton destruction is among the most important objectives of regulatory measures (Frowe & Matravers, 2019). There are certificates and guarantees for cultural heritage products. For instance, Persian rugs and historical paintings are often accompanied with a certificate that proves their authenticity. These certificates are often issued by experts, historians, scientists and the like.

Figure 4. Schematic representation of the governance of cultural heritage (authors' own table)



It is mostly governments and institutions that establish guidelines and quality standards. In the case of cultural heritage, UNESCO is the leader. For a site to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it must fulfil certain requirements. According to UNESCO, to be "included on the World Heritage list, sites must be of OUV and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria" (UNESCO, 2020d). The criteria are as follows:

1) representing a masterpiece of human creative genius;
2) exhibiting an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design;
3) bearing unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;
4) being an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates significant stage(s) in human history;
5) being an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land use, or sea use which is representative of a culture (or cultures) or of human interaction with the environment, especially when it has become vulnerable due to the impact of irreversible change;
6) being directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, ideas, beliefs or artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
7) containing superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
8) being an outstanding example of important stages of the history of the Earth, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

9) being an outstanding example of significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal or marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
10) containing the most important and significant natural habitats for the in situ conservation of biological diversity, including those that contain threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation (UNESCO, 2020).

PART 2. Statistical mapping of the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry

2.1 Quantitative analysis of the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry

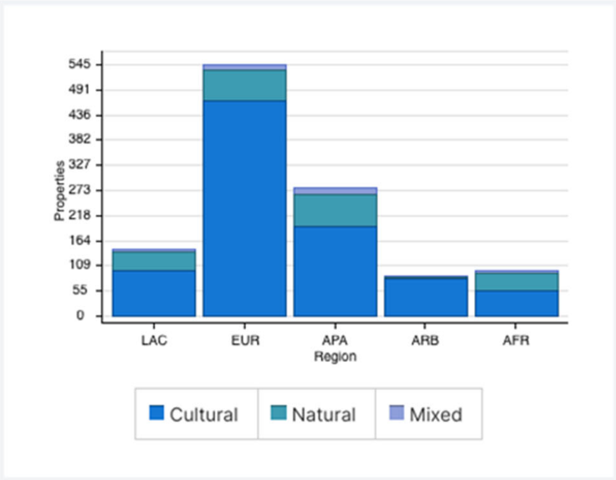
2.2.1 Europe

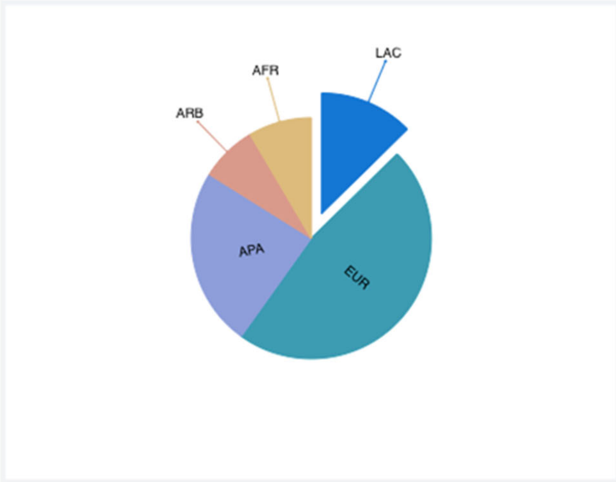
The subsectors of cultural heritage are museums, libraries, archives and archaeological sites (EPRS, 2019, p. 3). There are more than 17,500 museums in Europe. Almost half are art museums, and a third are science museums (Collections Trust, 2010, p. 51). There are also more than 400,000 libraries in Europe. Of those, 200,000 are public and 45 are national, with approximately 178 service points (Collections Trust, 2010, p. 25). Archival material can also be in audio, video and audio-visual forms. The creative content that is stored by memory institutions provides knowledge, inspiration and creative inputs for many other sectors, some of which are not part of the creative industries. The cultural and scientific content of memory institutions in Europe has an estimated market value of €27 billion (Borowiecki & Navarrete, 2017, p. 227). Activities that are conducted in the sector are producing, preserving and disseminating heritage as well as education, regulation and management (ESSnet-Culture, 2012, p. 285).

UNESCO lists more than 1,154 World Heritage properties. Almost half of them are located in Europe. Statistics show that most of these properties are cultural, especially in Europe. In contrast, Africa has a larger proportion of listed natural heritage properties. The underrepresentation of non-European regions hints at a severe problem of hegemony and power asymmetry.

Table 8. UNESCO World Heritage properties per world region

Regions	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total	%	States Parties with inscribed properties
Latin America and the Caribbean	100	38	8	146 *	12.65%	28
Europe and North America	468	66	11	545 *	47.23%	50
Asia and the Pacific	195	70	12	277 *	24.00%	36
Arab States	80	5	3	88	7.63%	18
Africa	54	39	5	98	8.49%	35
Total	897	218	39	1154	100%	167





Source: UNESCO (2022b)

The total annual turnover of the industries that are related to cultural heritage is €498 billion, which accounts for 3% of European Union GDP (IPOL, 2018, p. 5). It is estimated that the cultural heritage industry employs over 300,000 individuals in Europe and that a further 7.8 million jobs are linked to it indirectly. The industry that is most closely connected to cultural heritage is tourism. A British study by Oxford Economics revealed that 386,000 UK jobs were linked to heritage tourism in 2015. It contributed more than £20 billion to UK GDP, more than 1.1% of the total, and thus to the existence of "more than one in every hundred jobs in the UK economy" (Oxford Economics, 2016, p. 3).

Digitisation has contributed to widening access to cultural heritage and supports its preservation. Online archives, catalogues and virtual tours facilitate research and archiving while promoting and presenting goods to visitors (KEA, 2017, p. 87). In 2014, it was estimated that 17% of all heritage collections had already been digitised (Borowiecki & Navarrete, 2017, p. 227). Founded in 2008, Europeana is funded by the EU as a form of digital service infrastructure in order to make culture widely accessible and reusable and to enable citizens to contribute and engage with their cultural heritage (European Commission, 2017a, p. 16). At present, it holds more than 57 million digitised cultural heritage items such as texts, photos, vinyl, photographs and films (Europeana, 2019). Another prominent example of digitised content is provided by Google Arts & Culture, which offers thousands of objects in high resolution. More than 60 museums offer virtual gallery tours and 3D visualisations (Borowiecki & Navarrete, 2017, p. 232).

In the NACE list, the core economic activities of cultural heritage are associated with the R91 category: "Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities". This somewhat rough classification places all phases of the production cycle into the R91 category and therefore does not refer to specific activities, only to the industry in general.

The relevant R91 category is structured as follows:

- DIVISION: 91 Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities

- GROUP 91.0 Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
    - CLASS 91.01 Library and archives activities 9101
    - CLASS 91.02 Museums activities 9102*
    - CLASS 91.03 Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions 9102*
    - CLASS 91.04 Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities 9103" (European Commission, 2008).

Table 9 displays data on employment in the field of "libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities" in the EU from 2011 to 2020. The data, which was retrieved from Eurostat, shows that in 2011, the industry employed approximately 492,900 employees. That number rose to 535,400 in 2020 (Eurostat, 2022).

Table 9. Employment data in the field of "libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities" in the EU from 2011 to 2020

Cultural employment by NACE Rev. 2 activity [cult_emp_n2]
Last update: 25-06-2021
Table Customization show
TIME | GEO | Statistical classification of economic activities in the European Community (NACE Rev. 2): Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
Unit of measure: Thousand persons

GEO \ TIME	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
European Union - 27 countrie	492.9	493.8	499.1	498.8	506.7	507.6	511.8	528.7	529.1	535.4
European Union - 28 countrie	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:(d)	:
Belgium	16.0	15.7(b)	13.0	14.4	15.3	16.1	15.7(b)	16.6(b)	15.6	16.3
Bulgaria	8.9	8.2(u)	7.7	8.9	9.5	9.4	8.5	9.5	7.9(b)	9.2
Czechia	19.4	21.9	26.0	22.1	18.7	24.1	22.7	24.2	25.6	28.7
Denmark	16.0	18.7	18.6	17.9	17.8	18.3(b)	18.2(b)	17.6	18.1	18.0
Germany (until 1990 former t	70.4	63.9(b)	69.6	60.6	66.1	61.5	62.6	59.5	66.6	83.0(bp)
Estonia	5.7	6.0	6.3	5.2	4.3	5.1	5.0	5.3	5.6	5.5
Ireland	3.9	3.8	4.1	4.5	5.4	5.1	5.3(b)	5.6	5.7(u)	4.8(u)
Greece	7.7	6.7	6.5	7.5	5.4	7.3	7.0	6.7	7.4	7.1
Spain	38.3	34.9	33.7	36.5	41.7	34.4	37.9	44.5	40.9	40.3
France	62.4	57.9	71.3(b)	65.2(b)	60.2	59.5	62.2	66.9	63.0	62.3
Croatia	7.5(u)	8.0(u)	5.9(u)	6.4(u)	4.9(u)	5.1(u)	7.1(u)	8.4(u)	7.7(u)	11.0
Italy	42.6	50.4	52.4	55.5	56.4	56.2	51.5(b)	47.5	51.0	46.7
Cyprus	0.8(u)	1.0(u)	0.6(u)	0.5(u)	0.8(bu)	0.6(u)	0.8(u)	0.6(u)	0.6(u)	0.5(u)
Latvia	4.9	6.1	5.4	6.3	5.9	8.3	6.1	4.9	5.7	5.5
Lithuania	7.4(u)	7.7(u)	8.3	10.2	10.3	9.4	10.7	10.8	9.0	9.2
Luxembourg	0.9(u)	0.7(u)	0.8(u)	0.5(u)	:(bu)	0.9(u)	0.5(u)	1.3	1.4	0.8(u)
Hungary	17.7	18.2	14.7	16.2	19.9	23.7	19.7	18.8	22.3	21.9
Malta	0.4(u)	0.7(u)	0.5(u)	0.7(u)	0.6(u)	0.7(u)	0.8(u)	0.8(u)	1.1	1.0(u)
Netherlands	28.4	27.8	22.8(b)	23.0	24.3	23.9	22.6	22.6	24.0	22.6
Austria	11.5	11.9	7.9	9.8	9.3	9.3	11.4	13.1	10.4	10.2
Poland	56.0	57.5	61.9	60.0	64.3	60.4	61.0	69.9	62.1	58.8
Portugal	10.7	11.3	8.8	12.1	12.4	11.6	11.3	12.5	11.9	12.4
Romania	11.7	11.8	9.2(u)	8.6(u)	9.3(u)	11.9	14.5	9.8(u)	12.1	10.7(u)
Slovenia	5.9	5.1	5.2	5.2	4.7	3.9(u)	4.3	4.0	4.9	4.2
Slovakia	4.7	5.8	6.6	7.1	7.0	5.3	8.1	9.2	9.6	7.8
Finland	13.2	12.3	10.7	12.4	10.8	12.0	12.0	11.9	12.4	12.6
Sweden	20.1	20.0	20.7	21.6	21.0	23.8	24.4	26.0(b)	26.7	24.3
Iceland	0.7	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.8(b)
Norway	10.7	10.0	8.6	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.4(u)	8.2(u)	10.9	12.1
Switzerland	13.3	11.4	15.4	16.4	19.1	16.7	17.7	16.9	15.5	15.0
United Kingdom	107.6	105.8	106.6	102.0	109.2	99.1	107.0	102.1	118.6	:
Montenegro	:(u)	:(u)	:(u)	:(u)	:(u)	1.3(u)	:(u)	:(u)	:(u)	1.4(u)
North Macedonia	1.0(u)	1.9	2.3	1.6	1.3	1.8	2.4	1.1	1.4	1.8
Serbia	4.4(u)	9.1	6.9(u)	7.7(b)	7.2(b)	6.6	6.7	5.8	6.1	7.8
Turkey	6.2	8.6	11.5	9.0(b)	10.0	15.1	17.0	19.7	25.5	19.9

Source: Eurostat 2022

The national figures reveal several significant imbalances. Nations with a similar populations, such as Austria, Hungary, Sweden and Portugal, have different rates of cultural employment. At present, approximately 9 million individuals live in Austria, but only 10,900 were in some form of cultural employment in 2020. The population of Sweden is 10.3 million, and 24,300 work in the field. Such imbalances may be caused by different counting systems and other definitions of employment in "libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities".

The total number of European employees in that field rose in every year with the exception of 2020. That anomaly was probably caused by the Covid-19 crisis. In many countries, such as Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland and Sweden, employment numbers dropped slightly. The reasons may include the temporary closure of cultural institutions and travel restrictions.

There are 65,000 public libraries in the EU, and they welcome 100 million visitors per year. A total of "24 million Europeans participate in non-formal learning activities at their public library every year", and "4.6 million people a year access the internet for the first time in a public library" (Gent, 2015).

Table 10. IFLA worldwide library totals

	Number of Libraries	Libraries with Internet Access	Full-Time Staff	Volunteers	Registered Users	Physical Visits	Physical Loans	Electronic Loans
Worldwide Totals	**2.6 M**	**371,765**	**1.6 M**	**570,995**	**1,048.4 M**	**5,587.2 M**	**8,864.6 M**	**14,073.4 M**
Africa	112,297	28,854	22,576	746	9.3 M	196.0 M	111.5 M	16.9 M
Asia	1.9 M	75,532	670,585	334,843	476.9 M	1,179.1 M	2,936.3 M	11,250.0 M
Europe	301,305	145,783	495,266	229,969	196.8 M	2,047.7 M	3,052.4 M	1,756.8 M
Oceania	12,132	2,019	13,700	36	17.5 M	131.7 M	40.0 M	128.9 M
Northern America	129,129	97,988	303,490	1,475	191.9 M	1,739.3 M	2,576.5 M	228.1 M
Latin America & Caribbean	146,121	21,589	92,778	3,926	156.0 M	293.6 M	147.9 M	692.8 M

The IFLA graph (IFLA, 2021) shows worldwide totals for 2021. According to IFLA, there are currently over 300,000 libraries in Europe. They employ 492,266 full-time employees and rely on the services of 229,969 volunteers.

2.2.2 The cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry in Austria

According to the IFLA, there are currently 1,583 libraries in Austria, of which 1,011 are public. On a side note, Austria has approximately 9 million inhabitants. A total of 217 libraries are academic, eight are national, and 257 are community libraries (IFLA, 2021). In 2021, there were over 10,000 employees, of whom 8,600 were working on a voluntary basis. Only 800 were full-time paid employees (Statista, 2022).

In 2017, the EGMUS counted 549 museums in Austria. Approximately half of those museums (292) were private, 38 belonged to the state, and 2019 were locally or regionally owned. There were 6,351 paid employees and more than 4,000 volunteers. In 2017, the museums had a total income of over €360 million. However, only €90 million was generated by entry fees, and the rest came from public subsidies (EGMUS, 2017).

The international UNESCO commission has identified 12 World Heritage Sites in Austria, namely the historical old towns of the Salzburg, Graz and Vienna, the castle and the gardens of the Schönbrunn in Vienna, Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut, the railways of the Semmeringbahn, the Neusiedlersee lake, the prehistoric underwater constructions around the Alps (*Pfahlbautensiedlungen*), the landscape of Wachau, the old Carpathian beech forests, and Roman spa towns and historical borders (UNESCO, 2022b). As far as immaterial cultural heritage is concerned, the UNESCO commission for Austria has so far listed 147 items (UNESCO, 2022a). Other figures for the industry of cultural heritage are hard to estimate because cultural heritage professions are often associated with related sectors such as hospitality and cultural tourism.

2.2.3 The cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry in Poland

In Poland, there are currently more than 30,500 libraries. A total of 7,782 are public, and 808 are academic. More than 21,000 libraries are owned by schools (IFLA, 2021). In 2017, EGMUS counted 949 museums in Poland. Only 196 of those were privately owned. Another 78 were state owned, 612 were locally or regionally owned, and a further 63 were other public-owned museums. There were 18,669 paid employees and 3,221 volunteers in the museum industry (EGMUS, 2017). A total of 17 UNESCO World Heritage Sites are located in Poland (UNESCO, 2022c).

2.2 Open issues

If the problem is to be approached from the perspective of the GPN approach, which CICERONE uses as a methodological tool, hidden economic activities that are related to cultural heritage must be detected, defined and measured. Group 91 in the NACE does not cover specific economic activities from the various phases of the production of cultural heritage. Instead, it aggregates them into a single category, “libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities”.

Furthermore, no distinction is made between professions and activities which are 1) intrinsically linked to cultural heritage, archives, or libraries and do not exist in other sectors and 2) occupations that are not intrinsically linked to cultural heritage and also exist in other sectors (manager, public relations, legal counsel and so on). For instance, occupations in the field of cultural heritage also include management, publication relations, advertising, publishing, sales, law and the like. It is unclear whether these activities fall within to the NACE classification ““Arts, Entertainment and Recreation” or whether they must be classified as “legal activities”, “advertising” and so on.

The E.C.C.O. suggested focusing on the “mission” of an activity. If an activity is intended to affect cultural heritage, it should belong to cultural heritage. Therefore, it would make sense to add cultural heritage to the NACE sectors – “heritage should be accorded sectoral status” (E.C.C.O et al., n.d., p. 9).

There are no specialist activities on the NACE list. Term such as “heritage profession” or “heritage specialists” do not feature, and the word “heritage” is not mentioned at all in the framework. ESSnet and E.C.C.O. have argued that there should be an “Arts Craft” domain. Furthermore, the term “conservation-restoration” is scientific and technical and does not really fit the activity of “Arts, Entertainment and Recreation”, even though restoration, arts and crafts have traditionally been grouped together. ESSnet would prefer the term “creation” as an umbrella term for arts, arts crafts and such like (ESSnet-Culture, 2012, p. 335). However, restoration does not result in creation but in preservation.

“In the case of Division R91 – the field of relevance to this study – no progressional distinction or refinement is applied between Division and Group. This means that, in reality, Division R91 is operating with two, not three, orders. In effect, the classification jumps straight to the next level, where four Classes of activities are distinguished (Table 1): 91.01 Library and Archives; 91.02 Museums; 91.03 Operation of Historical Sites and Buildings and similar visitor attractions; 91.04 Botanical and Zoological Gardens and Nature Reserves. This impacts directly on the level of detail that is captured by NACE. In its current format, specialist activities, such as conservation, restoration, archaeology, and so on, are not identified in the NACE Codes“ (E.C.C.O et al., n.d., p. 3).

The ISIC list employs similar classifications for the cultural heritage industry but does not discriminate between museum activities and the operation of historical sites. The categories 91.02 and 91.03 of the NACE list are combined and appear as category 91.02 on the ISIC list:

- DIVISION 91 Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
    - 9101 Library and archives activities
    - 9102 Museums activities and operation of historical sites and buildings
    - 9103 Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities" (United Nations, 2008).

To give an example of the national implementation of the NACE list, the Austrian Statistical Classification System (ÖNACE) uses classes that are almost identical. However, the terms that are used do not refer to activities but to institutions. While the English version always refers to "activities" that are related to museums, libraries and the like, the Austrian system only labels classes as "museum", "libraries and archives" and so on. Furthermore, it employs an additional subdivision.

- 91 *Bibliotheken, Archive, Museen, Botanische und zoologische Gärten*
    - 91.0 *Bibliotheken, Archive, Museen, botanische und zoologische Gärten*
        - 91.01 *Bibliotheken und Archive*
- 91.01-0 *Bibliotheken und Archive*
    - 91.02 *Museen*
- 91.02-0 *Museen*
    - 91.03 *Betrieb von historischen Stätten und Gebäuden und ähnlichen Attraktionen*
- 91.03-0 *Betrieb von historischen Stätten und Gebäuden und ähnlichen Attraktionen*
    - 91.04 *Botanische und zoologische Gärten sowie Naturparks*
- 91.04-0 *Botanische und zoologische Gärten sowie Naturparks"* (Statistik Austria, 2008).

PART 3. The fieldwork: analysis and results

3.1 Case studies on the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry: setting the scene

3.1.1 Brief description of the cases

Heritage is an extremely broad and heterogeneous industry. It encompasses public and non-public cultural institutions, tangible and intangible heritage and various methods of management and operation. Therefore, the individual elements of the industry are hard to compare, and each of the selected cases is representative of a small part of the entire industry. The selection of the case studies was not easy. Given the complexity and the diversity of the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry, which is also evident from the first part of the report, identifying representative cases would have posed significant challenges. For the empirical research we chose to include cases from Vienna and Krakow, since they both have a long historical past and a rich cultural heritage tradition.

We chose to include one case study of a museum in order to explain how the mainstream (or straightforward) cultural organisations in the industry operate. We also included a case study on intangible cultural heritage so as to showcase how such forms of heritage can be a part of an economy and how the GPN approach may be applied to them. Finally, we selected an archive in order to account for the archives and libraries industry. In this last case, we opted for a popular music archive because of the area that it represents and because of its association with digitisation.

The process of selecting a museum for our first case study was directed at large public institutions such as the National Museum and the Wawel Royal Castle in Krakow. Despite their initial declarations, these institutions ultimately reneged on their promises to cooperate. There were different reasons, including the pandemic, the need to focus on rebuilding relations with audiences, and communication problems, such as difficulties with the flow of information and the identification of employee competencies.

For the last two decades, Academic Heritage and museums have played an important role in the global museum environment through the formation of networks of various sizes. The intensification of the activity of museum groups is evident from the development of the ICOM, which established University Museums and Collections (UMAC) and the European Academic Heritage Network – Universeum in 2000. UMAC advocates for higher education museums and collections from all disciplines across the globe. Its mission is to contribute to society and to benefit everyone by financing the development of university museums and collections as essential resources in research, education as well as the preservation of cultural, historic natural and scientific heritage. In 2010, in order to raise awareness of the importance of university heritage, Universeum, in agreement with the Council of Europe, established 18th November as European University Heritage Day. In Poland, the Association of University Museums (SMU) has been operating since 2012, disseminating knowledge about academic heritage and about Polish university museums and supporting the exchange of best practices and environmental experiences during thematic sessions and scientific conferences.

The focal case study concerns the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius, which is both a museum institution and a part of the university structure. There are 103 university museums in Poland, and nearly 4,000 across the world. As a matter of general heritage discourse, the market is uncharted. Therefore, the challenge was to explore the market and to position the university museum within the GPN. Further impetus was provided by the fact that the institution under observation was undergoing change and searching for a new identity. Therefore, we concluded that examining the process of change would be interesting. The museum agreed to cooperate in the hope that it could use the results of the research.

The case selection was intentional and information-oriented. The Jagiellonian University Muzeum is located between "ordinary" museums, operating as cultural institutions, and academic museums whose organizational structures and forms of activity are not precisely defined, plays an important role in the global museum environment, especially in International Council of Museums (ICOM), which in 2000 established University Museums and Collections (UMAC) and the European Academic Heritage Network – Universeum. The Museum knows the biggest problems of academic museums and acts as a bridge between various organizations. It supports dialogue in the academic museum community, and develops agreements with universities and public authorities. It carries out many international projects, cooperating with other academic museums as well as other museums and scientific circles.

Our second case study, which concerns intangible cultural heritage, is on the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*. The *Wiener Heurigenkultur* was placed on the Austrian list of immaterial cultural heritage by the national UNESCO commission in 2019. It has its roots in the Roman Empire and includes various practices such as winemaking, drinking, singing and speaking in a Viennese dialect in *Heurigen* cottages. There are around 100 businesses, which are mostly ran by families. The *Heurigen* cottages are an important social and cultural hub as well as being a characteristic of the Vienna cityscape. Apart from being meaningful to local citizens and to Viennese collective identity, the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* is important for cultural tourism, and many actors benefit from its symbiotic network effects, including winemakers, musicians, restauranteurs, wine fairs and such like.

The selection of this case was made for different reasons: Firstly, because we wanted to include a case of immaterial cultural heritage not just to showcase the variety of different kinds of heritage, but also to include a case where the relation to the economy and non-cultural sectors is not as obvious such as in the case of museums. Most research in the field of cultural heritage has been done on tangible heritage whereas intangible, living cultural heritage has often been neglected. It was therefore important for us to choose a case that involves a living practice. The second reason is its significance: as already mentioned, the Wiener Heurigenkultur was put on Austria's UNESCO list of immaterial cultural heritage just in 2019, it is therefore timely as well as important for the local population. Intangible cultural heritage is a living practice, a process, that needs to be reproduced in order to exist.

The third reason is related to the GPN approach, as that we thought that this type of intangible cultural heritage would enable us to gather important information regarding relations, dynamics and critical mechanisms between different kinds of actors in the industry.

In order to include a case study from the libraries and archives part of the industry we chose to research the SRA archive, which is the archive of Austrian Popular Music. Our choice was determined by different strategic reasons. Archive institutions are crucial for archiving cultural heritage and creating historiography. As the other case studies in the field of cultural heritage focused on other types of cultural heritage, it was interesting to choose a modern institution, the use of which is additionally based on digitizing its content. As many museums and archives in Austria date back to the 19th century, it was interesting as well as important to include a new heritage organisation in order to explore questions pertaining to the research that relate to the insights to mechanisms, perspectives and actors that interrelate in the cultural heritage industry. The size of the archive was also among the reasons that influenced our choice. Since SRA is small, we could highlight the applicability of the GPN approach to a small organisation and see how it is situated in the industry.

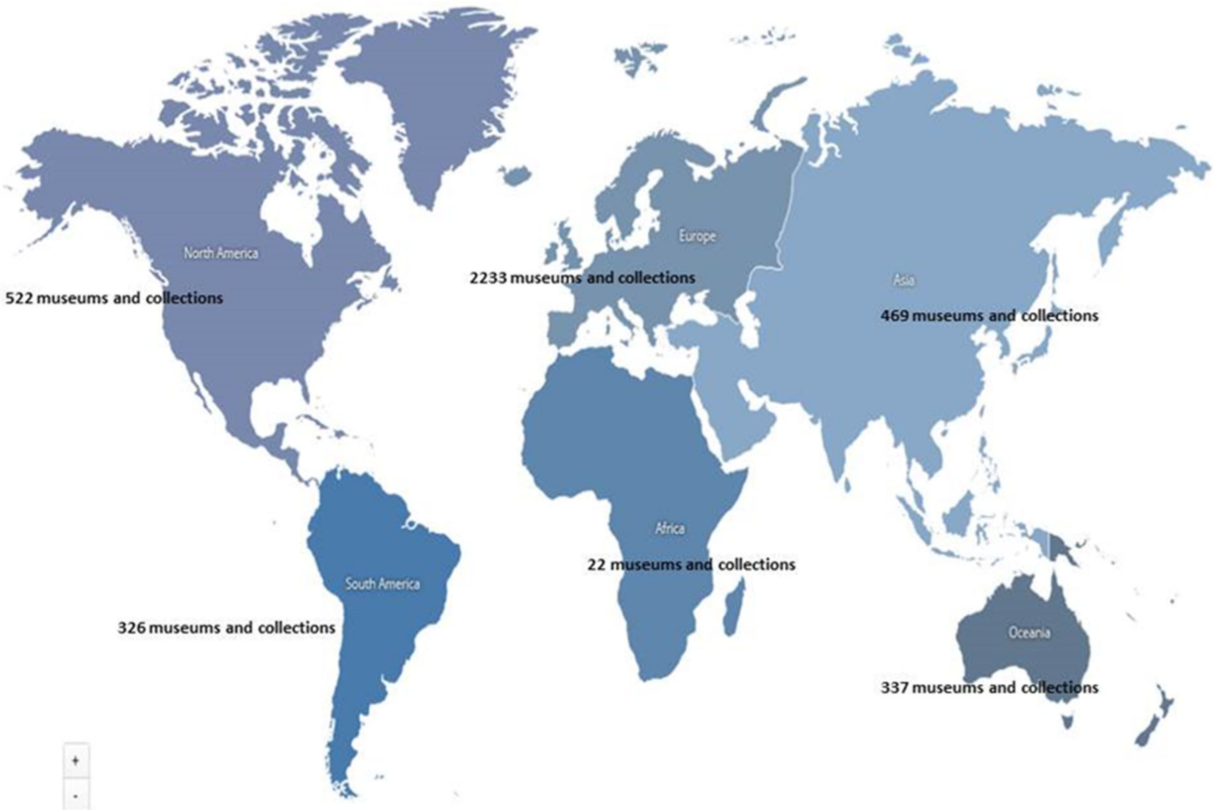
3.1.2 Case study methodology

For centuries, museum collections have been used to educate. The anatomical collections in Florence and Bologna supply two apposite examples. The first university museum in the world was the Ashmolean Museum, which was opened in 1683 at the University of Oxford. One of its objectives is to protect academic heritage. University museums differ significantly from one another. For example, in the USA, university museums focus on art collections (owned and created in the contemporary era). Various activities that are related to those collections are undertaken for the benefit of the academic and the local community. Museums in South Africa and the Philippines exhibit many similarities to ethnographic museums (e.g. in terms of their approach to collections or their research methods). They proof that it is possible to operate without a collection. In Europe, university museums are traditionally established within the existing infrastructure and by using the historical collections that universities own. University museums operate in different structures and fulfil different functions, depending on the traditions and systems that are in place in a given country. They are structured independently or as entities to which authority is devolved so that specific tasks can be performed.

The establishment of university museums at higher education institutions demonstrates the increased interest in the history of those institutions and their ties with regions. However, first and foremost, this development points to the need to preserve academic heritage, an essential element of national heritage. The organisations in question differ in their goals, in their methods of collecting artefacts and in their management styles.

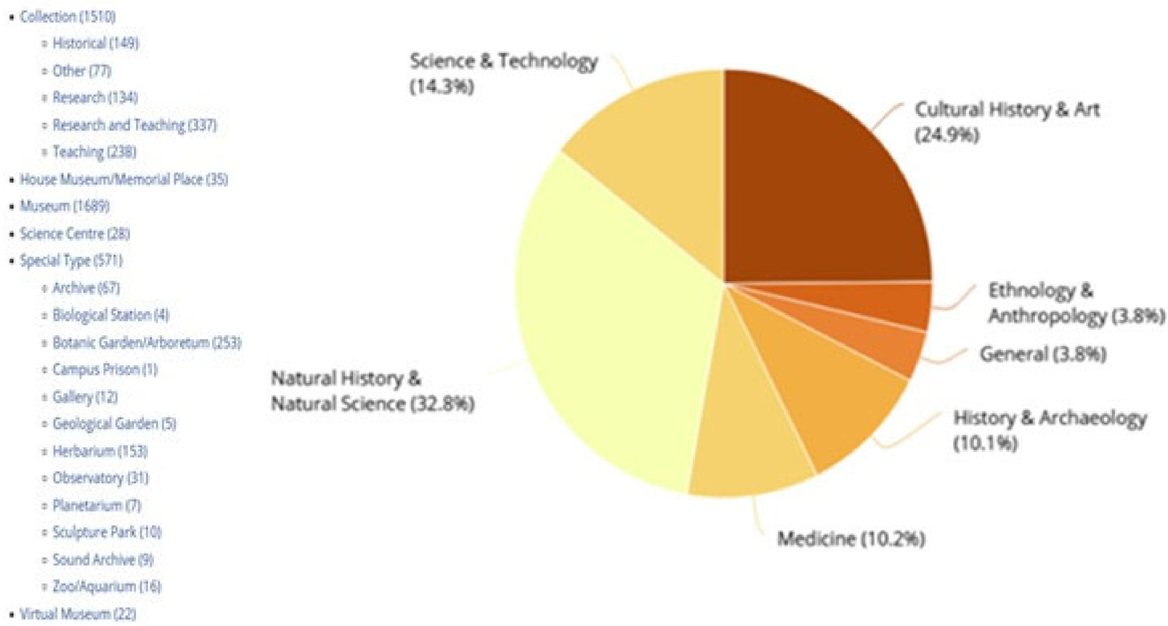
It was necessary to choose an organisation that would be representative of the industry. It was important to identify a traditional museum while also showing how museums adapt to changing environmental conditions.

Image 1. University Museums World Map



Source: Worldwide Database of University Museums and Collections (retrieved from [https://university-museums-and-collections.net)](https://university-museums-and-collections.net)

Figure 5. Typology of university museums and collections



Source: Worldwide Database of University Museums and Collections. Retrieved from https://university-museums-and-collections.net

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for the Jagiellonian University Museum case study. They were based on the questionnaire that was used for all the case studies, and the sampling was purposive. At first, interviews were conducted with employees at the museum. The aim was to explore the specific nature of their work, to expand our knowledge of the institution, and to survey employee opinions. During the second round, interviews were conducted with individuals from the surrounding area, such as employees at other Jagiellonian University museums, functionaries at the Association of University Museums, the representatives of another museum and an ICOM operative. The answers were coded. The interviews were conducted in person or online. All were recorded and then transcribed and coded.

The Jagiellonian University Museum provided all the data and information that could be useful for our analysis. However, in the course of the research, we found that gathering information on the academic museums industry was challenging from the outset. The Association of University Museums, which was founded in 2013, conducts research and is also active on the international scene through the UMAC, the Universeum European Academic Heritage Network and ICOM. However, this is only the beginning of in-depth research on academic heritage.

Our case study of Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius is based on the following sources:

- literature on the definitions of museums, museum management and such like in the context of heritage as a broad concept;
- resources that were provided by the museum;
- interviews conducted at the Jagiellonian Museum Collegium Maius and short questions-and-answers sessions and explanations of different issues (by mail, by phone and in person);
- interviews that were conducted at other Jagiellonian University museums and at other normal museums as well as conversations with stakeholders (for example at the SMU) and with an ICOM representative.

Further interviews were planned, including with the Rector of Jagiellonian University Museum, a public administration representative, and with the representatives of other museums, but those interviews could not be conducted due to the epidemic situation.

Table 11. Jagiellonian University Museum interviews

	Function
At the museum	Vice-Director of the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius – four interviews
	Museum Collections Office
	Strategy and Development Office w/ Section of Photographical and Audio-Visual Documentation
	Education Office
	Main Inventorisation Office

	Conservation Works Office
	Administration and Management Office
	Guide Centre
Jagiellonian University museums	Museum of Pharmacy Nature Education Centre
	The Museum of the Botanical Garden Museum of the Faculty of Medicine Museum of Anatomy Collegium Medicum Museum of Anatomy and Pathology Collegium Medicum
Association of University Museums (SMU)	University of Wroclaw Museum, Association of University Museums (SMU)
Stakeholders –other networks	ICOM representative
Stakeholders – other traditional museums	National Museum in Warsaw

Statistical data on cultural heritage is difficult to gather because the industry is not uniform. Some of its aspects, especially in the production and exchange phases, can be measured. These include the number of museums, archives and libraries, the number of individuals who work at official institutions and ticket sales. Data on immaterial cultural heritage, however, is extraordinarily difficult to collect. The case study on the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*, for example, did not yield much statistical data. There were no visitor figures and no means of quantifying social or cultural impact. Only the number of winemaking companies was available. The actors and the activities (other winemaking) that are involved in this immaterial cultural heritage tradition, such as musicians playing at the *Heurigen*, were unobservable. There is also little data on the economic impact of cultural tourism, which can therefore only be estimated.

As part of the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* case study, we conducted 10 interviews with a variety of actors, such as representatives of the Viennese Chamber for Agriculture and the Archive for Traditional Viennese Music, two wine producers and *Heurigen* owners, a local politician from a Viennese district that is famous for its prevalent *Heurigenkultur*, a musician, a photographer, a representative of WienTourismus, an event manager for the wine fair VieVinum and a representative of the Austrian UNESCO commission. All actors were indirectly connected to each other, and some of our interview partners recommended others.

Table 12. Interviews for the Wiener Heurigenkultur case study

Role	Creation	Production	Dissemination	Exchange	Archiving
Chamber for Agriculture		X	X		
Archive for traditional Viennese Music		X	X	X	X

Wine producer	X	X	X	X	
Wine producer	X	X	X	X	
Local politician from a wine district		X			
Musician (traditional Viennese music)		X	X	X	
Commercial photographer (bottles)			X		
Official organisation for tourism in Vienna			X		
Wine fair event agency			X		
Austrian UNESCO team	X		X		

We entered the organisation of the SRA from what we thought was its main node, by speaking to its founder. The fieldwork included nine interviews with actors from different fields and various production phases. The founder of the archive was active in all of the phases and the only one who would be present during the creation phase. The staff at the SRA were active in all phases except creation. The researchers and the journalists were more present during the exchange phase, as they mainly just used the archive. The musician and the licencing association not only used it but also contributed to the production and dissemination phases by providing records and other content. The cultural department of the City of Vienna is part of the funding structure of cultural institutions and projects in general. Therefore, it was present in the production phase. We conducted our empirical research while Covid-19 measures and restrictions were in place, so most of the interviews took place via Zoom.

Table 13: Interviews for the Archive of Austrian Popular Music

Interviewee	Creation	Production	Dissemination	Exchange	Archiving
SRA founder	X	X	X	X	X
SRA staff		X	X	X	X
Association of Austrian Musicians				X	
Licencing association		X	X	X	
Cultural department of the City of Vienna		X			
Radio station				X	
University of Music and the Performing Arts Vienna				X	
IPOP – Institute for Popular Music				X	X
Freelance musician – user		X	X	X	

3.2 Case 1: Academic heritage – Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius

3.2.1 Phases, actors and locations

In Poland alone, there are 103 university museums with different structures. Some are independent entities that participate in the activities of universities; others are subordinated to a faculty.

Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius; an introduction

The Jagiellonian University in Krakow is the oldest higher education institution in Poland and one of the oldest in Europe. It was founded on May 12, 1364, by the Polish King Casimir the Great. Although it is the most impressive, the Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius is not the only museum at the Jagiellonian University. Therefore, it is important to compare its activities to those of the other museums that are covered by the research. It is located in a corner of Św. Anny and Jagiellońska, inside the oldest university building in Poland (dating from the turns of the 14th and 15th centuries). Over the 15th century, "all the individual houses were joined as one, forming an arcade courtyard surrounded by galleries with the diamond vaults typical for the Late Gothic style. The uniform arcades were interspersed by the 'Professor' staircase leading to the first-floor balcony. The ground floor housed *lectoria,* or lecture rooms. Those long rooms with low ceilings were poorly lit and often damp. The library (*libraria),* the Common Room (*Stuba Communis)*, the treasury and the theologians lecture room (the present-day Aula – assembly hall) were situated on the first floors. The dwellings of professors, or residences, were located on the first and second floors. Up to the mid-19th century the College's appearance and internal layout had not altered in a significant way" (Jagiellonian University Museum website, retrieved from https://maius.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/muzeum/historia). In 1840, the building began to host the Jagiellonian University Museum, the old university collections (works of art and keepsakes) and a significant number of scientific instruments.

The Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius has been entered into the registry of the Polish Minister of Culture as a museum. It is the finest Jagiellonian University museum and has a brand of its own. The museum is separate from the university, and it is the only university museum in Poland that has been entered into the register of the Minister of Culture. It reports to the university rector, the Ministry of Science and the Ministry of Culture. It is situated in the oldest Jagiellonian University buildings in Krakow's Old Town. It is popular with tourists who visit Krakow, especially foreigners. The most important university celebrations take place there, and it functions a research centre.

In terms of its structure, item management and social embeddedness, the Collegium Maius is a hybrid between a traditional museum and a university collection. It is the only museum in Poland that operates simultaneously as a museum and as a university unit. Therefore, it is difficult to delineate GPN phases clearly. The creation phase includes the activities of a typical museum. The main tasks of the museum are to protect cultural goods (associated with university heritage in this case), to conduct research, to conserve and to restore, and to share tangible and intangible natural and cultural heritage with the public. There are thus several distinct activities, each of which can be analysed separately. One of the interviewees, a manager at the Jagiellonian University Museum, said the following:

> *"A museum has to be able to protect and safeguard some things because we are the ones closest to the past and trying to understand the original purpose of our collections, architecture and interiors. On the other hand, you have to remain open to the new. From the perspective of the 15 years of my work here, I can see that this is inevitable, that we are all on some kind of mission"*

The observations above refer to the fact that the Jagiellonian University Museum is in the process of redefining its identity. That the museum is a part of the university poses another challenge.

> *"We are one of the structural components of the university, but you have to know that we are not the most important. We are not a teaching or research unit, so we have to find our place somewhere in this structure"*

It is worth noting that the Jagiellonian University Museum is a university unit that coordinates changes at all of the museums of the university, including the redefinition of their roles and the realisation of the mission of the organisation. A respondent from a different university museum offered the following observation:

> *"We have already acquired an identity within the university, and we operate as an independent unit. Our main goal before was to work as an auxiliary unit in the teaching process, so we could not really make our exhibitions available"*

The interviews with the representatives of other university museums in Poland showed that such processes are also afoot at other museums, that there has been a shift in defining the goals and tasks of Polish academic museums and that the inclusion of academic museums in university organisational structures makes it difficult for such museums to define their profiles.

Phases

Creation

- Research on current resources and collections
- Activities aimed at protecting resources and collections (cataloguing, storage, protection and conservation)

- Activities aimed at organising resources and collections and at future use (e.g. various forms of digitisation)
- Conceptual work on new exhibitions
- New projects (including establishing networks of cooperation within the Jagiellonian University and beyond as well as other scientific, research and educational projects), e.g.:
  - IRRESISTIBLE – an international project that is intended to generate interest and support student involvement in the responsible research and innovation process
  - MUSSACCES – Local Museums and European Identities: Heritage as a Practice of Belonging in Europe, in which the main aim is to capitalise on transnational collaboration, to examine the role of the local heritage museum in changing notions of (trans)national identities and histories at the crossroads of local and national heritage practices and experiences of belonging in Europe

Production

- Preparation and supervision of standing exhibitions, whereby the main exhibition comprises historic interiors, such as the *Libraria* (library), the *Stuba Communis* (old refectory), the Treasury, the Professor Quarters, Jan Kanty's residence and the Aula (with an exquisite painting collection), with a total of 19 exhibitions that draw on existing collections
- Preparation of temporary exhibitions (there are currently 7)
- Preparation of travelling exhibitions (there are currently 6)
- Co-creating a teaching offering for students on the basis of the available resources and collections
- Organising important academic events in the historic interiors of the university, including periodic events such as the traditional sessions of the Jagiellonian University Senate that mark the beginning of each academic year or the ceremonial award of academic titles

Distribution

- Trips with travelling exhibitions
- Dissemination of digitised resources
- Opening the museum to the public (as a daily activity but also as part of projects such as Museum Night)
- Marketing and promotional activities
  - Social media activities – #historiUJemy is a series of Facebook posts on the history of the Jagiellonian University that are published on the museum fan page every Friday during the breakfast hours
  - Take a Rocket to the Moon – short stories that revolve around exhibitions of scientific instruments
  - *PodróżUJ do korzeni* – on-site and online lectures, walks and workshops for the university community
- The provision of resources for scientific research
- University events (e.g. visits from university guests and scientific conferences)

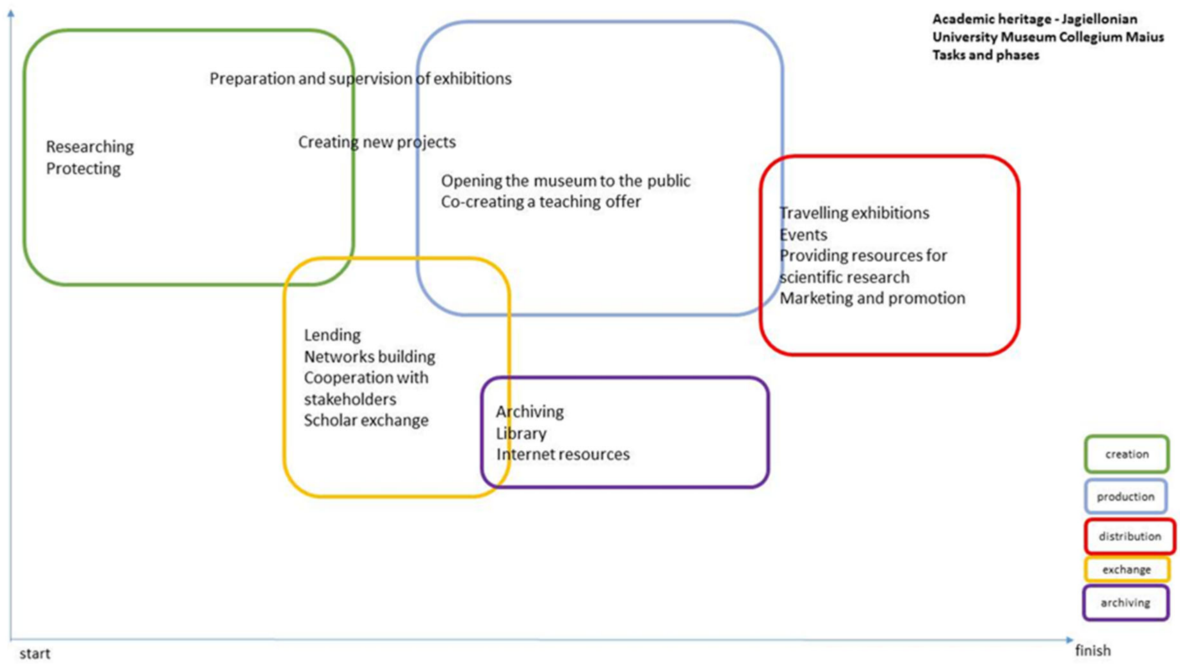
Exchange

- Lending parts of collections and entire exhibitions
- Creating and participating in networks of cooperation within the university, within Poland and internationally
- Establishing cooperation with stakeholders
- Academic exchanges (participation in research projects and conferences)

Archiving

- Development of archiving systems (in connection with resources, collections and museum management)
- Library
- Internet resources

Figure 6. Phases and tasks in the Jagiellonian University Museum case



Actors

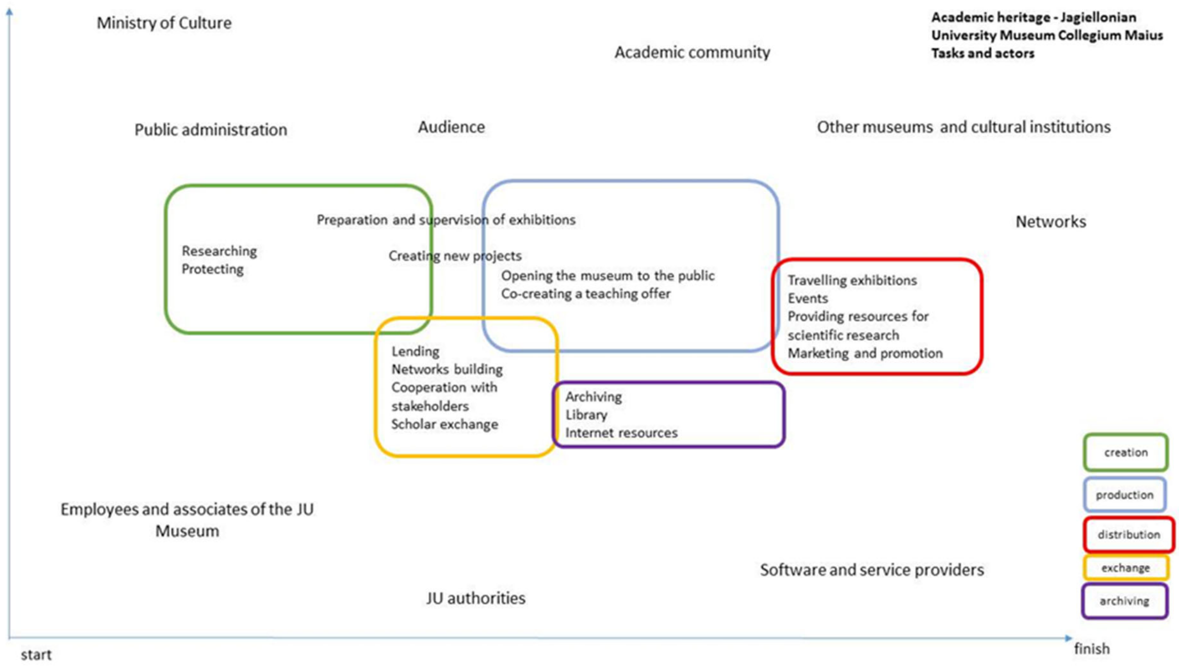
The most important actors who exert an actual influence on the implementation of individual phases include the ones who constitute the microenvironment of the museum.

These parties are involved in various activities (internal environment). They include the following categories:

- employees and associates of the Jagiellonian University Museum,

- the academic community of the Jagiellonian University,
- university authorities, and
- the Ministry of Culture.

Figure 7. Phases, tasks and actors in the Jagiellonian University Museum case



The microenvironment also includes the following competitors (external entities):

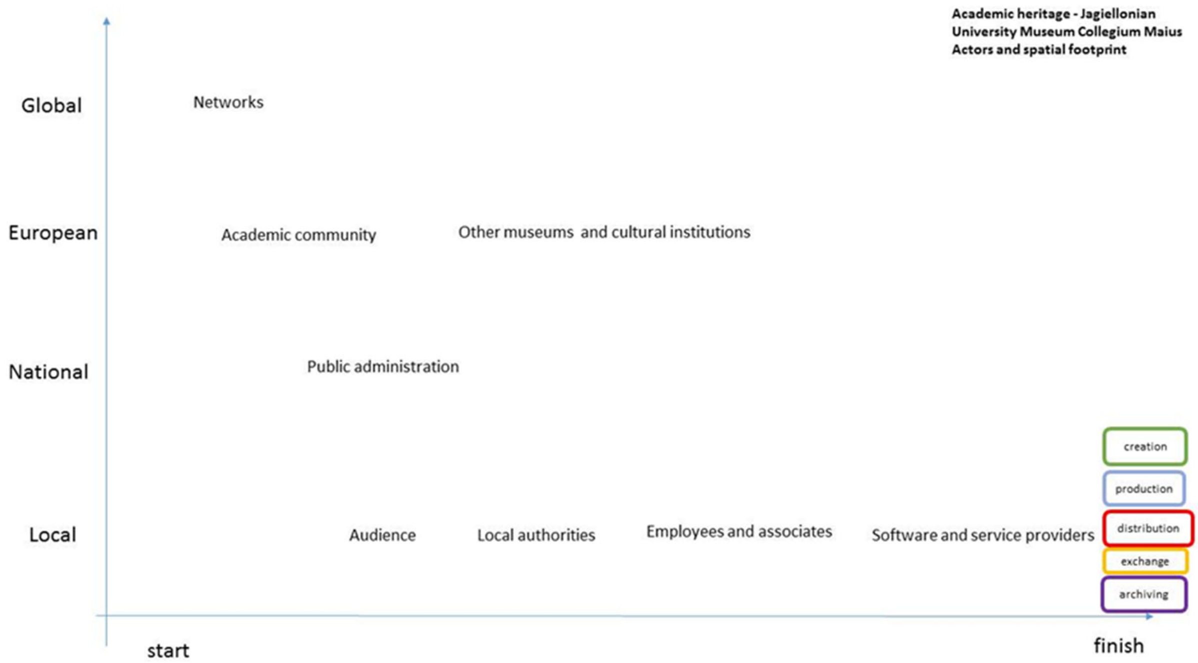
- other university museums,
- other Krakow museums, and
- other cultural institutions in Krakow.

There are also several partners, which may be categorised as follows:

- the network of Jagiellonian University museums;
- networks in which the museum participates, such as the Association of University Museums (SMU), UMAC, the European Academic Heritage Network – Universeum and the ICOM;
- academic cooperation networks;
- informal cooperation network of museums in Krakow;
- software and service providers of, among others, digitisation, library services, management software, security and transport services and so on;
- offices (at the municipal, regional and state levels), particularly in the context of the operations of the museums (Night of Museums, open days at Krakow museums, Science Festival);
- inhabitants of Krakow;
- the audience;

- tourists;
- schools, cultural centres and other museums with which the Jagiellonian University Museum forms partnerships for joint projects, the lending of collections or travelling exhibitions;
- mass media, which are used for, among others, online activities (Facebook, Instagram and the PlayKraków website), marketing campaigns (academic radio stations, academic television, regional Krakow radio, nationwide radio stations and such like).

Figure 8. Spatial footprint of the production network in the Jagiellonian University Museum case



When analysing the relationships between different actors in the network, it is impossible to ignore service providers. They enable the Jagiellonian University Museum to implement the production and exchange phases. Due to its specific structure, the museum can draw on university resources (including various pieces of software that support daily operations and research work), including ones in which the university invests in order to meet the needs of its own museums or libraries. Over the years, contacts have also been established with providers of insurance for the permanent collections and for the items that other entities borrow. The Jagiellonian University Museum transports the items that it lends to other exhibitions by using its own resources.

> *"When it comes to borrowing costs, the borrower incurs the costs of transportation that we organise with our own resources. The main rule is that our museum does not 'chip in' towards the costs of transporting the exhibition and our employees who will install and then uninstall the exhibition"*

3.2.2 Relationships between actors

The appropriation of value

The Jagiellonian University Museum cooperates intensively within international and domestic networks as well as with the community and with local and regional authorities in order to promote the university and science among adults and the young. The Jagiellonian University Museum is firmly rooted in the cultural image of Krakow. It is a brand of its own.

> *“90–95% of groups visit Krakow in a very typical way: the Old Town (and the Jagiellonian University Museum), Wawel and the Kazimierz District. This is the trinity that does not change. At least the travel agencies I have been working with always have these spots in their offer, and tourists always choose [them] because [they give] them a general picture of the city’s history and what it looks like, also in the context of the entire country in general and where we are at the moment”*

> “*It is a place where the annual academic year opening ceremony has been held for over 650 years*”

The museum represents the heritage of both the university and the city of Krakow. The actions that are taken and collaboration within various networks foster positive relations.

> *“We have been proactively involved at various levels in the operations of the association, both institutionally and individually”*

Those actions also provide other university museums with incentives to act. One of the interviewees said the following:

> *"We have created a small group here at our university, which, like the group at the Jagiellonian University, meets up from time to time and attracts university museologists, but only from our university for now, not from other university museums”*

This process generates numerous cross-sectoral benefits in the form of changes in perceptions of university museums in Poland and improvements to their modus operandi. Those museums are opening to the public and its needs. Collaboration means that university authorities are also beginning to use the resources in question to pursue their goals.

3.2.3 Network type

The schematic presentation of the typology of the production network at the Jagiellonian University Museum shows that power is concentrated. Most activities are conducted locally, but the distribution and exchange phases are internationally oriented. The impact of the Jagiellonian University Museum on the activities of other academic museums in Poland and in the European Union is significant.

Table 14. The typology matrix of the academic Heritage case study

PRODUCTION NETWORK PHASES	Local/regional	National	Intra-EU	Global	GOVERNANCE
Creation	Creators				
Production	Creators/ Strategic partners				
Distribution	Creators/ Strategic partners	Creators/ Strategic partners			
Exchange		Creators Strategic partners	Creators/ Strategic partners		
Archiving	Creators				
Network level					Lead actor

3.2.4 Dynamics: changes over time

Museums have undergone numerous significant changes in the last decades. At present, their activities are not limited to storing, studying and protecting collections. They are becoming increasingly open to changes to their surroundings. The Jagiellonian University Museum is a forerunner and a driving force of change, both internally and within various cooperation networks. In addition to making its artefacts available for exhibitions, it has been offering workshops and museum lessons to children and the young for several years now (also online during the Covid-19 pandemic). The museum regularly uses social media, and it has introduced online bookings and sales. Initiatives of this kind mean that the operations of the organisation resemble those of a typical museum.

The museum does not only change during pandemics. Many challenges have emerged in recent years. These include the need to digitise, to expand access and to go beyond the ivory towers of the university. Paradoxically, the pandemic meant that these changes could receive attention. During that period, it was possible to build an internal cooperation network and to create formal structures.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, work in the museum did not, as a general matter, change. Online activities, such as museum lessons, were emphasised. This said, the museum was closed to visitors, so certain ties were severed.

3.2.5 Impact

Economic impact

The economic impact of the activity of a museum should be explored from various perspectives. The phase activities that were described above and the actors that are associated with them shape the environment of the organisations by affecting a wide range of stakeholders and by influencing the market.

Staff

The Collegium Maius Museum has employees (60 jobs), 33 of whom (30 jobs) are employed by the basic museum service:

- Certified curator
- Museum curator
- Curator
- Chief conservator
- Conservation assistant
- Museum adjunct
- Senior museum assistant
- Museum assistant
- Restorer
- Trained restorer
- Junior restorer
- Museum guide
- Senior museum archivist

The remainder (30 individuals occupying 30 positions) are employed in administrative and customer service roles.

Roles:

- Chief specialist
- Senior specialist
- Specialist
- Ticket clerk
- Security guard

- Maintenance worker
- Cleaning

These staff details indicate that the number of individuals for whom the museum is a primary place of employment is fairly large, relative to the Polish academic museum market in general. A more typical model entails combining two roles: working at a museum (or holding a position there) and being a member of academic or administrative staff at other university units. An interviewee from a different academic museum said the following:

> *“There are four of us, and there is also a director who is not employed at the Museum but serves as a manager, i.e. he is a professor at the Institute and, additionally, a museum director. Apart from this modest group of employees, we also have nine people who take care of the rooms and manage tourist traffic. The latter can be pretty big”*

A different respondent offered the following observation:

> *“Generally, the museum is a unit outside of the faculties, which is why we do not have academic positions as such at all. People are mostly employed in administrative positions. According to university rules, a curator is an administrative position. Such a path is a phenomenon but also a challenge of university museums, which, on the one hand, are part of the strictly university structure but, on the other hand, are created based on the Act on Museums”*

The employees at the Jagiellonian University Museum appreciated the comfort that their current positions provided and were aware of the functioning of the Polish labour market for academic museum workers.

> *“Compared to the community of university museums in Poland in general, we are indeed very lucky to have 60 employees and separate positions such as chief inventory specialist or conservator. This is probably very important, because, in most cases, museum-related duties are simply added to someone else’s job description”*

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Jagiellonian University Museum allows those without basic education in the field of museums to pursue careers in the field and to acquire relevant competences and qualifications. One of the managers of the museum said the following:

> *“I started as a guide, which is a relatively low-level position... Later on, I became the manager, which meant taking on organisational matters as well. After that, we started introducing educational initiatives into the museum, which added another set of new responsibilities. In the meantime, I graduated in law and completed various courses. Today, I am consciously building my career. Now, for example, I am writing my PhD thesis”*

It should be noted that the "low-level position" of a guide requires fluency in several foreign languages and knowledge of the history of Krakow and the university as well as the successful completion of a practical exam.

A different approach to recruiting employees entails focusing on individuals who are knowledgeable about specific fields.

> *"I was already [in] my extended unpaid year of doctoral studies, and I had to do something with my life. I had to find a job, and staying at the university was not easy back then... Someone told me that there was a job ad posted on the Institute's noticeboard saying the Jagiellonian University Museum was looking for someone with a scientific background. I applied and was invited to an interview. It turned out that the museum had had an idea to build Poland's first interactive exhibition"*

The patterns of employment at the Jagiellonian University Museum typically reflect those in the global market, which are equally heterogeneous. The information that we obtained in the course of our research suggests that functions and positions are usually combined at European universities. In America, conversely, a university museum is usually a separate unit that performs various cultural functions and employs qualified specialists.

Cooperation with the market

The Jagiellonian University Museum often enters into partnerships with private parties. Although it has its own staff, many tasks, such as preparing exhibitions, especially travelling ones, or lending parts of a collection, require cooperation. Such operations entail several activities and procedures which are carried out by in-house teams at conventional museums. Academic museums must rely on external support because their resources are limited. This support may include, for example, legal consultations and advice on contracts, which are obtained through the use of university resources. One of the interviewees shared the following remark:

> *"This is not just one lawyer working for us internally, but a lot of partners acting, for example on behalf of the university. They already know us and do not need to have entire processes explained to them from scratch. They do not have to [discuss] every single detail with us"*

When exhibitions are being transported, the museum cooperates with the host institution. The services of other participants in the market are used often.

> *"The conservator determines how a given item can be displayed, in which room and in what conditions when it comes to temperature, humidity, lighting and so on. These details are included in the contract and regulate the lending and display of the item. The other party has to accept the conditions we have drawn up, and it is usually the other party that organises*

transportation, buys an insurance policy and hires a transport company. These are obviously specialist companies dealing with the transport of works of art, with employees who know how to install things, how to properly transport artefacts. They have the appropriate equipment, such as trucks that have all these rails, belts and so on"

When works of art are loaned abroad, special transportation permits need to be arranged.

"It is necessary to contact the National Heritage Institute, report the items to be transported and whether the case complies with the specific requirements for the transport of works. If, for example, the value exceeds a certain amount, there has to be an armed convoy and so on"

From a technical point of view, other museums adopt similar practices.

"The receiving party comes with technical employees, who usually include drivers [from] a transport company, accompanied by a museum courier. It is typically a conservator because the conservation team also has some technical knowledge"

"Of course, if an exhibition involves lending a number of different items, this will not be 10 couriers but one, two at the most"

The items and collections are insured for each rental.

"Theoretically, the university has its own broker, so we should always turn to him, but he deals with university-wide activities. [The art] insurance market is not particularly sizeable. Certain insurance companies have end-to-end offers in this area, and everybody knows it more or less"

A significant proportion of loans result from cooperation within a network of museums that exchange information about their collections and seek items to present as part of their exhibitions. This practice is also supported by the activities that were described earlier in the discussion of phases, such as cataloguing collections, online activities (exhibitions and activities in social media), and academic and research endeavours that rely on the resources of the university. This occurs both within the internal network of universities and as part of nationwide or international collaborations. One of the employees said the following about the Jagiellonian University Museum:

"Our museum lends more than it borrows. Most of the institutions from which we borrow are university institutions: the Jagiellonian Library, the Jagiellonian University Archives and other units with collections, such as the Museum of Pharmacy and the Nature Education Centre. As for external partners, we have borrowed from the Krakow University of Technology, the

Polish Academy of Learning (PAU), the National Museum in Krakow, and the National Museum in Warsaw"

Academic museums conduct numerous projects, partaking in the activities of their universities as well as collaborating with other museums and supporting one another. In this way, they can they develop their assets (e.g. human resources). One example is the MUSACCES international project that was mentioned in the section on phases and which is conducted under the UNA EUROPA cooperation programme for European universities. The project focuses on provincial museums and their activities. The Polish project team (led by Dr Katarzyna Plebańczyk; the Jagiellonian University is a participant) conducted research on local cultural heritage and prepared a case study on the regional museum in Piwniczna-Zdrój. The virtual exhibition that was held in June 2022 featured digitised parts of the collection, including the most interesting artefacts of the Piwniczna Museum. The preparation of the exhibition entailed the use of the technical and human resources of the Jagiellonian University Museum as well as locals' narratives about their heritage. The Piwniczna Museum was chosen in order to support its activities (the newly developed materials will be included in its resources) and to show the importance of heritage to local and regional authorities, to communities in the area and to tourists. The intention is to influence future attitudes towards the museum and its growth opportunities indirectly and to contribute to the creation of a tourist product around it (social and economic impact).

Social impact

The employment practices of the Jagiellonian University Museum are appreciated by both its staff and by those in its surroundings. The strong standing of the museum affects the functioning of other academic museums in the context of work organisation, too. A respondent from a different museum pointed out that, owing to networking and cooperation within the Association of University Museums, the changes that the Jagiellonian University Museum had initiated were also being implemented elsewhere.

"We are a general university unit reporting directly to the university rector. We have only recently developed our terms and conditions. We started applying for it in January 2020, and we already have it in writing from the Minister of Education"

Efforts within the internal network resulted in common activities across the entire chain of Jagiellonian University museums. These were described earlier in the context of the committee that is appointed by the rector of the Jagiellonian University. Interviewees from other university museums noted the following:

"At this point, I already know that we have never thought about heritage and how to use and manage it as much as we do now, so we have done a great job, and I think that we are finally starting to reap the benefits"

Just like other types of museums, academic ones are attracting student interns and volunteers. In this way, different individuals can become familiar with the inner workings of a museum and contribute to all stages of project activities. As a result, museums are becoming increasingly popular among students and in academic circles. The methods for working with interns and volunteers are studied and adopted at other museums and as part of network partnerships. In recent years, numerous activities at academic museums have focused on building an (academic) community around the institutions, similarly to other cultural organisations. The most visible efforts have included attempts to break the stereotypes that the Jagiellonian University Museum is an institution that is difficult to access and that it is a venue for important university celebrations. The social media activities mentioned in the section on phases, such as *#historiUJemy*, Take a Rocket to the Moon and PodróżUJ provide salient examples. An employee of the Jagiellonian University Museum said the following:

"We are part of the university, and we are the university. We are here not only for the city or for tourists but, most of all, we owe something to the university, a specific service chosen for its community. After all, our students and employees should have something more, we are reinventing ourselves also for them"

Cultural impact

Expanding the availability of collections to wider audiences is one of the most socially desirable museum activities. The Jagiellonian University Museum, along with other academic museums, is becoming increasingly accessible to visitors. The entrance to the Collegium Maius courtyard is always open. However, other exhibitions are restricted due to the scarcity of museum guides and service workers who would enable extending current opening hours, among other things. Accessibility issues affect many other museums as well, both in Poland and abroad.

Cooperation within networks has enabled further activities to be launched with the necessary technical support. In the case of the Jagiellonian University Museum, these networks include the Coimbra Group (an association of long-established European multidisciplinary universities that was founded in 1985). Another thriving network is called UNA EUROPA. Its goals and mission are as follows: "It is not a place, but a body of knowledge, ideas, and values, evolving freely beyond borders, mediums and time" (https: // www.una-europa.eu/about).

"'From the very outset, we have been proactively participating in the cultural heritage group', said a representative of the Jagiellonian University Museum and of the museum network of the Jagiellonian University"

The Jagiellonian University Museum was the first to introduce an electronic ticketing and booking system, which inspired the rest of the university museums as well as other academic museums to adopt the same technologies. Visitors can choose the course of the tour, its time, a ticket type and so on. The introduction of the system at the Jagiellonian University coincided with the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, only individual tours are available at present, and guided group tours have been suspended.

Historically, academic museums have been strongly oriented towards providing a teaching base. In Poland, most such museums are located at university faculties, and their collections have been collected for years or passed on across generations of scientists. The Jagiellonian University Museum also has collections from the 18th and the 19th century, which are displayed in historical spaces as part of its permanent exhibitions. However, not all museums can offer such displays. For instance, other university museums are located in various parts of Krakow. These include the Collegium Maius (the medieval buildings of the university), the Museum of Pharmacy (the Old Town; a 19th century pharmacy with collections from various periods in the development of pharmacy) and the Botanic Garden (built on the site of the former Czartoryski estate, which contains a palace from the 17th century and a garden with an area of approximately 2.4 hectares). Other museums have relocated with university faculties. The most germane example is the Nature Education Centre, which is currently located in a completely new building on the III Campus of the Jagiellonian University, far from the Old Town. For decades, numerous collections have been unsolicited as heritage. They sit locked in various warehouses, and they are shown from time to time to students during classes.

Today, museum employees declare the following:

> *"We really want to start managing it, sharing it and using it, not only for teaching purposes, because the resources that are here are very attractive. Some of the units have a better chance to use their collections in order to promote science and to show various things outside and not only inside to students"*

> *"We are trying to popularise the results of research carried out at the university. That is why whenever there is a completed research project with specific results in the form of publications or photos, we turn it into an exhibition, provided the researcher agrees to share such data. We hold an exhibition. Depending on what we have at our disposal, it may be, for example, a board exhibition that we present on the first level of the Mathematical Tower. In this way, all the people who go to the tower to admire the view from the observation deck pass by this exhibition. Hopefully, even those not really interested in a given topic might take a look and learn something new... We have had such projects in physics and astronomy, we have had the results of research projects in archaeology and art history"*

Therefore, academic museums offer an increasing number of educational activities, following the example of other museums. The offering of the Jagiellonian University Museum includes themed museum lessons, which are also available for schools, as well as an array of activities that were developed during the pandemic, from online lessons to inspirational tasks that encourage the audience to create objects that may be associated with the Jagiellonian University Museum. One suitable example is *Maius for Children and Parents*, which provides short videos and instructions on making a tiled stove, a gargoyle, a treasure chest or gingerbread moulds. The other examples that are worth mentioning include short stories for adults and/or children that use artefacts from a collection to present a narrative in a compelling manner. Those short stories are also published on social media.

> *"To me, education also means encouraging people to act. Our task is to stimulate and encourage activity and not just [to] transfer knowledge"*

Other university museums also undertake educational activities that promote heritage and science.

> *"We once had a student who went to China for six months to study the traditional painting techniques. He created works which he wanted to show to the world. So, we made him an offer and hosted an exhibition of his works and other materials, telling the story [of] how individual items came into being"*

3.2.6 Policy implications

A contemporary museum undertakes various activities and must cope with numerous challenges. A museum is a place where valuable collections are protected, stored, researched, described and displayed. Academic museums focus on academic heritage. Often, they occupy historical buildings, and their collections have been developed over the centuries or created and donated by outstanding scientists. For decades, many universities have treated those donations as unsolicited heritage, which has certainly been mismanaged. So much is evident from the lack of ideas on how such items could be used, the practice of stuffing items in warehouses and by the typical organisational structure.

> *"Formally, these are often just academics who have an additional duty to take care of the collections. This is most often the case with natural and archaeological collections. The person who supervises them is not always a curator [by choice]"*

The formal status of academic museums is often complicated: they report to university management, while maintaining collections of historical value that are part of heritage whose importance goes far beyond the history of a single university. In Poland, only the Collegium Maius Jagiellonian University Museum is entered into the register of the Minister of Culture, which creates many possibilities (e.g. participating in museum networks around the world) but also limitations, such as the need to abide by museum laws. Other museums depend on their supervisory bodies to a larger extent, so it is extremely important for them to participate in networks. Cooperation within the Jagiellonian

University has enabled the perception of academic heritage within the university to change, and the Rector's Committee for Heritage has been established jointly. Other initiatives that benefit the remaining 100 museums in Poland are also underway. Although foreign academic museums continue to serve as exemplars in the field, one of the managers of the Jagiellonian University Museum offered the following argument:

> *"These systems are heterogeneous. We would like to be a museum and at the same time fulfil social roles, like museums on American campuses"*

The foregoing raises the problematic question of the role of contemporary academic museums. The American model of engaging in a multitude of activities, cooperating closely with the university community and meeting its needs carries the risk of the museum becoming a cultural centre. A more comprehensive analysis reveals that there is a difference between countries in which student campuses are designed holistically (especially the USA and Canada) and Western Europe, where the different parts of universities are scattered and often include historical spaces that are intended mainly for research and education. For universities, it is common practice to create public spaces in which creators can present their work (e.g. galleries, lobbies and libraries) at exhibitions in order to reach wide audiences.

Different understandings of the role, functions and principles of academic heritage management cause differences in perception that find expression in discourse on the subject. One of the respondents said the following:

> *"We will always be part of the university, and we will report primarily to the Ministry of Education. We do not really want to change that. My opinion is that university museums are university museums, and they have to stay that way. Their existence is firmly entrenched [at] a university"*

The unregulated and ambiguous status of academic museums is a challenge for the institutions and for those who manage university collections. For example, the National Museum in Warsaw manages the collection that belongs to the Museum of the University of Warsaw:

> *"The largest part naturally includes ancient collections but also the deposits from the years 1917-1920. They were all transferred pursuant to a deposit agreement signed temporarily before the Second World War. It was then agreed that an Ancient Art Gallery would be created and supervised by the employees of both museums. The 19th century and [the] contemporary copies would remain at the university... Recently, we have had [the] idea to return them to the university, but they do not even have warehouses to store these artefacts"*

University employees struggle to make universities recognise academic heritage as a valuable resource which, instead of being stored in dusty warehouses, should be employed by the university in its pursuit of its mission. University authorities should approach this heritage from a broader perspective and create organisational structures in which existing resources can be used freely. Regulating cooperation between universities and the Ministry of Culture or other public administration units that deal with heritage at the regional or the local level should be a priority.

> *“This state of limbo is a problem for me because subordinating the museum to one of the ministries is not a good solution. I believe that what we are seeing now, this discussion of belonging, is just losing our roots”*

At the same time, museum employees emphasise that the heritage of universities is their main resource, and they do not want to lose it.

> *"We are deeply involved in all the processes to raise awareness of the heritage kept here at the university, and we are involved in all heritage-related university programmes, including holding exhibitions in spaces other than our own”*

Network embeddedness

The examination of the microenvironment of the organisation from a combination of subjective and objective perspectives during individual phases enables the identification of networks. The numerous activities of the museum have created a variety of parallel and intersecting networks.

The Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius is a unit of the Jagiellonian University that is managed in close cooperation with and funded by the university authorities. The variety of its activities results from its initiatives and from the decisions of the university management, which are made at the organisational level. The Jagiellonian University Museum has seven main units, which generally work separately but sometimes collaborate as a network. They pursue the strategic goals of the university that are related to the management of its heritage.

Table 15. Jagiellonian University Museums

Name	Status / organisational unit
University Museum Collegium Maius	a separate unit / administratively reports to the Rector of JU
Nature Educational Centre	a separate unit / administratively reports to the Rector of JU
Museum of Pharmacy	Faculty of Pharmacy, Collegium Medicum
Botanic Garden of the Jagiellonian University	Institute of Botany, Faculty of Biology, Jagiellonian University
Museum of the Faculty of Medicine	Faculty of Medicine, Collegium Medicum

Anatomopathological Museum of the Faculty of Medicine	Faculty of Medicine, Collegium Medicum
Museum of Anatomy	Faculty of Medicine, Collegium Medicum

Source: Own research

In 2020, the Jagiellonian University created the Rector's Committee for Heritage of the Jagiellonian University and the Jagiellonian Collegium Medicum. When interviewed, a representative of one of the museums offered the following observation:

> *"Everyone has always added something to each of these elements, meaning that the museum was not the only entity applying for something, but we have always acted as an informal consortium within the university in order to convince the authorities that all these measures to protect the artefacts are necessary. I believe it took us about two or three years to get to where we are now. Today, we are in a really good situation because we have a legal basis, we have the tools to properly describe and secure our collections, and we also have the permission of the authorities to expand our operations in order to try to 'sell' to the public what we have collected"*

The tasks of the Committee include overcoming existing barriers that are caused by differences in university structures, goals and tasks and methods of employment as well as the corresponding options for managing existing resources. Its detailed tasks include but are not limited to the following:

- defining the tangible and intangible heritage of both parts of the university,
- initiating and participating in new trends in and forms of cooperation in the area of heritage protection and dissemination,
- supporting digital access policies for tangible and intangible heritage and its dissemination and promotion,
- managing the special assets of the Jagiellonian University and supporting organisational units that deal with academic heritage while accounting for the specific nature of their activities,
- supporting activities that are associated with heritage documentation, research and preservation,
- assessing the value of the subject of deposits or appointing ad hoc expert committees (based on Decision No. 65 of the Rector of the Jagiellonian University of 18 December 2020).

In the internal network of university museums, the Jagiellonian University Museum is a member, a coordinator, an initiator and an experimenter. This is true of the creation of new projects and, above all, of distribution and exchange activities. Furthermore, since it is a conventional museum, it uses solutions that have been tested by other museums, both Polish and foreign, that participate in its internal network (value transfer).

The Jagiellonian University Museum Collegium Maius has also initiated network cooperation with similar museums at other Polish universities. The Association of University Museums (SMU) has two managers.

> *“We are the largest structured academic museum entered on the list of museums in the register of the Minister of Culture, and the structure of the Association also includes [the Jagiellonian University’s] other units... We also provide a lot of support and significantly contribute internally at the university”*

The informal cooperation network of Krakow museums that was mentioned by the interviewee from the Jagiellonian University is also important.

> *“We are also active in the emerging group of Krakow museums. [It comprises] 20 entities that have been meeting up regularly for four years”*

There are also other national associations, such as the Association of Polish Museologists.

3.3 Case 2: Wiener Heurigenkultur

The *Wiener Heurigenkultur* is a form of intangible cultural heritage and involves the tradition of going to *Heurigen*, which resemble wine bars and restaurants and are mostly ran by families. *Heurigen* only sell wine that they produce and offer traditional local food. The *Heurigenkultur* practice also involves singing or listening to traditional Viennese music (*Wienerlied*) and speaking in the local Viennese dialect. *Heurigen* are a part of the collective identity of Vienna. They are highly attractive to both citizens and tourists and occupy a significant part of the city and its 637 hectares of vineyards. In 2019, the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* was put on the Austrian immaterial cultural heritage list by the Austrian UNESCO commission. There are 147 items on that list. While conducting the interviews, we realised that the terms "sector" and "industry" are relatively unusual when cultural heritage, especially immaterial cultural heritage, is being discussed. Heritage involves practices and processes that cannot be easily created, produced and sold commercially or industrially.

3.3.1 Phases, actors, and locations

Phases

Creation

Looking into the GPN phases, we observed that the creation phase is difficult to locate. Cultural heritage always has its roots in the past and cannot be created by following the usual logic of industrial production. *Wiener Heurigenkultur* has its roots in Roman history, and vineyards have been cultivated around Vindobona (ancient Vienna) since the 3rd century. The first historical record of *Heurigen* is from the 13th century. Especially in the 18th century, they became important cultural spaces for music and social cohesion. One of our interview partners told us that his family had ran a *Heurigen* place since 1374. However, one could argue that the moment at which a practice is recognised as cultural heritage can occur during this phase. In this context, it is the community, the citizens or the government officials who create heritage through their choices, interpretations and acts of recognition.

Production

The production phase refers largely to activities of reproduction. Immaterial cultural heritage involves reproducing old traditions. In the case of the *Heurigenkultur*, this involves producing wine, bottles and barrels, caring for plants and the land, preserving old buildings and managing *Heurigen* places. At the same time, immaterial cultural heritage includes the reproduction of practices, education and the act of passing knowledge and cultural values on to the next generation. Attending the *Heurigen,* drinking wine, singing, playing Viennese songs and learning about the traditions at school or at other institutions are relevant in this phase. In addition, the local government and the citizens must ensure that the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* is protected and continues to exist, for example by protecting vineyards and traditional *Heurigen* buildings from being converted into residential developments.

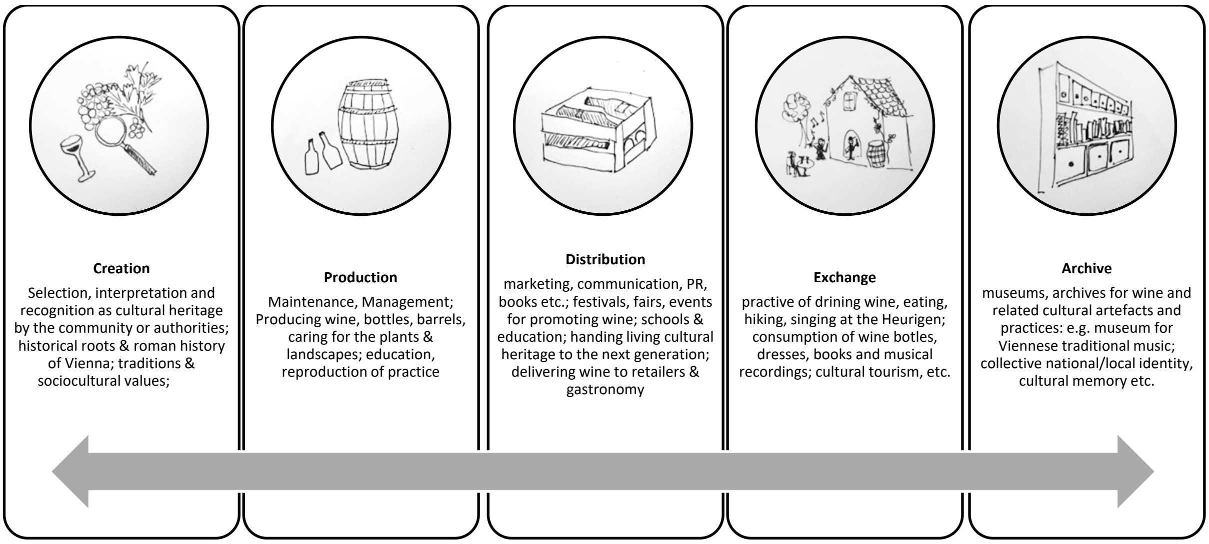
Distribution

The distribution phase involves marketing, communication and PR, which are often conducted by *Heurigen* owners. This phase also includes the delivery of wine by *Heurigen* owners to retailers, hotels, restaurants and bars. The WienTourismus association also spreads information about *Heurigenkultur* all around the world in order to promote cultural tourism. There are large fairs, such as VieVinum, musical festivals, such as Wean Hear, and events, such as Wine Hiking Day, that further facilitate the dissemination of heritage. We would suggest that education and the transmission of traditions and knowledge across generations also pertain to this phase.

Exchange

The exchange phase covers the time when citizens or tourists visit *Heurigen* bars, drink wine, eat local food, sing and listen to traditional songs and such like. That phase also includes the consumption of wine bottles, traditional dresses, books, CDs and other cultural artefacts. Cultural tourism is also a part of this phase, although the economic exploitation of the *Heurigenkultur* can also cause problems and threaten its authenticity as heritage.

Figure 9. The production phases in the Wiener Heurigenkultur case



Archiving

The archiving phase involves physical archives, such as district museums, or archives, such as the Wiener Volksliedwerk, where traditional Viennese music is analysed and studied. *Heurigen* places usually keep ancient historical artefacts such as old photographs, documents, barrels and presses. The archive phase can also include abstract concepts like cultural memory and collective and national identity, whereby archiving is also associated with immaterial objects. Insofar as intangible living cultural heritage is a practice and a habitus rather than a material object, the community functions as an archive that transmits its knowledge and the habitus to future generations. In the present case, this involves, among others, knowledge and skills that are related to producing certain types of wine, to singing and practicing a specific genre of music, the *Wienerlied*, to the use of a certain Viennese vocabulary when ordering food and drinks and to *Heurigen* etiquette. For example, unlike at conventional restaurants, one is not expected to order food but it is more or less mandatory to order wine.

Actors

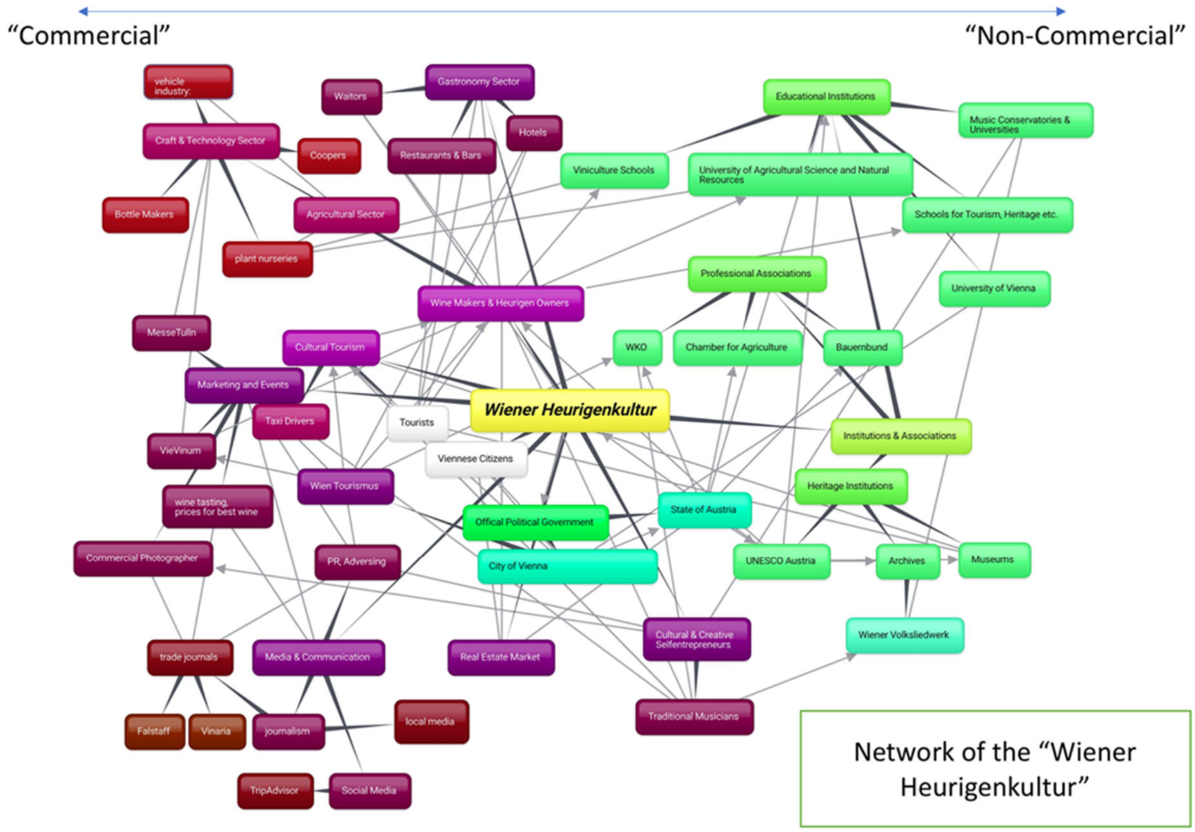
The case of the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* shows there is a wide range of actors in all of the production phases. There are approximately 100 companies that produce wine and between 80 and 90 *Heurigen* places that produce and sell their own. The number of actors who are involved is declining dramatically – there were more than 500 *Heurigen* places in the 1950s. Most of them were small, produced negligible amounts of wine, only opened on some days or weeks and were managed somewhat amateurishly – running one was seen as a leisure activity or as a part-time job.

The schematic representation of the GPN typology of the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* production network reveals no evidence of an extreme concentration of power. There is no leading firm. Instead, the market is characterised by the presence of many small businesses. This said, concentration is ongoing. The market is a niche, and its uniqueness is an important selling point. It relies on quality, authenticity and regionality rather than on mass products. This said, a concentration process is afoot, and the number of *Heurigen* places is declining as economies of scale are increasingly being realised.

Many *Wiener Heurigenkultur* actors work in non-commercial and publicly financed positions. These include researchers, archivists, the UNESCO team, public officials, viniculture schools and such like. Some of the actors who are involved are clearly from profit-oriented domains. They include marketing experts, commercial photographers, trade journal representatives, event managers, hotel workers, craftsmen and those who work in technology. The real estate market interferes with the *Heurigenkultur*. The values of properties in the green *Heurigen* districts are high due to the charm of the *Heurigenkultur* and population growth. For this reason, the beauty of the areas is threatened by the proliferation of expensive residential buildings. The exploitation of cultural heritage can also be a threat to is existence: *Heurigen* owners are sometimes tempted to sell their traditional houses and gardens because of their high financial value.

In order to strengthen their professional group and to ensure a certain standard of quality, several market actors founded the Wiener Wein association. Likewise, the Chamber of Agriculture advocates for *Heurigen* owners.

Figure 10. Actor network in the Wiener Heurigenkultur case



Locations

The production chain is mainly locally embedded, and wine producers rely on quality, trust and personal relationships that have often been developed over a long period of time. In general, local embeddedness is a crucial characteristic of cultural heritage. In the case of the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*, local production and the use of local resources affect the image and the quality of the final product. The market actors have also created their own quality labels, regulated quality and created associations.

3.3.2 Relationships between actors

The relationship between the actors in the producing network is mostly built on trust, quality and personal relationships that have developed over a long period of time. For example, the photographer that was interviewed had been cooperating with specific winemakers on numerous occasions and would deliver his service reliably, on time and well, which is more important than price. Most resources and services, such as bottles and carton boxes or marketing and PR, are acquired from local partners.

In general, the distribution phase it crucial for adding value to the wine product. The photographer, for example, explained the relevance of bottle labels. Those labels can be created with “different papers, qualities, coating procedures, 3D techniques, imprints because the winemaker tries to make the bottle look high quality”. Then again, the bottle and its photograph can represent a certain standard of quality, as can other marketing tools such as brochures, websites or social media. The appearance of online shops is very important.

> *“And, for this reason, most wine makers need pictures. This is the only connection which customers [can make] between the quality of the wine and the reason to buy it. Actually, only the way the product looks like… Because the wine maker cannot say that it tastes super. Well, he can say that, but this is not a quality criterion that I can communicate. But I can take a picture of a bottle, different pictures of a single bottle, either in a high-quality way or a very simple way, and when I put the pictures next to each other and present them to you, you could tell which one costs 25 euros and which one 3.50 Euros… because I can communicate quality with a photo”*.

In the distribution phase, there may be actors whose power is more concentrated. The photographer explained, “Those who want to buy high-quality wine but do not care about the price just take the Falstaff magazine and see which ones are listed [there]”. Therefore, some winemakers strive to be recommended by certain magazines. We were not able to reach and interview any media in this field, and we consider the finding that media actors did not want to be interviewed to be important in its own right. What we found from the interview partners is that some journalists rely on unfair, corrupt and dishonest practices when they rank winemakers and to use unlicensed media content.

We were able to speak to the largest wine fair, VieVinum, which has room for a wide variety of exhibits. The fair is also open to public. There are often alliances between smaller winemakers which present their products together in order to share distribution and marketing costs.

> *“Our most important target group is the sector. Producers and key stakeholders come here to connect and [trade] with each other, make new contracts and find marketing platforms. Producers use our event as a hub, also to strengthen their name and brand awareness and introduce new products and present their own philosophy, also to get into touch with journalists”.*

3.3.3 Network type

Most activities are conducted locally, and only the distribution phase has an international orientation. The archiving phase is also ambivalent. Archiving can be abstract, as discussed above. An archive can also be accessible from any point in the world, as is the case of the *Wiener Volksliedwerk*. Still, locating the archiving phase on a national level is more rational. For example, *Heurigenkultur* is listed by the UNESCO national commission as a part of the intangible cultural heritage of Austria. Furthermore, power is dispersed rather than concentrated. Speaking on the issue of agency, one of the interviewed *Heurigen* owners said the following:

> *"If I would want to change [the existing legislation], I already would have done that. If something would be not sensible, I would have already called the major or a corresponding ministry. The wine industry is not so big. In other words, I am also part of the regional committee. I am part of the vinery commission. One knows the diverse players of the national committee, of the Federal Viticulture Association, and one is well connected. If there would be a legal text, to which I would say, 'no, it doesn't work at all', then I just make a phone call".*

Table 16: The typology matrix for the Wiener Heurigenkultur case study

PRODUCTION NETWORK PHASES	Local/regional	National	Intra-EU	Global	GOVERNANCE
Creation	Creators/ strategic partners (civil society)				
Production	Creators/ Suppliers/ Strategic partners (all levels)	Suppliers			
Distribution	Creators/ Distributors	Creators/ Distributors	Creators/ Distributors		
Exchange	Consumers				
Archiving	Creators/ Strategic partners (public sector, civil society)	Strategic partners (public sector)			
Network level					Multiple actors

The typology of the case study about the Wiener Heurigenkultur reveals a scheme that could possibly also be applied to other cases of intangible cultural heritage practices. Most of the activities are located on a local level, some extend to a national level and only the distribution phase reaches an intra-EU level. The production phase involves not only the creator and suppliers but also strategic parts at all levels (private & public sector and civil society). Creation and exchange take place at the same place as intangible cultural heritage is usually practiced at the place of its origin.

The lead actors are the creators but also the civil society as the Heurigenkultur is a practice that must be acknowledged and reproduced by a community in order to exist. Still, it is the Heurigen owners who offer their place, products and service and ensure the material continuation of the Wiener Heurigenkultur. The spatial level mostly remains on a local and national level because Heurigenkultur is a local tradition and most stakeholders involved are either on a local or national level. Only the distribution phase can reach an intra-EU level, e.g. when products such as wine get shipped to Germany.

As the table above demonstrates, the case study of the Heurigenkultur shows a network level the governance of which comprises of multiple actors, mainly creators and strategic partners from the public sector and the civil society.

3.3.4 Dynamics: changes over time

The number of *Heurigen* has declined, and concentration is intensifying. Large companies are expanding, and small ones are disappearing from the market. There are numerous reasons for these developments.

Bureaucracy and the need for entrepreneurial skills make it increasingly difficult for smaller *Heurigen* owners and bars to open on weekends only. The legal frameworks that governs hospitality, such as the cash register system and complex taxation rules, can pose difficulties for amateurs and non-professional family-run *Heurigen.* The participation threshold is becoming more difficult to overcome. Quality standards are rising continuously. One interview partner mentioned the wine scandal of 1985, when some producers in Austria and Germany poured glycol into drinks in order to sweeten them. Since then, wine producers have laboured to re-establish their quality standards. At present, standard Viennese wine is of exceptionally high quality, and there are many award-winning winemakers.

> *"Yes, even as a little wine-growing region in Austria – it is 1% of all wine produced in Austria – we can export. Vienna does not have more than that, but, still, we achieve… to export top products all around the world to top restaurants and communicate the label Wiener Wein worldwide".*

There is also a self-governing association which controls the quality and labels certain companies as *Wiener Heuriger* or even *Wiener Top Heuriger*, which attests to the highest standard of quality. Since quality standards have become more stringent, it has become difficult for winemakers to enter the market or to remain in it. The largest and most professionalised winemakers have, of course, benefited from this trend, enhancing their image and their public reputation. The quality labels also make it easier for visitors to choose services and products and to trust them. The head of the Viennese Chamber of Agriculture explained, "There is the so-called Wien-Wein group, which [comprises] six winemakers that cooperate with each other and act as pioneers in Vienna". The interviewee said that those companies act as "lighthouse companies" because they enhance the reputation of all local winemakers, not just their own: "There are some well-known names, and, eventually, the entire winemaking region benefits from it".

The education level of winemakers and their stakeholders has increased considerably. Many winemakers complete courses at specialised schools, hold university degrees in the field of agriculture and are equipped with extensive skills and knowledge in different domains, such as technology, management, marketing and hospitality. It seems that the market requires more extensive competences and knowledge that it did in previous decades. One interviewee offered the following explanation:

> *"Especially the young generation and the last two generations of winemakers are very, very, very well educated. I think it also showed in the quality of the Austrian wine in general… that a lot has happened here".*

The problem of succession and heirs is especially prevalent in family-run and traditional sectors. Some *Heurigen* have had to cease trading because no heir was willing to take over the business.

> *"Of course, one would want [the heirs] to continue, but, I mean… you cannot force anybody. Nobody can say, 'hey, you must do this'. This is not how it works. But I think we can exemplify our interest. Passing on the interest for the sector, for production, for gastronomy, let them grow up with it, so they know what it means… We pass something on that functions.… A colleague of mine, his parents owned three hectares and did a little bit of winemaking. So, why would he have continued? There was no infrastructure, no sales. One has to invest 2 million euros to make the company profitable. And he said, 'It's not worth it!'".*

The job may not seem attractive or suitable to everybody, which is also related to the next point. The real estate market is pushing the property prices of *Heurigen* places to unprecedented heights. The same is true of the population of Vienna. Since districts with vineyards and the historical charm of the *Heurigen* places are prized in the real estate market, prices are at a historical high. Consequently, owners are increasingly tempted to sell their properties. There is, however, a *Wiener Weinbaugesetz* that protects the vineyards – vineyards in Vienna must always be greened and cannot be sold for development.

Cultural heritage is a dynamic process and changes over time. Since it is an inherent part of the local community, it adapts to social and cultural changes continuously. Despite having deep historical roots, the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* is affected by contemporary macrosocial processes such as digitisation and the use of new technology. For example, winemakers use new viniculture technologies as well as online marketing and PR tools. As noted previously, the concentration of ownership has been accompanied by economies of scale. Not everyone can afford sophisticated machines for wine production, and only vineyards of a certain surface size can generate living incomes.

The Covid-19 pandemic led to local lockdowns in hospitality, which was a significant challenge for many *Heurigen* places because they could not serve wine to their guests or organise cultural events. For safety reasons, some only opened outdoors, in their vineyards, or only sold their products online or through retailers. Nevertheless, the government had to offer financial aid to the entire industry during the pandemic.

3.3.5 Impact

Economic impact

The *Wiener Heurigenkultur* contributes to economic development in various ways. The most obvious is that it creates and sustains jobs in the agricultural sector and in hospitality. According to the Wiener Wein association, there are almost 200 wineries in Vienna. According to the Austrian Economic Chamber, there were 110 *Heurigen* taverns in 2019. When asked about the overall economic impact of the *Heurigenkultur*, the head of the Viennese Chamber for Agriculture replied as follows:

> *"Unfortunately, there are no numbers. But the sector, the entire economy behind it, is very big, of course. Yes, as already mentioned, tourism, but also those sectors affiliated to gastronomy and* Heurigen*, suppliers, and, of course, the entire winemaking sector as an employer".*

Although it is likely that some 1,000 individuals make a living within the *Heurigenkultur* network, there are no concrete figures for employment or revenue. One candidate explanation for this data gap is that the relevant labour market is fairly heterogeneous and includes actors from different subindustries, such as winemakers, waiters, chefs, musicians, tourism and event managers, archivists and so on.

The economic influence of each *Heurigen* tavern also depends on its size. The scale of production is important. Apparently, a business can only be profitable if it controls vineyards of a certain size. A small winemaker said the following:

> *"Well, if you want to earn money, you should rather do another job than growing wine, like becoming a dentist. I don't know what else, but, for sure, it is not growing wine. It is not that profitable because you have so many expenses. It is not the big business".*

However, some winemakers are large and successful. The larger a company, the larger its workforce and the more industrial its operations. An owner of a large enterprise said, "I have 20 employees and lead the company in a professional way, with 300 people in the garden. I have to manage a large team". The large amount of wine that is produced in this manner is also sold at thousands of national and international retail shops. Therefore, export activity is also ongoing.

Furthermore, cultural heritage is always important for local cultural tourism. A representative of Wien Tourism explained that the *Heurigenkultur* is an indispensable element of the marketing of Vienna as a destination, for both culinary and aesthetic reasons. The *Heurigen* shape the cityscape. There is a strong relationship between the culinary tradition of Vienna and cultural tourism.

> *"The culture of enjoyment counts as one of the five central marketing assets, which are an important reason for our tourist success within the last years, as market analysis has shown, and with which we want to convince international guests. The strongest association with the culture of enjoyment that visitors in Vienna have is coffee culture, the second strongest is the* Heurigen *and the Viennese [cuisine]. And also, the Viennese wine tradition and the* Naschmarkt *are particularly appreciated by insiders".*

The *Heurigenkultur* also affects the real estate market. The districts that contain more vineyards, especially in the north and east of Vienna, are particularly charming, beautiful and attractive to inhabitants. Therefore, property prices are higher.

Social impact

The employment conditions of winemakers and cultural entrepreneurs vary considerably. Some treat these activities as part-time jobs or even as leisure activities. Others own large companies and lead successful businesses with numerous employees. The owners must survive in a dynamic environment. Some even spend more time in their offices, where they manage administrative issues, than they do on the production of wine. Nowadays, managing a *Heurigen* requires commercial acumen, and it is not easy to remain profitable every year. Not every winemaker possesses entrepreneurial skills. Staff shortages are also common. Unusual and irregular working conditions may deter prospective employees. For example, waiters are not employed throughout the year but seasonally. They have to work late and on weekends.

> *"The shortage of staff is a big problem. Gastronomy, if you do it well and offer a good service, is very challenging. Personnel service is a laborious procedure. There is no robot or computer that takes your drink to the table. In a good [restaurant], the guest is supposed to have a good relationship [with] the waiter… The biggest challenge in our company is to find staff".*

There is considerable public support for the sector, and many collective actors support the *Wiener Heurigenkultur.* These include the Chamber for Agriculture, local district leaders, the City of Vienna and professional associations such as the Wiener Wein group. Insofar as it is deeply rooted, in the sociocultural sense of that term, the entire community and the citizens identify with a tradition and support and appreciate the *Heurigenkultur*.

Cultural impact

Cultural impact is an intrinsic characteristic of cultural heritage in general and of immaterial cultural heritage in particular. In order to become immaterial cultural heritage, a certain cultural practice needs to be selected, acknowledged and culturally appreciated by a community and/or by certain authorities. The Austrian UNESCO commission explained the process of identifying practices that constitute immaterial cultural heritage and which may therefore be entered into the national UNESCO list.

> *"Especially immaterial cultural heritage is a bottom-up process. It is foremost the motivation of the community itself to get on the national list. The crucial point is – and this is very important for us – that a community stands behind it, a community, to which this immaterial cultural heritage, this practice is important. There is a specific practice related to it, a certain knowledge, a certain rite. But, foremost, it must be important to the community. In other words, what does it mean to the local citizen? For them, it must have a high priority".*

Cultural impact also drives the actors who are involved in the production process, such as winemakers or the musicians who perform at the *Heurigen*. A local musician who had also begun to produce wine explained why he had opted for this form of employment.

> *"The most beautiful moment [for] the winemaker is the direct contact with the guests at the* Heurigen *– when the customers drink wine, and you see their reaction; when they like it, and you can perceive that moment. That is what this is all about, making wine. And it is similar to music: you are happy to receive applause and a positive reaction, and this also applies to winemaking".*

For centuries, the *Heurigen* have been places of socialisation and leisure. Furthermore, they are important cultural hubs that offer music, culture, art and local cuisine. The businesses also cooperate with local schools, with artists and, of course, with citizens.

Apart from the *Heurigen* places, there is also the archive for traditional local Viennese music, the *Wiener Volksliedwerk*, which provides cultural events that are related to the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* to members of the public . The archive has its own concert hall and organises festivals, concerts and musical workshops. One of its largest events is the Wean Hearn Festival (the Hearing Vienna Festival), which has been running for 21 years. It cooperates with various venues and stakeholders, such as theatres, museums and restaurants, and it promotes local musicians who perform *Wienerlied*, a musical tradition that is part of the *Heurigenkultur*.

3.3.6 Policy implications

The findings on the intangible cultural heritage practice of *Wiener Heurigenkultur* reflect the strong local embeddedness of the case study. Some arguments and policy implications may only be valid locally and do not apply to other forms of cultural heritage in Europe. We only conducted qualitative interviews with a small number of interview partners. There may be conflicting opinions on the *Wiener Heurigenkultur* that we did not capture.

One of the most serious difficulties in positioning the case study into a broad European context is the uniqueness and the arbitrariness of immaterial cultural heritage and thus of the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*. To put the same point in stronger terms, almost any cultural artefact or practice can become cultural heritage if it is locally specific, unique and acknowledged as cultural heritage by a community. Intangible cultural heritage can thus take forms as varied as art, language, handcraft, music, dance, knowledge, skills and so on. There is hardly a limit.

The present case exhibits certain similarities to other intangible cultural heritage practices in Europe, such as the Champagne hillsides, various houses and hillsides elsewhere in France, the tapas tradition in Spain or the Prosecco Hills of Italy. These examples are also related to agriculture, hospitality and cultural tourism. They have local quality labels, they emphasise specific culinary experiences, and their historical roots are locally embedded.

Contextualising the case study within the cultural and the creative industries poses a different challenge. Cultural heritage *per se* is not a commercial product or service. This is particularly relevant to intangible cultural heritage – evaluating its economic value is largely pointless. Although related industries such as agriculture, cultural tourism and hospitality can benefit, the present case study demonstrates that the economic exploitation of heritage can have a negative effect and even threaten the existence of a practice. For example, economic exploitation can cause cultural heritage to become inauthentic, and landscapes may be threatened by expensive residential developments. A district leader said that too many tourists "ruin the place. What happens when there are too many tourist busses? People move away. Then, the place is dead… though tourism is fine as long as it does not exceed a certain limit". Therefore, intensive tourism must be limited as a matter of urgency. Cultural heritage should be safeguarded and preserved so that it can be passed on to future generations. Once intangible living cultural heritage is destroyed, the prospects of revitalising it become dim – traditions, knowledge and skills all vanish.

The cultural diversity of Europe means that the industry of cultural heritage has considerable potential. The policy implications require the involvement of various actors at different levels. Cultural heritage, particularly intangible cultural heritage, is always transmitted and reproduced by a local community. Local cultural associations and representative authorities act as key stakeholders and must be involved in policymaking.

Territorial embeddedness

The special character of the *Heurigenkultur* stems from its uniqueness and its strong local embeddedness. The cultural practice of *Wiener Heurigenkultur* can only occur in Vienna. One of the *Heurigen* owners said, “We have a town with two million inhabitants right in front of our door, we just need to pick up our guests”. The spatial footprint of the *Heurigenkultur* is relatively easy to identify as most actors are located in and around Vienna. The wine is made locally, and barrels, bottles, cartons and other resources are usually produced near Vienna. One of the Heurigen owners explained the following:

> *“Especially the Heurigen is very regional, the suppliers for food and drinks… The producer of bottle labels, for example, is 20 minutes away from us. The other suppliers are also from our region because the proximity leads to a certain personal relationship. The big productions for cartoons are placed in Tyrol because this company is much bigger and can offer better conditions for bigger productions. A smaller regional producer would not have the possibility to offer that. When I say:, ‘I want 100 000 cartoons’, it is a very big amount, and a small producer cannot do that. But I am not a fan of foreign products… It should be regional. We buy in and around Vienna, so pretty regional”.*

Another owner also referred to regionality as a quality issue.

> *“We care about being regional… We choose our resources carefully. We are member of Wiener Heurigen, and there, it is more or less a [requirement] to use regional products which did not [travel] all around the world”.*

The marketing and PR professionals, photographers and graphic designers who predominate in the distribution phase are mostly located in Vienna. The Austrian UNESCO commission also has its headquarters in the city.

A photographer who specialised in producing high-quality images of bottles listed different reasons for owning a studio in Vienna but also noted that location is irrelevant to some ends. Most products were sent to him by parcel service. However, the cosmopolitan and cultural reputation of the city also enhanced the reputation of his business.

> *“I have a very big Austrian customer… with whom I have been cooperating for years, and I have never met the people who ordered the photos. Everything is done by mail or telephone, not even by Zoom meeting… I just need to get the products, or somebody sends [them] to me. In the end, they say, ‘Thanks. Everything okay. Please send the data’, and that is it, and then I send the invoice. Times are over when [everyone] had to know each other personally.*

That is another level. I know many of my customers personally, but it does not have to be like that, especially regarding the winemakers, who say, 'I just send you the bottles'".

Certain actors in the network do not have to be located in the region, especially those who conduct activities that are invisible to the end customer and are not immediately associated with the *Heurigenkultur*. The photographs of the wine bottles and the carboard factory in Tyrol are two examples. They are important for the entire production process, especially for its distribution phase, but remain hidden during the exchange phase.

Heurigenkultur can be exported in tangible and intangible forms. For example, wine bottles can be shipped to other countries and sold there, and Viennese music can also be played outside of the city. Due to personnel shortages, temporary staff are sometimes recruited from abroad, for example to support harvesting or to work as waiters or waitresses. One of the *Heurigen* owners said that he would sell his wine to large retailers, some of which were international: "In Germany, we deliver to many retailers, we have a [wide] spread. There are 5,000 stores to which we deliver".

The musician whom we interviewed was touring the world and would play traditional Viennese songs in different places and settings, not just in *Heurigen* taverns.

"I think there is interest [in traditional Viennese Heurigen *music], both in Vienna and abroad… It is not a musical genre that just works in Vienna. It is quite the opposite. The enthusiasm abroad is almost even bigger than there, where it comes from, which is quite abstruse".*

Similarly, information about the *Heurigenkultur* is communicated by WienTourism, which reaches cultural tourists from all parts of the globe.

Societal embeddedness

Cultural heritage is socially embedded. The same is true of forms of intangible cultural heritage such as the *Heurigenkultur*. It is part of Viennese culture, and the Viennese can all participate in and be part of it. It is an element of a local and a collective identity, it offers cultural spaces for domestic music and literature, and it contributes to social cohesion by bringing individuals together as well as by creating communicative spaces and a sense of belonging. There is also significant cooperation with educational institutions, archives, museums, musicians and festivals, which results in the creation of networks and connections between stakeholders and local citizens.

3.4 Case 3: SRA – Archiv Österreichischer Popularmusik (Archive of Austrian Popular Music)

3.4.1 Phases, actors, and locations

Phases

Creation

Looking the GPN phases in more detail, we identified that the creation phase involved an initiation and conceptualisation process: “Well, the beginning was romantic, as [usual] with such projects. You are able to do something, you just start and do not [reflect] too much”. Back in the 1990s, the two founders of the archive discussed the new possibilities that the World Wide Web had created. Both had an affection for Austrian underground music, and they defined the form of the archive. “What if we had a database which also existed online? So, from the beginning we knew that the database must be online in the World Wide Web; otherwise, we would not have done it. So, it was not about accumulating knowledge and keeping it hidden in an office or keeping it private between music nerds”. The founders created the first version of the SRA in 1993 and inputted unstructured data into it. They focused on underground bands but had no real concept. The project was then developed further, with upgrades and tools such as data relationality. The more data on songs and bands the owners added, the more questions and issues came up about the content that the archive would contain and preserve. “Okay, most underground guys got mainstream sooner or later, especially in Austropop. So, you cannot say, ‘Okay, he just published a super record, number 72, and from the 75th, he did Austropop *Schlager* [a commercial genre]. How would you distinguish them?”. Therefore, the archive collection began to expand and came to include artists that focused on different popular genres of music.

Production

The production phase includes the acquisition, selection and cataloguing of new data. In the case of the SRA, it entails selecting artists, songs and media, collecting records and general research. Labour is divided among the staff. One employee whom we interviewed, for example, was responsible for research and digitisation: “I am mainly looking for new releases, and then ask if we could have an exemplar for the archive. When we can get it, I put it into the archive. It means that I acquire the record, digitalise it, put a number on it and add it to our system, and then I store it so it can be found again”.

Production also involves the protection and maintenance of collections as well as their management, curation and dissemination. Management also involves receiving subsidies. There are some activities that may overlap with the dissemination and exchange phase, such as expanding access to the data. Furthermore, the archive occasionally organises events and cooperates with research and publication projects.

Dissemination

The dissemination phase involves making the archive accessible to the public. The SRA offers both digital and physical access. This said, most users retrieve information online. The other activities include acquisitions, promotion and the formulation of communication strategies. One of the employees, for example, created social media channels for the archive so that more individuals could learn of its existence and services. The SRA sometimes cooperates with other archives, such as the one in Graz: "We have cooperated with them for a certain time, a little bit [informally], but it worked pretty well. So, in the sense of… they borrowed content from us which they did not own". In return, the SRA obtained records by local bands that they had not yet stored.

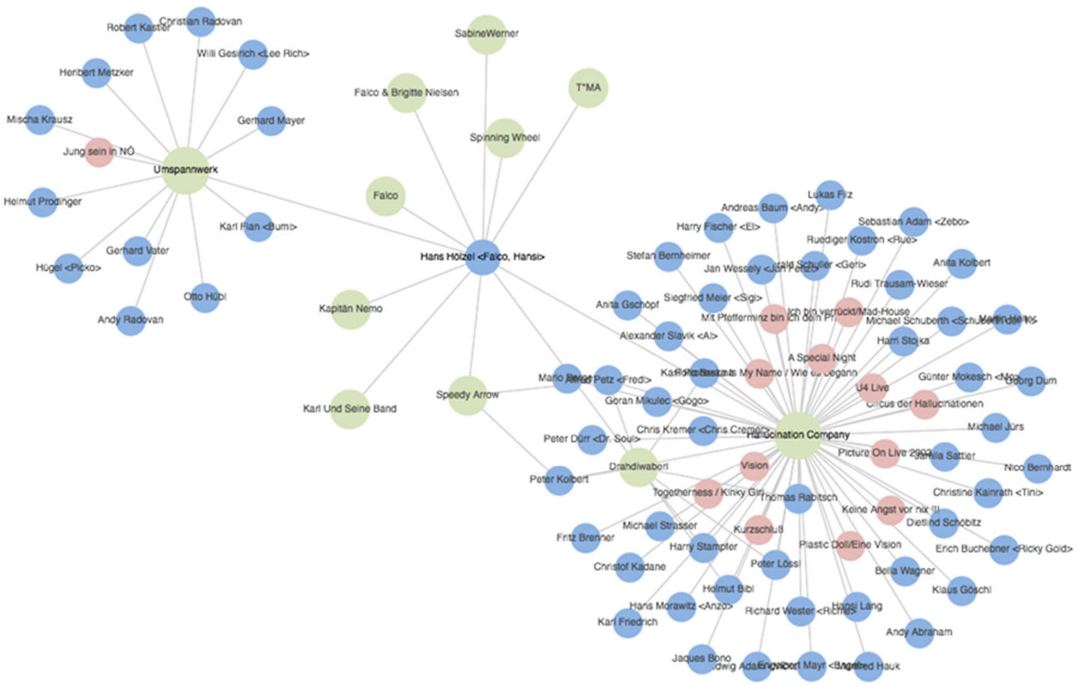
Exchange

The widest variety of actors is observed in the exchange phase. Many different actors, such as students, academics, journalists and artists, use the SRA. The exchange phase also entails the most intensive interaction between these actors. It includes the usage of the archive, that is, the process of accessing content and creating new knowledge with it. Visitors conduct research and seek records, music magazines, and constellations of bands, or they visit for pleasure. The employee explained what the common exchange practices are.

> *"I think most users use the database on the Internet. Sometimes, there are people who are interested in music who come to our archive in order to listen to things or to do research on older magazines in our article archive. Sometimes, also young researchers visit us when they want to write their master's theses and deal with Austrian popular music. They are quite often here, and then mainly use the magazine archive".*

The interrelational online database is unique. It shows links between artists and records. "So, if there is a person that has played in a band that I liked… What else did they do? Then, it [is] very practical [to] come from A to B". The figure below depicts the unique system of the SRA. The blue dots are individual musicians, the green ones are bands or solo projects, and the red dots denote records. The search term in the example was "Hans Hölzel", a very famous Austrian pop musician who is better known as Falco. His work was not limited to the eponymous solo project, and he performed with bands such as the Hallucination Company and Umspannwerk. The interrelational database can show such links between musicians, musical projects and records.

Figure 11. Interrelational database of the SRA for the search term “Falco” (vis.sra.at)



Archiving

The term “archiving phase” may seem tautological when used in relation to the archives and libraries industry. What is the archiving of an archive? It may involve metadata, backup systems or even the continuous process of maintaining the archive. From a more abstract perspective, the archiving phase could also refer to notions of cultural memory, historiography and local collective identity. The musicology professor explained, “Historiography, in principle, depends on archives, because there is no way in which you can make historiography without sources”.

Table 17: SRA production phases

Phase	Activities	Actors
Creation	Initiation process, conceptualisation, physical and digital construction, selection of records and musicians for inclusion into the archive	Founder of the archive, funding structures and subsidies
Production	Acquisition of content, protection and maintenance, curation, management, collection, cataloguing, storage, digitisation of records, management of subsidies	SRA staff, musicians, funding bodies
Dissemination	Making the archive accessible to the public, offering online access, sporadic lending and	SRA staff, other archives or related institutions such as the Museumsquartier

	borrowing, acquisition, promotion, communication	
Exchange	Online and offline use of the archive, research and application of knowledge	SRA staff, researchers, journalists, civil society, musicians
Archiving	Metadata, backup systems, cultural memory, collective identity and historiography	SRA staff, researchers, civil society, musicians

Actors

The SRA is a think-tank and an inspiration for music enthusiasts, journalists, musicians and other professionals. The archive is strongly anchored in the local community because all of its sources originate from the Austrian music scene. In fact, it is this particular specialisation and its form that ensure that the archive is firmly embedded into its locality and region. Most interviewees were situated in the exchange phase, which showcases its importance for the whole production network of the archives industry.

Most of the actors who are involved in the various phases of archive production are highly educated and skilled. SRA has approximately 10 members of staff, most of whom work part time. The employees are young, and many of them are students. Wages are low, so their motivation to work is not primarily financial but intrinsic, and it stems from a passion for music. All members of staff are highly specialised in music, and some are musicologists, but they also possess extensive knowledge of artistic networks and institutions, particularly Austrian ones. They also have excellent administrative and archival skills. An employee described his background thus:

> *"I studied musicology, and concerning the required skills – one has to know the music scene. One has to know where to look up things, which sources one can use, for example in regard to new releases. A little bit of computer skills… so, it would work with digitalising, or when you digitalise vinyl, then you have to know how a vinyl player works. But it does not take too long to learn that, and it is not a disadvantage… So, be social, in terms of going to concerts and [connecting] with bands, like, 'Hey, I am from that archive. Could you send us your data and records?', because we also need to document, for example, who plays in that band and who played there… things like that".*

The motivation of the key actors in this case study is based on their wish to contribute and to safeguard cultural heritage and Austrian popular music rather than a desire to profit or advance their careers. This proposition applies not only to the SRA staff but also to funders, academics and researchers. The artists who use the archive are driven by both intrinsic motivation, which stems from the need to contribute and create, but also by financial concerns, in that these works are created with a view to profit.

Locations

The physical location of an archive is also crucial for the use and interpretation of its content. The same is not true of digital archives. All of our interviewees were based in Vienna, which demonstrates the intensity of the local spatial footprint of the archive. A musicologist explained the following:

> *"The system of a digital archive is different to the system of a physical archive… So, one can look of the arrangement of things, how are they related? Are there single pages, or is there a bigger collection of books? How are their material characteristics? A lot of details, which can be crucial for philological work. How is the paper folded? What happens when I do the folding another way? Which correspondences occur then? You never have a chance [of] finding these things in a digital archive".*

Many also come from local or national organisations and from associations, which highlights the role of archives for institutions but also confirms the strong local footprint of the archives for the city and the country.

3.4.2 Relationships between actors

The communication between the archive and its various users occurs over the phone or by email, and there is no interaction page. The managers of the archive settled on this system in order to avoid inappropriate comments, which had been problematic in the past.

Due to its focus, the archive is very strongly connected with and has an impact on the local and the national music industry. It is intimately linked to the local popular music community because musicians and performers visit it to obtain information and inspiration. Research from students and advanced researchers from music universities in Vienna and the rest of the country are also common. Furthermore, the SRA increases the global visibility of Austrian music. Its location in central Vienna means that many tourists visit it. Most of them have no previous notion of the existence of such an archive and thus acquire the opportunity to gain a robust and informed perspective on the Austrian popular music industry.

3.4.3 Network type

Figure 14 (see next page) demonstrates that the creation, distribution and production phases of the archive following the GPN typology are clearly situated in the local-regional-national and the concentrated-power side of the production network. The exchange phase, conversely, is between the national and the EU-global side of the graph. In that phase, power is more dispersed, and it involves more actors, both from within the country and abroad. Finally, the archiving phase is also characterised by dispersed power, and it is situated on the EU-global side of the figure.

Table 18. The typology matrix for the SRA case study

PRODUCTION NETWORK PHASES	Local/ regional	National	Intra-EU	Global	GOVERNANCE
Creation	Creators				
Production	Creators/ Suppliers/	Strategic partners (public sector)/ Suppliers			
Distribution	Creators				
Exchange	Consumers/ Creators	Consumers	Consumers	Consumers	
Archiving	Creators				
Network level					Lead actor

The typology reveals that most activities are done by the creators on a local level. The staff of the archive carries out their work in Vienna and distributes it from there all over the world as it is an online archive. Only in the production and exchange phase, there are some other actors involved: Production includes strategic partners from the public sector who ensure funding and suppliers for the acquisition of data and other archiving material. In the exchange phase it is the consumers (rather referred to as users) that can use the archive from all spatial levels because the website can be accessed from all over the world. The archiving is done on a local/regional level again, namely the digital and physical archive based at the SRA in Vienna.

Concerning the network level, its governance is defined by a lead actor, which in this case is the creators. Although the archive is based in Vienna and its staff works there, the network level is rather national, because the archive collects data from musicians all over Austria and many stakeholders, especially from the production and exchange phase, can be found on a national rather than only local/regional level. As the table above shows, most of the activities were performed by the SRA organisation: creation, parts of the production, all of the distribution and the archiving. Only in the production phase there are suppliers and strategic partners involved. The public sector as a subsidiser also plays a relevant role in the production phase as the archive relies on subsidies. The consumers and creators prevail in the exchange phase at a global level because SRA is not only a physical but also an online archive and can be accessed from all over the world.

Since the archive only collects Austrian popular music, production only occurs within national boundaries. The main target audience is also national. The distribution and exploitation phase can unfold on the global level and affect it a result of digitisation and because the archive is available online.

3.4.4 Dynamics: changes over time

As one of the interviewees said, the operation of the archive was largely unstructured at the beginning. The first entries in the SRA collection were for the bands and musicians that came to the minds of the founders, without any particular form of organisation being adopted. As the archive grew, this changed.

> *"In the beginning, the whole thing was very unstructured. Jonny did a database on Microsoft Access Basics. This improved then. At some point, there was a keyboard, and each key had a function, you could click on it and a window appeared. Then, you typed in the data. There were two, three upgrades then, and we are still working with the same toll. So, the basis is the same, we never changed it".*

Accessing pages was simple, and small photos were used because most users could open them easily on their computers. As the time went by, technology developed, and users acquired new devices. The offering of the archive was updated in step with those developments. Improvements were made to the size and the quality of the photos, and multimedia were introduced.

Digitisation seems to have reduced the influence of the archive on artists and creators. Better-known and more globalised platforms such as Spotify seem to be more popular among artists as means of generating publicity. The director of the archive added the following:

> *"The number of website [visits]… is astonishing. They [were] better in the beginning. So, in the late 1990s and [early] 2000s, we had better Internet data because many bands did not have their own websites by then, and they actually used the SRA page as their website. Then, bands created their own websites, and this traffic declined".*

The artists explained the importance of the platforms that are preferred over the archive. Digitisation and the emergence of global platforms and Internet music companies, such as Spotify and Bandcamp, cast doubts on the need for archives like the SRA. The value of the archive is obvious: it does not enter into commercial relationships with artists and users in the way that the aforementioned platforms do but disseminates content for free instead. The value of the SRA also lies in its longevity and sustainability. While online music platforms such as Myspace have disappeared from the market, the SRA archive remains active because its survival is not tied to its financial success. Furthermore, its users seem to find it more trustworthy. For example, journalists find it to be more reliable than other online archives.

The management of the SRA also identified the need to connect the archive to the music industry, in line with the changes in the latter. However, meeting that need is hindered by financial concerns because new initiatives require investment.

Covid-19 had no real impact on the function of the archive. Government measures prompted members of staff to switch to working online instead of from its central Vienna premises. Footfall did not appear to have changed as a result of Covid-19.

3.4.5 Impact

Economic impact

The SRA does not exert any real economic impact on the local economy. It is not a for-profit organisation, it does not generate economic revenue, and its sociocultural influence is more important than its financial one. SRA is connected to local identity as an institution that creates and preserves history, knowledge, cultural heritage and cultural memory. It also inspires artists, other musicians, journalists and citizens, and contributes to science through education and lifelong learning. It is also important for national identity because it archives Austrian popular music and because it safeguards different forms of musical and artistic expression, thus protecting local cultural heritage.

Archives of this kind do not have any particular effect on economic development, at least directly. In most (if not all) cases, they sustain themselves through subsidies and do not generate any financial profit. The SRA was funded by municipal and state institutions and, later, by collectors' societies and organisations that are closely related to them. The staff are either volunteers or employed marginally (see further the following section). A music historian gave the following explanation:

> *"Archives should not even try to justify themselves [by] an economic logic. There is the saying of Dürrenmatt: 'one has to learn to not justify oneself'. And that is exactly the point, which archives must consider very clearly, that visitor numbers or any economic quantifiable output ideas [will be] legitimate – this shall never be the case. It is a different game with archives, and I think it is the decision of a community. What is important when it comes to keeping our own heritage and, ultimately, our cultural identity?".*

The direct impact of the SRA on the economy is weak. The same is not true of its indirect economic impact. For example, musicians use the collection of the archive to create music from which they then profit.

Social impact

The archive relies strongly on work of volunteers and part-time staff. The main motivation of the staff at the archive is intrinsic. The same type of motivation inspired its conception and launch. Employment is based on what Austrians call "*geringfügig Beschäftigung*", which may be translated as "marginal employment". Monthly income does not exceed a basic amount, which is low. An employee described his working routine as follows: "I am here six hours a week. That is one shift. Sometimes, I do two of them. In, total we have six or seven employees, who also do one to two shifts a week".

Individuals tend to come into contact with the archive because of its relationships with the local community. For example, they may be contacted to supply information on their work or on their bands, or they may need to use it for research purposes. Some are approached to work there, which is seen as a suitable recruitment method for two reasons. First, it provides individuals who are already in the archive a means of becoming involved. For example, students can work in a field in which they possess expertise rather than in sectors that do not interest them, such as hospitality. Second, SRA can recruit employees who are enthusiastic about its activities and perform better than prospective workers whose background is not in music. In the past, the archive recruited staff through the Austrian employment service, but this was not a success – the individuals who were recruited were apathetic, did not know how to enter information into databases correctly and could not trace the correct information because they were not at all familiar with the music industry. Recently vacated positions are not filled through headhunting. Instead, recruitment is based on word of mouth and personal connections because most of the staff who leave usually recommend acquaintances who can replace them and who possess similar expertise.

The collection of the SRA has been enriched by the involvement of individuals who originally approached it for a different purpose, such as research. Interaction with and research at the archive enables such individuals to identify gaps in its materials. Some of them add entries and complete missing information.

Much of the work of the archive is accomplished through personal interactions between staff and artists. For example, staff may request clarifications and additional information to complete entries in the SRA database. Notably, their operations and everyday contacts with musicians and performers have enabled them to collect interesting information about the working cultures of different bands. They mentioned, for example, that those in hip hop are usually not particularly organised, whereas jazz musicians are perfectionists and work in a structured way.

Those who work at the SRA possess deep knowledge of their own fields of expertise, which include dance, punk and trash music. Higher subsidies have been identified as means of increasing professionalism and attracting specialised staff to develop and improve the archive. Higher subsidies would also allow the archive to be updated and to cover developments in the music industry such as the formation and dissolution of bands, new song release and such like. Geographical, production and intersectional data could also be analysed more accurately. The employees argued that such improvements would connect their work to current developments in the industry and to the needs of the market. For example, they would be able to provide data analytics to researchers and organisations. This would also provide a form of word-of-mouth advertisement, enabling the SRA to reach potential users who do not yet know about the existence of the archive.

Cultural impact

The important cultural impact of archives stems from their indispensability to the historiography of societies. A music historian explained that “our historiography depends on archives because you cannot write history without any sources. An archive is a location where sources are bundled and collected”.

Technology is essential to the operation of the archive. An online presence was contemplated from the outset. The SRA is accessible online, and digitisation also allows its collection to be made available digitally outside of Austria, meaning that it can reach a global userbase. The interviewees said that data accuracy has been paramount for the operation of the archive from the beginning because it is important to connect individual pieces of information on artists, albums, networks and such like.

Although changes to the archive have been made in step with technological advances (see also the section below), some of the basic operational principles have remained the same. The database is still based on Microsoft Access. Although it has been upgraded, it has not changed significantly. A musicology professor gave the following explanation:

> *“[The point at which content is digitalised is] also a moment of interpretation. It is not a one-to-one illustration, and there is the question ‘how do I scan something?’… It is the first interpretation. So, a facsimile is not the original, and the ultimate authentication must be done with the original. And this is [the] crucial raison d’être [of] physical archives, up to the fact that we cannot tell how long digital data will actually survive… It is very important to keep archives in a physical way”.*

3.4.6 Policy implications

Archives are a part of the culture and creative sector. They are characterised by strong symbolic value and low economic value. Appropriate policies can balance the two values and enhance the role of archives in the CCS. The key actors who are involved in policymaking are the management team(s) of archives and local, regional, national and EU authorities that can provide subsidies and influence the directions and objectives of archives.

Several issues are relevant to archives policy.

1) Additional roles that archives can play within CCS and non-CCS industries

   Archives offer an opportunity to connect with the past, with collective memory and with cultural heritage. This role, to which they have adhered firmly for a long time, has prevented them from developing and expanding their activities. From a pragmatic perspective, archives, particularly digital ones, hold vast volumes of data that can and should be used further. Digitisation has enabled this data to be disseminated, but other means of diffusing it to the relevant parts of the creative and the non-creative sector should be identified. This would enable archives to acquire a practical function within the CCS, in which they can operate as repositories of data and information (in addition to their symbolic function as repositories of culture and heritage) while becoming more interactive within the CCS.

   Suitable policies for integrating archives into other segments of the CCS would necessitate a strategic shift in their roles and operations, away from their conventional functioning as repositories of cultural heritage and collective memory and towards a more contemporary one, with practices of the kind that were mentioned above. This goal can be attained by widening funding criteria in cultural-heritage-related calls (cultural heritage could be defined more inclusively to include archives).

2) Alternative sources of income

   One issue that is connected to the previous one point but may also be treated separately is that of funding sources. Archives need to seek alternative sources of income, not only to remain financially viable and cover the costs of digitising their collections but also in order to expand their activities and their roles.

   Alternative and/or additional funding should be made available to facilitate this transformation. The provision of information about potential sources of funding and the means of accessing them should also be a concern for policymakers. Collaboration between archive managers and authorities at all levels should be made possible for this goal to be attained.

Territorial embeddedness

The SRA, which collects material that is related to Austrian popular music as well as national data and music from all parts of Austria, is a prestigious archive and has a strong local footprint. It is based in the Museumsquartier in Vienna, in the centre of the city, and everyone can access it physically in that space. The archive is open and can be used by researchers, performers, composers, event and festival organisers, journalists and the lay public. Since it provides resources that are related to popular music, it is important to all of those parties. It has a unique collection of 700,000 datasets in the form of CDs, vinyl, cassettes and magazines. Its resources are free to use.

The archive is physically accessible in central Vienna. Its website, its databases and its projects can also be accessed digitally through its website. Therefore, its users may come from different areas, including ones outside of Austria, which means that its reach is global. The archive has strong geographical connections to the local area because of its focus on Austrian popular music. The benefits that accrue to that area are symbolic rather than economic. Network flows are not so much related to goods – the association of the archive with commercial products is weak – but to different kinds of value which are mostly artistic and social.

Societal embeddedness

The SRA is firmly rooted in Viennese and Austrian society because it is an archive of popular Austrian music and because it is socially embedded, with a wide network in its local society. The actors who are involved in its various phases include funding authorities, academics, researchers, students, media organisations, artists, performers and music aficionados. The archive formulates different relationships with different actors in different phases. Those relationships are characterised by varying levels of interactivity. The network can be expanded if additional financial support is provided – the lack of resources limits its ability to grow.

Network embeddedness

Networking plays an important role in the music profession in Austria. Since that profession is small, those who practice it have many mutual contacts. The SRA operates within this network and cooperates with local and national institutions, including the Music Information Centre Austria and the SKE (a funding institution for composers in Austria) as well as universities and media partners. It also organises events. These relationships are more interactive than those with the funders of the SRA and entail more exchanges between archive and actors. The archive depends on its funders. It needs them to survive. The connections between the managers of the archive and its staff are such that links between the institution, individual musicians and bands, journalists, students and researchers have been established successfully.

The SRA needs public subsidies to continue operating, and it collaborates with regional and national institutions. It is mostly financed by public funding, but also by institutions, associations and private entities. It cooperates with other institutions in Vienna, such as universities and media organisations, and it organises events. The other sectors with which it is connected are publishing, research and education, hardware and software, and entertainment (through its events organisation).

PART 4. Conclusions

4.1 Conclusions

The cultural heritage, archive and libraries industry is related to both tangible and intangible heritage. Its significance for global, European, and local cultures and communities is obvious. Above all, the research that we conducted demonstrates the vastness and the heterogeneity of the field. For example, the definition of the terms “heritage” and “museum” has been discussed for many years. Since the establishment of ICOM in 1946, the scope of these terms has changed repeatedly, and the latest version (below) from the 2019 ICOM conference in Kyoto is still being debated at the time of writing. Academics who specialise in heritage do not accept it.

“Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people. Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing” (ICOM, 2019).

The controversy stems from the breadth of the definition, which makes it difficult to design a systemic approach to museums and heritage or to develop management standards. The management of academic heritage is deceptively simple. Its goal is to guard the heritage of science, and museums are the basis of educational and scientific tools that are used when teaching students. However, although they form part of university structures, museums also operate in the social space. In recent years, they have struggled to reinvent themselves and to move beyond university structures as demanded by the public and politicians. They are driven by an internal desire to increase social awareness of heritage and to move closer to non-university audiences. At the same time, those who work at museums fear that they are being uprooted. The network collaborations that were described here and the joint efforts of museums to find a place in the cultural market demonstrates the difficulty of achieving such results and the wide array of actors who must be involved. Setting a universal framework for the entire industry appears to be an insurmountable barrier. Unless such a framework is established, museums will not be able to set their own frames of reference.

Cultural heritage, archives and libraries do not always have obvious economic outputs, and estimating them is inordinately difficult. The institutions in question are not meant to generate economic value. The SRA can only exist with public funding. The same is true of other archives and libraries, which are also not designed to generate profit.

Immaterial cultural heritage is a matter for the public and for assemblies of individuals. Certain traditions can decline or even become extinct when individuals do not interact, as shown by the case of the Covid-19 lockdowns and the *Wiener Heurigenkultur*. There is also power in the agency of local communities. They are responsible for the survival of intangible cultural heritage, and it is also they who acknowledge and recognise cultural heritage and act to safeguard it through their initiatives.

The COVID-19 crisis created problems in the industry of cultural heritage, archives and libraries, and museums appear to have suffered the most. They could not welcome any visitors, and online services could not always compensate for the loss of actual experiences. Even during the summer of 2020, "5 out of 10 museums reported a drop between 25–75% of visitors, while 2 in 10 museums even reported a visitor drop of more than 75%" (NEMO, 2021, p. 3). However, Covid-19 also accelerated digitisation and enabled cultural heritage institutions to embrace digital technology and become more creative and open.

We found that, due to its particularities, the application of the GPN approach to the cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry is not always straightforward. This difficulty is particular pronounced in the creation phase, which is not easy to identify. Does it cover the creation of a particular building or its elevation to the status of a cultural heritage monument? How to define and frame the archiving phase for an archive? In this sense, our research also highlighted puzzling questions to which we could offer no easy answers.

The cultural heritage, archives and libraries industry has the admirable quality of involving, incorporating, interacting with and reflecting on other industries. A variety of institutions and actors on different levels and scales recognise, interact with, and add value to cultural heritage, archives and libraries. The benefits that cultural heritage, archives and libraries create, although they are not necessarily economic, are used to generate value, which also need not be monetary, in other sectors of the economy.

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Appendix A. Methodology

A1. Research methodology

Introduction

The general aim of the CICERONE research, and in particular of WP2, is to understand the role of CCS in the local development of EU countries starting from the configuration and dynamics of their global production networks (GPNs). This work package is based on a case study approach combining quantitative with qualitative research. The former is aimed at positioning the sector along a number of dimensions, while the latter will uncover the more in-depth aspects of the GPNs of the selected sectors. While the project adopts a prevailing qualitative, it also envisages secondary data analysis. The case study approach is coherent with the research aim because of its ability to cover both a contemporary phenomenon and its context.

This appendix presents the main methodological issues of the WP2, some of which have been pointed to at the beginning of the reports.

Methodology stands for the systematic examinations of procedures and modalities of explanation that are used for the analysis of empirical data.[2]

In social sciences, empirical research may adopt a descriptive or an explorative logic; however, all research is always informed by a theoretical apparatus, even though the connection between theory and empirical research takes different connotations in the different disciplines/fields. Notably, epistemology draws a distinction between explanation and comprehension. Explanation implies the search for a stable nexus of causality between two (or more) variables, independently from the social and historical context. The underlying assumption is that we should be able to identify universal laws explaining the nature of observations (like in the so-called hard sciences). Comprehension refers to the traditional Weberian conception of understanding the meaning of the action for social actors. Such a meaning is influenced by institutional, normative and cultural dimensions that are spatially and historically specific. Reality is not simply described, but it is read, analyzed and interpreted.

In a situation where universal laws are inapplicable, the logic is to search for empirical generalizations. In order to move towards empirical generalization, social sciences make use of models or typologies starting from Weberian insights. Weber describes ideal types as 'mental constructs, formed by the

[2] Selvin, H. C. (1958). Durkheim's suicide and problems of empirical research. *American journal of sociology*, *63*(6), 607-619.

analytical and one-sided 'accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct'.[3] Through ideal types, reality is recomposed and synthesized starting from classificatory categories, so to help researchers to identify dynamics and mechanisms that underlie social processes.

Traditionally, empirical research is based on either qualitative or quantitative methods (or both). The distinction between the two has a technical nature: the choice depends by many elements, such as the research questions, data availability or the approach that leads it.

The choice of the method: the case study

Among many qualitative methodologies, case study research investigates into a real-life phenomenon in-depth and within its situatedness and embeddedness context.[4] Such a case can be an individual, a group, an organization, an event, a problem, or an anomaly.[5] Contrary to the quantitative logic, the case is chosen because it is of interest[6] or for theoretical reasons.[7] Unlike in experiments, the contextual conditions are not delineated and/or controlled, but part of the investigation.

In the case study methodology, the selection of cases is a crucial phase, and generalization of results is mostly based on that. There are two modalities to select case studies:[8] random and information-oriented selection. Random selection is usually chosen to avoid systematic biases in the sample; in such circumstances, the sample size is decisive for generalization.

In social science research cases are generally not randomly selected because it is difficult to in depth explore a huge sample. In this case, the generalizability of case studies can be increased by the strategic selection of cases. Information-oriented selection implies that case studies are selected based on the expectations about their insights into processes, agency, strategies (information content). Cases bring new knowledge either because they have a strategic importance in relation to the general problem or because they help to test the validity of the theory. Case studies allow cross-country comparison: the different contexts shed light on different dynamics related to economic circumstances, national and local regulatory framework, labour market, local culture and know-how,

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[3] Weber, [1904] in Rossi P. (1974)(ed.) *Lo storicismo contemporaneo*. Loescher, Torino: 124-125.

[4] Ridder, H.G. (2017). The theory contribution of case study research designs. *Business Research*, 10(2), 281-305.

[5] Burawoy, M. (2009). *The extended case method: Four countries, four decades, four great transformations, and one theoretical tradition*. Univ of California Press; Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Sage, London; Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case Study Research Design and Methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA

[6] Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Sage, London

[7] Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of management journal*, 50(1), 25-32.

[8] Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2).

and so on. According to Robinson[9] the choice of the territory assumed as the basis of the comparison (being it a nation, region or city) should be carefully chosen in relation to the single case study rather than assumed a priori.

Research design and research steps

WP2 is based on a mixed methods approach of investigation. This means using both quantitative and qualitative tools; primary and secondary data allow a complex research design composed by several interconnected research dimensions: an industry description, an analysis for the identification of the case studies and the case studies themselves.

Industry description

Quantitative data was used to have a factual overview of European GPNs in CCIs together with literature and desk analysis.

Literature analysis and quantitative (secondary) data were used to explore and describe the features of each industry, its quantitative consistence and its European production network, its role in the European economy, the territorial distribution of its companies and the typical business models.

1) Literature review – for each industry
    a) Configuration of the PN (input-output structure) in industry X
    b) Prevailing governance typology in industry X (e.g. power relationships, barriers to entry, value adding mechanisms, labour processes/skills …) + possible governance typologies considering single interfirm relationships
    c) Key socio-institutional dimensions affecting network configuration/dynamics (e.g. fiscal incentives, property rights, labour legislation, path dependent cultural aspects) at various levels (European, national, regional)
    d) (possible) Changes over time (e.g. digitalisation, technologies, ---) + possible firms upgrading processes (value capture strategies)
    e) (possible) National variations and specificities (e.g. the French film industry is very much supported by national funds)

Statistical mapping of production network of CCS in Europe

Statistical data at the EU level (by Nuts 1, 2, 3 if possible) on number of firms, employment, VA, ... relative to the *different network phases* (e.g. creation, production, distribution, etc.) composing the PNs of the 8 selected CCIs.

[9] Robinson, J. (2011). Cities in a world of cities: The comparative gesture. *International journal of urban and regional research*, *35*(1), 1-23.

Case studies in WP2

One of the strengths of the research lies in the fact that the great variety of case studies share a common unit of analysis. This is the production network of actors, firms, organisation involved in projects, which is very much in line with a whole body of literature on forms of collaboration in the cultural and creative industries. The benefits of a such project-based approach are according to Allan Watson as follows:

> *"… first it moves beyond [solely] structural analyses to allow for an understanding of the importance of agency in project work; second it allows us to move on from firm-level analyses to develop an understanding of the complex social networks involved in [production networks]; and finally it moves on from research at the meso-level on inter- and intra-firm networks to provide micro-level analyses of project work*."[10]

It enabled the whole research to take into account agency *and* structure as well as their interaction, thereby heeding the view of Powell and Smith Doerr[11] who conceptualise networks both as relational forms and structural ones.

As anticipated, cases were selected on the basis of their informative power and of the theoretical expectations about their insights. Moreover, two other empirical-based dimensions were taken into account when selecting the case studies, namely, the feasibility of the empirical research and the geographical span of the case studies which are simultaneously located mainly (if not entirely) within the EU limits and cross the borders of a single European country.

Such a choice aims at bringing new knowledge on the contribution of the European CCS to local development, sustainability, social cohesion and (local) identity. Furthermore, as already discussed, an information-oriented selection of case studies increases the generalizability of results.

In details, theoretically based case study selection was grounded on the review of the existing literature on CCS and their organizational forms[12] assuming a novel viewpoint. Three common aspects underlie this choice.

a) GPNs in CCIs, as in any other industries, are characterized by differential power relations. Powerful actors (the lead firm) are those who drive networks and make things happen: as explained, their ability derives from their control of key resources, namely physical, economic, technological but also social, political and immaterial ones. The control of resources however

[10] Watson, A. (2012). Sociological Perspectives on the Economic Geography of Projects: The Case of Project-Based Working in the Creative Industries. *Geography Compass*, *6*(10), 617-631, p. 618.

[11] Smith-Doerr L, Powell W (2005) Networks and Economic Life. In Neil Smelser and Richard Swedberg, eds. *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press.

[12] Different disciplinary insights have been used drawing upon the literature in business, economics, sociology, economic geography.

does not automatically imply that the actor is powerful until power is exercised. Rather than being matter of actors' position in the network (more or less marginal actors), power should be conceived as the capacity to concretely exercise control within it. Governance identifies the authority and power relationships that affect how resources – material, financial, human, etc. – are distributed and flow along the chain. Following Gereffi it is possible to distinguish between, two typologies of networks: the producers- and the buyer- driven chains. Governance as driveness embraces therefore a broad idea whereby governance refers to the whole chain dynamics: this concept is meant to capture the power that lead firms exert over other participants and to highlight its ability to govern the chain by making decisions about where, how and by whom goods/services are produced. In the identification of concrete governance typologies characterising a specific industry, the concept of governance as driveness is one important aspect.

b) Relationships between lead firms and the other actors in the network differ across industries due to the particular features of the products/services produced, to the production process and the organization of that specific industry. The configuration and coordination of global production networks are also shaped by the expansion of demand and markets. Goods and services' demand needs to be created and sustained among final consumers and end users (i.e. think about the increased role of merchandising). It is therefore important to satisfy customer pressures, (i.e. price, quality), the so-called time to market (i.e. time imperative) as well as the basic access to the market and to new markets (i.e. in emerging economies). Finally, the choices and strategies of production networks are also influenced by financial considerations, which relate both to firms' activities and to their shift to non- manufacturing ones. A second aspect to consider when selecting concrete case studies should therefore concern issues of product/service complexity, production capabilities, demand dynamics, markets' features, technological content, financial pressures, etc.: as the previous one, this aspect refers more to technical, organizational dimensions and demand, that are shaped primarily by the industries' internal logic.

c) As underlined, the innovativeness of the CICERONE project lies in the application of the GPNs perspective to the CCIs. Whilst a vast array of studies has concerned the manufacturing industry, considerably less attention has been devoted to the cultural and creative industries. The empirical work required by the project intended primarily to make a contribution to the understanding of the eight industries considered by the project at European level. Nonetheless, the empirical research aimed also to account for the broad institutional context in which production networks operate. Institutions do not only influence chains' dynamics but should be considered constitutive of these networks in ways that are critical for understanding their social and economic consequences: institutions were therefore not be considered external to the networks even though they are not strictly connected to inter-firms' relationships.

For each industry, case studies numbers range between two to four, according to the identified typologies, complexity of the case studies, availability of interviewees and so on.

Case study analysis

The empirical research based on case studies (namely the production network of projects) was carried on through the exploration of the single network-nodes and their relationships. Qualitative data was used to produce novel knowledge in the field and constitute the base for further research.

The explicative power of the selected case studies lies in the fact that the analysis is able to produce a 'substantive' representativeness of the EU CCS rather than their statistical one; in other words, case studies analysis allows understanding dynamics, mechanisms, relationships, etc. useful for explaining the functioning of such industries.

After selecting case studies, the empirical investigation was carried out using interviews, observations, ethnographies, digital ethnographies. The key dimensions of the analysis are: the network configuration and its geographical footprint; the governance dimension (power relations; value creation); the variety of embeddedness forms; the impact on socio-economic development.

As already indicated, production networks are socially and territorially embedded, beyond their organizational embeddedness. Societal embeddedness places economic actions within a multilevel institutional and cultural framework. Territorial embeddedness appreciates the differing ways in which firms are anchored to different places and to its specific resources and features, for instance the local culture, labour forces, policies, raw materials and so on. Ultimately CCS industrial dynamics in Europe was analysed both in their ideal-typical sense (by accounting for the specific industry-level characteristics affecting inter-firm linkages) and with concern to the differentially embedded nature of their economic activities. Attention was paid also to the ways in which actors mobilize and deploy resource, forge alliance, shape regulatory structures through discursive constructions and mechanisms that legitimate the GPN configuration, i.e. eco labels, fair trade, ethical labour, environmentally friendly productions, etc. Consideration was also devoted to any relevant policy (or the lack of it) at the different stages in chain, which may affect the way in which the whole chain is configured. Policy analysis implied to look at different kind of policies, i.e. cultural but also industrial as well as regulatory and trade policies. Additionally, policy and policy environment were addressed in their multiscalar nature.

A unifying matrix focusing on the two key dimensions of power and spatial footprint allowed synthesizing the case study results by conducting a series of comparisons in different contexts. In addition, the systematization in the matrix is designed as a tool for policymakers in support of better CCS-relevant policies.

Research strategy

Preparing the interview

For each node of the production network, interviews were made to all the informed people that were considered suitable to understand the mechanisms at play in the node. The number of interviews was decided by the team according to the availability of interviewees and the information to be gathered. Three or four pilot interviews were recommended in order to recalibrate / reorganise the interview script; in some cases, interviewees were not available for the interview, but they were asked a number of key questions via mail: this solution was adopted if no alternative was possible. Empirically, the field was accessed through a company, which represents a node/phase in the network; starting from that, the whole network (both relations among phases and phases themselves) is explored.

As usual, at the beginning of each interview, the interviewer presented him/herself and presented the research. The interviewee was be given a leaflet containing information on the research and its political as well as on the specific role that the EU can play in this field.

After the signature of a consent form on the part of the interviewee, the interviewer started recording the interview. Interviews were done in person or in videoconference when the situation requires.
Each case study gathered qualitative data on a number of topics, which are detailed in the next section containing the interview outline:

- The interviewee profile
- The organization profile
- The network configuration
- The governance structure and strategies
- The embeddedness
- Policy
- Contribution to development

Qualitative data gathering

All interviewers allowed recording the interview with digital recorder. Interviews were then transcribed *verbatim*, pointing out emotional status only if particularly relevant.
Each interview was labelled and stored using all the following variables:

- Industry
- # case study
- Phase of the production cycle
- # interview (within the phase)
- Geography (Nuts3)
- # interview (within the industry)

– Date (DD/MM/YY)

Interviews coding

A two-step codification was used:

1) Codification of the interview according to the homogeneous excerpts on the basis of thematic areas identified for the research:
    - Network configuration → CODE: NET-CON
    - Spatial organization of the networks → CODE: GEO
    - The governance of the network → CODE: GOVERN
    - Embeddedness → CODE: EMBEDD
    - Institutional conditions → CODE: INSTIT
    - Policy → CODE: POLICY
    - Contribution of the production network to the development of European regions → CODE: EU_DEVELOP
    - Any other relevant issue that we might "discover" → CODE: OTHER

2) Codification of all the excerpts in each of the previously identified thematic areas (input-output structure, its spatial organisation, governance, institutional conditions, role in the EU development, other) based on relevant analytical categories.
    - Ex. Mechanisms of value appropriation; modalities of cooperation among organisations; upgrading mechanisms, working conditions, social/cultural embeddedness; any other new element

A2. Interview outline

Profiling the case study

A first step in the interview outline was to profile the interviewee and her or his organization, company, or agency.

Interviewee's profile

Themes to analyse:

- Position within the organization/agency/company/etc.
- Years spent in the position
- Main responsibilities
- Years spent in the organization/agency/company/etc.
- Years spent in the industry
- Years spent in the field
- Competences required for the job
- Any other relevant theme

- What is your job position within the organisation/agency/company/etc.?
- How many years have you been working in this position?
- What are your main responsibilities?
- How many years have you been working in this organisation/agency?/company/etc.?
- How many years have you been working in this industry?
- What are the main skills/competences required for your job?

Organisation profile

Themes to analyse:

- Brief history of the organisation
- Core business
- Legal nature of company
- Employees
- Any other relevant theme

- What does your organization/agency/company/etc. do/develop?
- What is the main activity performed by your company/organization/agency/etc.?
- What is your core business?
- Is your organization/agency/company/etc. independent or is it a part of a bigger company? (if yes) how responsibilities with the headquarter are distributed?
- How many employees does your organisation/agency/company have?
- Can you briefly tell me about your or organisation/agency/company? (*gather some information on its history, key moments, etc.*)

Network configuration

The second step of the interview outline aimed at shedding light on the whole cycle of cultural production from creation to final users (actors involved, roles, geography). In what ways is the industry X articulated/organised? How does the division of labour occur in the industry? Who are the main actors? Their roles? The geography?

The sketch of a diagram together with the interviewee can be a very useful tool at this stage: we suggest to use a large sheet of paper and start with the interviewee in the middle; then add the other organisations/agencies/actors/… involved in the different phases (locate the phases at the corners of the paper). Use this diagram as a map throughout the whole interview.

- Among the projects (services/activities/goods/event) that you briefly presented us, let us consider now the chosen one (possibly it should be one that involves an extended/extra-local/European/international network). Please, help us to identify the whole cycle of cultural production and your role in it.
- Who are the actors that are involved, together with you, in the carrying out of your project (i.e., customers, intermediaries, consumers/audiences, etc.)?

Actors involved

Possible actors involved:

- Artists, composers, designers, creatives
- Producers
- Suppliers, impresarios
- Audience, customers
- Intermediaries, dealers, experts, critics
- Media, influencers
- Archivists
- Any other relevant actor

Themes to analyse for each actor:

- Description of the actors
  (Who they are? Big or small organizations/groups, independent, subsidiaries…)
- Role played by the actor in the network
- Type of resources mobilized (financial, economic, reputational, technological resources…)
- Any other relevant theme

- Who do you work with?
- Who are the people that are involved in the realization of the project?
- Who are the suppliers that are involved in the realization of the project?
- Can you tell us more about them?
- (i.e. SME / large organizations, public/private, local/global, independent/subsidiaries, etc.)
- What kind of resources do they mobilize in the project?
- (i.e. a service, an idea, technical or professional knowledge, raw materials, a semi-product, a final product, financial assets, etc.)
- Who are your customers? or your audience?
- Do you sell directly to the final consumer?
- Are there any actors in your business that you would define as intermediaries? Why? For instance, because they help your product/you to be visible, or they "translate" your work for the audience, or they appreciate particularly your work.
- Is there anybody that helps you in promoting your products/projects? (e.g. art curators, advisors, critics, etc.)
- Do they have an impact on your business? How?
- What do they do precisely?
- What does their intermediation consist of?
- Could you give me an example of a situation in which intermediaries were useful to your business?
- How did you come in contact with this intermediary?
- How did they find you?
- Has your relationship with intermediaries changed over time? Why?
- Do media and influencers play a role in your business?
- How do they impact on your activities?
- How do they get to know you?
- Let us consider the social media. Are there any influencers on Instagram/Facebook/etc. that have an impact on your strategies/activities?
- Have your own accounts an impact?

- Do you use them to promote your project?
- Have you or has your organisation got an archive of your projects (creations/services/activities/products)?
- Have you or has your organisation been part of a show/exhibition/etc.?
- Does collecting exist as a practice in your business?
- (If yes), Who are the collectors? Does a collecting market exist?
- Who decides on what will be archived and in which form?
- Have your projects ever been part of a collection?
- Are there any museums/institutions particularly important in your sector that collect major/innovative works?

Spatial organisation

Themes to analyse:

- The geography of the network
- The issue of physical distance
- The management of distance (if relevant)
- The management of communication (if relevant)
- Any other relevant theme

- Where are the actors/organisations of the network located? (Use the diagram to identify actors)
- (consider all the phases of the PN)
- Have you ever experienced any problem due to the distance? (for instance, dealing with something implying face-to-face communication; the need to check a process personally; …)
- How do you communicate with the different actors in the network?
- Do you need to travel a lot?
- How is the geographical distance managed?

Governance

What kind of relationships govern and regulate the network organization in the Industry X? What are the economic, socio-institutional, political aspects affecting inter-firms' dynamics?

Relations among network organisations

Themes to analyse:

- Type of relationships between actors (formal/informal)
- Decision-making process concerning the project. (who decides, autonomy / cooperation / subordination, participation)
- Existence of standards / conventions to follow
- Resources: type of resources that the interviewee can mobilise, whether they are specific or generic, easy to find or difficult, locally based, … type of resources that the interviewee needs, whether they are specific or generic, easy to find or difficult, locally based, …

- What's your role in the network?
- What [actor/organisation x's] role in the network? (Use the diagram to identify actors)

- How do your customers/suppliers/partners/… choose you?
- How did your customers/suppliers/partners/… get to know you?
- What are your relationships with customers/suppliers/partners/… based on?
- (i.e. trust, competences, flexibility, quality, price, uniqueness, etc.)
- Has your relationship with customers/suppliers/partners/… changed over time? Why?
- Has your relationship with your customer(s)/audience impacted on your business in terms of production/profit growth, number of people working in the company/organization/agency/etc., visibility, etc. Could you quantify it?
- Do your suppliers/partners provide you with standard projects?
- Have you ever asked them to customise their products for you?
- Do your suppliers/partners provide special goods/services that are difficult to find?
- Do your suppliers/partners provide special goods/services that only them are able to provide you?
- Have you ever developed a project together with suppliers/partners?
- How do you select your suppliers/partners?
- How did your suppliers/partners get to know you?
- Have you ever had any problems with suppliers/partners? how did you solve them?
- Has your relationship with suppliers changed over time? Why?
- Do you have direct relationships with the consumers/audience of your project?
- (if yes) How do you manage it?
- Does audience/final consumer participate in your creation/production/distribution/exchange/archiving processes? How?
- How important are audience/consumers' preferences/judgments for your projects/business/activity?
- Does their judgment affect your creation/production/distribution/exchange/archiving processes?
- How are your relations with your customers/suppliers/partners/…regulated/governed?
- (i.e. formal agreements, informal accords, individual contracts, codes of conducts, etc.)
- Have you got any exclusive agreement with your customers/suppliers/partners/…?
- Does it include non-disclosure clauses?
- Does it include the use/concession of technologies/knowledge that are protected by (any kind of) agreement that you cannot use/replicate for other processes?
- (If yes) what kind of agreement?
- Who decides how to create/produce/develop/make/provide/etc. the project that you carry out?
- Does your customers/suppliers/partners/…participate in such a process?
- Do you have a say in such a process?
- Has your customers/suppliers/partners/… their own margins of autonomy in such a process?
- Do you have your own margins of autonomy in such a process?
- Can you/your customers/suppliers/partners/… negotiate terms and conditions of the creation/production/distribution/exchange/archiving/etc. process?
- Is there any quality standard to be respected in such a process?
- What are the consequences in case of non-compliance with the contract/standard?
- Do you envisage any kind of reward for your best suppliers? What does it consist of?
- Do you have any knowledge of the destination of the project (service/activity/good) that you produce/ create/develop/make/provide/etc.?
- In your opinion, how easy would it be for you to replace your other customers/suppliers/partners/…with others?
- In your opinion, how easy would it be for your customers/partners/… to replace you with other suppliers/partners?

- What do you/ does your company/organization/agency do better than others in your industry?
- What is your specific asset/advantage with respect to others?
- How important is reputation in your business? What elements are crucial for it?
- How do you build your reputation?
- How do you make yourself/your organization/agency/company known?
- Have there been any crucial moments in your organization' history/your career that have changed your reputation?
- Have there been any people that have been particularly important for your career/your organization' growth?

Price and value

Themes to analyse:

- Mechanisms at play in the price and value formation (decisions, relevant aspects such as brand, status, reputation, production…)
- Actors involved (or excluded) in value/price formation
- Any other relevant theme

- Who decides the price of the project that you exchange with your customers/suppliers/partners/…?
- On the basis of what dimensions?
- (i.e. market position, competencies, reliability, reputation, brand, design, technology, etc.)
- Can you/your supplier(s)/customer(s) negotiate the price? On what basis?
- With respect to such a price do you think that your contribution is adequately rewarded?
- Could you tell us how much it costs the realization of the project that you exchange with your customers/suppliers/partners/…?
- How often do you receive a non-monetary reward for your work? What do you receive instead?
- Does the price of the service/activity/good that you exchange with your customer(s)/supplier(s) allow you to run your activity/business according to legal and social standards? Why/Why not?
- Do you know the final price at which the project (service/activity/good) is sold?
- In your opinion what are the elements that contribute to determine the final price of the project?
- (it might be the price of the final good, the price of the ticket of a concert/show/exhibition but also the price of the whole exhibition/festival)
- Do you think that the final price of the project is appropriate? Why?
- Do intermediaries impact on decisions about the price of your project? How?
- In your opinion does the final price of the good/service reflect its value?
- In which stage of the production cycle (refer to the diagram) is the value of the project mostly created?
- Who are the actors/organisations in the PN that gain the most from the realisation of the project? Why?

Working conditions, labour and collective actors

Themes to analyse (when applicable):

- Profile of the workforce/associates/collaborators/partners

- Recruitment process and wage definition
- Organisation of work
- Presence and role of trade unions in the organisation/agency/company/etc.
- Presence and role of trade unions and/or business/trade associations in the industry
- Any other relevant theme

- Do you have employees/collaborators/associates, etc.?
- How is your workforce composed?
- (i.e.: percentage of professionals/consultants/technicians/workers, etc. out of the total, but also percentage of women/men, percentage by ethnicity, etc.)
- How is work organized in your organization/agency/company, etc.?
- (i.e.: on projects, regular working time, piece rates, etc.)
- What types of contracts does your organization/agency/company mainly apply to them?
- (i.e.: fixed-term contracts, permanent contracts, agency staff, freelancers, consultants and contractors, etc.)
- Do they work mainly full time/part time?
- Where do they mainly work?
- (i.e. offices, ateliers, workplaces, at home, in co-working spaces, etc.)
- What aspects do you mainly consider when selecting the workforce?
- (i.e. skills, formal training and education, experience, reputation, flexibility, technical knowledge, etc.)
- Do you employ foreign professionals/workers? Why?
- Do you have internships? Do you have any specific agreement with schools/universities in this respect?
- How do you set salaries and working conditions for your workforce?
- (i.e.: collective agreements, plant level agreements, informal agreements, individual negotiation, etc.)
- Does your organization/agency/company set any productivity incentives/bonus for your workforce?
- Do workers have a say in the activity carried out by the organization/agency/company?
- Do your workers must respect any codes of conduct?
- Do your workers must respect any non-disclosure agreements/clauses?
- Are trade unions present in your organization/agency/company/etc.?
- What are their main claims?
- Have they ever helped you? When?
- Do they influence your business? How?
- (i.e. through the bargaining process, strikes, demonstrations, disputes, etc.)
- Have you had any conflicts with unions recently?
- (If yes), Could you tell me what was the issue?
- How did you negotiate your positions?
- What is the role of business associations/trade associations/etc. in your industry? (at different levels: local/regional/national/international)
- Do you participate in some of them?
- (If yes), How is this beneficial?

Skills and knowledge

Themes to analyse:

- Main skills/competencies/resources required in the industry

- Skills/competencies/resources that make the interviewee / organization crucial / important for the network.

- What kind of skills/knowledge/competencies/technologies/etc. are involved in/needed by your production/creative/distribution/etc. process?
- Do you have any specific expertise that makes you irreplaceable to your partners?
- Do you find skill/knowledge/competencies/technologies in the local labour market or do you need to acquire/buy them from abroad/very far from you/in a difficult way?
- Do you provide any training programme to your workforce? Who decides for them?
- Does/do your customer(s) play a role in such a process?
- (i.e.: sending consultants/technicians/skilled workers, organizing training programmes, etc.)

Innovation

Themes to analyse:

- Main innovations for the industry and the specific economic activity
- Impact of innovations on the cycle of production
- Impact of innovations on relationships with partners
- Impact of digitisation
- Any other relevant theme

- How do you keep yourself informed on the latest technologies/innovations/trends/etc. that are relevant for your business?
- (i.e.: fairs, contests, consultants, journals, magazines and sector publishing, etc.)
- What is the most important/recent innovation that has been introduced in your creative/production/ distribution/exchange/archive process?
- (focus on different types of innovation: product, technological, stylistic, in the distribution, …)
- Who/what urged this innovation?
- How did this innovation impact on your business?
- (Please, explore the different implications of this innovation)
- Did it allow you to develop new organizational capabilities?
- To hire new/qualified workforce?
- To reach other customers or/and enter new/different markets/businesses/activities?
- To acquire new/better capabilities?
- How did innovation impact with your work?
- Have you been asked to acquire new skills?
- How did this innovation modify your relationships with the other actors/organisations of the network?
- Have you ever needed/solicit collaboration with schools/universities/ laboratories/education centres/etc. for developing/learn any innovation?
- (i.e. for finding skilled professionals/workforces and/or for developing new skills/competencies/knowledge)
- Is there any research centre with which you cooperate to research and develop new services/products/ideas? Are they private, public or are they the result of public-private partnership?
- Has digitalisation had an impact on your activity? How?

Embeddedness

Relations between the production network and the region

Themes to analyse:

- Resources that the territory/context offers and relevance for the activity carried out
- Advantages/disadvantages connected to the area
- Role of Institutions
- Policies
- Any other relevant theme

- What kind of resources can this territory offer to your organization/agency/company, etc.?
- (Here's a list of possible items that you may explore: know-how, traditions; logistics; skilled labour; research structures, academies and schools, innovation hubs, incubators; geography and natural resources);
- For instance, with reference to social resources:
- What kind of social resources can the community of this area offer to your company/organization/agency/etc.? (i.e. local work ethos/culture, informal relations, attitudes towards the economy, openness to innovation, diversity, social values, cultural activities, etc.)
- In what ways are they relevant for your activity?
- Do you think that the local community supports your economic activity? (If yes) In what ways?
- Would you say that it is strategic to be here? Why?
- What factors keep you here?
- Has this territory a special reputation in your industry's tradition? How do you benefit from it?
- (i.e. territorial brand that may help your activity?)
- What are the problems of the territory that impact on your organization/agency/company, etc.?
- Do institutions (regional, local authorities, ---) in this territory encourage economic initiatives in your industry? In what ways?
- Do institutions (i.e. region, local authorities, ---) encourage cultural initiatives in this area? In what ways?
- Does the economic and institutional context in which you work help/hinder your activity? How?
- (focus on fiscal requirements, industrial policies, labour regulation, environmental standards, trade policies, etc.)
- Do you think that the existing policies at regional level are adequate to the needs of your organization/agency/company?
- (focus i.e., on innovation policies, labour and tax regulation, incentives, industrial policies, etc.)
- Do you think that the existing policies at national / international level are adequate to the needs of your organization/agency/company?
- (focus on innovation policies, labour and tax regulation, incentives, industrial policies, trade policies, intellectual property right agreements, etc.)
- Has your organization/agency/company, etc. tried to influence policy making?
- Has your organization/agency/company, etc. benefited from policy initiatives developed in industries connected to yours?

- Do you participate in some regional-funded project/initiative?
- In your opinion what should be done at a policy level to promote/help your industry/activity?

Contribution to socio-economic development

Themes to analyse:

- Socio-economic impact of the PN on the region
- Birth/decline of new/traditional job/economic activities connected to the PN
- Birth of new professional/technical schools/courses connected to the economic activity
- Collaboration with institutions/universities/schools
- Participation of the interviewee/organisation in local cultural/social initiatives
- Economic/social/environmental sustainability
- Any other relevant theme

- Does your involvement in a network of (global) activities impact on the economy of the region you work in? In what ways? (i.e.: incomes, employment and wages, local taxation, touristic trends, etc.)
- Has your participation in the network favoured the birth/diffusion/expansion/decline of new/traditional jobs/professionals and/or economic activities connected to it?
- Has your participation in the network favoured any collaboration with universities or local schools?
- Has your participation in the network favoured the birth of new professional/technical schools/courses/etc. connected to your activity?
- Has your participation in the network favoured the development of local cultural and social initiatives?
- (i.e.: festival, fairs, competition and contests, community revitalization programs, urban regeneration, etc.)
- Has your participation in the network favoured the involvement of your organization/agency/company, etc. in the social life of your locality/region? (i.e.: charity initiatives, with prisons, etc.)
- Do you support/promote any local association/organization/initiative/festival/fair/sport club/etc.?
- Are you involved in any local association/club/organisation for the promotion of the local society?
- (i.e. local festival, local fairs, etc.)
- Has your participation in the network contributed to improve the well-being of your workforce's conditions in this region? (i.e.: labour standards, diversity promotion, health and safety, etc.)
- Has your participation in the network contributed to improve the environmental sustainability of your economic activity? (i.e.: introducing cleaner technologies, environmental sound processes, materials, etc.)
- Do you think that your business has contributed to change/improve your region's image/reputation? In what ways? (i.e.: local specializations, brand rent effect, testimonials, etc.)

Concluding session

- In your opinion, how important is your contribution to the production network you participate in?
- How do you think you are contributing to the development of local society?
- What are the main values that inspire your activity/organization?
- How do you imagine this industry in ten years’ time?
- (focus on e.g. cultural hybridization, technological innovation, new markets, etc.)
- How do you imagine you/your activity in this industry in ten years’ time?