

Museum Education in the Making of the Region Scania

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This paper studies regional museum, archives and arts education commissions of the Region of Scania, reformed in 2009, from a policy analysis perspective. It describes the background, design and implementation of the new policy and analyses its effects. The paper gives detailed information on the complexities of policy tool design and implementation, and discusses it in the light of regional governance. An evaluation of the system of regional support to museum education in Scania, shows that the reformed regional museum, archives and arts education policy of 2009 has had effects contrary to those intended. Due to internal reorganization, the intentions of politicians with the policy and the ambitions of civil servants designing the policy have not been translated into an effective policy tool. Internal regional goal achievement and adherence to other areas of regional policy dictated the design of the new museum, archives and arts education policy of the Region. As a result, the important dimension of museums, archives and arts institutions as educational spaces has been reduced rather than expanded. Clearly, effective policies need more than good intentions.

MUSEUM EDUCATION IN THE MAKING OF THE REGION SCANIA

Regions have come to play an increasingly important role in recent years as regards governance. Regions find themselves as competitive units in a globalised world where national policy does not necessarily advance the interests of individual municipalities, and where municipalities themselves are too small players to develop infrastructure of various kinds in order to offer quality of life and livelihood opportunities. Regions should benefit the inhabitants and other actors active in the region, in order to fill their public purpose as administrative bodies. However, what kind of regional governance has the regional turn in Sweden resulted in? In order to understand how regional governance is undertaken in practice, through the development of policies and subsequent policy tools to ensure the policy to be well implemented, a study of policy reform has been studied in the cultural sector in the Region of Scania.

The implementation of a reformed regional museum education policy in Scania from 2009 is a case that illustrates and discusses the design and implementation of a policy and a specific policy instrument. The paper gives detailed information on the complexities of policy tool design and implementation, and discusses it in the light of regional governance research. The paper offers a detailed description of the relationships between regional government as a political organisation, regional administration as a policy implementing body, cultural institutions as providers of regional public services, and children as the beneficiaries of regional education activities in the field of the arts and cultural heritage. Especially, the paper points to the hazards of general solutions for a region – which may curb rather than enhance innovation.

Although relating to a larger issue of the use of culture and the arts to generate social and economic welfare, this paper studies a small fraction of the activities and support of the Region of Scania. The policy studied cannot be said to be representative of other areas of support of the Region. The area of study, museum, archives and arts education, is entirely dependent on public and private non-profit support, and typically is an activity undertaken by employees in cultural institutions.

REGIONS FROM A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

Internationally, regions have had an increasingly important role in governance in the last decades, as nation states have become less important actor on local level, as deregulation and globalization make national boundaries less relevant for business. Also in the arts sector, for example in the UK, regions have become more important policy and governance actors since the 1990s (Stevenson et al., 2010).

This new regionalism in Europe and Sweden has meant especially increased focus on development and growth, especially in economic terms. Also, partnerships between public and private actors have been emphasised by politicians as a way of finding a position in the Europe of regions and free mobility. This development is marketed as based on political/administrative bodies as keen coalition builders and therefore as sensitive to the voices of actors in the region (Fernández 2000).

Regions in Sweden find themselves in-between municipalities with strong independence, and national government (Mccallion 2008). The main areas of activity for regions are large infrastructural issues including healthcare and communication. Also economic and social development is seen as a central area of engagement. The Regions have, where formed, taken over the previous counties' tax levying function. As recognised by several researchers on regional governance in Sweden, the significant hourglass shape of Swedish public administration makes the identity and profile work of regional government and administration important in order to legitimise the Region as a political/administrative actor. Networking and agreements are more significant of the basis of the new Regions in Sweden, but

simultaneously an internal struggle to define the role of the Region is discernible in the concrete governance in the area of culture for example. The regions are administrative constructs that call for visions in order to be manageable (Pierre 1999).

Regionalization is a development that is concurrent with the increasing role of governance. Regions work much more in cooperation with local business and other private organisations, than county councils. As municipalities and national government also increasingly engages with and involves private actors, regions act less rigorously as a public body as was previously the norm.

From the point of view of a cultural organization or museum, the region may seem a more attention-paying public actor than the national cultural council and other national bodies, which often focus their attention to major, urban cultural institutions. Municipalities, on the other hand, are important and immediate partners for many cultural organisations and museums, as principals or local government. However, many museums and cultural organisations have publics that reach beyond the own municipality, and it is here that the Region as a public body stimulating cultural activities across municipalities, may be interesting partners for the organisations of the cultural and cultural heritage sector.

In Sweden, cultural policy has a strong urge to democratize culture, an inheritance from the first national cultural policy formulated in 1974. Equal access to culture is a cornerstone of Swedish cultural policy, on national, regional and local level. As other regions, Scania contains urban areas with a wealth of cultural and arts activities and rural areas where small municipalities with few inhabitants have a significantly smaller range of culture on offer. Most literature on urban regeneration and development focus on areas with one or several urban centres creating a basis for cultural activities (Evans and Foord, 2008; Kanai and Ortega-Alcázar, 2009). Distribution effects from urban centres seem proposed as a solution to regional challenges to access to the arts and culture, and this is very much so also in Scania. Nevertheless, a few private initiatives based in rural locations are supported, and offer some balance to the otherwise strongly urban declination of arts and culture.

THE REGION OF SCANIA (REGION SKÅNE)

Regions in Sweden have in the last decade evolved as administrative and governing bodies. In 1997 regions were formed as experimental administrative entities in Kalmar, Gotland and Skåne counties. This change meant that decision-making power was shifted from County councils to a new regional government. This shift also implied increased involvement of local business in development plans for the regions.

The municipalities around Gothenburg at this point in time also launch the region Västra Götaland. In 2001 it is decided that the experimental entities can continue their operations, and in 2009 it is decided that the “region municipalities” of Skåne, Västra Götaland, Halland and Gotland are established as permanent administrative entities. In 1999 Region Scania was formed as a joint venture of the 33 municipalities in the counties of Malmöhus and Kristianstad. Administratively and functionally the Region covers the same areas as the previous County councils; healthcare, and overall regional development including business, tourism, infrastructure, social and recreation development.

Scania as a region is clearly divided into the economically and culturally strong coastline regions with Malmö as the capital city of the region, and the hinterland, which has a low density of population and business, and correspondingly few institutions for cultural activities. The major cities of Scania, due to historical reasons, have rather differing profiles as regards social and cultural activities. Lund is the academic centre with the university as a major employer of middle-class Swedes and foreigners. Malmö has a strong historical basis in sea-related business, and has a strong merchant as well as a working-class cultural tradition.

Helsingborg, which is the third largest city of the region, also has a history of merchants and shipping.

The Region of Scania has in recent years developed arts programmes and policies, and from 2011 has an increased role as regional party in the distribution of national cultural support. Whereas many approaches to economic and social development through the arts propose a ‘creative city’ approach, mainly focusing on given centres of culture, and thus hoping for a trickle-down effect to the hinterlands (McCarthy, 2006; Sacco et al., 2009; Bonet et al.; 2011 compare Paquette 2008), the museum, archives and arts education policy of the Region of Scania battles this urbanization trend within the arts. Malmö and Lund already are ‘creative hubs’ in the region, and the education policy of the Region rather has as its aim to make sure that those underexposed to culture can access it as effortlessly as possible.

The region of Skåne defines the area of arts and culture as a tool for development of the region. To be more precise, the Region supports culture and the arts with the objective of gaining social and economic benefits. Development is a buzzword that is vague enough to include most positive associations related to economic and social dimensions of society. With the use of this word, the region clearly states the view that the region defines what is development that it wants to support financially. Secondly, development clearly indicates that ordinary activities are not considered development.

CULTURE SCANIA AND A NEW REGIONAL MUSEUM, ARCHIVES AND ARTS EDUCATION POLICY

The aim of Region Scania is to see to the overall development of the region of Scania. Culture Scania (Kultur Skåne) is an administrative body under the Development Manager of Region Scania, and Region Scania sees the role of Culture Scania to develop the region. The political-executive body controlling the activities of Culture Scania is the Culture Committee. This Committee is one of several under the main governing regional body; the Regional Executive Committee. The highest decision-making body of the Region is the Regional Assembly. Culture Scania is located under the Development office of the Region. Thus, the overall aim of the engagement with arts and culture on the part of the Region is to develop Scania.

The region gives activity support to a broad variety of arts and cultural organisations, and in this paper, the regional support to museum, archives and arts education (kulturpedagogik) will be analysed; in particular the reformed policy for such education implemented since 2009. The new policy was evaluated by the author in 2011, the results of which form the basis for this paper. The evaluation used information generated through interviews with educators and management at the concerned institutions in the region, with civil servants at Culture Scania, and with a politician sitting on the Culture Committee when the new policy was designed (Lindqvist, 2011).

The background of the reform of the regional commissions for museum, archives and arts education was an urge to become more politically or internally clear about the uses of cultural grants and economic support. Regional auditors had remarked that the objectives of the previous system for grants to regional museum, arts and archives education were formulated in a way that made it difficult to measure performance. The higher level of complexity in cultural activities compared to other areas of activity of Region Skåne was acknowledged, but the demand for clear steering was nevertheless stressed in the Culture Committee’s response to the auditors’ critique (KS 2007-10-23). The Culture Committee identified the system of support for regional cultural heritage education was ambiguous (unclear) as regards orientation, priorities, responsibilities and use of resources.

The answer to this critique was to develop clearer objectives, orientation and organisation of the support to regional cultural heritage education, through the formulation of more distinct commissions. The Culture Committee stated that such a development should have as

guidelines flexibility, transparency and balance, and that routines for reporting need to be further developed, in order to secure the functionality and thereby the legitimacy of commissions as governance tool.

The auditors in their report call for a definition or operationalisation of the four lead objectives of the Region; balance, attractiveness, sustainability and growth. The auditors call for operationalisation of these objectives specifically for individual activities, and develop concrete and measurable indicators for each objective, so that the level of goal achievement can be indicated on a regular basis. They wrote that the complexity of cultural activities demands a balance in the formulation of commissions, so that artistic quality is not affected, but be long-term and clear on priorities.

Vi manar ... till viss försiktighet i kraven på att snabbt formulera kraftfulla och tydliga överenskommelser. Dessa bör snarare utvecklas i en dialog mellan bidragsgivare och mottagare. Riktningen ska vara klar men dialogen och processen måste få ha sin gång. (Nordestedt and Svanell 2007: 14)

We call for certain caution in demanding quick formulations of unambiguous commissions. These should be developed in dialogue between the Region and the institutions. The direction should be made clear, but the dialogue and the process need their due time.

Unfortunately, the new policy was designed in complete opposition to the recommendations of the auditors.

DESIGN OF THE NEW POLICY

With the new system, the commissions were given to individual institutions rather than to individual educators, and the amounts given each commissioned institution harmonized. The institutions were divided into groups according to common competence and focus, as identified by the civil servants of Culture Scania. There were a total of five groups and corresponding profiles: public archaeology; societal structures; ethics and ideology; nature, culture and democracy based on the County/Landscape Convention; art and visual communication; and sustainable development. Some institutions, however, have commissions within two separate profiles. In addition, one institution received double the financial support for two commissions whereas all other institutions with two commissions.

Until 2008, the regional education commission was held by specific employees, first employed by the Region, but later positioned and employed by individual institutions receiving corresponding financial support from the Region. The commissions were until 2008 designed to a certain extent individually for each institution; with one to two out of a total of four aims to be fulfilled being individually formulated. The number of institutions receiving regional commissions has remained roughly the same, around 16 in total.

The explicit objectives of the reformed regional museum education policy, on the part of the Region of Scania, were:

- greater coordination and clarity as regards the regional museum, arts and archive education resources
- more even geographical distribution across the region
- increased adjustment to profile areas and other regional commissions, and regional action and development plans for the arts and culture
- increased flexibility in the use of museum, arts and archive educational competence for regional projects and other cultural priorities (kultursatsningar) of the Region of Scania

- clearer regional commission contracts on both general and individual basis that contribute to the development of Scania within the area of museum, arts and archive education, with a basis in existing profile areas, development commissions, geographical location and accessibility

These were the goals intended to be achieved through the formed education policy of the Region of Scania, and these goals were communicated internally and to the concerned institutions. Each museum, archive and arts institution furthermore was specifically commissioned to work together with the other institutions in the same profile group, decided by Culture Scania based on previous interviews with staff of the respective institutions. The institutions in profile groups decided on by Culture Scania had as explicit commission to

jointly create courses and educational opportunities (kompetensutveckling) within their area of competence (the shared profile), for groups that work professionally with children and youngsters in different societal sectors such as schools, leisure time, healthcare, tourism, among other. The commission entails that within the specific profile and the [specific competence of the institution] develop public relations and communication with a focus on children and youngsters with a visionary perspective. The emphasis is to be on co-creation, interactivity and participation with a point of departure in current societal issues with clear connection to [the specific area of competence]. *(from the commission contract, phrasing identical for all institutions)*

Apart from stating the objectives of the new museum education commissions, the Region also stipulated how the objectives should be achieved:

- primarily target professional groups that have children and youngsters as their target groups in their work
- cooperate and create working groups with institutions with the same commission profile [listed in the contract] for the implementation of the commission
- participate in, develop and implement courses and exchange of competence within the arts, archive and museum education (kulturpedagogiskt) network
- strive to clarify connections between research, theory and practice
- coordinate and document development work with the own institutional activities as a point of departure, and make the work, the supply and results available for other actors and stakeholders in the whole region

Also, in addition to the objectives and the procedural directives, reference is explicitly made in the contracts to other steering documents validated by the Region:

- Regional development programme for Scania
- Regional action plan for museum activities in Scania – report, November 2006
- Record of children’s and youngsters’ culture in Scania in March 2007
- Regional development plan for children’s and youngsters’ culture in Scania, April 2008
- Region Scania’s cultural policy programme “Open vistas – Arts and Culture in Scania” [*Öppna landskap – Konst och Kultur i Skåne*]
- Action plan for the visual arts in Scania

In the directions for the educational commissions, it is stated that the primary target group are other educators (instructors) of children. Behind this formulation there was an idea that the educational institutions should be able to generate more activities for children by involving

other educators. The resources of the commission was then, according to civil servants, to be used to amplify the resources for education by enabling the completion of applications for further funding together with various collaborative parties.

A quarter of the previous support oriented directly to an educator at an institution now goes to specific development projects, decided by civil servants or the Culture Committee on the basis of a dialogue with institutions. Thus, there was to be no official application procedure. The money was aimed at innovative and new forms of cooperation between institutions and arts forms, beyond the cooperation in the profile groups. This change was aimed to increase the flexibility (for the Region) to direct support to projects that were judged innovative by Culture Scania.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW POLICY

Simultaneously with the development of a new regional museum education policy, the Culture Committee of the Region decided that the Culture Administration, Culture Scania, was to be reorganized. Culture Scania, which had been in various cities in Skåne, were all relocated to Malmö, the capital city, and reorganized into entirely new departments, and all civil servants had to apply for new positions. This meant that civil servants engaged in the development of the new museum education policy soon after its implementation were no longer on their previous position, and thus new civil servants were to hold a dialogue with institutions, without profound knowledge of the aims and ideas of the reform. In practice, the contact and support of the Culture administration was inexistent, or at best only guesses of the proper sense of the reform could be conveyed in dialogue with the institutions. Having no control over the decision to reorganize the whole of Culture Scania, they were faced with the responsibility of implementing the new system for cultural education commissions without having the possibility to organize their own work, and document the ideas of the reformed system.

From interviews with civil servants engaged in the development of the new policy, it becomes clear that the ideas behind it were not expressed in the written directions. From the descriptions of civil servants, the idea with the new policy was to stimulate new ways of approaching museum education, to stimulate new interesting cooperation among different types of cultural and cultural heritage organisations. Furthermore, the civil servants developing the new system expose an understanding of museum staff as unwilling to renew themselves, to be entrepreneurial and to develop professionally and their educational programmes and activities. Interviews with museum managers, heads of education and individual educators give an image that is contrary to that given by civil servants at the culture administration.

The institutions had no substantial possibility to influence the design of the current system; it was not designed in dialogue but entirely by civil servants. However, the civil servants planning the policy instrument visited all institutions prior to the final design of it. Based on the areas of competence of the respective institutions eligible for education support, Kultur Skåne formulated five themes and grouped all institutions into these. Some institutions were given two of commissions, and thus are members of two profile groups. The themes and corresponding groups were

- public archaeology
- societal structures, ethics and ideology
- nature, culture and democracy based on the County/Landscape Convention
- art and visual communication, and
- sustainable development.

The new policy was based on support in the form of dialogue between the institutions and Culture Scania, but due to the reorganization, the civil servants who had initially worked with the policy all got new positions, and therefore the support from Culture Scania in practice eroded. New civil servants being placed as responsible for contacts with institutions had no previous knowledge of the ideas behind it, and of the specific conditions of the various institutions.

All in all, the implementation of the policy can be said to have failed, in that internal reorganization caused the previous knowledge of the bearing ideas to disperse. In the following section a more profound analysis of the effectiveness of the policy will be undertaken. The results are based on Lindqvist (2011).

ANALYSIS OF THE REFORMED REGIONAL MUSEUM AND CULTURAL EDUCATION COMMISSIONS

Overall, the new policy is designed and formulated in a way that makes it foremost a document formulated for internal Regional purposes. The very construction of the contracts and aims point rather at internal Region procedures and ambitions, than at effective museum, archives and arts education to children. In this section, some more detailed comments on the design of the policy and its concrete implementation will be made.

First of all, the ambition in the new policy to stimulate applications and cooperation for further monetary support, in order to amplify the educational resources, does not come across in the new directions. Many of the central ideas of the policy, as described by interviewed civil servants at Culture Scania, cannot be found in the formulations of the commission contracts.

Secondly, many of the policy objectives stated (see p. 6) are overlapping, this makes evaluation of the goal achievement more complicated. Each objective should be formulated in a way that helps assessment of the level of goal achievement, from the point of view of the operative institution. Furthermore, reference is made to a large number of other steering documents, something which makes the policy fragmented and hard to meet by institutions involved. In addition, the directions contain specifications on how the aims should be achieved, that are contrary to the idea of Management by Objectives, on which most of Regional governance is based.

Thirdly, contrary to the recommendations of the auditors of the Region, there was no real dialogue between Culture Scania and the institutions in the design of the policy. Initial dialogue was succeeded by the presentation of a policy entirely formulated by Culture Scania. This had as a result that the directions were badly suited for operationalization, as they were not based on detailed knowledge of the field in which the cultural institutions operate. This in turn has made the policy ineffective, as resources have been spent on interpreting directions and finding points of common reference among the groups of institutions made to cooperate through the profile group formation.

Fourthly, as a result of the above, important parts of the policy objectives have not been met, and the policy must therefore be assessed as ineffective and inefficient.

Fifthly, existing professional networks were sidestepped with the new policy, even though regional support goes to museum educator visits to poor schools who cannot afford the journey to a particular museum. There are three separate professional networks active in Scania; that of museum educators in cultural history museums, that of art educators; and that of the "Visitors" (*Uppsökarna*), museum educators engaged in school visits. These are, according to educators themselves, important for the respective specialization of museum educators, and for the profession as a whole, as they are few in numbers, and spread across a large number of institutions where on average only one or a two educators share workplace. These networks were sidestepped, although the directions state that they should be used, as

the commission should be undertaken foremost with the institutions with the same profile, and thus in the same profile group. The educator networks have nevertheless been able to arrange activities of their own in these years.

Sixtly, the distribution of financial support for commissions is not consistent. One institution with two profile commissions, receive double the amount of support compared to all others, regardless of whether they have one or two profile commissions. Thus, several institutions have two commissions, but receive the same amount of monies as those institutions with only one commission. In addition, a quarter of the previous support oriented directly to an educator at an institution after the reform went to specific development projects, but the decision making process and criteria are difficult to trace, which for the institutions has meant increased insecurity in relation to Culture Scania. The Culture Committee has also made decisions for the use of these monies that go against the stated objectives of the very same policy.

Seventhly, the system is based on increased geographical distribution solely due to the education of instructions, who in turn should educate children. This makes the system vulnerable to limitations in teacher demand on courses. Civil servants have in interviews described the aim of the policy to be a stimulus for seeking further financial support for educational activities. But this intention does not come across when reading the contracts. Furthermore, the demand to target teachers has not been successful. Teachers do not have the possibility to partake in courses offered by the institutions, as their time for professional development is extremely restricted. This in turn depends on the internal organisation of schools.

Eightly, the important dimension of the museum as educative space is seriously reduced with the current system. It is astonishing that Culture Scania assumes a simple multiplication effect of education in the cultural heritage sector, based on knowledge being transferred from museum educators to teachers, and from these to children. This view on knowledge is certainly flattering neither for the educators concerned nor for the administrators or politicians assuming such an oversimplified distribution model.

To summarise, the political aims of the Region of Scania have clearly guided the design of the current museum and cultural education commissions in Scania. The region has apparently worked hard to design commissions according to the political catchwords of the day, but have not clearly reflected upon their role as governing party towards the institutions providing museum and cultural education. The current regional museum and cultural education commission system indicates problems of the Region in defining its role in relation to both other governance sectors (internally), and in relation to the field (externally). It is clear from the evaluation that politicians want to make sure that their decisions to support cultural activities financially conform with demands and conventions of control in other sectors. Therefore politicians demand control systems that ensure measurement according to clear criteria. The education commission system, however, is a clear example of the fallacy of over-generalised formulations. The conceptual simplicity of general formulations creates problems in the operational stage, where interpretations are needed to understand paradoxically vague directions and objectives. The emphasis on new collaborations in the new policy, did not recognize the collaborations already established or under development by the institutions themselves. The effect was a formalistic demand on new collaborations with new partners, something which led to time consuming search for new project partners and new common ideas on which to build cooperation.

CONCLUSIONS

The policy has been designed so that it is foremost adapted to the procedures of the Region of Scania. It is clear that the policy is a desk product from the unison critique to its

implementation from the institutions commissioned to provide the educational activities according to the contracts signed with Culture Scania. The children of Scania, which are to enjoy the culture and arts of the region, are completely absent in the policy. The policy seems most of all to be designed for the internal needs of the Region, as it is utterly difficult to live up to, on the part of the institutions involved. Furthermore, vital objectives of the policy have not been met. For the institutions, the three first years after the reform has resulted in wasted time and lower performance. These demands have led to inefficiency and other negative consequences for the institutions providing the education, and in the end lower efficiency and effectiveness of the education resources of the region.

The rhetoric of regional governance generally centres on economic growth and positive social development, and the approach is often that of involvement and dialogue with various stakeholders in society. Nevertheless, the reformed museum, arts and archive education commissions in the region of Scania is an example of policy that is developed wholly internally within the regional administration, and has been designed with foremost the Region administration itself in mind. The formulated commissions have long lists with objectives of the Region that are to be adhered to and fulfilled, and even state how listed objectives should be achieved. The new policy combines Management by Objectives and more traditional procedural directions, and the group that should benefit from the policy, children in the region, are strikingly absent in the formulation of commissions and objectives.

The dialogue and involvement stated as cornerstones of regional governance are lacking in the current approach to development of museum, arts and archive education in the Region of Scania. The Region has not involved the institutions or broader stakeholder groups in the development of the policy instruments, even though involvement and dialogue is strong in the rhetoric of the Region. Internal regional goal achievement and adherence to other areas of regional policy have dictated the design of the new museum education policy in the Region of Scania. Importantly, improved and increased access to cultural education for children in Scania has not been delivered through the new policy. Clearly, effective policies need more than good intentions; they need civil servants that have the mandate to develop functioning policy tools that are calibrated according to the field of implementation, and politicians that understand the complexities of translating catch-phrases into functioning policy tools. In particular, the reorganization of Culture Scania, decided by the Culture Committee, and effected in 2010, clearly impeded on the implementation of the new regional museum education policy.

The overall aim of the Region to promote development may paradoxically limit support to the arts and cultural heritage, if it is interpreted narrowly. As the museums receiving regional museum education support, development is today an essential part of the ordinary museum education work at institutions. There are other initiatives for stimulating cooperation across arts and cultural areas. National and municipal initiatives aiming at enabling cooperation among educational and cultural institutions such as schools and theatres or museums, play an important role in the day to day development of educational activities at museums, archives and arts institutions in the region. Two examples are *Skapande skola* (1) “Creative school”, and *Kultur i vården* (2) “Arts in healthcare”.

From a governance perspective, it is clear that even though the Region emphasizes dialogue and involvement by business and organisations, the issue of involvement in the development of a new policy, the cultural sector is not the primary priority. The Region through Culture Scania in its policy design and development only cosmetically involved the institutions concerned. Even though the commissions are designed as contracts, that signal mutual engagement in the commission, they are dictated by the Region. The directions even after adjustment are poorly adjusted to the operational conditions of the field. The institutions

engaged in the commissions call for a profound dialogue with Culture Scania as regards the objectives and design of the policy and the commissions as policy instrument.

A marketisation of the public domain, as characterised by governance researchers (Lidström 2007), can also be identified in the current policy. The institutions are exhorted to develop courses for instructors and educators, which will then choose among a number of available alternatives. In the current case, the problem of the marketisation was that there was no demand for the courses, due to the severe time constraints of teachers for professional development. Even though the civil servants at Culture Scania claim that this was not the intention with the policy, this is how the directions have been interpreted and understood. The cultural sector is not unfamiliar to competition, as institutions are used to application procedures for grants and support, and to being subject to substitutes to cultural experiences. Nevertheless, the current policy has resulted in a commodification of the output of museums, archives and arts institutions, through the demand to develop courses for instructors rather than to continue developing new services based on an ongoing dialogue with schools and other instructors working with children.

The regional is often perceived as an artificial party or actor by the cultural field, in contrast to the local and immediate environment of arts and cultural institutions, such as municipalities, audiences, and the national or international field in which institutions see themselves as actors (Hornskov 2007). This is due to the fact that most cultural institutions are based in and engage mostly on local (municipal level) as regards audiences, whereas the professional contacts are often upheld with the field on national and international level. The regional, especially as a new actor in the cultural field, therefore is not perceived as an immediate party to engage with. Furthermore, most of the regional institutions are located in central, urban areas, and only a few in number. As the Region is a new actor in the cultural field, it also needs to build long-term relationships through support to and engagement in the arts that is perceived as credible by institutions, if the Region is to gain legitimacy as partner in developing culture in Scania. The reformed museum, archives and arts education policy does not really strengthen the legitimacy of the Region in the eyes of the cultural institutions, but nevertheless offers substantial support for educational activities, which the institutions commissioned are content to receive.

The current policy signals the priority of internal goals of the Region before the needs of children in small, rural communities in Scania. It focuses more on formal adherence to regional control procedures than on the goal of equal access to culture for all children.

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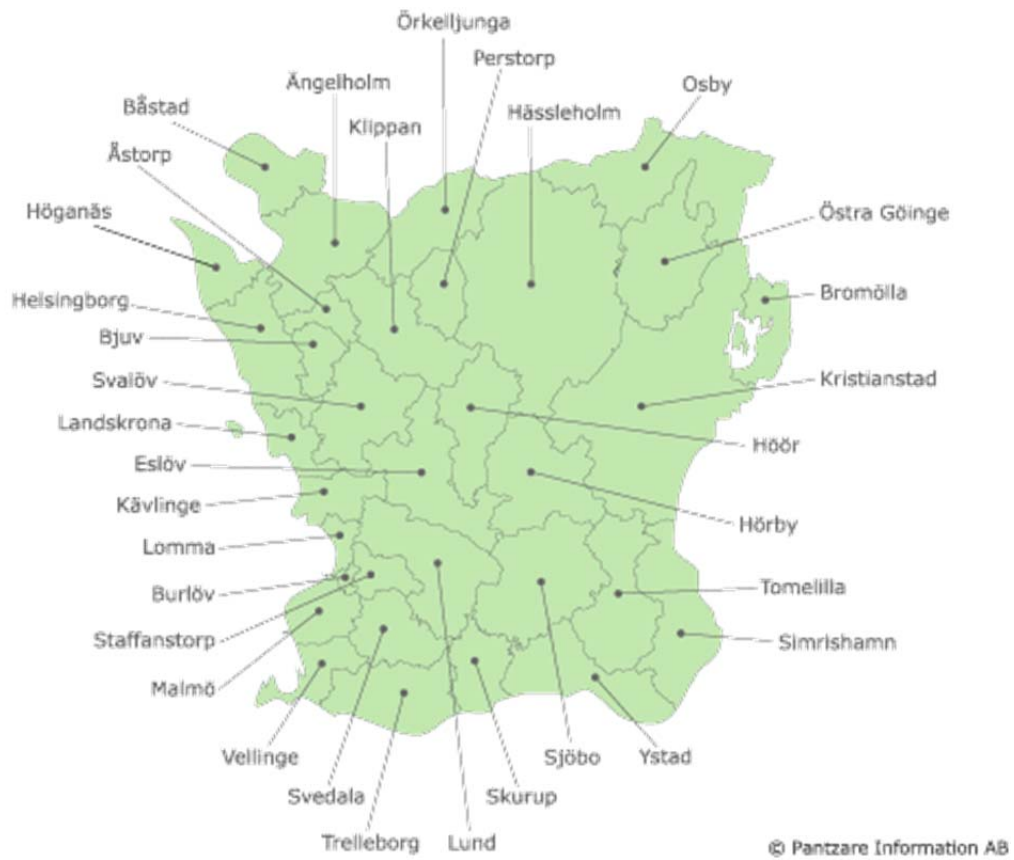
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For more information, see:

<http://www.kulturradet.se/skapande-skola/>
http://www.skane.se/sv/Webbplatser/Kultur-Skane-samlingsnod/Kultur_Skane/Kultur_i_varden/

MAPS



Map 2. The municipalities of the Region of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Lanets-kommuner/>)



Map 3. The towns and larger hamlets of the region of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Storre-tatorter/>)



Map 4. The major cities of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Stader/>). Apart from Malmö, Helsingborg and Lund who are the largest cities, most other towns have less than 30,000 inhabitants.