

Cultural Policies, Globalisation of Arts, and Impact on Cultural Heritage: A Contextual Analysis of France

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Abstract—Arts globalisation represents a different phenomenon than arts commercialisation which was facilitated by local cultural policies. This study examines the causes and effects of globalisation of art museums in France. Building on art literature, we conducted a literature review of cultural policies. Our findings show that the cultural policies of the French government since the 1980s of cultural democratisation, cultural decentralisation, and implementing market principles on the cultural sector are leading to arts globalisation. Although globalisation is producing economic benefits and enhancing cultural reach, however, the damages include artistic values and creativity, cultural heritage and representation, and the museum itself. Art museums and host cities could overcome negative consequences through a hybrid collection display and develop local collections gradually.

Keywords—Cultural policy, cultural decentralisation, cultural globalisation, art museums, contextual analysis, France.

I. INTRODUCTION

AS non-profit organisations, art museums rely on external funding to sustain their operations. Since 1980s, the cultural policies in many countries have been pushing for the market model on cultural institutions. The market model originates from neoliberal ideology which demands the entire society to function similar to private corporations in capitalist economies [2], [3]. This implies that the state retreats from intervening in the society and limiting the role of the state to providing the conditions that allow the production and exchange of goods and services. Following the global financial crisis in 2008, austerity measures were enacted on the cultural field. The major consequence is the shrinkage of public funding that leaves art museums confronted with a dilemma to sustain operations with a lack of resources [13]. As a result, there is a growing trend in the practices of art museums to incorporate market principles [29]. A noticeable practice is globalisation by which art museums launch global outposts in places of the same or different cultural communities. Unlike traditional corporations, globalisation of art museums attracted controversial views where academics and practitioners argue it leads to consequences beyond economic gains to damage cultural heritage [5].

Previous research has investigated the impact of cultural policies and proposed they are leading to entrench market principles on art museums; e.g. [12] among others. Scholars

have shown that policies such as privatisation, funding, and tax policies are leading to increased commercialisation of the field. However, they have overlooked globalisation phenomenon as an extent of commercialisation. In this paper, we aim to understand what types of cultural policies are leading to globalisation of art museums. We attempt to understand the effects whether globalisation is yielding greater benefits or damages for the cultural sector.

The rationale for context selection is to investigate art museums field change. While studies have looked at changes in different countries, e.g. [1], [16], we focus on France as the context to examine how cultural policies contributed to change of the cultural sector. The globalisation of art museums in France provides an exemplar case of adaptation-driven change as a response to cultural policies. Globalisation initiatives of art museums started in the first decade of 21st century when Louvre Museum signed an agreement to open a gallery in Abu Dhabi followed by the Pompidou Centre that launched several global outposts [6]. Data were collected from newspaper articles, magazine articles, online articles, and museum documents. The analysis draws on the literature of culture and museums that are studying cultural policies, and globalisation of arts and the implications. We focused on cultural policy decisions of the French governments that are relevant to arts globalisation. Change is systematically tracked by identifying events and practices of art museums that reflect globalisation. The effects of arts globalisation are explored by reviewing the relevant literature.

The findings reveal three factors that are pushing to arts globalisation which are reduced funding, cultural democratisation, and cultural decentralisation. Art museums' aim from globalisation is to pursue self-generated income and enhance cultural reach. Although this is leading to some cultural benefits such as advancing cultural practices and spreading artistic innovation, however, scholars raise the flag of negative consequences that exceed the benefits. Globalisation of art museums poses risks to artistic values and creativity whereby franchising damages cultural heritage of the host country through representing a foreign culture and underrepresentation of the local culture. Damages extend to include art museums themselves because turning culture to a product loses its intrinsic value. Art museums and host cities aim to overcome negative consequences through a hybrid collection display and

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develop local collections gradually. We contribute by showing that globalisation is a cultural risk that should be contained. Art museums that are interested to open international branches need to assess the risks that may exceed benefits. Additionally, host cities of the global museums have to develop their own artistic tourist attractions as hosting may result in the desired economic benefits but with greater cultural costs.

The paper is structured as follows. We start by discussing cultural policies of France and how they are leading to arts globalisation. Next, we illustrate globalisation forms of art museums. Thereafter, we identify the effects of this trend on art museums by debating the benefits and risks. We conclude by discussing possible options for art museums to tackle the negative impacts.

II. CULTURAL POLICIES OF FRANCE

The cultural policies of the French government are influential in pushing cultural sector towards globalisation. The origins of the French cultural policies are centralised by which the state is largely involved [1]. During, 1960s and 1970s, successive French presidents wanted to associate their names with a cultural project [21]. However, since then the approach went through reconfigurations as two significant changes occurred in the cultural policies of France; cultural democratisation and cultural decentralisation [17]. France has a long tradition of policies that are directed toward democratising the access to cultural institutions [35]. Democratisation of culture implies the population is provided greater access to cultural institutions through community self-representation, co-curation, among other forms. Thus, policymakers are obliged to enact cultural policies which provide the public a greater accessibility to cultural programmes, promote equality in cultural education, and perform cultural activities in different places. In France, greater access to cultural life for purposes of enlightenment and enjoyment as well as sharing artistic creation and transmission of cultural heritage have been an integral part of cultural policies [18].

The state maintains an active involvement in directing the cultural life but is retracting from funding cultural institutions [16]. The current climate can be best described as the implications of the market model where cultural institutions have to look for themselves especially with regards to financial affairs [2]. This policy is considered contrary to European counterparts such Germany and Finland where the state has an active role in funding the cultural sector [1]. The French government is imposing neoliberal values as institutional funders, namely government and corporations, are funding cultural activities in exchange of an economic return [2], [35]. Thus, shaping a reciprocal funding process based on exchange of monetary value. In our analysis of the French cultural policies, we observe two periods that have resulted in these shifts; 1980s to 1990s, and 2000s and onwards.

In 1980s, a cultural national strategy emerged to put the French culture in the international scene [35]. The Ministry of Culture worked to create large cultural institutions with a focus on supporting them to get involved in international exhibitions. Although this period is marked by a significant decentralisation

of cultural policies, however, the cultural policies of local cities reflect the national policy of the Ministry of Culture where they have supported artistic creations. The Ministry of Culture had maintained autonomy of cultural institutions away from the market forces but a significant shift has occurred in 1990s with economic dimensions became standards to assess and legitimise cultural institutions. A new basis to evaluate cultural institutions was issued by which international issues became at the centre of cultural policies as well as legitimising cultural institutions that carry a global agenda. This period marks the emergence of a new globalised practices that began to manifest itself [28]. Globalisation of culture was not conceptualised to include overseas galleries as it is nowadays, rather it started as an ambition to communicate cultural activities beyond the gallery by bringing culture to communication mediums such as television during that time.

In the early 2000s, the decentralisation of cultural policies went a step further when the Ministry of Culture has granted more responsibilities to local cities to handle cultural issues [26]. The professional community considers this as a dissociation of heritage from the state by which local cities can direct cultural policies to suit their needs for urban regeneration. This implies that the public funding of culture goes to the local level as well. Since the global financial crisis of 2008, France has imposed austerity measures that affected the whole economy and cultural institutions were not an exception. Although cultural institutions such as art museums have an admission fee, however, the decreased income due to less visitors combined with declined public funding added constraints on their budgets. The financial challenge goes hand in hand with the dissociation of heritage from the state thus implying a decline in heritage protection [26].

In 2013, the ministry of culture has made proposals to art museums that aim to circulate art works. The proposals are not mandatory policies but are a guidance for use by decision makers in the cultural sector organisations [32]. They aim to address three issues; valorisation of national collections, equality of access for citizens, and democratise access to work to include all citizens. This has resulted in two proposals; loans and 'off the wall' exhibitions. The first proposal encourages art museums to lend their art works to museums in France and abroad. The second proposal asks for initiatives to organise exhibitions outside museums venues to reach different cities and bring new audiences. These shifts in policies toward heritage protection, funding, and arts circulation have resulted in the modern form of globalisation as museums are autonomous in practicing the market model by opening multiple galleries locally and abroad to enhance income and cultural reach [33], [35]. Two French museums have initiated globalisation projects; Louvre has launched a long-term gallery in Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre organises temporary exhibitions in several cities around the world [27], [30]. While these initiatives carry cultural objectives in line with the evolution of France decentralised cultural policies, however, they are encouraged by financial goals as well that are considered a motive pushing these museums to increase income as global exhibitions are charging.

TABLE I
CULTURAL POLICIES OF FRANCE

1980s – 1990s	2000s – Onwards
Cultural decentralisation: cultural issues are the responsibility of local cities rather than the state. Cultural democratisation: provide greater access to cultural institutions, community self-representation, co-creation, among other forms.	Dissociation of heritage from the state: detach the state from the responsibility of sustaining cultural institutions. Austerity programme: cut public spending including cultural sector which resulted in declined funding. Ministry of Culture proposals to circulate art works through loans to local and abroad museums, and exhibitions outside the museum.

III. GLOBALISATION OF ART MUSEUMS IN FRANCE

In France, art museums went through shifts in their interests and practices. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, art museums are increasingly adopting the market model with a

focus on globalisation in order to replace the public funding as well as achieve a national cultural strategy. Recent French governments have maintained these policies and went forward with the austerity programme to cut costs thus impacting the budgets of art museums. In 2007, on a national level, the French government has signed a deal with the government of United Arab Emirates to open a branch of Louvre Museum in Abu Dhabi which is the first overseas gallery of the museum [6]. The Pompidou Centre is organising temporary exhibitions in different locations around the world such as Malaga and Shanghai [4], [14]. This shift towards globalisation is triggering controversy where it is viewed as leading to damages on cultural heritage. Although globalisation may lead to additional income and enhanced cultural democratisation, however, art museums seem to neglect the threat imposed from diminishing cultural heritage.

TABLE II
OVERVIEW OF ART MUSEUMS IN FRANCE

Art Museum	Category	Visitors Annually	Grant-in-aid	Self-generated income	Globalisation Activities
Louvre Museum	Traditional	8.1m	€102m	€102m	• Louvre Abu Dhabi
The Pompidou Centre	Contemporary	3.75m	€81.2m	€37.3m	• Temporary international exhibitions

The cultural policies of the French government had a direct influence on art museums globalisation. One major issue is the constant reduction of public funding as the availability of financial resources is crucial for art museums to carry out their social missions [22]. Although art museums are rich in collections, however, they have shortage of cash to sustain operations [29]. Art museums are receiving grants but are insufficient to cover operational costs which is pushing them to adopt market activities and seek funding from private donors and commercial activities such as franchising [24]. Consequently, art museums are increasingly accepting market principles as an indicator of success [31]. This is leading to satisfy market demands such as efficiency and economic surplus by focusing on financials.

Beside the benefits gained by art museums when going global, there are reasons for cities to welcome such initiatives. Dolan has investigated why cities and councils get interested to open branches of international museums [7]. The study has found that local authorities are seeking enhancement for cultural tourism by opening landmark sites and a branch of an international museum assists in achieving that goal. Additionally, they will create more jobs opportunities for locals. Thus, globalising art museums sounds a good deal for both museums and hosts in economic terms.

On the other hand, globalisation carries cultural agenda. Feigenbaum argues that globalisation which usually refers to economic convergence such as integration of markets should BE extended to include culture [9]. Demonstrating examples from the United States, the study has shown that economic globalisation efforts lead indirectly to cultural convergence. One cultural consequence of American globalisation is the spread of English language to become a universal language. Therefore, globalisation of museums is viewed as leading to cultural convergence by integrating cultures. As French cultural

policies have an international orientation emanating from democratising culture, overseas galleries of French art museums are in line with this orientation. Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre temporary global exhibitions have cultural objectives.

Additionally, overseas cultural presence represents a source of soft power [37]. Soft power supports the traditional hard power of nations to achieve influence by networking, communicating, and establishing rules in order to make a country powerful and attractive to the world [23]. Culture is one way to enhance soft power through global reach and appeal of a nation's cultural output. French policymakers believe that culture and language are two of the few remaining tools to maintain power at the world stage [15].

IV. GLOBALISATION AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

The positive outcomes consist mainly of financial gains where globalisation assists in replacing grants as the source of funding, thus enable art museums to cover operational costs. Culturally, opening international branches is found to advance cultural practices [8], [5], and spread artistic innovation [10]. Globalisation is providing audiences with a 'free-choice' learning because rather than having museums representing one cultural perspective, a city that hosts international museums provides choices to audiences to learn about several cultures [8]. It is leading to spread professional standards of art museums' practices such as evaluation of arts [5]. Globalisation is found to enhance artistic innovation which refers to advancing art through discoveries [10]. Artistic innovation is generated from different places around the world and globalisation is helping to spread these innovations through the movement of people and their ideas through arts. For instance, when an artist in New York innovates, globalisation assists in spreading this innovation to other places like Paris or Shanghai

through display in globalised art museums. Nevertheless, globalisation is supporting artistic innovation through geographic diffusion [10], but there is no indication that globalisation is leading to artistic innovation itself.

On the other hand, globalisation is found to homogenise art museums to shrink artistic diversity, a threat to the local culture of the host country, and a risk to art museums themselves that are pursuing globalisation [5], [11], [19], [34], [36]. Artistic diversity refers to the existence of different cultures, artistic creations, and cultural values within a society [25]. Diversity of arts and culture is important to have different views and people learn from each other to develop the society [20]. Maintaining artistic diversity is crucial to understand the characteristics of the society to drive it forward. The effects of globalisation on cultural diversity of arts were researched by examining the cycle of creation, production, distribution, promotion, reception, and influence of arts in line with increased globalisation practices [34]. The study has revealed negative effects by which globalising art works is shrinking artistic diversity by creating a homogenous culture. It is recommended that museums need to focus on strengthening local culture and maintain it [5]. This can be done through exhibitions and programmes to educate the public of local culture and create a sense of responsibility to protect it. Art museums are a critical resistance force to protect local identity and culture from globalisation thus should act based on that purpose rather than seeking globalisation. An art museum is a significant representation of national identity and connects the past to present by housing cultural heritage [19]. Nations are not mere political entities but a system of cultural representation where they produce meanings. Representation is an important factor as meaning is not produced directly from the objects being displayed but the way in which objects are represented. The representation of objects is critical to maintain the symbolic cultural system. The gallery artefacts such as the location and surrounding environment, and the way arts are displayed are indirectly related to maintain the cultural heritage. Thus, opening international branches such as, for example, a French art museum in China lacks the appropriate representation of the national identity which is going to diminish the local culture of the host country.

TABLE III
ARTS GLOBALISATION OUTCOMES

Positive Outcomes	Negative Outcomes
Financial gains: develop and enhance income sources from franchising.	Shrink cultural diversity: creating a homogenous culture.
Advance cultural practices: provide wider cultural choices to learn and improve professional standards.	Threat to the local culture of the host country: diminish representation of national culture.
Spread artistic innovation: geographic diffusion of artistic innovations.	Risk to art museums: confront resistance, lose legitimacy, and damage aesthetic values of arts.

V.DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We examined globalisation of art museums to shed light on the causes and effects of this trend. The analysis shows that art museums globalise as a response to cultural policies of the government. While researchers who examined cultural policies

of the United States and other European countries have shown different cultural policies which are leading to adopting the market model [1], [16], our focus on France reveals that the withdrawal of the state from funding cultural institutions combined with decentralised cultural policies aimed at international reach pushed art museums to globalise through overseas galleries.

Globalisation of art museums is a double-edged sword where it is leading to positive and negative outcomes. The positive outcomes are mainly economic by making art museums self-sufficient on their income without asking for public funding from the government, thus the government reserves more tax money for other uses. The market model turns art museums into contributors to the economy rather than takers by generating higher income from overseas visitors and attract tourists. However, globalisation is not without negative consequences [5], [11], [19], [34], [36]. The damage of globalisation is on cultural heritage which is a fundamental purpose of art museums. By treating arts as a commodity and exchange loans with galleries in different cultural locations, art museums undermine authentic cultural representation, evaluate arts based on economic value rather than artistic value, shrink artistic diversity, diminish appropriate representation of national identity, and a threat to the existence of art museums themselves.

Although globalisation became inevitable in the cultural sector in France as public funding continues to be insufficient and a national cultural globalisation strategy, however, a way forward is to try resolve or minimise damages. Our analysis indicates that cultural policies is a major factor that is pushing art museums to launch international galleries. In that sense, as cultural policies were used to direct cultural institutions to globalise, then they can limit the threat of globalisation by acting as a force to protect cultural heritage. First, policymakers could issue a legislation to ensure that international loans are limited for a short-term and returned to the origin gallery. Second, the government could provide a higher tax exemption to art museums that acts as an indirect form of funding as it will enable them to retain higher income from commercial activities to enhance the financial condition. For the host country, local cities and municipalities should support local art museums and increase their contribution to the economy in order to have authentic cultural representation that will help to avoid importing global museums, thus maintain local cultural presentation and protect cultural heritage.

Our study is not without limitations that can be addressed through future research. First, we reviewed the literature on cultural policies from secondary sources, thus a different research design with primary data and direct inputs from organisational actors could yield more insights about the factors that are influencing globalisation of art museums. Second, we focused on public cultural policies, future research could examine other stakeholders and their role in enhancing or resisting globalisation such as artists, curators, and visitors. Third, our study has shown that globalisation is leading to various impacts on cultural heritage and aesthetic values. However, we encourage further research to discover the impact

of globalisation on organisational aspects including different governance types of art museums, i.e. whether globalisation is influencing a change in the governance structure from non-profit to profit or public to profit type. We hope that other researchers will advance our idea about the direction of cultural policies on art museums and its effect on cultural practices.

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