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INSTITUTIONS AND LEGITIMATIONS IN FINANCE FOR THE ARTS

Ida Lunde Jørgensen

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Institutions and Legitimations in Finance for the Arts

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Dedicated to my granddad, Jens Christian Jørgensen, and all the wonderful teachers of this world.

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Ida L. Jørgensen, Copenhagen, May 27th, 2016

Preface

The following dissertation aims to improve the theoretical and empirical understanding of public and private support for the visual arts, both at an institutional and organisational level. This topic is increasingly relevant due to the on-going debate in Danish society about the power and closed nature of private foundations supporting the arts and a more regularly appearing debate concerning the purpose and practices of the Danish Arts Foundation since its establishment. Given this debate I have found it valuable, to address the foundations' own reasons for art support, to shed light on why foundations support the visual arts.

I wish to spend just a short section, here, on introducing how I arrived at the topic of the thesis. Interested in as diverse, yet intimately connected topics as business, politics, public policy, culture and visual art, my entry point into this thesis project has gone through preliminary research not addressed in the Research Strategy of this thesis, since this section reflects on the process after the larger topic had been settled upon.

During my master's degree in International Business and Politics, my interests in business, politics and public policy on one hand, and in culture and visual art, on the other, were largely separate. In 2010-11 however, in the context of a greater spirit of austerity in a Europe in the aftermath of the most recent financial crisis, the arts were cut in many European countries, such as Denmark, England, the Netherlands and Italy. This development offered an opportunity to bridge these interests. I therefore undertook a master's thesis focusing on the small-scale cuts to the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and the large-scale spending cuts to Arts Council England, focusing on the historical development of public funding for the arts in Denmark and England since the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain and the Danish Ministry of Culture, using a small number of artist interviews to illuminate personal and professional aspects of the cuts. As part of this project, the role of private foundations often came into view, both with regards to the historical development of art support and in the discussions with visual artists about how they funded their projects. I therefore began to envision another project to investigate private and public art foundations. It was this project I proposed to Copenhagen Business School upon its call for Doctoral Fellows in 2012. It has therefore only been fortuitous that there has been an increasing public debate about private foundations since, and that the Danish Arts Foundation, has not ceased to be of interest in the public debate.

An Open Call Doctoral Fellowship awarded by Copenhagen Business School, selected by the Department of Business and Politics in 2012, has made the thesis possible. The type of call meant that the dissertation theme and project was not predetermined, but suggested by the research proposal in the application. This has given immense freedom to both define the project, in terms of empirical material and in the working process. The empirical material used in this thesis comes from the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Arts Foundation, who have also provided vital background information.

The thesis is structured with an introduction (Chapter 1) written with the aim of introducing the thesis to a wide variety of interested readers, followed by a more detailed theoretical chapter (2) and a detailed chapter on the research strategy (3), a brief summary of the dissertations conclusions and further perspectives (4), and finally the three papers of the thesis, all directed to an academic readership.

The thesis thus takes the shape of an article-based dissertation, with two articles in review at the time of submission; their layout therefore reflects the submission guidelines of the respective journals.

The three articles are:

- Rationalised Myths of Cultural Policy Analysis: A new institutional perspective
- Logics of Legitimation in Finance for the Arts: A tale of two foundations at critical points in time
- Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation: A study of temporal legitimations in the New Carlsberg Foundation

Abstract

The thesis contributes to a more nuanced understanding of art support by investigating the underlying legitimations and institutional logics of two of the most significant foundations supporting visual art, in Denmark, the private New Carlsberg Foundation and public Danish Arts Foundation. Drawing on insights from neo-institutional and French convention theory, the thesis makes its central contributions within the fields of neo-institutional theory, cultural policy and philanthropy studies. The first paper shows the suitability of neo-institutional theory, particularly the theories of isomorphism, cultural and institutional entrepreneurship, institutional logics, and rhetorical work to address a number of key debates in cultural policy pertaining to the evaluation of aesthetic performance, the justification of investment in the arts and how ideas and meanings become taken for granted in the cultural policy field. In addition, the first paper theorizes the wider field of cultural policy, suggesting twelve institutional arenas where cultural policy is unfolded, of which the thesis focuses on public and private foundations. In the second paper, the thesis focuses on uncovering the key legitimations of art support in the New Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Arts Foundation at critical points in time, drawing on and contributing to the literature on institutional logics and convention theory. Specifically, the thesis shows the importance of nine particular logics of legitimation underlying art support; the industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic, projective, emotional and temporal. Most central to the foundations' operation are the professional (industrial), artistic (inspired) and civic logics. The thesis shows that the invocations of these logics are highly reflective upon wider societal institutions, prevailing institutional logics, the nature of the critical moment and the organisations' practices and purpose. In the third paper the thesis hones in on the temporal logic, and draws attention to the micro-level use of this logic, which suggests that logics are invoked in characteristic ways. The third paper illuminates five distinctive uses of the past in the New Carlsberg Foundation, pertaining to the charter, the founding family, place, the moment and anecdotes and importantly shows that while some of these uses are reflected and instrumental, others are institutionalised and show propensity towards institutional reification.

Resumé

Denne afhandling bidrager til en dybere forståelse af kunststøtte ved at undersøge de underliggende legitimeringer og institutionelle logikker i to af de mest betydningsfulde kunstfonde, som støtter billedkunsten, det private Ny Carlsbergfondet og det offentlige Statens Kunstfond. Afhandlingen trækker på indsigter fra den neo-institutionelle teori og den franske konventionsskole og søger at bidrage til den neo-institutionelle teori, samt forskningen i kulturpolitik og fonde. I afhandlingens første artikel teoretiseres det bredere kulturpolitiske felt. Her udfoldes den ny-institutionelle teoris anvendelighed i forhold til en række centrale diskussioner indenfor kulturpolitik, særligt i forhold til vurderingen af kunstnerisk kvalitet, retfærdiggørelsen af investeringer i kunst, og hvordan ideer og betydninger bliver taget for givet i det kulturpolitiske felt. Derudover præsenteres tolv institutionaliserede arenaer, hvor kulturpolitikken udfolder sig, hvor afhandlingen fokuserer på en offentlig og en privat fond. I afhandlingens anden artikel fokuseres på at belyse de centrale legitimeringer for kunststøtte i Ny Carlsbergfondet og Statens Kunstfond i kritiske øjeblikke. Artiklen trækker på og søger at bidrage til litteraturen om institutionelle logikker og konventionsteorien. Specifikt viser afhandlingen betydningen af ni logikker, som legitimerer kunststøtte; den industrielle, markedslogikken, den æstetiske, den familiære, berømmelseslogikken, den civile, projekt-logikken, den emotionelle og temporale. Afhandlingen viser, at inddragelsen af disse logikker er yderst reflekteret i forhold til det omkringliggende samfunds bærende institutioner, fremherskende institutionelle logikker, omstændighederne omkring det kritiske øjeblik og organisationens eksisterende praksisser og formål. Afhandlingens tredje artikel beskæftiger sig med den temporale logik og brugen af denne i praksis. Artiklen forslår, at overordnede logikker inddrages på karakteristiske måder. Specifikt argumenterer artiklen for fem karakteristiske måder, hvorpå Ny Carlsbergfondet bruger den temporale logik til at legitimere handling. Disse relaterer sig til fundatsen, den stiftende familie, stedet, øjeblikket og anekdoten. Særligt viser artiklen at, hvor nogle disse inddragelser er reflekterede og strategiske er andre institutionaliserede og bidrager til cementeringen af eksisterende institutioner.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There is an on-going debate about private foundations in Danish cultural life. Private foundations are perceived to be extremely closed and immensely powerful due to their control of significant funds (Brovall & Stockmann, 2014; Brovall, 2015; Ritzau, 2015; Stockmann & Brovall, 2014). It was recently estimated that private foundations contribute approximately 2 billion Danish kroner (ca. 300 million USD) to Danish cultural life per year, about 10% of total cultural support, the remainder coming from various public sources (Lund & Berg, 2015). In a contemporary context, particular significance is attached to their increasing share of cultural funding, up from approximately 5% in the period 1961-1987 (Brovall, 2015). A recent “top-10” list over the most powerful people in the Danish art-world ranked the Chairman of the New Carlsberg Foundation, perhaps the most significant private foundation dedicated to the support of visual art, as number one, ahead of both the Minister of Culture and the Chairman of the Danish Art Foundation, the state sponsored art foundation (Nielsen & Heltoft, 2016), evidence of the power private foundations are perceived to have.

In addition to the recent debate of private foundations, the Danish Arts Foundation is perhaps the most widely and consistently discussed organisation in the Danish art-world. Established in 1965, the organisation was created in a wave of social democratic zeitgeist, which saw an expansion of state involvement in all areas of Danish society. However, upon foundation, more than 50.000 signatures had been collected in protest (Straarup, 2016) and the foundations acquisition practices, particular recipients or omissions in support are frequently debated, as a handful of press articles from the past decade indicate: Partiality in the Danish Arts Foundation (Staun, 2009), Famous author rages against rejection from the Danish Arts Foundation (Thorsen & Benner, 2011), Denmark’s most famous gallery-owner uninvites the Danish Arts Foundation (Stockmann, 2012), Innovative theatre is neglected by the Danish Arts Foundation (Bech-Danielsen, 2014), and A controversial jubilant, who still awakes strong feelings (Kjær, 2014). Given the ongoing debate concerning these foundations, and their power and opacity in the public view, this thesis hopes to shed some light on what has been evocatively been called “the cultural dark-land of foundations” (Brovall & Stockmann, 2014; Brovall, 2015).

The public debate about foundations focuses greatly on the resources foundations have, their concomitant power and the opaqueness of their work. Some scholars have affronted this debate by investigating the quantitative share of private and public foundational support over time (Lund & Berg, 2015), the legal and general framework conditions inciting or limiting their popularity (Lund & Berg, 2016/forthcoming). This dissertation takes a qualitative approach, addressing the need for a greater understanding of the underlying reasons, both institutional and organisational *why public and private foundations support the arts*. The thesis investigates this through three highly interrelated papers that illuminate different aspects of this question at particular levels of generality.

Paper 1 – Rationalised Myths of Cultural Policy Analysis: A New Institutional Perspective

A conceptual paper, which addresses the wider institutional landscape of cultural policy and argues that institutional theory may help us improve cultural policy research, through its attentiveness to underlying institutional mechanisms that govern cultural policy and art support.

Paper 2 – Logics of Legitimation in Finance for the Arts: A tale of two foundations at critical points in time

An empirical and conceptual paper that analyses the underlying reasons for art support in two of the most influential Danish art foundations: The New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Art Foundation. The paper considers their legitimations vis-a-vis the extant literature on institutional logics and regimes of justification and shows how organisations reflect and reflect upon prevailing societal institutions and logics, their organisational purposes and practices and critical moments.

Paper 3 – Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation: A study of temporal legitimations in the New Carlsberg Foundation

An empirical and conceptual paper, which illuminates a particular form of legitimation, the ‘the past’, and investigates how this form of legitimation is invoked in a family philanthropic organisation.

The thesis addresses two specific audiences: First and foremost an academic audience interested in neo-institutional theory, cultural policy and foundations. Secondly the thesis addresses a wider audience of readers, concerned with cultural policy, interested in the underlying reasoning behind public and private support for visual art. These insights should be of particular interest to policy-makers who have a need to understand the role of two of the most significant Danish art foundations, more fundamentally, and gain insight into recent theory and extant research on cultural policy and foundations. In addition, artists and cultural institutions (museums, galleries, art academies etc.) that wish to gain a deeper insight into the nature of two of the most significant sources of art funding in Denmark should find the thesis of interest. The thesis also speaks to Danish journalists and cultural commentators, who wish to know and communicate about the role of the New Carlsberg Foundation and The Danish Art Foundation, and stay informed about current research. Finally, the thesis offers a theorization to foundations in general, and particularly to the New Carlsberg Foundation and The Danish Art Foundation, which offers a different more theoretical insight into the nature of their foundations than that of foundational work itself.

A pragmatic institution theoretical view

The following section provides a brief introduction to the theory and central concepts used in this thesis (see chapter 2, for a more elaborate overview). Given the ambiguity inherent in the field of cultural policy (Bennett, 2004), specifically within art foundations about the most appropriate way to conduct their work, the thesis takes an institution theoretical perspective attentive to the way in which organisations reflect and consciously engage with “the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society” (Meyer and Rowan 1983: 84). The institutional perspective is engaged throughout the thesis at different levels of analysis. In the first paper, I seek to show the value of a neo-institutional perspective to the conceptualisation of cultural policy, how these ‘rules’ both shape and enable the organisational field of cultural policy conductors, but also how recent debates in neo-institutional theory map on to

and offer analytical acuity to key debates in cultural policy analysis. I also seek to construct an overview over the key institutional arenas of the cultural policy field.

A key contention of neo-institutional theory is that organisations reflect wider societal institutions and create institutionalised, rule-like practices, not because they are the most efficient, but because organisations gain “legitimacy, resources, stability and enhanced survival prospects” (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Legitimacy, and how organisations seek to acquire legitimacy, is therefore a key interest area of institutional theorists. The quest for legitimacy has significant explanatory power to elucidate why organisations, such as art foundations, which do not have a financial imperative, pursue particular practices and purposes. A key contribution to this literature was offered by Friedland and Alford who argued that:

“The central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West – capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion [...] These institutions are potentially contradictory and hence make multiple logics available to individuals and organisations. [Who] transform the institutional relations of society by exploiting these contradictions” (Friedland & Alford 1991:232).

The second paper therefore investigates the higher order institutional logics or regimes of justification (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) drawn upon by two influential Danish art foundations at critical moments in time (The New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Art Foundation). The underlying premise of this is a pragmatic view, borrowed from French Convention theorists, Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), who argue that reasons and actions are intimately linked, and draw upon moral regimes of justification. The thesis takes the position that we can understand the reasons for action (in this case why public and private foundations support the arts) through the justifications invoked by these foundations. The thesis therefore favours attentiveness to studying legitimation through words (Suddaby, 2005) and conscious work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

One of the key findings emerging from the investigation of the central ‘logics’ of foundational practice and purpose is the importance of time (particularly the past), humanistic and emotional as reasoning ‘logics’ which are not well reflected in the extant literature on institutional theory. Furthermore the investigation of higher order logics did not do justice to the immense variety and characteristic ways in which these central logics were invoked. A third paper therefore takes departure in a particular form of reasoning, the use of the ‘past’ and unfolds the characteristic ways in which this logic is invoked, by drawing on the charter, the family history, place, the moment and anecdotes, to contribute on one hand to a deeper understanding of institutional logics and more generally to the growing interest in rhetoric and uses of the past, in management and organisational theory. A brief lexis of the key concepts and their use has been provided below.

Key concepts

Institution A rule-like social practice, affecting exchanges from micro-social exchanges such as the handshake, to the macro-social phenomena like the structure of organisations; their purposes and practices.

Legitimacy The resonance of a practice with the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society.

Legitimation The process of pursuing legitimacy, where this thesis focuses particularly on legitimation through written texts. In this thesis legitimation and justification are used interchangeably.

A brief reflection on the research strategy

The strategy employed in this research is inspired by, but does not dogmatically follow, Glaser and Strauss grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The key aspect of grounded theory methodology, which resonates with the approach taken in this thesis, relates to the way in which material was collected and theorized upon, which is particularly relevant to the process behind the thesis' two empirical papers (paper 2 and 3). Briefly, Glaser and Strauss argue for an open-minded entry into the empirical and theoretical framing of research, and argue that theorization (and ultimately theory) should arise from the findings of empirical material. They argue this in opposition to the placement of a particular paradigm over the material from the beginning, with the aim of merely extending theory with meticulously pre-defined material, and an early closure of the mind, that in their view creates findings and theory marginal to the purpose of academic research. A key feature of Glaser and Strauss' approach is the constant comparison between empirical material and theorization, and the reluctance to settle on empirical material. The approach, particularly with regard to the empirical work, has taken a great deal of inspiration from Glaser and Strauss, and at the earliest stages of this project the choice of theory had not been settled upon, nor had the key concepts of interest (institutions, legitimacy and legitimation), or empirical material, only the theme "private and public art foundations" had been decided. However, where the approach differs from the ideals of Glaser and Strauss, concerns the dismissal of serious consideration of existing theory, a dogma which this thesis does not share. The thesis therefore takes a more 'updated' approach to grounded theory (Suddaby, 2006), in which a vast variety of theory, academic literature on cultural policy and foundations, and empirical material was considered and eventually pared down to an investigation into the institutional context (paper 1) and institutional legitimations (paper 2 and 3) invoked by the two most influential foundations supporting the visual arts in Denmark. The consideration of theory and data was thus a tandem process, where neither theory nor data was settled upon at an early stage but was gradually settled upon in an iterative process.

The empirical material considered in this process, ranged from legal text, newspaper articles, foundation websites, interviews and informal conversations, government reports on cultural policy, annual reports, speeches, biographies and detailed academic accounts. This process led to the gradual concentration on the Danish Art Foundation and New Carlsberg Foundation, which revealed these two foundations to be the most significant public and private foundations respectively supporting the visual arts. Importantly, it was during this process that the most relevant document for the analysis – the annual report – was finally selected. This document, was selected because it was the source that most clearly and consistently explains and argued for support, resonating both with the empirical interest, to elucidate the respective foundations' reasons for supporting the arts and the theoretical imperative to theorize the arguments for support. In total 151 reports were analysed in detail, 104 from the New Carlsberg Foundation and 47 from the Danish Arts Foundation, upon which the empirical analysis was conducted (see Chapter 3 for a detailed description of the analytical approach and annual report). A brief introduction to the empirical setting and the most necessary background information about the two foundations will now be offered.

Art support in Denmark: An introduction

The role of art and concomitant support has been part of ancient civilizations, through early Modernity, to contemporary society; gradually attaining a more organised and rationalized form. The earliest forms of direct support for cultural life in Denmark arose with the employment of artists by the Church and Royal Family, this was support through commissioned work (Thyssen, 1998: 11). With the Protestant Reformation, the Churches role was greatly diminished (Duelund, 1995: 29) and the Royal Family and wider royalty became the most significant patrons of the arts.¹ With the Constitution of 1849 and “the advent of democracy” and the establishment of a ministry for education, church and science,² the government gradually began to play a role in the support of art and culture (Duelund, 1995; M. F. Jeppesen, 2002). The growth of private ownership and wealth after 1849 also saw the advance of private patronage and engagement in the arts. The visual arts were a favoured pastime, through collection and the occasional donation, of a growing class of cultured and wealthy industrialists, who became the most visible patrons of the arts in the late 19th/early 20th century, where also the creation of Danish foundations for public purposes takes off – it is in this period both the Carlsberg Foundation and the New Carlsberg Foundation are founded in 1876 and 1902 respectively (Glamman, 1990, 1997; Nørregård-Nielsen, 2002a; see also Lund and Berg, 2016/forthcoming). During the 20th century, particularly in the social-democratic zeitgeist following the Second World War, the state takes a gradually increasing role in direct support of the arts, with the emergence of the welfare state (Bomholt, 1953; Duelund, 2001; M. F. Jeppesen, 2002). As a result of this increased emphasis on art support (including the establishment of an art fund for visual art in 1956) as a form of cultural support, and an increasing amount of cultural administration undertaken by the Ministry of Education (M. F. Jeppesen, 2002: 27) a separate Ministry of Culture was created in 1961. However, due to a growing awareness and reflection on the ills of state controlled cultural life, in aftermath of WWII, an independent Danish Arts Foundation³ was created in 1964, for the support of a variety of art-forms including visual art. The following section provides a brief introduction to the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Arts Foundation.

The New Carlsberg Foundation

The Carlsberg Foundation (for the support of science and humanities), was created by J.C. Jacobsen in 1876. It became a pioneering foundation, in part because it became the world first foundation to own a company, the brewing company Carlsberg, as and alongside its philanthropic activity⁴, and in part since it was a highly-professionalised foundation, with board-members selected from and by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters⁵, as opposed to the existing practice of direct patronage. This set-up garnered the Carlsberg Foundation

¹ The King thus was able to draw on the foundation ‘ad Usos Publicus’ from 1765, for public and therefore also cultural purposes (Duelund, 1995: 30).

² *Kultusministeriet* was split into separate Church and Education ministries in 1916.

³ This was called the Danish State Arts Foundation, but for clarity its current name, The Danish Arts Foundation is used throughout.

⁴ The possibility of running a company through a foundation is a unique feature of Northern Europe, in which corporate activity can be viewed as a public purpose (Thomsen & Rose, 2004).

⁵ The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters is an élite society established in 1742, admitting only the most recognized Danish scientists and researchers as members.

significant legitimacy, and it was this model of professionalised funding Carl Jacobsen (J.C. Jacobsen's son) introduced to art support, with the establishment of the New Carlsberg Foundation, with the exception that he reserved a seat for his male descendants on the board (Glamman, 1997; Jacobsen, 1902; Nørregård-Nielsen, 2002a).⁶ With an education in brewery and by having rented brewing space from his father on favourable terms, Carl had become a wealthy industrialist in his own right, from his "New Carlsberg" brewery (Glamman, 1997; Nørregård-Nielsen, 2002a). Since relations were difficult between Carl and his father, Carl was effectively cut out of his father's inheritance through the establishment of the Carlsberg Foundation, which instead became the owner of the 'old' Carlsberg Brewery, a brewery that Carl otherwise would have inherited (Glamman, 1990, 1997). Carl, a passionate art collector and philanthropist, created the New Carlsberg foundation in 1902, for the support of visual art, and in a simultaneous "act of reconciliation", donated the foundation and along with the New Carlsberg brewery to the greater Carlsberg Foundation (Nørregård-Nielsen, 2002a). Due to its significant resources (see Appendix 1) momentous and consistent work from establishment; for the visual arts, mainly from the acquisition of artworks donated to public museums and places, decorative projects and its support for museums, particularly the New Carlsberg Glyptotek (founded by Carl Jacobsen in 1882), the New Carlsberg Foundation is arguably the most significant Danish private foundation supporting the visual arts both historically and today. This central position is also reflected in the public perception, where its Chairman is often considered among the most powerful people in Danish Cultural life alongside the museum directors of the country's most significant museums and the Chairman of the Danish Arts Foundation (Brovall & Thorsen, 2013; Nielsen & Heltoft, 2016). The central role of the foundation has thus made it one of the two foundations chosen to investigate the reasoning of art support in Denmark.

The Danish Art Foundation

Since its establishment in 1964 The Danish Art Foundation has been the central public foundation supporting the arts in Denmark, initially it was established to support the visual, literary and sound arts (music) although its purview grew as the foundation and other art-forms gained legitimacy. The foundation emerged in the social democratic-zeitgeist of WW2, where the state increased social support and its involvement in all areas of the Danes' lives. It was particularly from the initiative of the Danish Social-Democrat, Julius Bomholt, that the Danish Ministry of Culture was formed. Bomholt, then the Minister of Education, presided over a ministry where art support was increasingly part of the ministries' portfolio. Furthermore Bomholt had significant ideas about the role of art and culture in Danish society which he had written about in a number of books (Bomholt, 1932, 1938, 1953) about working class culture and cultural democratization. Although Bomholt saw culture as being held by society, he also held the view that particularly high culture should be spread to the "farthest corners of the kingdom" and wanted to educate society to appreciate the arts (M. F. Jeppesen, 2002; Jørgensen, 2011) and lead to the "cultural improvement for all people" (Bomholt, 1953). A key feature of the 1961-Ministry of Culture, which Bomholt became the first Minister of, was that cultural professionals made suggestions to the Minister about support, but that the Minister took decisions about support.

⁶ Since the death of his son Helge Jacobsen, who was chairman from 1914-1946, the board has consisted only of educated art-professionals (mainly art-historians).

The central challenge for the Danish state in supporting the arts in the aftermath of the Second World War was how to support but not control the arts, since the control of cultural life was feared and perceived to be highly illegitimate. The solution was one with an 'arms-length' between the Ministry and the foundation, meaning the Ministry provided the funds, but a professional board composed of the chairmen of the committees of professional artists decided and distributed the allocated funds for a 3-year period, after which they were (and continue to be) replaced. In addition, a Representative Committee (*Representantskab*) consisting of elected politicians from the different political parties would oversee the foundations work. This, arm-length form of support resonated with the well-established institutional organisation of science funding in Denmark (both public and private), the form of support in the, by then, highly esteemed New Carlsberg Foundation (which now had a fully professional board) and the wider international context of art foundations with various degrees of arms-length springing up in the West starting with British Arts Council in 1946.

A brief overview of the two foundations has been provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Brief overview of the two foundations

Brief Overview	New Carlsberg Foundation	Danish Arts Foundation
Foundation year	1902	1964
Status	Private	Public
Founder	Carl Jacobsen	Ministry of Culture/Julius Bomholt (key initiative taker)
Source of funding	Profits from Carlsberg Breweries	Danish State/Ministry of Finance (tax-payers)
Areas of funding	Visual art (acquisition and decoration), industrial art, architecture, landscape/gardening art, the Glyptotek and antiquities ⁷	Architecture, visual art, film, crafts and design, literature, music and theatre
Thesis focus	Visual art, including e.g. support for the Glyptotek	Visual art (acquisition, decoration and project support)
Governance	“Arms-length” Professional-board (mainly art historians)	“Arms-length” Professional-board (mainly educated artists)
Overarching organisation	Carlsberg Foundation	Danish Ministry of Culture
Administration	Provided by administrative staff within the New Carlsberg Foundation	Provided by The Danish Arts Agency
Wider governing bodies	Carlsberg Foundation, Department of Civil Affairs (<i>Civilstyrelsen</i>), Law on Private Foundations (<i>Fondsloven</i>)	Danish Ministry of Culture, Danish Public Administration Act (<i>Forvaltningsloven</i>), Freedom of Information Act (<i>Offentlighedsloven</i>)
Legal statute	Charter from 1902, most recently amended in 2014	Law of the Danish Foundation (<i>Kunstfondloven</i>) 1965, most recently amended in 2013
Tax status	Taxable on profits (24%), but tax deductible on expenses and 25% in addition, i.e. a total deductible of 29,5 kr. per 100 kr. given (Kulturledelse.dk, 2015)	Not applicable
Budget for visual art 2013 Budget for visual art 2014	101,400,000 DKK 93,328,000 DKK	38,087,000 DKK 80,949,000 DKK ⁸
Current Chairman	Karsten Ohrt (since 2014)	Gitte Ørskou (since 2014)
Board members	Karsten Ohrt Morten Kyndrup Christine Buhl Andersen	<i>Visual Art Project Support</i> : Gitte Ørskou ¹ (Chairman), Bodil Nielsen ² , Claus Andersen ² , Jacob Tækker ¹ , Lilibeth Cuenca Rasmussen ² <i>Visual Art Working Stipends</i> : Søren Taaning ² (Chairman) Ane Mette Ruge ² , Eva Steen Christensen ² , Jakob Fabricius ¹ , Mikkel Carl ¹
Selection of Board Members	Appointment by the Carlsberg Foundation	¹ Selected by the Minister of Culture ² Selected by the Representation
Websites	http://www.ny-carlsbergfondet.dk/en	http://www.kunst.dk/english/danish-arts-foundation/

⁷ Until 1979, now mainly preservation of antiquities.

⁸ Substantial increase due to amalgamation with Danish Arts Council.

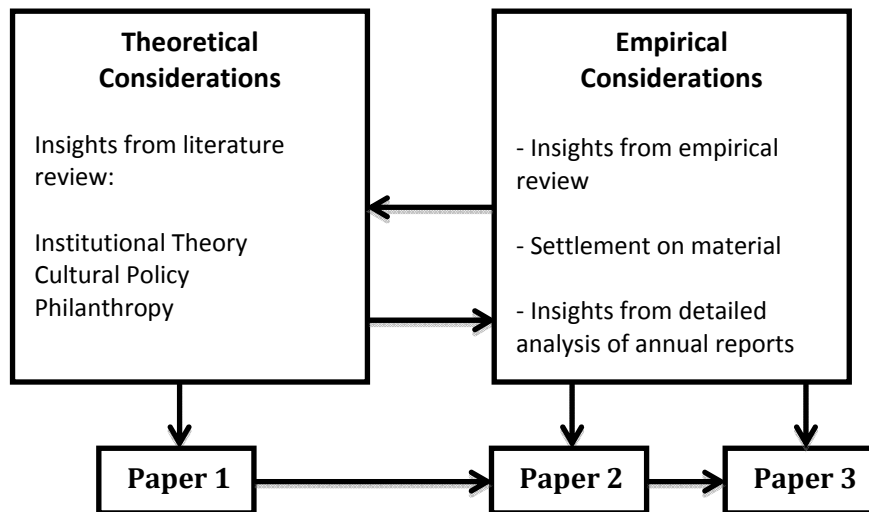
Purpose, agenda and overview

The purpose of this thesis is to better understand *why public and private foundations support the arts*, this is a large overarching question which has guided the work and the thesis specifically offers an answer which attends to the institutional organizational *legitimation* of public and private support (which is poorly understood at present), this is done based on a detailed analysis of the reasoning employed by the Danish Art Foundation and New Carlsberg Foundation. We need to understand this legitimation, if we are to better understand the role of public and private foundations – and specifically why they support the arts. The theoretical and empirical research agenda have been intimately connected; at an empirical level there has been a desire to shed light on the foundations' own reasoning, and from a theoretical perspective there has been a desire to improve theorization of art support and cultural policy, since the extant cultural policy literature is greatly under theorized.

The emphasis on public and private support for the arts situates the thesis within the empirical fields of cultural policy and philanthropy, these fields are reflected in separate literatures that have come to consider the mechanisms underlying (public) art support and (private) art philanthropy as overwhelmingly separate. However, the following thesis argues that this approach is less suitable to understand a complex phenomenon like art support, which emerges on both public and private initiatives. This has given the thesis an additional impetus to theorize art support in a way that would be suitable to understand this complex phenomenon cutting across these literatures. It was this challenge, which led me to consider how art support is reflected by different institutionalised organisations (in this case private and public foundations), and in turn how cultural policy is conducted by a variety of institutionalised organisations (among these the state and private foundations, see paper 1), and how the reasons for the purpose and practice of art support could be understood as a reflection on and of wider societal institutional logics (paper 2).

Figure 1 (next) illustrates the iterative process between the theoretical consideration and empirical analysis and their resulting papers. The detailed theoretical and empirical considerations are unfolded in Chapter 2 and 3 of this frame.

Figure 1: Iterative process of thesis



The iterative process of understanding the extant (institutional, cultural policy and philanthropic) literature and the public and private support for visual art has motivated the thesis to consider how we might fruitfully understand art support, both public and private, by drawing upon, and iteratively developing an institution theoretical lens (Paper 1). Specifically, as this thesis shows, we can develop a better empirical and theoretical understanding of the *reasoning* of public and private support by considering their underlying institutional logics (Paper 2). A key contribution arising from this engagement has been to show the resonance of wider societal institutions in the reasoning of public and private support. To cultural policy scholars, this shows how two private and public foundations display a significant sensitivity rather than ‘indifference to how things really are’ (Belfiore, 2009, p. 343), that their argumentation, practices and purposes are highly reflective – of and on the wider societal institutions, and therefore also answers to a recent call in the literature to seriously consider the institutional perspective (Stenström, 2008, p. 34). The value of institutional theory to cultural policy analysis is therefore unfolded in paper 1, where paper 2 shows the resonance but also the limits of the institutional logics perspective (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) and its analogous convention theoretical school (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) with the reasoning of support for visual art which emerged from the detailed grounded analysis. The methodical approach deserves a brief mention in this regard, since the reasons invoked by the New Carlsberg Foundations and Danish Art Foundation were not coded strictly with the extant theoretical frame, but rather freely coded, and then considered vis-à-vis the well-established institutional logics and regimes of justification. This led to a significant variety of logics, many of which could be considered to reflect specific interpretations of higher order logics in the extant literature, but particularly two logics, were considered so pervasive and distinctive (the temporal and emotional), that they could not be subsumed under the extant higher order institutional logics. Furthermore, the specificity of the use of different higher order logics was interesting, and not well addressed in the literature, this motivated me to consider ‘following’ the invocation of one particular higher order logic (the temporal) and consider the ways in which this was invoked (Paper 3). A brief overview of the papers of the thesis is offered in Table 2.

Table 2: Overview of papers

<i>Working title</i>	<i>Theoretical agenda</i>	<i>Empirical material/case</i>	<i>Approach</i>	<i>Journal</i>
1) <i>Rationalised Myths of Cultural Policy Analysis: A New Institutional Perspective</i>	Showing how neo-institutional theory can be utilized to better study cultural policy. Suggestion of key institutional organisations structuring the field of cultural policy.	-	Literature review	International Journal of Cultural Policy
2) <i>Logics of Legitimation in Finance for the Arts: A tale of two foundations at critical points in time</i>	Unveils the underlying legitimations for art support in two foundations at critical points in time. The paper considers these legitimations vis-a-vis the extant literature on institutional logics and regimes of justification suggesting attention also to emotional and temporal logics.	Annual reports of The New Carlsberg Foundation (1974-present) and Danish Arts Foundation (1965-present)	Updated approach to grounded theory	Journal of Management Inquiry
3) <i>Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation: A study of temporal legitimations in the New Carlsberg Foundation</i>	investigates how the ‘past’ is invoked in a family philanthropic organisation. Considers difference between institutional and strategic uses of the past.	Annual reports of The New Carlsberg Foundation (1974-present)	Updated approach to grounded theory	Organization Studies

¹ Submitted to International Journal of Cultural Policy

² Submitted to Journal of Management Inquiry ‘Reflections on Experience’ section. Note; this section has a unique review process in which the idea is submitted and then developed in cooperation with the editors.

³ Is being prepared for submission to Organization Studies with my co-supervisor Roy Suddaby. The draft submitted in this PhD is the work I have done independently in preparation for this work. Previous versions have been presented at the Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal’s Paper Development Workshop and The Business History Conference, both in Portland, March 2016.

A brief summary of conclusions and societal value

While there are no shortcuts to gaining an in-depth knowledge about the theoretical and empirical work undertaken in this thesis, the following section provides an abridgement intended for a wider audience. A full presentation of the theoretical implications and a reflection on further perspectives is offered in Chapter 4 (*Findings and Further Perspectives*). The key theoretical contribution of this thesis concerns the suitability of neo-institutional and convention theory to understand cultural policy and visual art support, from the wider structuring of the field (Paper 1), to the overarching logics and micro-level invocations of legitimation drawn on by art foundations (Paper 2 & 3).

We can use the thesis to better understand *why public and private foundations support the arts*; specifically the thesis identifies a number of resounding reasons underlying art support. The art foundations studied present us with the following central propositions for their support of the arts:

- ❖ To ensure artistic quality
- ❖ The arts develop our society, our aesthetic and cultural intelligence
- ❖ The arts bring us closer to our inner humanity
- ❖ The arts create renown for our city and country
- ❖ All people should be able to enjoy the arts
- ❖ The arts connect us to our common cultural heritage

In addition to the above propositions, but of less immanence were the appeals to market, familial, projective and temporal logics. Guided by the ideas of ‘investment’, the familial intent (of Carl and Ottilia Jacobsen), the projective spirit of developing new projects, new ideas and new collaborations and the temporal reasoning that argues for art support by drawing on “the past.” This “use of the past” predominantly relates to the charter, the history of the founding family, historical places, the ability of the arts to seize and convey the present moment, and the use of anecdotes and ‘coincidental’ stories.

The legitimations uncovered in this thesis not only tell us why public and private foundations support the arts, but also reveal to us the role of visual art itself in Danish society, the value and meaning infused into the arts.

The thesis offers an invitation to nuance the debate about public and private art support, from individual funding decisions, and stories about the closed and powerful art foundations (although these are also important debates to be had), to pay closer attention to what these foundations say about their support (when they do explain), and consider their legitimacy and relevance (in addition to their power) vis-à-vis wider held public values. It is also an invitation to less public foundations to think about the above value propositions and consider their own particular profile and perhaps how they can communicate their own profile clearer to the public, in light of such public demand. An invitation is also extended to journalists to consider the value propositions from two foundations that *have* made a significant attempt to make their ideas public, and use these propositions to begin thinking about the profiles of less public or simply unexamined foundations, and perhaps start a new discussion based upon an openness to the plurality of underlying ideas and resulting plurality of contributions to society offered by different foundations.

Finally policy-makers and cultural institutions may gain in-depth knowledge about the underlying reasons and sensitivity of cultural support in the visual arts.

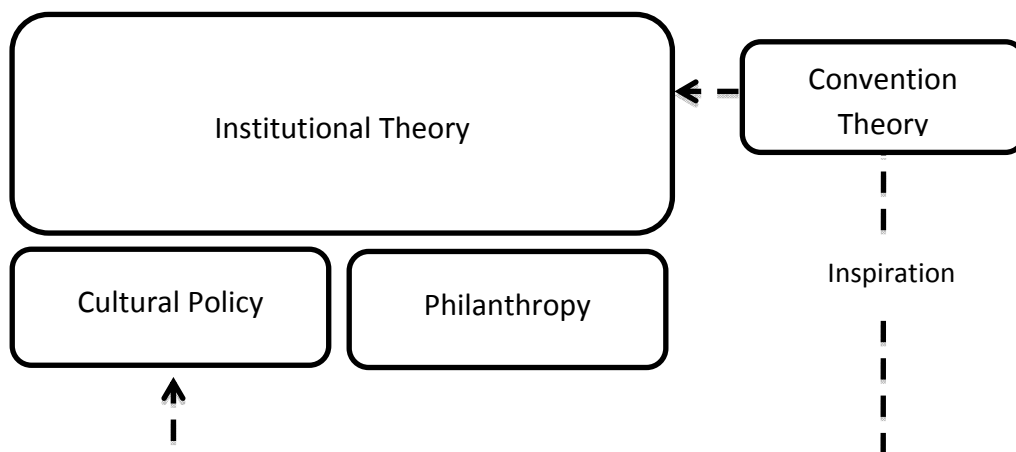
There is an increasing focus on quantifying art support, and indeed support to all areas of society, but as this thesis argues we must also attend to the underlying reasons and meanings infused into support. These meanings are important, lest society forgets why the arts receive support at all.

Chapter 2: Theoretical positioning

This chapter argues for the particular theoretical positioning of the thesis and provides an overview over the literatures drawn upon. This theoretical concentration has occurred as much as a result of empirical considerations as ones informed by the insights from the extant literature on institutional theory, cultural policy and philanthropy. The motivation for taking an institutional perspective came from a number of interconnected realisations: Firstly, that the mechanisms underlying the art support of the two foundations New Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Art Foundation were not exclusive to the type of foundation private versus public (this argument is also supported by Beckert, 2010, p. 152). Since both foundations operated in the social sphere, both were potentially subject to critique, and had to legitimate their practices and purposes vis-à-vis wider societal institutions. This realisation also brought into view the centrality of ‘legitimation’ (to which we shall return). Secondly, the academic literature on cultural policy, which I began reading to better understand the field of art support (introduced shortly), dealt with cultural policy conducted mainly by the state, with the support on private initiative from foundations (wealthy individuals, families and corporations) reflected primarily in the literature on philanthropy. Despite the differences in some imperatives of justification, e.g. the concentration of wealth on private hands (for the New Carlsberg Foundation) and the use of public resources/tax-payer money on art (for the Danish Art Foundation), central dilemmas about what to support, how to support and the legitimations of support vis-à-vis wider societal institutions or ‘rules’ cut across the fields of cultural policy and philanthropy. The literature on institutional theory (introduced next) offered a conceptual understanding that transcended these empirical fields, and provided a rich variety of literatures which helped illuminate both the wider (macro) structuration of the cultural policy field, and the (meso) organisational-sociological mechanisms underlying the purpose and practice of art support.

Given the central position of institutional theory, the following chapter therefore offers a detailed introduction to the agendas and sources of inspiration that have been drawn upon, arguing for the project’s position vis-à-vis institutional theory and its recent inspiration from Convention Theory. This is followed by a discussion of the project’s position vis-à-vis the literature in cultural policy and philanthropy studies.

Figure 2: Overview of Literature



Institutional theory

Given the empirical interest the legitimation of art support in the two art foundations, engaging with a particular stream of institutional theory, the neo-institutional school emphasizing the sociological and organisational mechanisms (Powell & DiMaggio 1991), was favoured above its parallel economic and historical variants.⁹

Neo-institutional theory owes its roots to Veblen's work on (the institutions of) conspicuous consumption (1994 [1899]), Durkheim's foundational work in sociology (which Durkheim himself called "the science of institutions" (1982 [1901]), Weber's work on (the institutions that propelled) the rise of capitalism in the West (2011 [1905]) and Mauss' work on the convention of gift giving (1990 [1925]). These prominent works inspired attentiveness to the importance of social conventions or institutions to the structure of society, from the way in which we consume (Veblen), to the nature of our economy (Weber), to the way in which we give gifts, and more generally the meanings and expectations tied to social action. These works inspired a historical school of institutional theory which took a particular interest in why certain institutions persist over long periods of time, particularly the idea of 'path dependence' meaning "specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties" (Mahoney, 2000, p. 507).

The distinction of the new institutional theory, with which this thesis engages, began with the works of Zucker (1977), Meyer and Rowan (1977), which disfavoured the "older lineages not because they asked the wrong questions, but because they provided answers that were largely descriptive, historically specific or so abstract as to lack explanatory punch" (Powell & DiMaggio 1991, p. 2), which was highly distinctive to on-going efforts to merge institutional theory into (new institutional) economics and political science. New Institutional Economics initially developed by Coase (1937) and Williamson (1985) and gave rise to a form of institutional theory, which was subsumed largely under an economic rationale. A similar integration of institutional theory has occurred in political science and international relations, where proponents of an institutional view have largely accepted the overarching tenets of the dominant theoretical paradigm, giving rise to the 'positive theory' in political science (Shepsle & Weingast, 1981), which emphasizes the importance of institutional arrangements to political outcomes (Powell & DiMaggio 1991, p. 5).¹⁰ This thesis remains fundamentally sceptical to the tenets of rational choice institutionalism, favouring an approach that allows for a plurality of rationalities and reflective engagements, which neo-institutional and convention theory are better suited to address.

Although neo- or new institutional theory is a highly diverse theoretical field, it is united by an overarching interest in explaining organisational behaviour, beyond that which is purely rational and economic, to include how organisations defer to (or consciously engage with) "the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society" (Meyer & Rowan, 1983, p. 84). The institutional approach emphasises that "institutional rules function as myths, which

⁹ There is a recent turn to time, history and temporality within organizational scholars and neo-institutional theorists, to which I shall return.

¹⁰ Similar mechanisms have been applied to the study of international regimes in the field of international relations (IR). Initially these integrations maintained a rational actor approach, but IR scholars like Keohane eventually took 'a more sociological line of inquiry' recognizing the co-constitutive role of institutions vis-a-vis preferences and power (Powell & DiMaggio p. 7).

organizations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability and enhanced survival prospects” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This theory is grounded in a view of reality as being fundamentally socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Legitimation, understood as the conscious conformity, management of, or justified critique to, said rules, norms and ideologies and how this is asserted, is therefore a concept of continuous interest to neo-institutional theorists (discussed shortly) and its parallel French Convention theoretical school, from which this thesis primarily draws inspiration from the work of Boltanski and Thévenot on justification (2006 [1991], to which we shall return).

For the abovementioned reasons neo-institutional theory is particularly well suited to address the question of why public and private foundations support the arts, how they legitimize their practices and purposes to society, how they infuse meaning to their actions – as well as to explain how and why these meanings change over time. Underlying this view is the premise that organisational practices and purposes in themselves must be infused with meaning (Selznick, 1957, p. 17), specifically in contexts where the nature and outcomes of actions are ambiguous (Powell & DiMaggio 1991, p. 67) such as cultural policy and art support (Bennett, 2004). This assertion is particularly salient in democratic societies, where actions and opinions about what to support are not determined, but must be argued for (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006).

The thesis therefore argues for the suitability of institutional theory and theorization to understand the place of the public and private art support among the wider societal institutions and to unfold how the arguments for public and private art support are constructed. To theorize this, the thesis draws on four particular streams of literature in institutional theory, that speak to four interrelated empirical aspects of public and private foundational support the arts and its legitimation. Each of these streams has been given a short presentation discussing their main theoretical contributions, which specifically argues for their use in the present thesis. Several of these streams of literature (legitimation theory, the rhetorical school and the institutional logics perspective) share insights with the work of the French Convention theorists, Boltanski and Thévenot, whose influential contributions are particularly discussed in the section on institutional logics.

Table 3: Overview of literature

<i>Stream of literature</i>	<i>Resonance with empirical phenomenon</i>
Legitimation theory	Both foundations seek to ensure their survival by acting and explaining their work in accordance with social rules and wider held social beliefs
Institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006)	Both foundations are conscious and reflective about their practice of art support and seek to promote a favourable view of their particular practice
Rhetorical and justification work (Jagd, 2011; Suddaby, 2005; Taupin, 2013)	Both foundations consciously argue for their purpose and practice
Institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012)	Both foundation draw on a variety of wider held social beliefs (or logics) to argue for their practices and purpose

The Imperative of Legitimation

The appropriation of public resources in the Danish Art Foundation and the concentration of wealth in private hands in the New Carlsberg Foundation in the context of the egalitarian Danish society¹¹ as well as the relatively secluded process of decision-making, unpredictable reception of artworks and ever-present potential of public critique provides particular impetus for legitimation in the Danish Art Foundation and the New Carlsberg Foundation. The following thesis attends particularly to the pursuance of *cognitive legitimacy*, that is, the resonance of the foundations' work with "widely held beliefs and taken for granted assumptions" (Scott 1994 p. 81, cited in Bitektine, 2011), which are reflected in their practices and purposes and importantly, as this thesis investigates, the communication of this resonance through its annual reports. This approach which finds resonance with the early work of Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Zucker (1977), who argued that: "The edifice of legitimations is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality." (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 82).

Legitimacy and legitimation have been a key area of interest in political science and sociology since their earliest foundations. Weber attended to the concepts through theorization of legitimate authority (legal traditional and charismatic) and types of legitimate order, the latter of which he saw as grounded in different motives (disinterested vs. interested), rational vs. affectual or religious (1946, 1947, p. 127). These ideas were further theorized in Weber's idea of value spheres (Weber, 1991), which outlined a model with great resonance in Friedland and Alford, Boltanski and Thévenot's later conception of institutional logics and orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991; see also Friedland, 2013, 2014) to which we shall return shortly.

Weber's pioneering work has had a profound influence on neo-institutional theories of legitimation. These theories commonly distinguish between cognitive and socio-political legitimacy (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Rao, 1994; see also Suchman, 1995), i.e. the distinction between legitimation through adherence informal social institutions and formal legal ones, although their inter-linkage is always recognized. Recent work has moved in favour of studying legitimacy and judgements made by audiences. In this regard, Bitektine offers a useful distinction, employed in the analytical scope of this thesis, that is the distinction between: "Legitimacy as a property conferred on an organization by its audiences" and "*legitimation*, which emphasizes the process of social construction of legitimacy" (Bitektine, 2011), where this thesis studies the latter. The reasoning behind this choice is given by the ability to follow *the process of legitimation* in greater detail and attend in depth to the particular kind of logics invoked.¹² The audience therefore is understood indirectly, particularly in paper 2, which focuses on legitimation at critical moments, in which the specific audience towards which the foundation wishes to legitimate itself and the

¹¹ Denmark is currently ranked the most egalitarian country in the world measured by Gini-coefficient (OECD, 2015) and has since the creation of the welfare state during the 1960s been among the most egalitarian countries in the world.

¹² This process, and the selection of the empirical material with which to study it is unfolded in the detail in Chapter 3, briefly, it is relevant to note that the entire register of annual reports from the two foundations were analysed, after which the a paper (2) was written based on legitimations pursued at critical points in time through the annual reports of the New Carlsberg Foundation post 1974 and the Danish Art Foundation post 1965, and a paper (3) looking at the particular invocation of one logic of legitimation (the past) in New Carlsberg Foundation post 1974.

circumstances are often directly addressed. The process of legitimation itself, can be studied in various ways, a short-term audience-based approach allows for insightful depth into the thoughts of organisational actors in the present moment, but is most useful to capture a single relatively confined moment, rather than the development of legitimation over a longer span of time. In this thesis, a longer time-period is favoured, since I argue that to understand the institutions and legitimations of foundational art support in Denmark, we must attend not only to the critical moment of establishment, but also the reflexive nature of the foundations practices and purposes over a longer period of time through a range of critical moments. After careful consideration (see Chapter 3), the time span covered was narrowed down to the years of detailed annual reports (post 1974 in the New Carlsberg Foundation and post 1965 in the Danish Art Foundation). This stands in contrast to most neo-institutional work, which tends to illuminate institutional processes either real-time or over shorter time spans (e.g. Boxenbaum, 2008), with a few notable exceptions (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010; Maguire & Hardy, 2009), although neo-institutional theorists are increasingly turning to the investigation of institutional processes, including legitimation (see e.g. Sørensen, 2014), over longer periods of time to gain the benefits of a historical perspective sensitive to gradual changes in context, meanings of institutions and how organisations have engaged with these changes (Kieser, 1994; Üsdiken & Kieser, 2004).

Institutional work

As mentioned above, the process of legitimation is studied through analysis of the carefully crafted annual reports of the two foundations, this warrants another central theoretical explication, that the thesis views the production of text, as a significant social action, and the annual report in particular as perhaps the most significant written medium by which the organisations seeks to explain and justify its practices and purposes, so that given the interest in the process of legitimation studying this particular text is the most suitable for the research question pursued. The intentionality with which the annual reports are produced, within the past 40 and 50 years respectively, the two foundations have consciously sought to explicate their role and create a favourable view of art support. This resonates well with the concept of *institutional work*, which covers “the purposeful action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Institutional work was conceptualized as a reflection on the concept of institutional entrepreneurship, which had gained popularity to attend to the “agentic and often creative ways in which organisations inculcate and reflect their institutional environments” (Suddaby, 2010), however as Suddaby and proponents of the institutional work perspective argued this entrepreneurial view often came to overstate the agency of organisations and the degree to which their efforts produced ‘profound’ change:

“Instead of passive cultural dopes, institutional theory now presents organizations as hypermuscular supermen, singlehanded in their effort to resist institutional pressure, transform organizational fields and alter institutional logics.” (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15)

The following thesis favours the concept of institutional work, not because the two foundations in question have not had a profound effect on the system of cultural policy, but because the institutional work concept better captures the on-going work of legitimizing their practices and purpose, particularly after the entrepreneurial moment of creation.

Although the legitimacy of the organisations is at stake in multiple ways, through their conduct of work within the foundation and towards the artists and institutions they work with, and not least the artwork that materializes with their support, the annual report is a key focal point of this legitimation work, since the arguments here are made in a carefully considered manner to a greater public, reflecting on their practices and purpose above the individual situation and seeks to express them in a way that is taken up to revision and produced consistently and specifically to convey their legitimate work and purpose in society.

Justification work

Recently scholars have offered interesting typologies over different kinds of institutional work, for example Phillips and Lawrence espouse no less than fifteen types (2012)¹³ although they are clearly interconnected. The most useful concept, which resonates with the underlying premises of this thesis that language is a central vehicle by which legitimation occurs, and therefore that attending to language allows us to study legitimation, is the concept which Jagd (2011) and Taupin (2013) have called *justification work*. Jagd and Taupin relate language to the imperative of legitimation by drawing on Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification (2006 [1991]) and connecting it to the concept of institutional work (2011; 2013). This connection also finds resonance with Berger and Luckmann's early work (1966), and more recent work arguing for rhetoric as the most important media of legitimation (Brown, Ainsworth, & Grant, 2012; Suddaby, 2005).¹⁴

Common to these approaches is that they favour language, and the competent ability of actors and organisations to communicate, argue for their actions and assert their legitimacy by drawing upon widely held beliefs grounded in central societal institutions. As Suddaby writes, "the criterion for legitimacy are located within institutional logics" (2005: 35-36), this resonates with the ideas of Boltanski and Thévenot who in their central work *On Justification* argue:

"[W]e have been able to observe the operation of six higher common principles to which, in France today, people resort most often to finalize an agreement or pursue a contention. These principles may thus be said to constitute the basic political equipment needed to fabricate a social bond." (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006, p. 71)

This necessitates a discussion of the use and status of the theory of institutional logics and what Boltanski and Thévenot call higher common principles or orders of worth, which is offered shortly.

Before this, however, it is worth briefly noting that the central role of rhetoric favoured in this thesis is part of a rhetorical turn in institutional theory (Brown et al., 2012; Edward, Jr, & Li, 2011; Hofer & Green, 2016; Suddaby, 2005), which co-exists with a discursive turn (Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004;

¹³ Emotion, identity, narrative identity, intersectional identity, institutional, boundary, discursive, ideational, strategic, meaning, practice, interactional, values, interaction, aesthetic and cultural work.

¹⁴ The latter works draw on Aristotle's well established tripartite; ethos (emotional appeal), pathos (aesthetic appeal) and logos (appeal to rationality) to conceptualize the way in which rhetoric can do this (Kennedy, 2007).

Phillips, Lawrence, Hardy, Phillips, & Lawrence, 2012)¹⁵ and part of a wider linguistic turn in the social sciences (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). Which via two distinctive approaches aims to put communication at the centre of institutional theory and analysis (Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers, & Vaara, 2015). In this thesis a rhetorical approach is favoured over a discursive view, for the reason that the former “offer[s] the advantage of assuming a direct causal relationship between the use of language and the interests of the user” (Suddaby, 2010, p. 17). This also resonates strongly with the approach of Boltanski and Thévenot, which in line with the French Pragmatist thought, takes an intimately connected view of action and language (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). This necessitates a central clarification in the theoretical approach of the thesis that must be made, namely that the reasons why organisations, in this case, art foundations, *say* they support the arts are taken seriously. In this view, actions and justifications are not separate but co-constitutive; individuals and organisations are understood to think of justifications ex-ante, in situ and in retrospect, not always and not always extensively, but particularly when confronted with decisions that are made public (or publicly) is this conception considered fruitful. This is not to say that there are not interests that are not made public, that thoughtless decisions are not made, or decisions which have unforeseen (or unintended) consequences or that there are situations in which logics of action and logics of justification do not coincide (as argued by Dequech, 2015), but that overall the thesis takes a holistic view of action and justification. We now turn to the theory concerning institutional logics and orders of worth.

Institutional Logics and Orders of Worth

The conscious reflection on the organisations legitimacy and work vis-à-vis widely held beliefs resonates profoundly with the way in which the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Art Foundation argued for their practices and purpose in their annual reports. Importantly, however, the analytical method involved did not employ the analytical categories proposed by Friedland and Alford and Boltanski and Thévenot a priori, rather the material was analysed and categorized using a grounded theory methodology allowing conceptual categories to arise from the material, and only when these categories showed significant resonance with the central institutional logics and orders of worth outlined by Friedland and Alford and Boltanski and Thévenot was their terminology used.

Institutional logics as Friedland and Alford initially outlined them, give primacy to a number of “central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West — capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion” (Friedland & Alford 1991:232). This is exceptionally similar to the idea offered by Boltanski and Thévenot that people in France resort to six higher common principles or orders of worth; the Inspired, Domestic, Civic, Opinion, Market and Industrial, each with significant resonance in a specific sector of society e.g. the art-world, the family, the state, the world of fame, the market and industry (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006 [1991]).¹⁶ The central argument of Boltanski and Thévenot however is not the close correspondence of these paradigms to real ‘worlds’ but rather the assertion that we live in one world, where the collision of different worlds must be resolved through justification, in instances where we do not resort to violence. Despite their similarity, it is

¹⁵ A distinctive Discursive Institutionalism has also emerged from the Historical school of Institutional theorists particularly proffered by Schmidt focusing on the role of ideas and discourse in political processes (2008, 2010; 2011).

¹⁶ See Boltanski & Thévenot (1999, p. 368) for an excellent overview.

important to note that Friedland and Alford's work was a short essay, delivered as a critique to the theoretical 'retreat from society', which the authors foresaw institutional theorists were headed (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 232), and Boltanski and Thévenot's work appearing practically simultaneously, was the result of an elaborate analysis of French convention literature (specifically manuals, or 'self-help' books) and the theorization of central politics or orders of worth substantiated in key philosophical texts, and thus grounded in historically specific institutions. Although both views have significant distinctions in their theoretical foundations, emerging from the highly distinctive contexts of French and North American academia (Diaz-Bone, 2014), they share roots in the linguistic and pragmatic movements in their respective regions associated with Derrida in France (Blokker & Brighenti, 2011; Blokker, 2011; Wagner, 1999) and Dewey and Mead in North America (Scott, 2008, p. 15; Thornton et al., 2012, pp. 93–94).¹⁷ Both schemes have seen a considerable application to a variety of different fields, and lend themselves to similar forms of analysis, which have tended to focus on the coexistence and competition between logics in organisations or fields, but have overwhelmingly been addressed towards an Anglophone audience in the case of institutional theorists (see e.g. Jaskiewicz, Heinrichs, Rau, & Reay, 2015; Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Waldorff, Reay, & Goodrick, 2013) and French-speaking audience by convention theorists (for exceptions see Blok & Meilvang, 2014; Ponte, 2009, see also Jagd, 2011 for an extensive review of the French literature). Similarly there has been an effort within both schools to extend the theory and attend to possible alternate higher order logics or regimes of justification, most prominently Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) have suggested that the latest mode of capitalism is best understood by a 'projective' or 'network' polity or *cit *, Silber has proposed emotions as a tentative regime of justification (Silber, 2011) and Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, in a detailed elaboration of the institutional logics perspective, have put forward a community logic (2012) and Th venot has called for a consideration of alternative regimes of engagement (2014).

Recent work, beginning with Jagd (2011)¹⁸, has also begun to seriously consider the possibilities and advantages of cross-pollination, particularly to neo-institutional theory. Jagd (2011) and Taupin in two congruent papers connected the idea of institutional work to the justificatory imperative outlined in Boltanski and Th venot to explain the process by which justification occurs. Pushing forward this agenda, Dansou and Langley (2012) connect the idea of 'test' to the creation and maintenance of institutions. In a more theoretical reflection Cloutier and Langley point to the sensitivity of the Boltanski and Th venot's approach to address weak points of the institutional logics perspective, specifically with regard to the micro-social aspects of institutional formation and maintenance, the pragmatic resolution of legitimacy struggles, morality and materiality (2013). In similar vein, Boxenbaum suggests that the perspective might enhance an understanding of the relational positions of actors and organisations, and can be used as an inspiration to consider "that individuals pursue a wider range of goals" than traditionally considered by neo-institutionalists, this view resonates with Pernkopf-Konh user's argumentation that the pragmatic sociological perspective offers a more competent, less institutionally constrained, view of the actor (2014). A critical voice in this debate has been offered by Diaz-Bone, who criticises the lack of mutual benefits of a

¹⁷ For a discussion of the position of Boltanski & Th venot's work within the context of French sociology see B natouil (1999).

¹⁸ See also Jagd (2007) for a wider perspective on the recent dialogue between Economics of Convention and New Economic Sociology.

bridged perspective to Convention theory, and argues that the dissonance between the methodological and theoretical underpinnings are too great to favour for a bridged perspective (2014). Reflecting on these developments, a number of scholars have suggested “emancipating French Pragmatism as a stand-alone meta-theory fruitful for institutional analysis” (Brandl, Daudigeos, Edwards, & Pernkopf-Konhausner, 2014, p. 316). The following thesis, however, sees an immense benefit to complimenting the institutional logics perspective with the insights of Boltanski and Thévenot’s work, particularly given the resonance of work with key features of the empirical material, key agendas in institutional theory, and the particular institutional perspective employed. Specifically, convention theory deepens and compliments the key elements of this thesis engagement with legitimation, by emphasizing the reflexivity with which it occurs and in combination with the concept of institutional work, the conscious and persistent process of legitimation, and the variety of higher order logics which organisations draw upon to legitimate their work.

Furthermore Boltanski and Thévenot draw attention to the importance of ‘critical moments’ to elucidate the positions of actors, although the focus on critical moments was not imposed a priori, the critical moments were drawn from the analysis ex post, since they offered a particularly suitable way in which to offer an overview of the central justifications invoked at different points in time. The thesis however, does not make use of the concept of test, favouring the broader concept of critical moments, for the reason that the two foundations rarely stood in the position of such an immanent critique of their practices and purpose, that the foundations short-term survival was in question or that the foundations necessarily needed to resort to a resolution to only one order – by its illumination of the nuanced multiplicity of logics invoked, and the creative use of these logics, where the thesis offers its key contribution.

A particular insight emerging from the second paper, unfolding the logics of legitimacy in art support, was the frequent invocation of emotional and temporal logics (particularly ‘the past’) that were not adequately reflected in the extant literature. Furthermore, what was particularly interesting was the variety of ways in which the higher order logics were invoked, this led me to take a particular logic and consider in detail the ways in which this logic was invoked in one of the foundations. A third paper was therefore dedicated to explore the ways in which “the past” was unfolded, by the New Carlsberg Foundation, which made particularly strong use of this logic and therefore served as a fruitful case to study the logic in practice. This warrants a brief introduction to the existing “uses of the past” literature.

Uses of The Past

The “uses of the past” approach is currently seeing an increasing interest from historically inclined neo-institutionalists and theoretically inclined historians alike (Rowlinson & Hassard, 2013). This approach has emerged in the context of a greater attentiveness to historical approaches in organisation and management theory (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014a; Rowlinson, Hassard, & Decker, 2014) which has shed light on the many ways to work with history, from acquiring a greater “historical cognizance” (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014b) or expressly using historical methodologies in neo-institutional research to theorizing how organisations use history. Although, being historically cognizant has inspired the general approach of the thesis, particularly the selection of documents

(discussed shortly), the third paper of this thesis specifically engages with the way in which the New Carlsberg Foundation makes use of the past. This effort resonates with a small but growing literature explores and theorizes the ways in which actors and organisations pragmatically use and construct the past in a conscious manner for specific purposes such as infusing meaning into new market categories (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010), creating new industries (Khaire, 2014; Kirsch, Moeen, & Wadhvani, 2013), the marketing of existing products (such as Danish Modern furniture, Hansen, 2010) or firms, from baked-goods chains (W. M. Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011) to dairy companies (Mordhorst, 2014), the latter articles through the interconnection of business history and national identity.

While all the aforementioned articles offer a rich variety of insights into the processes of narrating and reflexively constructing the history of these fields and organisations few have sought to identify the characteristic ways in which the past is invoked. This has therefore been of interest in my third paper, which identifies particular ways in which the past is invoked and reflects on the degree to which these invocations are strategic and institutional. Finally, this interest resonates with, and seeks to push forward the neo-institutional interest in the mechanisms of legitimation through rhetoric and history (Suddaby, Foster, & Trank, 2010; Suddaby, 2005).

Having discussed and argued for the thesis' position and agenda within neo-institutional theory, two brief chapters situating the thesis within the field of cultural policy and literature on philanthropy are now offered.

Cultural Policy

The following section seeks to introduce and position the thesis vis-à-vis the extant literature on Cultural Policy in Denmark. Followed by a more general overview of the thesis position in the broader literature.

Scholarly attention to cultural policy in Denmark, has come largely by way of interest in comparative (Cummings & Katz, 1987) and regional cultural policies e.g. the Nordic countries (Duelund, 2003, 2008; Mangset, Kangas, Skot-Hansen, & Vestheim, 2008) and an interest in Scandinavian welfare systems vis-à-vis more liberal or cooperative forms (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Zimmer & Toepler, 1996), the latter of which often take neighbouring Sweden as illustrative of the Scandinavian case. Briefly, what characterizes the wider socio-political Danish context (although this is a topic of much debate), is the strong presence of the state in a liberal market, meaning that both the state and private organisations are significant actors (Kaspersen, 2013) This duality, is reflected in its system of art support, where both the public sector (through direct state, municipal and arms-length support) and the private sector, through private foundations, corporate sponsorship, and more broadly, individual membership, payments and philanthropy play a significant role (Lund & Berg, 2015, 2016/forthcoming).

An early contribution to this field, was offered in Cummings and Katz' founding work *The Patron State*, which provided a comparative overview of cultural policy in several European countries, the United States, Canada and Japan (1987). In this work Bakke notably pointed to the private and the public as the "main dimensions" of cultural

policy in Denmark, however, her valuable historical introduction¹⁹ charts mainly the public system of art support. Bakke briefly outlines the important role of the Church before the Reformation, as an employer of artists, followed by the Royal Household, until the advent of the Parliamentary system and Constitutional Monarchy in 1848-9, and the shift toward greater ministerial involvement and eventually independent professional bodies following WWII, the latter of which she offers a statistical analysis of (1987). Similarly to Bakke's work, the scholarly literature on the cultural policy in Denmark over the past two decades (much like the wider cultural policy field), has focused on the state as the most significant conductor of cultural policy (Duelund, 1995, 2001, 2003; M. F. Jeppesen, 2002; Langsted, 2011; Liebst, 2011). Of these contributions only a few have availed themselves to an Anglophone audience (Duelund, 2001, 2003; Langsted, 1999; Skot-Hansen, 2002) and thus contributed to a wider academic cultural policy debate.

Duelund's comprehensive study, *The Danish Cultural Model*, was commissioned in 1993 on the initiative of the then Minister of Culture, Jytte Hilden (Social Democratic Party) to gain an overview over Danish cultural policy since 1961 (1995, p. 15). The book briefly charts the historical development of public art support, offers an overview over the arms-length principle in Danish cultural policy and gives a, now relatively dated, overview of the central organisations of cultural policy and support-systems to individual art forms (visual art, literature, theatre, music, TV, film, video, architecture, crafts & design), cultural communication, cultural history museums and cultural activities (such as sport and children's culture). An important point raised in the section on visual arts concerns the precarious safety net under the visual artists, and suggests attentiveness to this issue in future political work (1995, pp. 193–196). The study also considers the burgeoning European cultural policy in relation to the Maastricht-treaty and in an interesting reflection links cultural policy to a form of security policy (1995, p. 351), a point which did not emerge strongly in the political literature until Nye (2004). It also contains early reflections on the burgeoning prospects for art in a digital age, which Duelund rightly foresees will have a tremendous impact not only on the nature of cultural life but the nature of art itself. In this vein, Duelund makes a number of more general reflections on social developments of the 1980s and early 1990s, the rising information society, changing family patterns, the prospects for Keynesian economic policies and the future of a welfare future state, reflecting on the 1980s period of austerity in Denmark (England and the US). The study is highly descriptive and contains little theorization on the part of Duelund, aside from his "stairway model" (Duelund, 1995, p. 37) to illustrate early 1960s cultural policies as marked by a theory of cultural advancement, in which, e.g. getting people 'on to the stairway,' in other words, in to museums would inevitably lead them to acquire higher proficiency and demand for more advanced cultural experiences. The lack of further theorization stems in part from the wider audience to which the publication is aimed (particularly policy-makers). At the same the fundamental question ("Can the welfare-economy survive?" Duelund, 1995, p. 426) surrounding the status of the welfare state is as frequently debated today as it was in 1995, with the significant distinction that an equally discussed matter today concerns the role of private funding in the system of cultural support. Duelund's study, while important, reflects an early stage of cultural policy studies concerned with describing the field of public support, and shows overwhelmingly little

¹⁹ Bakke draws on the early historical inquiry by Aage Rasch (1968), more recently, Jens Engberg has offered a larger study of the history of cultural policy from 1750 til 1900 (2005).

attention to the important role of private foundations in the ecosystem of cultural support. The latter of which, is given equal weight in this thesis.

In further work on the topic, Duelund has offered an Anglophone introduction to Danish cultural policy noting the importance of three cultural movements, ‘Grundtvigianism’, “the labour movement and, later, the Social Democratic Party” and “the cultural radical movement [...] in the late 19th century” (Duelund, 2001, p. 36). These movements together contributed to an awareness that have influenced the formation of Danish cultural policy and to different degrees continue to be part of the fabric of national cultural policy. Grundtvigianism, the movement associated with N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), saw “art and culture as a means to shape and administer a modern national state” (2001, p. 36), based on enlightenment ideas of public education²⁰, national cultural awareness and democracy (Duelund, 2001, p. 36). The labour movement, instead stressed “an international social and cultural perspective” (2001, p. 37), “emphasiz[ing] international class solidarity and collective organization in the fight for social welfare” (ibid). Thirdly, the cultural radical movement, initially connected “industrial revolution at the end of the 19th century and the creation of a new literary, internationally oriented, urban bourgeoisie” (Duelund, 2001, p. 38). These insights are important to understand the background for the ‘ideological base’ of national cultural policy in Denmark proffered by the Social Democratic Minister Julius Bomholt. Since it allows us recognize how Bomholt’s ideals of education, cultural development and access to high culture for a broader base, were not only social democratic, but embodied aspects of all of these movements. Similarly the Jacobsen family (behind the Carlsberg Breweries), particularly Carl Jacobsen, shared the cultural awareness of the industrial class associated with the cultural radical movement.

Duelund then offers an overview of the main developments in cultural policy since the establishment of the Ministry of Culture (the most important of which are referred in paper 2), noting the wider political trends of *cultural democracy* (not only high culture for all, but a wider cultural conception for all), *decentralization* (from state to municipalities, from high to everyday culture) and *instrumentalization* through the observation of the uptake of the idea of ‘art as a creator of jobs’ (2001, pp. 43–47). While Duelund focuses greatly on the overarching governmental political agenda, this thesis project offers a view of the developments of the Danish Art Foundation, nuancing macro-political accounts with attention to the meso-level, since the Danish Art Foundation, as an independent body under the state, has shown itself to be highly cognizant of prevailing governmental political agendas and often consciously acted in opposition to the overarching ideologies of the state or the prevailing spirit of the wider society at different points in time (see paper 2).

In more recent work, Duelund, in a rare theorization of Danish cultural policy, has adopted a Habermasian approach to understand the formation of cultural policy in Denmark as the product of “a dynamic phenomenon” between the ‘system world’ (of overarching political structures and ideologies, such as the market and the state) that have a colonising power and the ‘life world’ (of art, science and cultural values) that engage in these political structures through communicative action (2008, p. 10). Duelund, argues that since the 1960s “the state and local cultural policy have been forced to admit defeat and join up with the very same industries that have tried to control

²⁰ Through Folk High Schools (*folkehøjskolen*).

it” (Duelund, 2008, p. 21). Although the language of commerce, does indeed become more salient particularly during the 1990s and 2000s, my second paper shows that organisations, both those under the state and a corporate philanthropic foundations, have been reflective about this marketization and have consciously sought to provide a ballast to imposing market ideologies. Like Duelund, my work shares an interest in language as the important force by which organisations engage with prevailing societal institutions and logics. However, unlike Duelund’s somewhat pessimistic Habermasian view, I do not take the outcomes of these processes to be determined, but observe a continuous reflection and settlement of practices and purposes at critical points in time.

A more recent introduction to state-level cultural policy from the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1961, to the Danish Arts Foundation in 1964 up until 2001 is offered by Jeppesen. The contribution captures the overarching ‘spirits’ of cultural policy from the 60’s social democratic zeitgeist of “culture for all” spearheaded by Julius Bomholt, in face of demonstrations from Peter Rindal’s movement against state supported arts (2002, p. 36), to the increasing instrumentalization of cultural policy during the 70s (2002, p. 45), which saw culture as a remedy to improve people’s lives, to the conservative ideology of art support during the 1980s emphasizing the protection of culture and freedom of choice (2002, p. 52), and the turn to market ideologies during the 1990s, which saw an increasing devolution of cultural support to municipalities and the enrolment of culture in tourism, regional and national development strategies (2002, pp. 112–117).

Most significantly, Jeppesen, similarly to Belfiore (2009), draws attention to the discrepancy between the overarching political agendas and ‘rhetoric’ of the government and the effects of art support in practice (M. F. Jeppesen, 2002, p. 127). By this Jeppesen means that particular ‘priorities’ of changing ministers of culture have not materialised in substantial increases in public (financial) support for these areas. Like Duelund, Jeppesen’s study focuses entirely on public and regional cultural funding, and does not engage with the role of private foundations in the wider system of cultural support. The thesis complements this work both by focusing more closely on the Danish Arts Foundation, and the important role of private foundations, through the New Carlsberg Foundation, nuancing this debate, by drawing attention to the highly reflective nature and rhetoric of the two most influential foundations supporting visual art in Denmark, within this wider context.

The topic of regionalisation development has also been explored by Langsted (1999), who links the development to a wider cultural clash between “Jihad and McWorld” (Barber, 2010; see also Huntington, 1993), in a perhaps somewhat stretched analogy, to the decreasing solidarity between regions (urban and rural) within Denmark, necessitating a more decentralised cultural policy, in Langsted’s view at the expense of “equality otherwise ruling in a welfare society” (1999, p. 134). It is a highly prescriptive account, which does not seek to theorize the development but rather argues:

“put bluntly: cultural policies must be taken out of the hands of the administrative logicians, the powerful local political interest organisations [...] and be turned into one political arena of ideas, where ties to global cultural struggle and the battle for, and over, the public spaces of the

democratic society become major themes in the forming of cultural policies.” (Langsted, 1999, pp. 140–41)

My contention with this approach is not with the content of this statement, but the lack of serious theoretical engagement with the processes of globalisation, national and local cultural policies, which are not unfolded, favouring prescription over theorisation of the processes of cultural policy at various different levels. While these prescriptions may offer value to policy makers both in Denmark and possibly abroad, and offer valuable insights into on-going political debates, they do not significantly advance the development of the theoretical foundations underlying the processes they assume, which the present thesis finds central to advance the field of cultural policy studies. A key priority in my thesis has therefore been to investigate how cultural policy studies might be better theorized taking departure in insights from neo-institutional theory (to which I will return).

Similarly to Langsted, Skot-Hansen reflects on the processes of globalisation and its effect on cultural policies in Denmark (2002) investigating the agenda of cultural diversity in the context of an increasingly less mono-cultural Danish society. The paper offers a rich introduction to this development and the challenges of supporting “multi-culture” that stem both from the difficult challenges of becoming cognizant to different quality criteria, but also more broadly with the agenda to “breach cultural hegemony” while preventing a further separation of cultures long term (Skot-Hansen, 2002, p. 207) arguing prescriptively for an agenda of hybridization and “a completely different kind of spirit must pervade the entire public cultural system, from the councils, committees and funding boards to the publicly supported cultural disseminations institutions [...] it is happening much too slowly and rather randomly” (Skot-Hansen, 2002, p. 208).

Two recent commissioned reports Langsted (2011) and Liebst (2011), have investigated the widely debated Danish system of art support. Langsted’s report, the product of research at Aarhus University was commissioned by the (now defunct) Danish Arts Council, offers an engagement with major trends in the arts and Danish society, and the working conditions and role of the Danish Arts Council in this context. The report thus describes a richly interdisciplinary art scene, combined with the rise of a somewhat ‘omnivorous cultural consumer’, arguing that the public system of art support has had difficulty in supporting and evaluating these new art forms and that the Council’s role (discussed in paper 2) has not been visible enough or well-understood (Langsted, 2011 [2010]). The report suggests reducing and simplifying the Danish Arts Council. In similar vein, the Liebst enquiry, the work of a committee mostly of cultural professionals and a smaller number of academic researchers, investigates the larger state system of art support suggests a similar a “streamlining” of state supported cultural policy through a merger of the Danish Arts Council and Danish Arts Foundation. These suggestions gave impetus to the closure of the Danish Arts Council’s Committee for Art in the Public Space (part of the Danish Arts Foundation), the move of some its activities to the foundation, and a major reorganisation through the creation of the “new” Danish Arts Foundation in 2013-14 (this reorganisation is discussed and theorized in paper 2).

Cultural policy studies of the Danish context have focused overwhelmingly on state-support and on the overarching political ideologies, showing little interest until very recently (Lund & Berg, 2015, 2016/forthcoming), in the role

played by private philanthropy, particularly foundations, in the wider system of cultural policy. Lund and Berg, however, focus mainly on the quantitative share of foundation support and the role of the private sector more broadly vis-à-vis public (state, foundational and municipal) support for the arts. The thesis compliments this work by offering an inquiry into the qualitative dimension; particularly the meanings infused into the purposes and practices of both public and private art support. Through this, the thesis makes two specific contributions to cultural policy studies, firstly it suggests a theoretical framework for addressing a number of key debates within the field, drawing on insights from neo-institutional theory (paper 1), secondly the thesis uses these insights to elucidate the reflective process of legitimation in the Danish Arts Foundation and New Carlsberg Foundation, the two most significant art foundations in Denmark, showing how these foundations critically reflect on and engage wider institutional logics to argue for their purposes and practices.

To place the thesis within the wider context of cultural policy studies a brief reflection is offered on its position vis-à-vis a number of concomitant debates and contributions in the broader field.

The broader field

An important discussion concerns the place of rhetoric in cultural policy studies. Belfiore has offered a significant and provocative assertion, pointing to “the bullshit in cultural policy practice and research” (2009, p. 343). Drawing on Frankfurt, Belfiore argues “that many of the key actors in the cultural policy debate indeed display a lack of concern with truth, the ‘indifference to how things really are’” (Frankfurt, 2005). The assertion is significant for a number of reasons, first of all it views the rhetoric of cultural policy and practices as largely separate, and secondly it goes against the view, exemplified by Garnham, that rhetoric and changes in rhetoric are more than “mere neutral change of labels, but that there are both theoretical and policy stakes involved” (2005, p. 15). Belfiore sees this ‘decoupling’²¹ as a product of “the cultivation of vested interests” intimately linked to the disregard for actualities. The view suggests that powerful agents do not make their agendas clear and do not genuinely work towards the ends that are claimed, and by this disregard are illegitimate actors. Finally, the assertion is interesting because it suggests that there is a ‘truth’ to be known, and that the words of these agents somehow do not consequentially reflect or influence this truth. Belfiore’s studies draw on the case of British cultural policy, at the highest political level, and the thesis draws on two organisations from a different national context and at a lower, albeit, no less significant level. In this thesis I engage in this discussion by offering an alternative view, which sees action and justification as intimately linked, and show how powerful organisations legitimate their work by drawing reflectively on socially shared moral orders. This is not to refute the suggestion that there may be instances where actions and justifications simply do not coincide, but to bring into light the degree of reflection, which two such significant foundations such as the New Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Art Council display. In this regard, it is important to note that the organisations studied in this thesis employ artists and art historians intimately familiar with the substantive matter to which they consider and offer support. Belfiore’s view, illuminates a critical view of language, as a smokescreen for other or perhaps merely indifferent intentions, and I seek to nuance this view by unfolding the logics of legitimation that rest upon widely held social moral orders, drawing on the value of neo-institutional theory and convention theory to theorize the language used

²¹ A term offered by Meyer and Rowan (1977, see Paper 1), which Belfiore’s case illustrates well.

to explain and argue for art support. The present thesis resonates with recent work in the field, which draws attention to the conscious work that Norwegian cultural organisations do to assert and maintain their legitimacy through rhetoric, which uses neo-institutional theory (Larsen, 2014) and recent work using Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth to understand the legitimation cultural policy in Québec (Lemasson, 2015), this recent uptake of ideas from institutional and convention theory is unfolded in paper 1.

Another significant discussion concerns the role of private individuals, foundations and corporations in the field of cultural policy. Traditionally studies of cultural policy have been driven by an empirical interest in the ideologies, support systems and effects of national governmental policies (e.g. Chartrand & McCaughey, 1989; Dorian, 1964; Duelund, 2001; Gray, 2000; Redcliffe-Maud, 1976; Zimmer & Toepler, 1996, 1999). This has meant that the role of private individuals, foundations and corporations has been far less studied. However, a small but growing number of studies have turned to the role of the corporate sponsorship in the cultural sphere taking an extremely critical view towards the influence of corporations. Wu for example studies the growth of corporate art sponsorship since the 1980s (2001). Ivey has drawn attention to the adverse effects on music as cultural heritage, stemming from the copyrights held by a small number of powerful corporations (2008). Most recently, Evans has criticized the role of large oil companies and visual art sponsorship, and its effects on the cultural experience, from the moral challenges it presents participants with, to effects of the proliferation of logos in the cultural space (Evans, 2015). Evans calls this phenomenon 'artwash':

“[T]o artwash is to perform, to pretend to disguise. As a verb it resembles several other laundering processes: 'whitewash', to cover up, or 'greenwash', to make polluting appear environmentally friendly.” (Evans, 2015)

The present thesis, nuances this view by pointing to the role of an arms-length foundation (The New Carlsberg Foundation), which is funded but not controlled by its corporation (Carlsberg). This relation does not *eo ipso* absolve the corporation from wrongdoing, and indeed any wrong- or well doing by the foundation or the corporation will ultimately have effects on the other. However, the degree of engagement, professionalization, and reflectivity of the foundation is so high that the thesis takes the position, grounded in the work undertaken, that 'artwash' does not come close to describing what the foundation does.

In the larger discussion about the role of individuals, foundations and corporations, only a few studies have investigated the role of philanthropists and philanthropy (Jeffri, 1997; Upchurch, 2007, 2013). A significant paper by Jeffri has offered an elaborate historical introduction to the nature and development of philanthropy in the visual arts in America. In this work the role of the state legislations and programmes also takes a prominent role, presenting a more nuanced picture of cultural policy in America, which is frequently associated primarily with a private system of art support (1997). Jeffri's attentiveness to both public and private support systems, resonates greatly with the approach taken in this thesis, however where Jeffri offers a macro perspective, discussing a wide variety of actors and different forms of philanthropy, the thesis offers only a brief conceptualization of the field (paper 1) and places the weight of its empirical analysis on the meso-level through its focus on a public and private

art foundation (paper 2). Like Jeffri, this thesis is sceptical to the pre-conceived distinctions tied to “publicly funded” versus “privately funded” art” (Jeffri, 1997, p. 230).

In a rare study of the individual, and micro-level, Upchurch has investigated the role of Vincent Massey, the ‘Canadian philanthropist and diplomat’ (2007), who inspired by the Arts Council of Great Britain, became the driving force in the creation of the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957. The study is significant for two particular reasons. Firstly, it brings into view the individual in the formation of cultural policy. Secondly, and most central to this thesis, it focuses on the role of philanthropy by way of the philanthropist in the field of cultural policy. In further work, Upchurch has investigated the Darlington Hall Arts Enquiry, an overlooked “privately funded survey of the arts in wartime England” (2013, p. 610), which does not figure prominently in the established accounts of the founding of Arts Council of Great Britain. By making a historical enquiry, bringing to light new sources, Upchurch shows the significance of a number of private philanthropists and other individuals in formulating the ideas behind Arts Council of Great Britain (see also Upchurch, 2011). Upchurch, like Jeffri, also demonstrates the value of historical enquiry, the consideration of new sources, to understand the background for one of the most significant publicly funded arts organisation in Britain, which has inspired art foundations across the western world. In the present thesis, this historical dimension is also significant, not by the illumination of new sources, but rather, by “us[ing] traditional sources in new ways,” moving attention from “first order” (questions about what went on), to “second order” questions about the representation and infusion of meaning into the practice of art support (Hansen, 2013, p. 697; see also Lipartito, 1995, p. 11).

The views of philanthropists are sporadic in the field of cultural policy (existing mainly in the separate literature of philanthropy studies, discussed shortly), and this thesis seeks to contribute to this small, but important literature, because it illuminates the important role of private actors and organisations on par with public ones, and allows cultural policy scholars (to paraphrase Hansen), “to ask new and interesting questions [...] and make use of new kinds of empirical material.” (2013, p. 697).

The smaller role of individuals, foundations and corporations in the cultural policy literature comes in part from a different focus on cultural commercialisation, which cultural policy scholars have grappled with, on one hand going back to Horkheimer and Adorno (2002 [1969]) and the critique of mass commercialisation, which Adorno saw as inherently oppositional to the endeavour of art (2007), and on the other, the rise of the laudatory creative industries rhetoric among political leaders and epitomized by the work of Florida (2002) and employed by artists and arts organisation in “rearguard action” to argue for their (economic) value in society (Myerscough, 1988; Slater & Iles, 2010, p. 24).

Garnham, for example, observing the rise of the creative industries rhetoric in Britain argued that this development was not “a mere neutral change of labels, but that there are both theoretical and policy stakes involved in this shift” (2005, p. 15). In his study of media policy, he explains this development as contingent on the private and marketization policies of the Thatcher government (Garnham, 2005, p. 16), through this Garnham argues for the depth and importance of language as “tied to the path of the path of the global capitalist economy and of the

relationship of that development to wider social trends” (Garnham, 2005, p. 20). This resonates greatly with the thesis argument for studying the justifications of foundations, and for taking an institutional perspective locating the reasoning within the institutions and beliefs of the wider society predicated on economic and social conditions. A point, to which we shall return, concerns the dilemma and dichotomy Garnham notes (following Adorno), between art and market. Unlike Garnham, the thesis nuances this macro-political view by drawing attention to powerful organisations financed by the state (such as quasi-non-government organisations, in my case The Danish Arts Foundation) or powerful private foundations (in my case the New Carlsberg Foundation), that are able to reflexively engage with these wider societal developments and critically reflect upon their practices and purposes at different points in time, including the recent spirit of “creative industries.”

In similar vein, to Garnham, Pratt asks whether “Cultural Industries” implicitly for the market, and “public policy” implicitly for the common welfare, are not an ‘oxymoron’ (Pratt, 2005). Like Garman, Pratt sees “[t]he term “creative industries” as a political construct.” Importantly Pratt also begins to note the ‘breadth’ (what is a cultural industry?) and ‘depth’ issues that are given by language of creative industries, e.g. when discussing the depth issue in theatre he argues for attentiveness to the entire ecosystem of the arts: “we need a text, actors and directors (all of whom need training and development). We also need technicians, back-and-front of house staff, and a building in which to perform and rehearse” (Pratt, 2005, p. 34), however practical, this is the beginning of an institutional view. This conception of the necessities, or ecosystem of artistic production also resonates with Becker’s institutional view of the “Art World” (Becker, 1982), although not explicitly mentioned by Pratt. With the challenges of defining the object of creative industries policy, Pratt moves on to a number of central dilemmas, suggested by Matarasso and Landry (1999; reproduced in Pratt, 2005, p. 36), broadly these dilemmas, which are presented in the form of dichotomies, concern the conception of culture (anthropological vs. substantive), the degree of instrumentality, the degree of government intervention, the appropriate height or breadth (quality vs. mass), degree of diversity, age (heritage or contemporary), appeal to tourists vs locals, etc. Pratt argues that this conception, although significant “does not provide the analytical tool to move toward a resolution of these issues.” (2005, p. 35). The present thesis makes two particular contributions in this regard, firstly, by drawing on institutional theory, I argue that such dilemmas and dichotomies are socially constructed, as are the arenas where cultural policy takes place (this argument is unfolded in Paper 1), and secondly by drawing on the institutional logics and convention theory on justification (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991), I show how highly capable organisations resolve such issues at critical points in time, by reflectively drawing upon wider societal institutions (Paper 2).

My thesis rediscovers a small but underappreciated literature developing an institution-theoretical approach to cultural policy, which was offered in the early work of DiMaggio (a cultural policy scholar and neo-institutional theorist). In a significant article, contributing to both these fields, DiMaggio attended to the processes by which a high cultural base developed in Boston through conscious cultural entrepreneurial work, a process that he argued created the idea of high culture in itself in a US-context (1982). In a more general contribution arguing for the place and purpose of cultural policy studies, DiMaggio argued for attending to the explicit and implicit nature of cultural policy (1983). DiMaggio’s work, while receiving a strong recognition among neo-institutional theorists, stemming

in part from the canonical status of *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis* (Powell & DiMaggio 1991), however, did not have a significant influence on the cultural policy literature. This was regrettable for a number of reasons, first of all because his work had begun to theorize and explain cultural policy with a greater attentiveness to its sociological and organisational mechanisms, drawing attention to aspects that were initially not well conceptualized by its public policy approach; secondly because the early side-lining of neo-institutional approaches has led cultural policy studies to attend to these mechanisms with an unfortunate delay.²² Given this delay, and a general retreat in neo-institutional work from theorizing the cultural field, I suggest that the two literatures might fruitfully engage to reap the benefits of mutually informed theory development. This argument is unfolded and discussed in Paper 1, which outlines a number of key debates in cultural policy and shows how neo-institutional agendas map on to these debates. We now move to a review of philanthropy studies.

Philanthropy

Studies of philanthropy exist within a broader field of literature concerning the nature of benevolence, charity and voluntary initiative, overwhelmingly stemming from private actors and organisations; from individuals and families, to the philanthropic activities of corporations, foundations and other non-government organisations (both religious and secular). The sum of these activities are often subsumed under the header of “civil society” (M. Edwards, 2011), or described as the “third sector” (Taylor, 2011), which is usually defined against the activities of the government and private corporations, although many scholars also study corporate philanthropy (Galaskiewicz & Burt, 1991; Galaskiewicz, 1991; Porter & Kramer, 2002). The emergence of philanthropy studies as a distinctive discipline during the 1980s grew largely from the field of American social science (Katz, 1999). Given the breadth and multitude of ways in which this expansive range of actors and organisations are studied, the thesis positions itself briefly vis-à-vis some of the central academic contributions to the field, and engages more specifically with the work concerning foundations contributing to or drawing on institutional theory and convention theory. Finally, reviewing and reflecting on the project in relation to philanthropy studies of the Danish context.

Although the development and place of civil society at large (vis-à-vis the state) was theorised throughout the European Enlightenment by such political philosophers as Hobbes in the 17th century, Ferguson, Locke and Smith in the 18th century, and Hegel in the 19th century (Lund & Meyer, 2011, p. 22). As well as in de Toqueville’s studies of the burgeoning American democracy and civil society (1998 [1835]). The thesis takes its departure in Marcel Mauss theorizing gift giving in ancient and contemporary tribal societies (1990 [1925]). This work was significant for drawing attention to the intuitional (or conventional) foundations of gift-giving, and the meaning infused into the object (the gift) and the act of giving, sharing with Durkheim an interest in the institutions that shape society (Douglas, 1990, p. viii). Mauss work stood in stark opposition to British empiricist thought (Douglas, 1990), where individuals were conceptualized a “as an independent instead of as a social being” and “failed to appreciate the moral role of political participation” (ibid), like ‘old’ and contemporary institutional theories he was sceptical to the rational economic view of man as an explanatory theorem to understand society, and his insights therefore

²² For example, DiMaggio’s call to consider both implicit and explicit aspects of cultural policy (1983), was not explored as a valuable distinction, within the most influential journal of cultural policy studies, *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, until Ahearne’s article in (2009).

resonate greatly with the view taken in this thesis. Scholars drawing upon or criticizing Mauss, however, have often made his assertion of the *reciprocity* involved the central feature of his contribution, frequently without considering the sophisticated institutional nature of the act of giving, which is where this thesis places its central weight.

Whether or not the gift is self-interested or institutionally founded, if such a distinction can even be made (Adloff & Mau, 2006), is of less interest in this thesis. This warrants a central clarification, given this thesis focus on the wider institutions and the meaning infused into the support given that the thesis does not exclusively look at the private foundation, and consider the art support conducted by the private foundation fundamentally unique to that of the public, since it is the institutional meanings infused into support (both public and private), that are the object of study. This approach resonates with the contemporary work of Adloff and Mau, that emphasizes that the institutional ‘rules’ governing private gifts and public (in their case welfare interactions) are not fundamentally different, where the approach differs from Adloff and Mau (2006), is that the thesis does not seek to describe the ‘gift’ or support as one order, but rather as a product of reflexive consideration of a plurality of social institutions.

Neo-institutional theorists have had a long held interest in the public and non-profit sectors (Powell 1991, p. 183) and a keen eye to corporate philanthropy (Galaskiewicz & Burt, 1991; Galaskiewicz, 1991). Early work within the field of philanthropy sought to illuminate the processes by which institutional leaders (who were later canonised as “institutional entrepreneurs” DiMaggio, 1988) in a successful case made corporate actors accountable through conscious efforts to create new institutional rules (Galaskiewicz, 1991). Building on this work Galaskiewicz and Burt attended to the networks through which meanings and perceptions were spread, to create converging models of philanthropy (1991). This early work, was oriented towards developing and testing the burgeoning tenets of neo-institutional theory (Galaskiewicz & Burt’s 1991 study e.g. tests DiMaggio and Powell’s 1983 theory of institutional isomorphism). These early studies were until Ostrower’s important work investigating “the culture of elite philanthropy” less concerned with the fundamental questions of philanthropy, which came back into view with Ostrower’s book on “Why the wealthy give” (1995b). Ostrower’s work was based on in depth interviews with 99 wealthy donors (and to a lesser extent archival material on boards and donations), and took a distinctively sociological line of enquiry, emphasizing the reasons and retrospections of elite philanthropists in New York, through these personal narratives Ostrower explored the cultural dimensions and institutionalization of philanthropic values, and significantly how education and culture came to have such a prominent role as beneficiaries of elite philanthropy through the culture and education of elite philanthropists themselves (1995 pp. 86-99). In some ways this thesis complements this effort, but by theorizing from a distinctively different direction, the thesis shares Ostrower’s fascination with the reasoning behind support, and sees this as central to understand the nature of public and private foundations (rather than as a smokescreen), however while Ostrower’s emphasis was on the individual and rationalises from interviews conducted during a short period of time (1987-88, thus inferring from actors present views and retrospections), this thesis attends to the organizational-level and draws upon archival reports reflecting changing perceptions and legitimations at different points in time. Furthermore, Ostrower theorises in an entirely different way, locating institutional explanations in the education and cultural backgrounds, and importantly the reflections of donors, upon these, but it does not deeply engage in the mechanisms of neo-institutional theory, in part because the book is written for a wider audience.

Resonating in part with the interests of this thesis, the (private) foundation has come into view as one of the most significant organisational forms (Fleishman, 2009; Hammack & Heydemann, 2009; Lund & Berg, 2016/forthcoming; Prewitt, Dogan, Heydemann, & Toepler, 2006) and the family foundation is seeing renewed interest (Puig, 2016; Rey-Garcia & Puig-Raposo, 2013). Although the field of philanthropy studies has seen academic growth since the 1980s (similarly to the discipline of cultural policy), the field remains greatly under theorized, and among the few quality contributions even fewer offer a conception of organisational rationales as opposed to intimately personal and legal (socio-political) motivations for giving. Fleishman's study of the foundation as an important organizational form in America, for example, when discussing motivations for giving (Fleishman, 2009, pp. 91–99) locate these broadly between the personal motivations (between altruism and self-interest) and the desire for larger social change (what he calls instrumental rather than expressive giving, *ibid*). Fleishman's argument for focusing on instrumental giving is argued *eo ipso* from “the scale of philanthropic giving”, from the generous tax breaks foundations are offered, from their lack of accountability and their *de facto* comparative advantage (Fleishman, 2009, pp. 108–109). This approach is concerned, with the socio-political standing and effects of private foundations. The thesis complements this work with a focus on the cognitive side of legitimacy, as it is expressed at an organisational level, and therefore fundamentally disagrees with Fleishman's view that “Foundations are not, in effect, accountable to anyone” (2009, p. 109), since I argue that it is through the entire social-cognition of their practices and purposes that foundations respond— and thus, to use Fleishman's words – make themselves accountable – to wider public institutions.

The centrality of legitimacy, *vis-à-vis* public foundations was brought into view with an edited volume dedicated to the study of the legitimacy of philanthropic foundations (Prewitt et al., 2006). The volume endeavoured the difficult task of comparing the legitimacy of philanthropic foundations in the United States and Europe, this was a difficult task in part because the legitimacy at stake, as Heydemann and Toepler argue are entirely different:

“[P]ublic debate in the U.S. case often focuses less on the normative questions of why foundations exist and whether they are a legitimate means of accumulation and distribution of private wealth— matters that remains on the table in some European cases—than on questions of foundation governance, regulation, oversight, and above all accountability” (Heydemann & Toepler, 2006, p. 5)

This matter of accountability, as introduced on the very first page of the thesis, resonates with the current debate surrounding foundations in Denmark as a European case. The thesis also agrees with the editors that “foundations themselves can never take their “everyday legitimacy” for granted” (*ibid*), and as I observe the foundations studied continuously reflect on their legitimacy. Where the thesis distinguishes itself from the contributions in the volume concerns its far more delimited and detailed investigation of legitimacy. The editors are guided by the desire to investigate a variety of national contexts, foundation-types, practices and purposes, in an inclusive manner “that prohibits from the outset any attempt to impose a specific view of legitimacy or the nature of foundational accountability” on its research agenda (2006, p. 18). The contributions, although empirically interesting and a laudable effort to “establish the scope and importance of the legitimacy question as it relates to private foundations”

(ibid), however, the theoretical framing must be tighter to further advance the theorization of the legitimacy of philanthropic foundations.

A significant contribution investigating and comparing foundations with a more prominent theoretical lens, was offered by many of the above authors in an edited volume investigating the “growth, behaviour and impact of grant-making foundations” (Prewitt in Hammack & Heydemann, 2009, p. vii). In this work a loosely defined institutional logics perspective is taken, which despite their plurality, attend to how the ‘logics’ of foundations are ‘projected’ on to foreign countries where they operate. This work focuses greatly on the “exterior” view, the logics projected by foundations into specific countries and regions, notably Russia (Slocum, 2009) Eastern Europe (Aksartova, 2009) and Africa (Swidler, 2009), with a distinctive focus political ideology and the conscious work foundations to both project their logics into incredibly different societal contexts, but also to build up an ‘American’ liberal model of civil society abroad. Slocum’s contribution, for example, focuses primarily on the socio-political aspect of institutional building, where Aksartova also brings into view the socializing rituals (e.g. roundtables and public debates) through which idea(l)s of free speech and democracy are communicated in foreign contexts, but also the localization process that foreign foundations (Soros’ Open Society Institute) themselves undergo aboard, language being a prime indicator of the foundations degree of localization. In this account Aksartova, drawing on Friedland and Alford (1991) argues:

“A new organisational form cannot function until the world around it has been appropriately constructed [...], and this in turn, is impossible without having a language, a “legitimizing account” (Aksartova, 2009).

This insight is central, for it shows that when foreign foundations choose to operate abroad they must rely on and create a language surrounding the practices, which they wish to diffuse. The present thesis is complimentary to this agenda, showing that domestic foundations, particularly as they move beyond their institutional entrepreneurial stage, they inversely draw on the wider institutions of society, the existing languages or logics, to maintain their legitimacy, through a sophisticated and reflexive process of legitimation (see paper 2). A more general contribution of the edited volume is that it explicitly shows the value of work in cross section between historical studies and social science within the field of foundation studies (Prewitt in Hammack & Heydemann, 2009, p. vii). To this I add, that a mutual engagement between social science studies and history should not only reap the benefits of historicisation but also engage with theorizing the way in which the past itself is used by foundations (see paper 3).

In the direction of investigating and theorizing the logics or central regimes of justification invoked in philanthropy, Silber has recently offered an study and theorization of the underlying reasons driving elite philanthropy in Israel (Silber, 2011, 2012b). From this, she unveils anger specifically at inefficient and deficient state as a primary justification for philanthropic work, and asks drawing on Boltanski & Thévenot (2006), whether we might consider emotions as a *regime of justification*. The call to consider not just anger, or civic indignation, but emotions more broadly as a central logic of legitimacy, resonates greatly with the empirical findings from the two Danish foundations, where in a variety of emotions, that were not easily subsumed under the inspired (creative) regime of

Boltanski and Thévenot, came into view as one of the central logics of legitimation in art support. Particularly two kinds of emotional logics in this category were strongly evident, the “humanistic emotion” as an argument, and the “spirit of working” as the other (see Paper 2). In this thesis, the role of emotions, as a ‘logic of legitimation’ has shown itself to be extremely central and supports a conception of emotions as their own order and a fruitful agenda for further research. The following section briefly introduces and reflects on philanthropy studies of the Danish context.

Studies of the Danish context

There is a scarce amount of literature on Danish philanthropic foundations, beyond the variety of commissioned histories and biographies, which provide valuable insights into the specifics of individuals and foundations, but are not part of a wider international academic discussion and seldom offer any theorization of the processes or contexts they describe. For this reason, biographies such as Kristof Glamman’s, of J.C. and Carl Jacobsen, and Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen’s elaborate three volume art history of the New Carlsberg Foundation (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) figure as secondary sources in this thesis (see chapter 3). Wider academic discussion of the Danish context²³ cuts across a variety of topics, from; associationalism, civil society and state-relations (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004; Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001; la Cour, 2012; Villadsen, 2011), to corporate philanthropic foundations (Thomsen, 2006), but has only recently turned to cultural philanthropic foundations (Lund & Berg, 2016/forthcoming). These contributions are briefly reviewed and the place of the thesis is positioned and argued for vis-à-vis this small, but growing literature.

Kaspersen and Ottesen draw attention to the role of associationalism not only as a school of thought in social and political theory but “as a model of governance that has been developed and implemented as a political practice in Denmark for more than 100 years” (2001, p. 105) and argue for the central role of the state as a “precondition for the development of civil society” (ibid). In addition, the study is important because it (similarly to Duelund, 2001) unites the political and cultural history of Denmark, by examining the development of associationalism through the rise of ‘free’ and ‘folk high schools’ and the rise of social and cultural activities (particularly sports associations), as processes dependent on the acceptance of the developing nation-state. The work provides an enlightening introduction to the wider context of both public (state financed) cultural policy and private cultural support. Since cultural support for the arts, both public and private, similarly to the interconnected rise of associationalism and public support for sport, have depended both on the states gradual acceptance of the rise of a “public social sphere” and eventual Constitutional formalisation of the rights to association and assembly (in 1849)²⁴, the acceptance and rise of different religious movements notably *Grundtvigianism* and ideals of public education, the rise of the labour movement institution more public welfare and leisure time (Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001), all of which have laid the foundation for a public and private system of art support, by creating the institutional conditions for a strong public and private initiative with regards to cultural life.

²³ This implies work directed at an international academic discussion, representing the Danish context and the central scholarships in the Danish academic debate. Contributions such as Lund & Meyer (2011), Levinsen (2013) are therefore less emphasized because they are text-book contributions in Danish (Levinsen, 2013; Lund & Meyer, 2011). Furthermore Lund and Berg’s contribution is forthcoming to a Danish audience and, as of yet, unpublished.

²⁴ And, importantly the rise of private industrial company and an enlightened bourgeoisie (Duelund, 2001).

The interplay of the state and civil society relations, since 1850, is a key area, which scholars have attended to when illuminating the Danish context. Henriksen and Bundesen for example explore the relations between the state and different forms of “voluntary social welfare organisations”: “mutual benefit societies, philanthropic organisations and membership-based interest organisations” from 1850 to the late 1990s (2004). The study shows four particular settlements of relations, each characterised by a particular institutional order, influenced both by the stage of development of the modern state and different developments of philanthropy. Henriksen and Bundesen call the early stage, (1850-1890) an “organised liberal policy”, which in the early years (until 1871) was demarcated by the categories of “deserving” and “undeserving” (2004). Help for the deserving poor was relegated to private philanthropic organisations and the state reluctantly aided the undeserving in exchange for their voting rights (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004, p. 609). In this period, mutual benefit societies developed, particularly in the area of health, which provided members, who had previously worked, with protection in the face of illness, in 1892 formalised this assistance with a “Health Insurance Societies Act” (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004, p. 610) and began to subsidise and regulate the societies. Henriksen and Bundesen point to the dual role played by philanthropic organisations, such as Christian charities in this period, both as “benevolent philanthropic societies” and “pioneers” (ibid). While the benevolent societies supported the “deserving poor”, the pioneers began representing different groups such as “deaf people, blind people, people with physical handicaps and people with learning difficulties” (ibid). In the second phase (1890-1930) Henriksen and Bundesen, point to emerging “social rights” and “public-private partnerships” in the social welfare provision, notably the emergence of “old age pension reform in 1891” and “union run” unemployment benefits. Importantly Henriksen and Bundesen note:

“This increasing public responsibility undermined the work of the benevolent philanthropic societies and left them with very little legitimacy.”

This observation is important as it points to the prevailing institutional rules underlying the legitimacy of private philanthropy, which at this point, lies within their ability to adapt to an gradually increasing role of the state (and municipalities) and redirect their efforts to those less represented by the burgeoning social state. Henriksen and Bundesen note the importance of Christian religious groups attending to “prostitutes, alcoholics, criminals” and governments began to pay voluntary organisations to attend to these groups, in an early form of “public-private partnership” (2004, p. 612). Importantly, as observed in the present thesis, this period also saw the establishment of bourgeoisie philanthropic organisations, such as the Carlsberg Foundation and later the New Carlsberg Foundation, with entirely different philanthropic goals than those of Christian religious groups, attending to ‘enlightenment goals’ of commerce, science (the Carlsberg Foundation, 1876) and art (the New Carlsberg Foundation, 1902). To use Henriksen and Bundesen terminology, this became a new frontier of pioneer philanthropy, part of which is illuminated by this thesis engagement with the New Carlsberg Foundation.

To return to Henriksen and Bundesen’s account, the pioneer philanthropic organisations that had previously represented different groups, became less prominent in the face of rising “membership-based organisations”, through which “disabled people began to represent themselves” (2004, p. 612) and with the welfare reforms of K.K.

Steincke the state began taking a more active role and “voluntary organisations gradually became instruments of the state” (2004, p. 613). According to Henriksen and Bundesen’s a third phase was characterized by the subsequent growth, universalization and professionalization of the welfare state and led to the marginalisation and eventual demise of those philanthropic organisations that did not themselves professionalise (2004, p. 615-16). In a fourth phase, from the 1980s onwards, this changes as “voluntary action” was recast as being “civil society”, in which: “Voluntary action came to be portrayed as the antithesis of the bureaucratically and paternalistically organised social services of the welfare state. Indeed, this represented as remarkable shift in the perceptions of voluntary action.” (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004, p. 619). Here it is valuable to note the legitimacy of voluntary action, can be affected by prevailing political spirits, and through my contribution, particularly in paper 2, I point to how a professional philanthropic foundation has reflected on such political spirits, and legitimized themselves by drawing carefully on wider held institutional beliefs, with a strongly moral component, to argue for their role in society through at different critical moments. Henriksen and Bundesen themselves, drawing on Giddens (1984), point to the importance of “different institutional orders” and “societal legitimacy [...] as regards the kinds of social problems that are looked upon seriously by society and the solutions that are seen as appropriate to combat them” (2004, p. 622). In this vein, I also agree with the authors that we need to attend precisely to these institutional orders and legitimacy to understand the respective roles of state and private philanthropy as “a complex and dynamic phenomenon, which is constantly being challenged and reinterpreted” (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004, p. 623).

Villadsen offers a critical contribution to philanthropy²⁵, drawing on the Danish case. Using Foucault’s concept of the dispositive (Foucault, 1977), parallels are drawn between the 20th century social philanthropist and the modern social worker, who “seeks to prevent unwanted and unproductive social behaviour by improving and correcting the human material” (Villadsen, 2011, p. 1063). The study explicitly desists from “taking a definitive stance on the question of whether [philanthropy] serves to cement marginality or act as a progressive agent for social change” (2011, 1061), however the view presented of the 20th century philanthropist (and indeed the modern social worker) is not a comforting one, since this is one of unrespectable meddling, belittling and subjugation of the targeted individual. Although the thesis takes a less critical view of foundation, and particularly takes issue with the idea of any ill will, conspiracy or collusion behind art philanthropy in the cases investigated, many of Villadsen’s points are seen as valuable, particularly idea that “discourse of philanthropy has effects upon the administrative-political sphere in which social issues can be debated” (ibid). However, this idea is engaged through a pragmatic institutionalist approach, where organisations are seen as competent and reflective about their practices and purposes and compelled by an imperative of legitimacy, this is not entirely oppositional to Villadsen’s wider argument, since the purposes and practices of social welfare work of many 20th century philanthropists may well have been legitimate at their particular time. Furthermore, Villadsen’s argument (below) that philanthropy must be studied with attentiveness to critical moments, specific societies, where I argue for focus on their relation to wider societal logics (rather than one logic or ‘dispositif’):

²⁵ Villadsen also makes the observation that contemporary scholarship rarely talks about philanthropy, but favours terms like “voluntary-, non-profit-, non-governmental- or third sector organizations” (2011, 1058).

“Philanthropy’s role in social policy [and I argue cultural policy] can hardly be generalized across time and space; instead, its strategic functions must be examined in specific societies and at specific historical junctures” (Villadsen, 2011, p. 1061).

La Cour’s study focuses on the enlisting of voluntarism into contemporary Danish public policy, in this case on social welfare, drawing on Luhmann’s modern systems theory (2012). In a highly theoretical contribution la Cour conceptualises the:

“suspension [of the state] in order to reach out to the other side, namely the non-political status of voluntary social work. Second it has to suspend this self-suspension in order to create space for itself where it can include the otherness of the other” (la Cour, 2012, p. 46).

This is a valuable contribution, which, on one hand, resonates with the tacit enrolment of private philanthropy into the mind-set of public art provision in Denmark both historically and in contemporary society, as evidenced by an increasing discussion about their public role. However, and this is an important distinction between art support and the social welfare examples discussed above (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004; Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001; la Cour, 2012; Villadsen, 2011), that the degree of coordination and overt enrolment of art support is deliberately low Denmark. This conscious care not to overstep the boundary, owes its contingency in part to the strong separation of art support conducted by the state, following WWII, which has canonized the arms-length principle within the state system through the Danish Arts Foundation, and even more strongly desisted overt control of private foundations supporting the arts. This is also, in part, due to the conscious policy of art foundations, such as the New Carlsberg Foundation, which with notable exceptions such as the running of the Glyptotek, have desisted any long-term explicit coordination (and by extension enrolment) into state and municipal systems of support.

An important line of enquiry, which takes entirely different focus on philanthropy in the Danish context, comes from the work of Thomsen, who has studied corporate philanthropic foundations, an ownership form found particularly in Northern Europe, which in Denmark has its roots in the private ownership rights that were endorsed by the Constitution of 1849. In the Danish context, this means both that “ownership of business company is a legitimate role for a foundation” and, that the operation of business may be conceived of as a form philanthropic endeavour (Thomsen, 2006, p. 236). Importantly, as Thomsen argues (drawing on Suchman, 1995), this distinction of what philanthropy is, or can also be, and what a philanthropic foundation may do rests on different “generalized perception[s] that the action[s] and existence if an entity are desirable, proper and appropriate within a given social system of norms, values and beliefs” (Thomsen, 2006, p. 236). It is this line of enquiry, with particular emphasis on the legitimation of the foundations themselves, and the logics of cognitive legitimacy they follow which this particular thesis illuminates with its attention to the private art foundation, which has been overlooked in philanthropy studies of the Danish context. The thesis invariably also contributes, to illuminating a less studied aspect of Carlsberg, a firm that is seeing renewed interest as one of the largest and most complex Danish companies (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013; Hatch, Schultz, & Skov, 2015; Schultz & Hernes, 2012), a fascinating ownership structure (Thomsen, 2006), and a significant supporter of the arts, through the New Carlsberg Foundation.

In line with most philanthropy studies into the Danish context, the significant role of the public system of support is also brought to the fore in this thesis. The thesis complements previous studies, both with an attentiveness to an area of philanthropy, the arts, which has received less attention, and with a focus on the institutions of art support and the cognitive legitimation process upon which both public and private support rest. The thesis presents a highly theorized form of cultural policy and philanthropy studies, which has been argued for throughout this larger chapter, to advance our understanding of art support, this work is grounded in a detailed and extensive research process, which I now discuss.

Chapter 3: Research Strategy and Process

The following chapter focuses on both the underlying research ethos and the detailed elements of the research strategy and considerations involved in undertaking the thesis. I begin with a short introduction of the research ethos underlying the project-approach and move towards a more practical description of the project work, the process involved in arriving at the empirical cases, the specific data, theory and analytical strategy.

Research Ethos and Philosophy

The approach taken in this thesis is iterative, driven at different points in time, by a phenomenological interest, what appeared to be fruitful theoretical perspectives, which in turn could be illuminated by the empirical material, the desire to find the most relevant empirical material to address arising questions, which again led to a reorientation of theoretical interests based on the findings. I have purposely omitted a chapter suggesting a comprehensive ‘research design’ or ‘methodology,’ which would denote a kind of controlled social science, which would not reflect the deliberative nature of the process undertaken or its underlying research philosophy. This does not however mean that the project has been conducted without a conscious and deliberate research strategy, which the following chapter seeks to elucidate.

The approach taken best resonates with an ‘updated’ approach to “grounded theory methodology” (see also Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Suddaby, 2006), in which there was a strong focus on approaching the project, even as it progressed, and became more specific, with an open mind, emphasizing theorization from the material, but also (and this departs from Glaser and Strauss original approach) by a careful concurrent reflection of the extant literature, and a continuous process of going back and forth between the theoretical and empirical work. The potential of this approach appeared to offer the best premises for producing new insights into the substantive field, and, if more humbly than Glaser and Strauss had originally intended, offering theoretical elaboration and extension. The format, however, also presented challenges, most significantly in the early stages where everything from empirical material to theoretical approaches appeared to be in flux. As I will discuss shortly, the settlement of research questions, theory and data emerged in an iterative process, particularly between the theoretical considerations and the empirical considerations. To manage this process a conscious decision was taken to use grounded theory methodology to consider a wide variety of empirical and theoretical sources and then to gradually settle on the empirical material, research question (and a distinctive interpretation of it), the theory which most resonated with the empirical material selected and which best reflected categories that arose from the analysis.

Part of this process, has involved a ‘multiple case study analysis’ (Stake, 2006), I use this term with caution, for the reason that it implies to have encompassed the organisation as cases and signifies a continuous holistic approach to the cases. More precisely, the project has taken a ‘multiple case study approach’ at the early stage of the project, to gain knowledge about public and private foundational art support, through two both instrumentally and intrinsically interesting (Stake, 1994, p. 237) carefully selected examples of public and private art foundations. However, the

multiple case study approach was a phase in the larger process of arriving at a particular aspect of study, which was ultimately decided to be the foundations reasoning and reflection about their support, as it was represented in a particular document, the annual report, which will be discussed later in this chapter. It would therefore be imprecise to call the larger project a multiple case study and I have consciously resisted a ‘pre-packaged’ or formulaic²⁶ approach to the analysis, as increasingly suggested by case-study and qualitative scholars, including Stake²⁷ (Gibbert, Ruigrok, & Wicki, 2008; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012; Stake, 2006), who suggest the generation of particular reports and processes to enhance the legitimacy of case study research. Instead I allowed for the analysis of the annual report, the document finally selected for theorization, to emerge from the categories of justifications I found herein and only after this, compared thesis *vis-à-vis* the categories of the extant literatures (discussed shortly), to identify theoretical contributions. I therefore hesitate, to call the project a ‘comparative’ or ‘cross-comparative.’ The main point of the study has not been to reify any formal features of the ‘public’ and ‘private’ foundations involved that are readily apparent, rather parallels and differences have emerged organically from the study of the legitimations invoked (in paper 2), and it is the illumination of the plurality of legitimations for art support and its the use of specific logics of legitimations that eventually took centre stage (discussed later in this chapter).

By the aforementioned caveat, concerning particular reports and processes, I do not mean to discount the necessity of rigour or relevance (Belfiore, 2009, pp. 354–55) either in the case study research or the project as a whole, nor to imply that building reports or considering forms of validity (Gibbert et al., 2008) is inherently not valuable. Indeed the analytical process resonated greatly with the Corley and Gioia’s ‘first’ and ‘second order’ theorization (Corley & Gioia, 2004; see also Gioia et al., 2012) but I arrived at this analytical process through careful consideration of the data *vis-a-vis* the extant literature, rather than by predetermined structuring. The thesis subscribes to Belfiore’s argument that rigorous research is incompatible with advocacy, and I argue, any other preconceived benevolence or malignance on the part of the organisations studied. Considerations of validity and reliability are important, but the value of sources depend on the questions we ask (Mordhorst, 2014, p. 119). I have therefore also been sceptical to predetermined structuring of research process and over-structuring of the research reflection with ‘scientific’ language, that does not in itself increase the rigour or validity of work, and, I argue, reduces it by seeking to gloss over the subjectivity and reflective decision-making involved, and interferes with the creative and subjective process of conducting and reflecting on research if imposed *ex ante*.

Social science is increasingly rhetoricized like the natural sciences, where research processes are made to look straightforward, organized and controlled.²⁸ However, conducting research and contributing to a particular research agenda is only rarely a straightforward deductive process of selecting a topic, a theory, collecting and analysing data. This form of research, if it exists beyond its ideal form, has become a ‘rationalized myth’ emanating from the

²⁶ This particular expression is borrowed from Delbridge, Suddaby & Harley, who share a similar concern about research in general (2016).

²⁷ Who is often viewed as an advocate against the colonization of ‘scientific’ case study research (Boblin, Ireland, Kirkpatrick, & Robertson, 2013).

²⁸ An example of this rhetoric, is found in the frequently cited argumentation for case-study analysis, of Eisenhardt, suggesting that “each case serves as a distinct experiment that stands on its own as an analytic unit” (2007, p. 25).

natural sciences, and its importation into the social sciences, by way of economics, has become a dominant although contested paradigm (Rynes & Gephart, 2004; Symon, Buehring, Johnson, & Cassell, 2008). – Its colonization has vast effects on the questions we ask, the body of knowledge and theoretical insights of public policy and organisational research. I lament that we have departed from broad investigative questions, accepting that we shed light on only a small aspect thereof, and I have tried through my project to show the value of working in the spirit of accepting a larger question (“Why do public and private foundations support the arts?”), which was not predefined, cognizant that the answer provided ultimately sheds light on a particular aspect, the reasoning and reflection as it is represented in a particular document in two particular foundations (to which we shall return).

The work of this thesis is interpretive, focused on understanding the meaning ascribed to the larger phenomenon of art support; ultimately focusing on the reasoning of art support and the particular meaning ascribed it. It is inherently constructivist (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and involves a dual construction; that of the organisations or “participants who are trying to explain” and that of the researcher trying to reconstruct events (Corbin in Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 10). It shares with a recent turn in business history and organisation studies an interest in the construction of accounts, the meanings ascribed to them and their value as representations of institutions (Hansen, 2013, p. 709; Mordhorst, 2014). In addition, more conventional historical questions concerning the nature and status of the document (how it is produced, used, and for whom it is written) were considered in the selection process of the final document for analysis (the annual report, discussed shortly). In the remainder of the chapter, I have sought to explain both the major deliberations of the research process and intricate considerations of the analysis with care, recognising the reflectivity involved in the analytical strategy.

Research Process

The following section emphasizes the major deliberations and seeks to place the stages of research vis-à-vis the time-period in which the thesis work was conducted. In retrospect, it has been possible to bracket the work undertaken in roughly three stages; an *Early-Stage* from September 2012 to approximately December 2013²⁹, a *Mid-Stage* from approximately January 2015 to August 2015³⁰, and an *End-Stage* from September-May 2016. While the thesis’ preface discusses how the overarching topic became of interest, this chapter hones in on the practical work and on-going reflections; particularly the early and middle stages of the process, since the end-stage consisted mainly of writing the papers and frame.

Figure 3: Timeline



²⁹ September to December 2013 I was visiting research student at LSE and in 2014 I was on maternity leave.

³⁰ September 2015 I was visiting research student at Peter B. Gustavson School of Business, University of Victoria.

Early Stage: Context, Cases and Data Collection

Denmark offers a small confined context uniquely defined by both a strong private and public sector (Kaspersen, 2013), the nation has a limited amount of significant public and private art foundations allowing for a more comprehensive overview over public and private art support than many nations with larger, more complex, systems of art support. In the area of visual art support particularly two large organisations, one public and one private, the Danish Art Foundation and The New Carlsberg Foundation (Duelund, 1995; Jeppesen 2002; Nielsen & Heltoft, 2016), stand out as the most powerful foundations supporting the arts making them ideal organisations in which to study the underlying mechanisms of public and private art support. To arrive at the guiding and overarching research question, the earliest stage of investigation took departure a review of the academic literature on art support in Denmark and cultural policy more broadly, as well as the academic literature on philanthropy, these studies, along with a perusal of newspaper articles about cultural policy and art foundations in Denmark offered a richly descriptive introduction to the Danish context of cultural policy and philanthropy. This perusal clearly signalled the significance of the Danish Art Foundation and the New Carlsberg Foundation (M. Jeppesen, 2009, 2010, 2012). The public debate also signalled in increased interest in the role of private foundations (Bech-Danielsen, 2013; Benner & Brovall, 2012; Berglöv, 2012; Bundegaard, 2012; Hoffman-Hansen, 2012; Johannesen & Redder, 2011; Rasmussen, 2012), and illustrated a lack of nuanced public knowledge about the reasons and thoughts behind the foundations work (Benner & Lenler, 2012; Brovall, Lykkeberg, & Stockmann, 2014; Erhardtson, 2012; Stockmann, 2014), which led me to focus on the question *why public and private foundations support the arts*, and to focus particularly on the elucidating thoughts presented by the foundations themselves over time, which seemed the most poorly understood in the public debate and under-theorized in the academic.

An essential part of this early stage of research involved getting the New Carlsberg Foundation, the preferred private foundation for the study aboard, due to its strong focus on the visual arts, longevity (since 1902), resources and national scale of operation, which is paralleled only by the Danish Arts Foundation (see Table 1 p. 20).³¹ Since the Danish Art Foundation is public and thus more obliged to respond to public requests, I therefore decided to focus on securing access to the private foundation first. In preparation for the request, I read the foundation's then Chairman, Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen's significant 3-volume art history of the New Carlsberg Foundation (2002a, 2002b, 2002c), as well as Kristof Glamman's biographies about Carl Jacobsen and his father (1990, 1997), and the annual reports available online (2007-2011). I also investigated whether any colleagues at my department had existing contacts with the foundation (they did), and asked a senior colleague to offer the foundation an early warning about my request. In addition, I sent an email with a brief description of the project and an interview guide with questions. In this material I emphasized the academic nature of the enquiry, the desire to work with the Danish Arts Foundation in addition to the New Carlsberg Foundation, and the increased public interest in the nature of

³¹ Other significant foundations considered were A.P. Møller Fonden (1953-), Augustinus Fonden (1942-), Bikubenfonden (1989-), Nordeafonden (1989-), Det Obelske Familiefond (1956-), OJD-fonden (2004), Realdania (1851-), Salling Fondene (1995-/1964-) and Velux Fonden (1981-). These foundations all support the arts or culture, but most of them (apart from OJD) have much broader or unspecific donation profiles than the New Carlsberg Foundation or a much shorter period of operation.

private foundations, supporting this request. I took great care in the preparation of this material, both in the presentation (e.g. the letter attached in PDF was headed with my university's logo) and content. It was an element both of preparation and fortune that the foundation looked positively on the request for an initial interview about the project, and obliged in further investigation. The request came in the early stage of a greater strategic focus on openness in the New Carlsberg Foundation, evidenced in part by the acceptance of the study, but also by a greater focus on outward communication during the time of my project, through the employment of a communications officer in 2014, the creation of a new website (www.ny-carlsbergfondet.dk), a greater inward interest in the foundations own history and the employment of corporate archivist, in 2014, to digitalize the foundations historical documents (database forthcoming). In addition, the foundations 'parent' foundation, the larger Carlsberg Foundation, had recently funded an unrelated research project on civil society at Copenhagen Business School, to increase knowledge about foundations; it would thus have been peculiar of the New Carlsberg Foundation not to participate to greater knowledge of this area.

At the early stage, I conducted a small number of high-profile background interviews, with the sitting board members at the New Carlsberg Foundation at the time (Maria Fabricius Hansen, Morten Kyndrup and Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen). A list of interviews conducted and an example of an interview guide with the overarching questions have been offered in Appendix 2. In preparation for interviews I would peruse newspaper-articles and any other relevant work written by, or about, these board members, their CVs and websites, as well as following the press coverage of the foundation in general. For the meetings I dressed formally, arrived timely and prepared, and sought, at least until I became more familiar with the foundation, to be very formal. The New Carlsberg Foundation is one of the most elite institutions in Denmark, its location in Copenhagen is filled with exquisite artworks and its board members are highly esteemed scholars with busy schedules. I was therefore extremely conscious of taking their time, yet I also tried to establish common ground by engaging in conversations about art (I have a long-held interest in visual art), when possible. I also asked for access to the foundations more than 100-years of annual reports, and it was in part, the process of collecting these reports, which had to be photocopied (for rare reports) or collected in smaller loads, that allowed me to become more familiar with the organisation's staff and day-to-day activities.

The main purpose of this work was to familiarize myself with different aspects of the foundation and get a sense of the organizations way of reasoning and to become clearer about what precisely would be interesting to focus on. During the process of interview collection I became aware that interviews, while an excellent source to gain familiarity with a foundation about which, unlike the Danish Arts Foundation, there was relatively less publicly available information, were less reliable as an accurate source of the foundations historical development. They gave an insightful view into the purposes, practices and self-understanding at the moment, and offered interesting retrospectives reflecting individual employees and board members memory and representation of themselves and the foundation. At the time I had begun reading Boltanski and Thévenot's elaborate work on justification, and I was curious about how these high-level board members justified organisational practices and purposes, however I also found the interview situation too dialogical to properly allow for the more reflected and un-interrupted thought process and carrying ideas behind support. Furthermore, interviews were heavily engaged with present problems

and ideas, but less introspective about how challenges of conducting art support had been in the past. Similarly the newspaper articles I was collecting about public and private art support were too superficial and particularistic in their treatment of the topic, these accounts offered insight into the circumstance of the interview, but were often sensationalistic leading to sparse answers from the foundations in question. I therefore consciously decided that interviews would play a more secondary role as background information, to avoid merely engaging with the question of *why public and private foundations support the arts* in the present, and focus more deliberately on the thoughts presented by the foundations themselves over a longer period of time (discussed shortly).

It was part of the detailed reading of the New Carlsberg Foundation annual reports, I realised that these reports were particularly suitable to understand the organisational self-representation of their purposes and practices. While this representation was also clearly evident in interviews, the representation in written sources was much more carefully and thoughtfully presented. I had, at this point, begun reading the foundation's annual reports, of little interest at first, until I realised that the reports, post-1974, contained detailed and thoughtful accounts of the foundations representation of their practices and purposes. Furthermore they were engaged with the 'present' problems and ideas, of their respective year in a consistent manner. While early reports, from 1902, offered a list of artworks bought or supported (from which the status of artists and artworks were clearly central) and brief financial account, reports after 1974, began including a number of longer written accounts both by board-members and recipients reflecting on the value of a number of carefully selected artworks, donations or decorative projects. The early reports (1902-1973) were unconventional in the sense that it is not customary for art foundations to offer such a public account of its acquisitions and donations (this emulated the larger Carlsberg Foundation's tradition for public accounting).³² The "new convention" of the written reflective accounts was also found in the Danish Art Foundation from 1965 (to which we shall return). I realised that this particular source, offered a valuable insight into the 'legitimization' of the 'foundation', in a way that related to the wider society in an interesting way. I thus began reading more carefully about legitimization, and institutional theory and began to consider the legitimacy and self-representation as the particular themes of the thesis.

Mid-Stage: Data collection, annual reports and analytical approach

Having gone through the process of interviews and data collection in the New Carlsberg Foundation, I subsequently requested access to the Danish Art Foundation and its annual reports. While the preparation phase and approach to the interviews was highly similar, marked by a reading of newspaper articles and academic work, notably Duelund (1995) and Jeppesen's (2002) historical analyses of cultural policy in Denmark, and research of the board-members (CVs, newspaper interviews). I prepared a formal letter requesting access and an interview guide with central questions (key questions translated in appendix 2). However, at this time I had taken a conscious decision to have interviews play a more background role, for the reasons described in the previous section; mainly the desire to capture and give more equal weighting to the organisations legitimation and self-representation over a longer period of time. I therefore prioritized a small number of interviews with the Danish Arts Agency (now the Danish Agency

³² A brief narrative account of the developments based on the reports before 1974 has been included in the appendix (4).

for Culture, since they conduct the daily administration for the foundation) and the Danish Art Foundation's Chairman, Gitte Ørskou, who held the dual position of Chairman for the Committee for Visual Art Project Support and the foundation at large. These interviews offered an insightful knowledge about the more day-to-day workings of the foundation, as well as present practices and purposes, problems and ideas, however they did so with similar problems arising from the format as interviews with the New Carlsberg Foundation. Moreover, the short time-perspective was even more pronounced in the Danish Art Foundation, having its board members replaced every 3-years, such that the interview with Ørskou invariably centred on a very brief time span, which did not in itself capture the place of the committee vis-à-vis deliberations beyond the present or engage in the larger history of the foundation. This was particularly prominent since the foundation had recently undergone a major organisational change, and had, as the Chairman noted, begun "a fresh start" (Ørskou in personal interview, 2015). I therefore decided to disfavour further interview based work, and turned to the annual reports, of the foundation to see how respective committees had seen and argued for their role, and that of the larger foundation's, over time. The annual reports of the Danish Art Foundation, proved richly descriptive of the present and previous boards and committees thoughts on the role of the foundation more generally and the role of the visual art committees (and by extension visual art support), they reflected on public debates but offered their own views, on the ethos of the foundation, and often described their role in conscious opposition to prevailing norms. Considering the high degree of reflection in the annual reports, I decided to make the annual report the central document of analysis, to study the legitimations of the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Art Foundation. This necessitates a more detailed reflection on the annual report, both as a genre convention and its particular format in the two foundations, as well as a detailed description of the analytical strategy involved.

The Annual Report

The annual report was selected as the primary source for analysis, for its highly reflective and ongoing explication of the two foundations purposes and practices, which conveyed the central sources of legitimacy drawn upon in supporting the arts. In the following section, I briefly present the genre, and outlay the formal rules that govern public and private foundations and their reporting practices, before moving to the specificities of the annual reports in question.

The annual report is a complex genre (Ditlevsen, 2010), particularly the foundational annual report as a sub-genre of the wider category, like corporate annual reports, foundational reports, must give a "true and fair view"³³ of the organizations work (Ditlevsen, 2010, p. 167; Elling, 2002; Nobes & Parker, 2010). At the same time the account communicates to a wide audience of different stakeholders (discussed shortly) and seeks to represent itself as positively as possible, given these demands. The foundational annual report has one major difference, to the corporate annual report, that it does not seek to attract investors. By Danish law all public foundations, like the Danish Arts Foundation, are governed by the Danish Public Administration Act (Ministry of Justice, 2014) and the Freedom of Information Act (Justitsministeriet, 2013), in addition the Danish Arts Foundation is governed by the

³³ The Danish expression is "*et retvisende billede*" (Elling, 2002, p. 15).

Law on economic and administrative aspects for recipients of support from the Ministry of Culture³⁴ (*Kulturministeriet*, 2010). Private foundations, on the other hand are governed by the Department of Civil Affairs and must comply with the Law on Private Foundations (*Justitsministeriet*, 2012).

The Danish Public Administration Act requires civil servants to conduct a fair and impartial evaluation i.e. have no private or otherwise compromising interests (§ 3.). In addition, the Freedom of Information Act requires the organisation to journalise documents and offer the public ‘active information’ about its work (Chapter 3, § 17.) requiring the foundation (and other public organisations) to offer access to decisions (Chapter 2 §, 7.). However, the Danish Art Foundation only publishes its positive decisions (projects and artists receiving funding), and there has been a long tradition in the foundation and among artists that one does not make public the negative decisions (projects and artists not receiving funding).³⁵ The thesis does not engage with particular funding decisions since it is the overarching ideas and justifications for the purposes and practices that are investigated, rather than the individual decisions. The ‘Law on economic and administrative aspects for recipients of support from the Ministry of Culture’ requires organisations receiving funding from the Ministry of Culture to file an annual report, which is overseen by the Minister of Culture (*Kulturministeriet*, 2010). While the Minister can set forth guidelines for the accounting procedures and enquire additional information, the Danish Art Foundation disposes sovereignly over its funds under the Law of the Danish Arts Foundation (*Kulturministeriet*, 2013).

Private foundations are subject to minimal oversight and demands on practices. The Law on Private Foundations (*Justitsministeriet*, 2012) requires private foundations to file an annual report using normal Danish accounting standards (Chapter 7, § 22.), but unlike publicly funded foundations, they are not required to make their annual reports public, it is therefore up to private foundations themselves to decide how much information, if any, they wish provide to the public.³⁶ In this context, the New Carlsberg Foundation is rare, following in the tradition of the Carlsberg Foundation, it has published a comprehensive annual report detailing its acquisitions and donations from 1902-today, and from 1974 its reports include detailed narrative accounts, written by both board members and recipients of support, usually highly qualified art historians about the year’s most central acquisitions and donations. This strategy notably underscores the foundations legitimacy as a professional foundation, and it is through these narratives we gain an insight into the meaning ascribed to art support of the New Carlsberg Foundation. Today, the New Carlsberg Foundation’s annual report is published online, going back 5 years, as a section in the larger Carlsberg Foundation’s report, so it is difficult to say precisely who reads the report, however the report seeks to communicate to a variety of public stakeholders (museums, potential applicants, artists, the Ministry of Culture, public art agencies and municipalities, researchers and journalists, other foundations, and any

³⁴ *Lov om økonomiske og administrative forhold for modtagere af driftstilskud fra Kulturministeriet* (*Kulturministeriet*, 2010).

³⁵ This practice is occasionally, but rarely, challenged (Thorsen & Benner, 2011).

³⁶ Since the Registry of Foundations (*Fondsregistret*) was dissolved in 1991, there has been no comprehensive publicly available registration of private foundations in Denmark (*Fundraiseren.dk*, 2014).

interested members of the public at large).³⁷ Potential applicants, such as Museum Directors or Municipalities, read the report, both to see what the foundations has acquired that might be of interest, but also to have knowledge about its more general acquisition and donation profile. Officials at the Ministry of Culture, particularly the Danish Agency for Culture and members of the Danish Art Foundation take note of the acquisition and donation profile of significant art foundations, even as if they do not pursue directly coordinated practices. The status of the New Carlsberg Foundation given in part by its longevity, the high-level of its staffs educations, its acquisitions profile and general significance as an art foundation, also means that other smaller foundations, and members of the art community, look to the foundations acquisitions as a seal of approval and an indicator of the established community making it doubly-influential. Its annual report is interesting because it explains and argues for its legitimacy, given this influence, its concentration of wealth in egalitarian Danish society, its private nature of decision-making and the ever-present potential of public critique.

Similarly to the New Carlsberg Foundation the Danish Arts Foundation's annual reports are published online, and have been since 2008.³⁸ The report speaks to its key stakeholders (prospective applicants/artists, museums, the Ministry of Culture, private foundations, journalists, researchers, and the public at large) and its uses are highly similar to those of the New Carlsberg Foundation's. The annual report consists of an introduction from the board (usually by the Chairman, on behalf of the board), and individual narrative accounts from foundations the different committees, which cover its funding-areas (see Table 1 p. 20). Two of these committees are dedicated specifically to the visual arts, The Committee for Stipends, which distributes work stipends to visual artists and buys artworks (Kunst.dk, 2016a), and The Committee for Project Support, which offers support for the production of artwork, exhibitions, communication and residencies to visual artists (Kunst.dk, 2016b). These committees consist of mainly educated artists and art professionals, which are a significant source of legitimacy for the foundation, have undergone a significant reorganisation as of 2014 (discussed in paper 2). The visual arts committees have tended to produce either a joint statement or an individual statement about their interpretation and ideas about their purpose and practices each year, and it is these statements, along with the general statement of the board, which legitimize the foundation's support of visual art to the public, and have formed the basis for the analysis. This legitimization 'work' is central due to the influence wielded by the Danish Arts foundation in the Danish art world and thus the art available to the wider society, its use of public resources, the relative privacy of its decision-making and, as the New Carlsberg Foundation, the ever-present potential of public critique.

Both foundations display a high level of consciousness in and about their annual reports, and the annual reports in turn communicate a level of reflectivity about their practices and purposes from their daily work to their overarching goals. The annual report in both foundations seeks to communicate these practices and purposes on one hand, and on the other seeks to legitimize or explain the foundation vis-à-vis its wider societal norms. The annual report is frequently disfavoured in organisational analysis, for its formal and ideational aspect, but it is particularly

³⁷ The publication is sent to all stakeholders that the foundation has been involved with in the past year, writers, recipients, artists, museums galleries, everyone who is mentioned in the annual report.

³⁸ The reports available online go back to 1993 (Statens Kunstfond 2016), since 2008 the report has only been sent out digitally via its press releases and to various news-channels, before this, the report was printed and sent to a long list of stakeholders, institutions, former committee-members, libraries etc.

this quality of the reports, which succinctly communicated the foundations legitimation strategies over time, that I found the most relevant, since they communicate and argue for the role of public and private foundations in society, and thereby give us a direct insight into the self ascribed role of public and private art support, and unveils the institutional underpinnings of *why public and private support the arts*. In addition the reports were extremely detailed and offered a richness and on-going reflectivity not offered as well by the interviews and newspaper articles I perused with regard to this question.³⁹ In total, 104 reports from the New Carlsberg Foundation, and 47 reports from the Danish Arts Foundation were carefully read and analysed, a process which I describe following a brief overview of the primary sources used (see Table 4).

Table 4: Overview of Primary Sources

New Carlsberg Foundation	Danish Arts Foundation
104 reports ⁴⁰	47 reports ⁴¹
3191 pages	1445 pages

Analytical Approach

Given the prominent argumentations for the role of public and private foundations in society, their practices and purposes, in the annual reports of the New Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Arts Foundation, I focused on extracting these legitimations from the reports, carefully noting the different themes of legitimation. This involved an iterative process. In the **first stage**, after a careful reading, all legitimating statements were (A) identified, (B) thematised, and (C) theorized and considered vis-à-vis their resonance with extant theory of legitimization and justification, particularly their resonance with the higher order institutions or regimes of justification suggested by Friedland and Alford (1991), Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) and Silber (2011). This process led to 170 pages of detailed analysis in a document with extracted quotes, comments on themes and theoretical resonance (D).

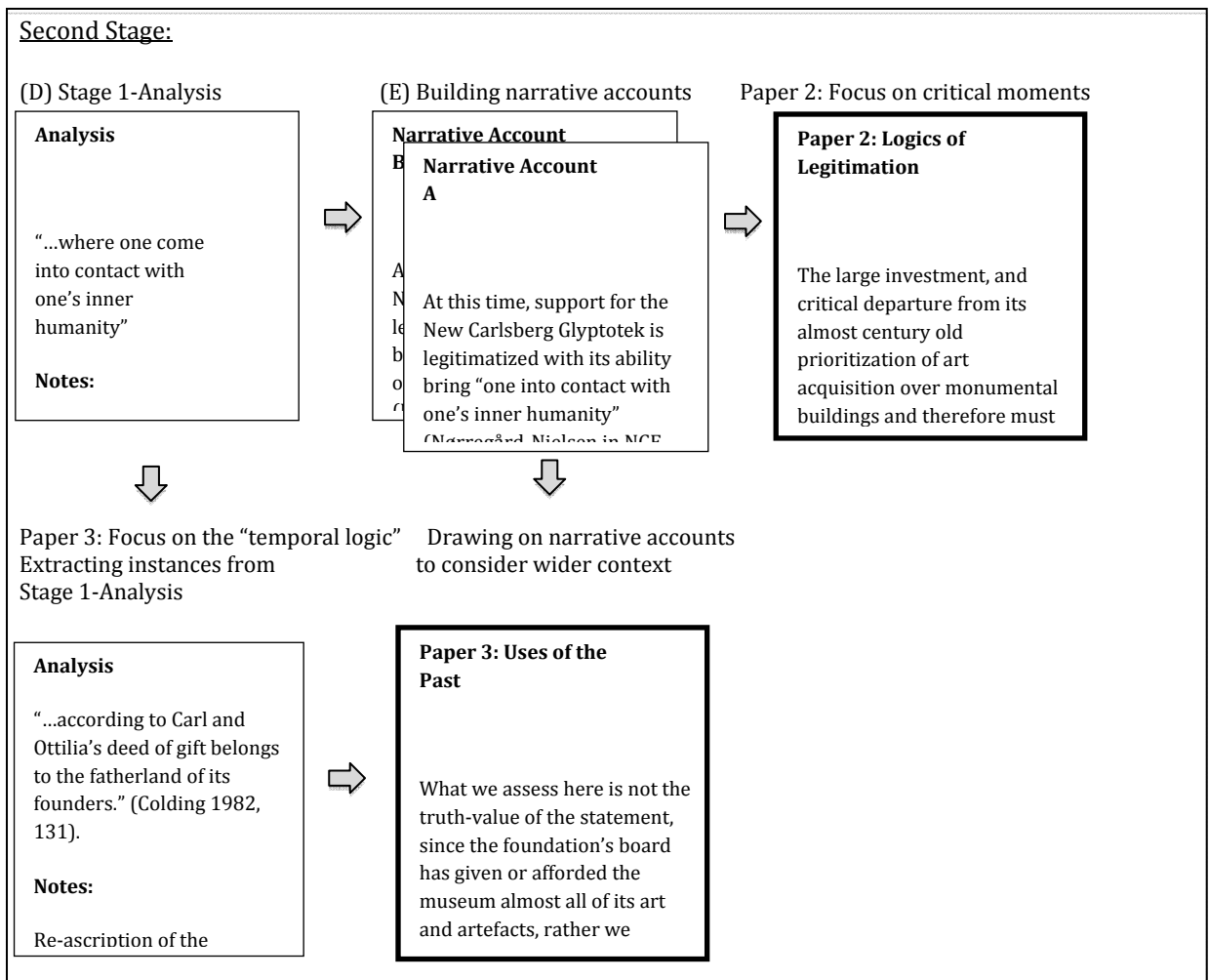
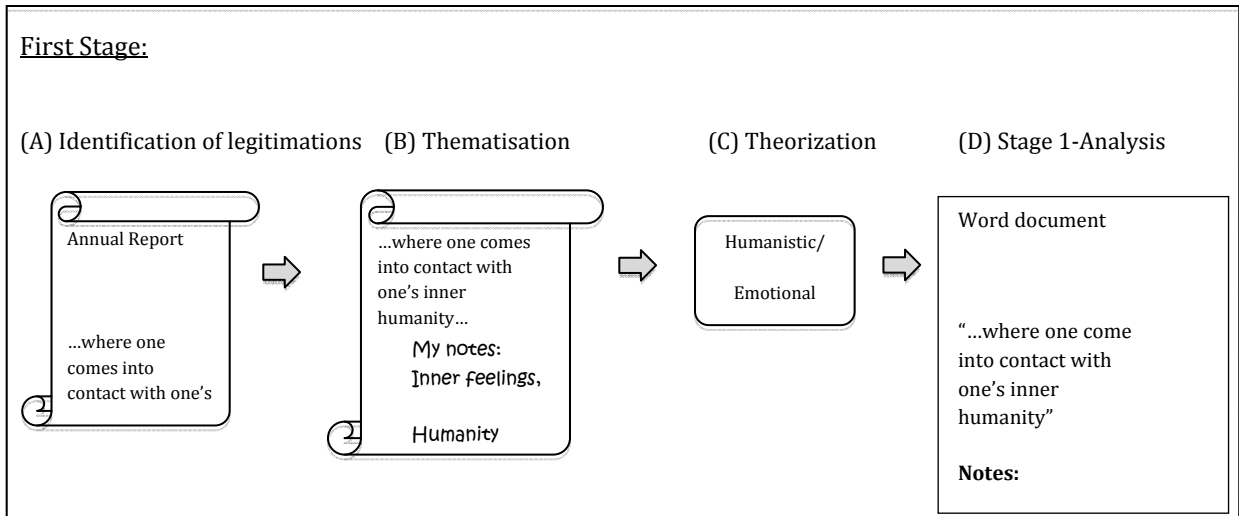
In the **second stage** of this process, two narrative accounts were written, one for each foundation (E). This yielded an overview, not only of the defining logics at different points in time, but also of their place in the histories of the two foundations. It was this material that formed the basis for two of the papers of the thesis. I have sought to illustrate the analytical process leading to paper two and three in Figure 4.

³⁹ This approach follows the following argumentation: “Whether a source is primary or secondary, good or bad, does not depend on the source in and of itself, but on the research questions historians ask” (Mordhorst, 2014, p. 119).

⁴⁰ Missing reports: 1913, 1921, 1922, 1944, 1945, 1953, 1978, 1983, 1985, 1986

⁴¹ Missing reports: 1966, 1968, 1974, 1977

Figure 4: overview of analysis



In Paper 2, I used the theorizations ascribed in the first stage (D) along with the narrative accounts (E), to hone in on the legitimations invoked at the most critical moments over the past 40-50 years in the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Arts Foundation, investigating how, in these key moments, the organisations justified and argued for their role and the legitimacy of art support. This investigation showed the importance of nine overarching logics invoked in the legitimation of art support (industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic, projective, emotional, temporal, see Table 1, Paper 2). Paper 2 illuminated the many ways in which overarching logics were used, and this in turn fostered an interest in focusing on these characteristic uses. Particularly one of these logics, *the temporal*, was conspicuously absent from the extant theorization, and it was therefore of particular interest to unfold the characteristic ways in which this logic was invoked. This therefore became the topic of Paper 3. In paper 3, I extracted the instances of the temporal logic in the New Carlsberg Foundation from the first stage of analysis (D), which together with the narrative account on the foundation allowed me to explore characteristic uses of the temporal logic, which primarily focused on the past. Both paper 2 and 3, can thus be seen as the result of a theoretical and narrative reconstruction, based on the narrative constructions of the two foundations. Importantly, these are my interpretations and they are based on an interpretive, albeit no less rigorous analytical approach. We now move to the findings and further perspectives.

Chapter 4: Findings and Further Perspectives

This thesis contributes to a nuanced understanding of the institutions and legitimations underlying private and public art foundations. It does so conceptually, at three levels of generality; from theorization of the institutional arenas of cultural policy, in which private and public art foundations operate, and the way in which neo-institutional theory maps on to a number of key debates in cultural policy studies (Paper 1), from theorization of the underlying logics of legitimation invoked by two central public and private art foundations at critical points in time (Paper 2) and by theorization of a particular logic, the past, and an investigation of the characteristic ways in which this logic is unfolded in the New Carlsberg Foundation (Paper 3). A brief conceptual overview of this work is offered in Figure 5.

To institutional theory I offer an illustration of the way in which convention theory might fruitfully be used to compliment and extend institutional theory on legitimacy, particularly rhetorical work (Jagd, 2007; Lawrence et al., 2009; Suddaby, 2005; Taupin, 2013) and institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012), by showing the relevance of Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification (2006) in the legitimations pursued in art support. To both convention theorists, and institutional theorists I offer an attentiveness not only to the logics of legitimacy pursued in art support, but also explicate that logics themselves are invoked in characteristic ways, contributing to a more pragmatic micro-theoretical understanding of legitimation. To cultural policy studies, a field highly critical to the rhetoric of powerful organisations and actors with regard to cultural policy (Belfiore, 2009; Evans, 2015), I offer a more nuanced view of the nature of public and private foundations, which draws attention to the reflective way in which two highly influential Danish art foundations argue for their purposes and practices of art support. I also offer an increased attentiveness to the important role played by private foundations in the field of cultural policy, and inversely to the field of philanthropy studies, an increased attentiveness to the important role played by public foundations, this necessarily calls for further work in the cross section between state and civil society transcending conventional distinctions between public and private. Finally, in line with recent work (Larsen, 2014; Lemasson, 2015), I show the value of engaging with recent developments in neo-institutional convention theory, proposing a mutually beneficial dialogue.

To the Danish debate, the thesis shows how two of the most significant art foundations, The Danish Arts Foundation and the New Carlsberg Foundation, draw on wider societal beliefs to legitimate their support for the arts. Specifically, the thesis shows the importance of nine particular logics invoked in support of the arts at critical moments in time; (1) the industrial/professional logic, (2) the market logic, (3) the inspired/artistic, (4) the familial, (5) the logic of fame, (6) the civic, (7) projective/ network (8) emotional/humanistic and (9) temporal logic. The most prominent of these logics in both foundations pertain to, *the professional, artistic, communicative and civic*

value of art support; these are the primary legitimations of art support. Both foundations overwhelmingly saw themselves as a counter-balance to the market; however the market logic, through the idea of ‘investment’ in the arts, has recently become significant in The Danish Arts Foundation. The projective/networked logic of legitimation, concerned with the establishment of new projects, new initiatives, and new collaborations also played a smaller role at critical points in time, with the exception of the most recent critical moments in the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Arts Foundation. The familial logic was of less importance, but played a significant and short-lived role in the founding Charter of the Danish Arts Foundation, but became less prominent as it became an entirely professional foundation, with no formal ties to its founding family. This is not to say the familial is no longer significant, but it is invoked, as my study shows, at the micro-level, when the foundations uses its history to legitimate particular courses of action. In addition the New Carlsberg Foundation frequently invoked emotional/humanistic logics, which were absent from the Danish Arts Foundations legitimations at critical points in time. Finally, the investigation illustrated the importance of *a temporal logic*, not reflected in the extant literature, which has only recently emerged in the Danish Arts Foundation with its re-historicisation following its 2014-reorganisation, but the temporal logic, particularly ‘the past’ has played a significant role in the legitimations of the New Carlsberg Foundation. The prominent role of the temporal logic, in this foundation, indicates that further research might illuminate the significance of this logic in other contexts.

The thesis proposes attentiveness to investigation of the characteristic ways in which the central logics are invoked in practice, moving towards a more pragmatic micro-theoretical understanding of legitimation. This suggestion resonates with a recent call from organisational theorists, particularly those proffering a pragmatic sociological view (Brandl et al., 2014; Leca, Battilana, & Boxenbaum, 2006; Pernkopf-Konhausner, 2014) to attend to the micro-foundations of institutional logics, but also with work in the broader neo-institutional field (Bitektine & Haack, 2015; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Powell & Colyvas 2008; Tost, 2011). Common to these suggestions are that they argue for a micro-view considering either the “mental operations of individuals” (Tost, 2011) seeking to gain legitimacy, or take the “evaluator’s perspective” (Bitektine & Haack, 2015), considering how legitimation is evaluated by recipients. While these directions both appear to be promising areas of research, the thesis suggests that legitimations and logics can fruitfully be studied in terms of their micro-level use, to understand institutional logics and legitimation more deeply. My third paper, moves in this direction, by illustrating the characteristic ways in which a temporal logic, the past, is invoked in The New Carlsberg Foundation. Specifically, it shows how *the past* is used in five characteristic ways in relation to *the charter, the founding family, location* (to create a sense of place), *moment* (to re-define the foundation), as well by the use of *anecdotes and coincidental stories* to legitimate the foundations purposes and practices.

Figure 5: Conceptual overview

Institutional arenas of cultural policy (Paper 1)



Institutional logics of art support (Paper 2)



Uses of the past (Paper 3)



Note: Areas of particular focus in grey. The following institutional logics resonate with the work of Boltanski and Thévenot: Industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic (2006), with the market, family and civic logic also resonating with the work of Friedland and Alford (1991), the projective logic resonating with the work of Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) and the emotional logic with the work of Silber (2011, 2012a).

Further Perspectives

The thesis studies only two foundations embedded in the same national context, for this reason further work might fruitfully investigate what institutional logics resound in the wider field of art support, as they pertain to other art forms and national contexts, this direction of work is particularly relevant in contexts, like the Danish, where the underlying ideas behind art support are poorly understood. England, for example has a similar national system of art funding to the Danish, through Arts Council England, and private trusts and sponsorship play a significant, if not larger role in art support. At the same time scepticism towards both private and public support exists, stemming from concerns about the quality-judgements of officials and the effect of public funding (McPherson, 2015), lack of trust in the third sector (Slawson, 2015) and ethical concerns about private companies seeking to gain public recognition through art (Evans, 2015), in-depth analysis of the historical and contemporary role and logics of specific public and private foundations might help to nuance this picture.

During the thesis work a number of promising topics were encountered, which were not pursued, but are perceived to be fruitful agendas for future work. The thesis' findings support the idea of emotions, suggested by Silber, as a tentative regime of justification (2011, 2012b). In this regard, attending to the different uses of the emotional logic or regime, is considered a particularly interesting agenda for further research. The emotional logic has a long history in rhetorical studies, finding resonance with the Aristotelian idea of pathos, which suggests attentiveness to emotional appeal (Kennedy, 2007). However, it was not only the emotion of the observer that was appealed to, but significantly the *state of mind*, with which key decisions were made that foundations invoked at critical moments. This stream of research resonates with a new, and in this thesis un-investigated, area of convention theory which has begun to consider regimes of engagement (Thévenot, 2002, 2006, 2014). This direction resonates with a small but fascinating stream of literature in neo-institutional theory which argues for attentiveness to the 'inhabited' nature of institutional practices, by living and feeling beings (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), the role of emotions in institutional work (Voronov & Vince, 2012a), maintenance and change (Creed et al., 2014, e.g. study shame), and importantly how logics themselves are engaged (Voronov, De Clercq, & Hinings, 2013).

Furthermore, the thesis focuses directly on the organisational rather than the evaluators perspective in its analysis of legitimation, for this reason future work might fruitfully attend to the way in which trust is established between the foundations' and their evaluators, particularly the direct recipients of art support. This line of enquiry might benefit from Thévenot's recent work on regimes of engagement (Thévenot, 2002, 2006, 2014).

The thesis found the role of the nation, the idea of the 'fatherland', to be a particularly characteristic use of the civil logic. In this regard, it would be interesting to consider, how the foundations engage the 'fatherland' as a micro-logic in arguing for art support. This finding goes into dialogue with work in the related area of nationalism studies, which suggests that the arts are appropriated in the construction of the state (Brincker, 2008, 2014; Hutchinson & Aberbach, 1999). Future work might fruitfully ask whether there is not an equally important process of invoking the fatherland in support of the arts.

Another topic of interest which arose from the early thematic analysis of the two foundations' legitimations, suggested the 'collection' as a micro-logic (see Appendix 3). Although not one that was prominent at critical moments, the logic of 'the collection' seemed to be influential in the everyday acquisition practices, particularly with regards to the donation of works to the Glyptotek, and in the New Carlsberg Foundation in general. This also begs the question, as I tentatively suggest (in paper 1), that the artwork itself may be an important institutional arena, and suggests attentiveness to the meanings (and agency) imbued to the collection. This agenda would profoundly connect the art historical, the institutional and the cultural political. The artworks themselves play a small role in the analysis presented in this thesis, as objects do in institutional theory in general, however future work might fruitfully investigate the relationship between objects and institutions, such as art support. My work only begins to open this agenda; by suggesting that the New Carlsberg Foundation, particularly in its early years, legitimated itself significantly through the acquisition of highly established categories of artwork and the work of renowned artists. Developing this direction further necessitates an art historical approach that considers more deeply the way in which the artwork itself is a significant source of the foundations' legitimation.

Finally, the thesis observed a particularly characteristic use of the logic of fame or renown, and at times also the civic logic, concerning the imperative to communicate and make visible the practices and purposes of the foundation, this was a difficult micro-logic to place, and it has been tentatively suggested to reflect the desire to 'be seen' and 'be known,' or been ascribed to democratic principles of the civic-logic. Both foundations studied, saw themselves as consciously resisting the ever-increasing demands of visibility and communication, but have since the 2000s increasingly appealed to their transparency and communicative practices to legitimate their purpose. Although, Boltanski and Thévenot's regimes of justification are inherently communicative, as justification requires communication, the thesis makes the observation that communication also operates as a micro-logic, a characteristic way in which the civic logic, or the logic of fame, is invoked. This "link between specific instances of communication" and "institutional logics" is only weakly theorised and I suggest, in line with recent work (Ocasio, Lowenstein, & Nigam, 2015), further attentiveness be offered to the way in which communication itself "generates cultural structures" (ibid).

Paper 1: Rationalised Myths of Cultural Policy Analysis

Rationalised Myths of Cultural Policy Analysis: A New Institutional Perspective

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Contemporary cultural policy and its analysis are premised on a variety of rationalized myths. The following paper outlines how key debates within cultural policy map onto key elements of institutional theory and peruses existing engagements with neo-institutional theory and Convention theory pointing to mutually fruitful theoretical agendas that might be developed. The paper shows the potential of adopting and developing a more explicit neo-institutional agenda within cultural policy studies, since this perspective illuminates a number of organisational and sociological mechanisms of policy-making, which are often overlooked. Finally, the paper provides an institutionally informed typology over twelve key arenas of cultural policy and concludes by encouraging cultural policy scholars to take a deeper look at the institutional mechanisms that define and develop these areas to advance the field of cultural policy studies research.

Keywords: cultural policy, neo-institutional theory; rationalised myths; Convention theory; typology

Introduction

There is a small but rising interest within the field of cultural policy analysis, which uses neo-institutional theory to frame investigations in cultural policy (Häyrynen, 2012; Johanson & Rentschler, 2002; Larsen, 2014; Rindzevičiūtė, Svensson, & Tomson, 2015; Stenström, 2008; Strom, 2003). These studies recognize that cultural policy carry in them an inherent, institutional agenda. With few exceptions (Rindzevičiūtė et al., 2015), these engagements do not draw on the most recent theoretical advances and do not deeply engage with the organisational and sociological mechanisms of policy-making, which the following paper argues that neo-institutional theory can help elucidate, allowing cultural policy analysis to reach new territories of analysis. To investigate this, the paper offers a tripartite mapping, first of a number of central questions in cultural policy studies and their institutional underpinnings, second of the extant literature drawing upon neo-institutional and its parallel French convention theory and thirdly a mapping of the institutional arenas of cultural policy-making.

Central questions cultural policy research orient themselves around; the reasons for, division of, and form of, state intervention, often seen in distinction to the market or private philanthropy. The following paper considers these analytical distinctions to reflect highly institutionalised *rationalised myths* meaning that they reflect taken for granted rule-like “classifications built into society as reciprocated typifications or interpretations” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341). Examples of such myths, often presented in the form of dichotomies, are prevalent throughout the literature of cultural policy; ‘culture as the arts or culture as a way of life’, ‘culture as democratic or democratisation of culture’, ‘national vs. international’, ‘heritage vs. contemporary’ (Matarasso & Landry, 1999), high/elite culture and superficial/mass culture, opposition between artistic and commercial value (Garnham 2005: 16). Modern myths have formed around the regenerative and economic potential of creativity (Florida, 2002). In addition, one could add well-established ‘romantic’ myths about the autonomous genial artist and arts as self-realisation, and artists as unconnected to concerns about material and mental well-being (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009). Institutional theory attends precisely to these rationalised myths upon which aforementioned assumptions are predicated, and the process by which established ways of seeing things or ‘rules’ develop, how they become expressed in organisational forms and policies, and how change can be seen as a change in the underlying institutional logics upon which form and policy is premised. This ‘institutional texture of cultural policy’ (Pratt, 2005, p. 38) is often glossed over on the way to other more pressing issues. For example, while scholars such as David Throsby have noted that ‘distinction[s] obscure historical preferences and *a priori* decisions’ (Pratt, 2005, p. 35 see also; Throsby, 2001) the institutional underpinnings of these preferences and set understandings are never unfolded.

The following paper seeks to re-introduce and reinvigorate the analysis of cultural policy, with neo-institutional theory, by pointing to the potential of adopting and developing an explicit neo-institutional agenda, since this perspective sheds light on a number of organisational and sociological mechanisms of policy-making, which are often overlooked.

The paper is structured in four main sections. *In the first section*, a number of practical issues from the cultural policy literature, which map onto key elements of institutional theory, are elucidated. *In the second section*,

a mapping of existing inclusions of institutional theory, and its parallel convention theoretical school, in the cultural policy literature is offered reflecting on how a more explicit engagement with institutional theory might have benefitted the status quo of research. *In the third section* an institutionally informed typology for the study of cultural policy is provided, mapping out the small but growing body of institutional work within cultural policy studies. This conceptual model attends to what is argued to be the most important institutional arenas that conduct and impact cultural policy: (1) government and regional support systems (2) philanthropic organisations (3) corporations (4) museums and galleries (5) artists (6) works of art (7) networks and élites (8) arts education (9) the art market (10) the media (11) the public sphere (12) and the family. Finally, *a fourth section* concludes and discusses the key points of the paper, encouraging cultural policy scholars to take a deeper look at the institutional mechanisms that define and develop these areas to advance the field of cultural policy research.

Key cultural policy issues and their institutional explanations

Two of the most pressing questions within the past decade of cultural policy studies have been: How do we evaluate aesthetic performance using economic measures? And, in turn, how do we justify economic investments that that likely will not produce direct economic benefits? (For key texts see Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Potts & Cunningham, 2008; Pratt, 2005). The rationalised myth underlying these questions is that economic and cultural spheres are fundamentally distinct. Institutional theory, on the other hand, contends that both are socially constructed arenas, and that aesthetic and economic measures are constantly shifting and changing based upon social tastes that reflect “the roles, norms and ideologies of the wider society” (Meyer & Rowan, 1983, p. 84). A key contribution to understand the mechanisms involved in this process was offered by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), who reverse the argument asking why organisations come to acquire similar traits. In this founding neo-institutional work, DiMaggio and Powell argue that convergence is produced by a number of isomorphic pressures (mimetic, normative and coercive) that cause an ‘inexorable push towards homogenization’ (1983, p. 148). Cultural policy scholars interested in the development of economic measures might therefore derive benefit from investigating the role and origins of specific isomorphic pressures in the settlement toward economic value as a ‘common metric’ (Espeland & Stevens, 1998). Attentiveness to isomorphism is also apt for the reason that DiMaggio and Powell consider pressures to convergence greatest in fields characterised by a high degree of uncertainty (1983: 147).

Uncertainties are ubiquitous to cultural policy stemming from a raft of socially constructed challenges, notably ‘the difficult problem of defining and measuring excellence’ (Garnham, 2005, p. 28; see also Selwood, 2000), the difficulty in knowing what form or ‘balance’ of cultural patronage (i.e. state, corporate, philanthropic, individual) will create the most vibrant cultural sphere (see also Matarasso & Landry, 1999; Pratt, 2005),¹ and beyond this, what kind of education, market, infrastructure and public regulation (e.g. media and market) would be most conducive to such goals (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005, p. 6). Institutional theory provides attentiveness to the highly reflexive and co-constitutive nature and role of formal and informal institutions in this regard. The theory contends that the success of formal institutions, such as the organizational form of art support to reach any specific goal will depend on the wider institutions of society, however the strength of contemporary institutional theory lies

in its sensitivity to “the agentic and often creative ways in which organisations inculcate and reflect their institutional environments” (Suddaby, 2010, p. 15). Here, the pioneering work of Paul DiMaggio, who developed the theory of *cultural and institutional entrepreneurship* (DiMaggio, 1982, 1988, 1991), unfolding the mechanisms by which powerful agents are able to manipulate meaning and thereby change or shape the nature of the established or emerging field would seem highly relevant.² However, this work is mentioned only cursorily in a handful of cultural policy scholars (Häyrynen, 2012; see Johanson & Rentschler, 2002; Larsen, 2014 reviewed shortly; Stenström, 2008; Strom, 2003), while only a rare few scholars have engaged more deeply in the underlying institutional mechanisms of cultural policy (e.g. Rindzevičiūtė et al., 2015) and with some of the interesting theoretical agendas that have developed since DiMaggio and Powell’s early work. I see this as a missed opportunity since institutional theory can help illuminate a number of key practical questions cultural policy research seeks to address namely, how ideas and meanings become institutionalised in the cultural policy field, how actors seek to influence cultural policy and how actors strategically draw on different ideals to argue for different measures or excellence.

The institutionalisation of ideas, such as the idea of creative industries (Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Pratt, 2005; Rindzevičiūtė et al., 2015) is for example well explained by the concept of *institutional work* (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). While institutional theorists would view the early proponents and ‘idea-makers’ of the creative industries concept as *institutional entrepreneurs* (DiMaggio, 1988; Powell and DiMaggio 1991), the theory of *institutional work* explains the more everyday effort undertaken by numerous actors and organisations, such as ministries of culture, national, regional and municipal art councils, putting these new ideas into practice, and working towards particular adaptations (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Institutional work therefore also captures how actors seek to influence cultural policy. In this regard I consider the recent stream of literature on the different kinds of institutional work of interest, and draw attention to the concept of ‘justification work’ (Jagd, 2011; Taupin, 2013), which attends precisely to the way in which organisations seek to justify their role or programmes to society by appropriating socially shared moral orders. This fits well with the growing interest within cultural policy research concerning how organisations upkeep and gain legitimacy, which draws on literature from institutional theory’s parallel French convention theoretical school. Briefly, a broad uptake of ideas from the French Convention theoretical school associated with Luc Boltanski, Éve Chiapello and Laurent Thévenot can be observed in cultural policy research.³ Recent work, in particular, has been inspired by Boltanski and Thévenot’s theory of justification, which outlines six central regimes of justification (civic, market, industrial, domestic, inspired and fame) upon which actors draw to justify or criticise actions in democratic societies (2006 [1991]; see e.g. L. Edwards, Klein, Lee, Moss, & Philip, 2014; Larsen, 2014; Lemasson, 2015; Nijzink, van den Hoogen, & Gielen, 2015). Building on this effort, Boltanski and Chiapello’s *New Spirit of Capitalism* offers what can be viewed as a seventh *projective* regime, reflecting the creative, projective nature of modern capitalism, where workers much like the artist must be fully invested, always innovative and ready for transition (2007 [1999]).

The question of how actors and organisations conducting cultural policy strategically draw on different ideals to argue for different measures of excellence, intimately linked to their interests in specific agendas,

and their desire for legitimacy, I argue, is well illuminated not only by Convention theory, but also by the *institutional logics* perspective (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2005). This perspective, was first introduced by Friedland and Alford, who outlined what they perceived to be “The central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West, *capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion*” and connected these to the *potentially contradictory multiple logics* that these offer individuals and organisations “[...who] transform the institutional relations by exploiting these contradictions.”(1991, p. 232 emphases added). However unlike analyses drawing on Boltanski and Thévenot’s convention theoretical framework (L. Edwards et al., 2014, reviewed shortly; e.g. Larsen, 2014; Lemasson, 2015; Nijzink et al., 2015), I point to the advantage of drawing inspiration from the growing body of work taking the institutional logics perspective (see e.g. Thornton et al., 2012, for a collection of viewpoints) since it offers a less rigid framework of analysis, than what has arisen from analyses using Boltanski and Thévenot. Due to the great interest in contradictory political viewpoints and public demands in the field of cultural policy, an argument is presented for engaging more explicitly with the underlying institutional logics since this may potentially be a mutually beneficial endeavour, as cultural policy studies have a strong tradition for investigating settlements of political discourse at various points in time. The field of cultural policy offers rich cases to advance the theory by investigating not only situations of conflicting logics, creative ‘bricolage’ of logics (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013) or constellations (Waldorff et al., 2013), but also the highly processual, institutional and reflexive nature of field and organisational logics in the area of cultural policy.

Cultural policy scholars have a clear conception of the important role language plays in the conduction and understanding of cultural policy. A frequent problematic arising in this area is how to analyse what actors say about cultural policy, and at a higher level, how to understand shifting discourse. Caust (2003) for example, considers the uptake of “the language of industry” inherent in the creative industries discourse, noting the fundamental challenge of understanding the impact of language on arts practice. In a more provocative framing, Belfiore notes the challenges of dealing with the *bullshit* of cultural policy rhetoric that displays an ‘indifference to how things really are’ (Belfiore, 2009, p. 343; see also Frankfurt, 2005, p. 34). Adopting an institution-theoretical lens to this challenge is beneficial since it shifts focus onto how language legitimates cultural policy and why particularly in the political sphere such ‘decoupling’ of language and actualities occur (see e.g. Westphal & Zajac, 2001). We might therefore begin to better understand the particular role of language, and some of the more fundamental challenges of reconciling conflicting orders of worth in the area of cultural policy by taking this approach.

In this regard there is a particularly interesting, but at this point understudied issue of *institutional or ritualized language* in cultural policy and the underutilized benefit of using *metaphors* on an operational level to analyse policy, which is highly developed in institutional work. The metaphor of translation, for example, allows for attentiveness specifically to the travel of concepts and ideas, often by means of stories (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996), and can be used to study the process of transferral and its effect on original concepts or ideas vis-à-vis reinterpreted localised adaptations and institutions. This branch of institutional theory has only recently been recognized in the cultural policy literature, initially by Alasuutari (2011). Although Alasuutari makes only a brief

mention of translation (2011:107), the concept is noted as central to understand how in the face of globalising forces nations still retain a sense of individuality (ibid). Recently, a more elaborated use of this approach is employed by Rindzevičiūtė, Svensson and Tomson (2015), who offer a rich description of the adoption of the idea of creative industries in Lithuania, in an exemplary study of the international transfer of ideas. To push forward the literature in institutional theory connecting language, particularly rhetorical strategies to institutional logics might be of interest (Suddaby, 2005, pp. 35–36). There is a particular opportunity for cultural policy scholars to use their case studies to unfold not only the role of rhetoric in “maintain[ing] and support[ing] existing logics and how rhetoric is deployed to sustain categorical distinctions” (Brown et al., 2012, p. 315), but also how communication generates and changes logics within cultural policy (ibid) and generates “cultural structures” (Ocasio et al., 2015).

In the following section existing inclusions of institutional theory, and convention theory, in the cultural policy literature are considered, reflecting on how a more explicit engagement with institutional theory might benefit the status quo.

Existing engagement with institutional theory

Institutional theory has been discretely seeping into the literature of cultural policy; however the theory has mainly been invoked in the background or introduction to situate largely empirical papers, for this reason the theory has gone largely unnoticed. This oversight appears to be a missed opportunity, and the following provides a brief review of the theories’ current inclusion in the extant cultural policy literature and points to fruitful areas to advance the theoretical status quo.

In an early inclusion, Johanson and Rentschler (2002), refer briefly to Powell and DiMaggio’s theory of isomorphism (1983) and DiMaggio’s study of the construction of a professional museums sector in the US (1991), alongside Harrison’s idea of superlative leadership (Harrison, 1994, p. 163) and resource dependency theory (Bielefeld, 1992). Based on their findings, Johanson and Rentschler introduce an ideal typical model of the defining ideas that leadership attended to in 1972 and 2002 in the Australian Council for the Arts (2002). Another early inclusion, by Strom (2003), uses a case study of four American cities to show how cultural policy is instrumentalised as a tool for development. The paper has a strong underlying institutional theme, since Strom suggests the adoption of cultural policy as development policy is part of a greater change shaped by “socio-economic conditions” and “prevailing patterns of leadership”, and that it is “likely that similar patterns would be found in other US cities” (2003: 248). As a theoretical backdrop, Strom mentions DiMaggio’s (1982) study on the institutionalisation of high culture in 19th century Boston. Strom concludes that “influential leaders mobilised people and resources to build performing art centres, in part to address needs or arts organizations and, in part, to address central city planning and development needs” (2003:261). While richly descriptive, this study does not engage theoretically in its underlying institutional agenda i.e. the sociological mechanisms it purports to analyse. What Strom shares with Johanson and Rentschler’s early inclusion is an emphasis on leadership and the practical dimensions of institutional change, without fundamentally addressing the deeper nature and role of institutions in cultural policy or unfolding the potential of engagement with institutional theory.

A more explicit adoption of neo-institutional theory is taken by Stenstöm (2007), who uses the ‘classics’ of neo-institutional theory (and institutional art theory Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 2010a, 2010b; Dickie, 2001; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Scott, 2008) to position her account of cultural policy change in Sweden. Stenstöm draws on Sjöstrand (1997) to emphasize not only the dominance of particular institutions in specific fields, but the existence of multiple rationalities that explain actions. Stenstöm then goes on to present business literature both lauding and criticizing the ‘closer cooperation between culture and commerce’ and in passing, mentions Boltanski and Chiapello’s *New Spirit of Capitalism* (2007[1996]). Drawing on Boltanski and Chiapello, Stenström emphasizes that these trends have been viewed both as subduing the possibility for ‘artists to remain critical’ (Stenström, 2008, p. 28) and in contrast as valuing the critical potential of the artist (Stallabross, 2004), to which she notes:

“What we are witnessing is therefore not an easily interpreted development. Generally there seems to be a belief that there is a mixing of different rationalities, and a loosening up of old institutions, at the same time as there might be a resistance to change, due to old and strong institutions.” (Stenström, 2008, p. 28)

With this interest, it is curious, that Stenström does not engage with the underlying work on regimes of justification, undertaken by Boltanski and Thévenot (1999[1991]), or take up Friedland and Alford’s similar neo-institutional invitation to engage with potentially conflicting institutional logics (1991), which arguably would advance Stenström’s theoretical agenda. What Stenström offers instead, is to consider “[w]hether this [mixing of different rationalities and loosening up of old institutions] is the case when one looks at Swedish cultural policy... both on a rhetorical and structural level” (2008). A point of consideration, argued by this paper, is that the rhetorical and the structural are intimately connected in the rise, fall and maintenance of institutional orders, therefore the literature of cultural policy would be enriched by drawing upon rhetorical approaches to institutional theory.

Stenström’s empirical line of attack, emphasizing the growth of ‘arts as business’ and ‘artists as entrepreneurs’ and the imperative for Swedish arts organisations (encouraged by the state) to seek funding from private donations and foundations, concludes:

“On one hand, a change seems to be taking place after the peak of the welfare era. The easiest would be to call it a commercial turn, evident for example in the view of arts as business and artists as artists as entrepreneurs, not to mention sponsoring as something that creates legitimacy. On the other hand some areas are left out, particularly private donations and foundations. And sponsoring is still not encouraged except on a rhetorical level. [...] From a theoretical point of view, the development of course is interesting and seems to support an institutional perspective.” (Stenström, 2008, p. 34)

It is this overlooked invitation to pursue an institutional perspective this paper hopes to foster. The most recent mentions of institutional theory include an extraordinarily brief mention by Häyrynen, who refers to DiMaggio and Powell’s theory of isomorphism, to explain why ‘policy sectors [in small nations, such as Finland] would be

dedicated to support the primary aims of the state and prepared to lower their own autonomy accordingly” (2013). As well as, Larsen’s more elaborate but still greatly underexplored use of institutional theory referring solely to the ‘classics’⁴ (2014: 458), which he uses primarily to situate his study of the Norwegian National Opera and Ballet and Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, and as a gate-way to introduce Boltanski and Thévenot’s framework on justification (the uptake of which, is discussed shortly). Larsen uses the concept of ‘legitimation work’, which he defines as “a social process [being] in motion for as long as the activity, organisation or institution is perceived as relevant” (2014: 459), what is curious however is that he does not mention any of the work developed by institutional theorists specifically on the concept of ‘institutional work’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) which specifically attends to this process, or the concept of ‘justification work’ developed by Jagd (2011) and Taupin (2013), which connects the theory of Boltanski and Thévenot to the concept of institutional work (Jagd 2011).

Most recently, Rindzevičiūtė, Svensson and Tomson (2015), show how attentiveness to translation processes can be used to understand the importation of the idea of ‘creative industries’ using the case of Lithuania. In a rare and promising example, the authors combine an established neo-institutional concept, that of the *institutional entrepreneur* (DiMaggio, 1988) with the metaphor of translation (Czarniawska & Sevón, 1996) and the role of networks (Lindberg, 2014; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008).

With one notable exception (Rindzevičiūtė et al., 2015), it is argued that by taking up mainly the classics of institutional theory, potentially invigorating recent discussions are left out, or emerge with a regrettable delay in the field of cultural policy, keeping the field from developing, participating in, and moving forward, the most recent theoretical discussions. For example, DiMaggio’s call to consider both implicit and explicit aspects of cultural policy (1983) was not explored as a valuable distinction, until Ahearne’s article in (2009). Due to its great degree of similarity with institutional theory, the uptake of Convention theory in the field of cultural policy will be discussed shortly, pointing to research-areas which might derive benefit from engaging more directly with key neo-institutional work.

Convention Theory, particularly the work associated with Boltanski and Thévenot (2006[1991]), and Eve Chiapello (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007[1996]), has seen a more direct, although relatively recent, uptake in the cultural policy literature, where this paper primarily discusses the importation of Boltanski and Thévenot’s work (L. Edwards et al., 2014; Larsen, 2014; Lemasson, 2015; Nijzink et al., 2015) due to its preoccupation with similar conceptual categories as institutional theory.

In an early inclusion, Larsen, emphasizing the role of conscious *legitimation work*, uses Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) to support his analysis of justifications pursued by the Norwegian National Opera and Ballet and Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, particularly with regard to “finding the right balance between reaching and representing the core audience and the broad audience” (Larsen, 2014, p. 460). Larsen however, does not specifically engage in developing Boltanski and Thévenot’s theory, using it rather to frame his interest in looking at legitimation.

In a thematically related paper, concerning the legitimacy of cultural policy, Lemasson undertakes an elaborate study of three central policy statements and the debate surrounding their publication in the French-Canadian province Quebec (2015). Lemasson argues for the ‘heuristic value’ of the framework developed by

Boltanski and Thévenot in capturing both the “multiple logics that cultural policies seeks to reconcile and [...] the multiple contradictions they contain that make them vulnerable to different kind[s] of criticisms, rendering legitimation difficult” (2015: 15). A particular strength of Lemasson’s illustration is that it emphasizes both the uneasy compromises and change of justifications as viewed through the lens of three specific points of time. It is curious however, why Lemasson does not connect to some of the neo-institutional literature, when favouring the neo-institutional concepts of *legitimacy over justification, logics over orders of worth*, and contemplate why these terms come to be favoured in his operationalization.

Another recent paper, by Nijzink, van den Hoogen and Gielen (2015) applies Boltanski and Thévenot’s framework, including Boltanski and Chiapello’s projective regime (2006), to quantitatively analyse the rationales of art and creative organisations and policymakers based on an extensive online survey, policy documents and interviews undertaken in three municipalities in the Netherlands. Their study shows interesting organisational and regional differences, owing greatly to the particular combination of the creative sector in each municipality (Nijzink et al., 2015). The direct way in which the framework is imported and used to structure the analysis means, however, that the scholars forgo the opportunity seriously consider alternative regimes, or more critically engage with the framework itself.

In the area of digital copyright, Edwards *et al.* study the policy debates in an area under intense pressure due to the rapidly changing media landscape and constantly developing technologies that allow users to create cheap and easy reproductions (2014). To investigate how digital copyright policy is “justified and critiqued” Edwards *et al.* (2014), use the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot alongside Fairclough’s discourse theory (2003, 2004). They particularly discuss the interesting tension between economic interests that must still be justified, and what they see as ‘crude idealism’ (L. Edwards et al., 2014, p. 62) that naively favours language above other forces in situations. A strength of the investigation undertaken by Edwards *et al.*, is that they recognise the difficulty that public debates by their very nature have in presenting a rigorous analysis of an issue, and therefore of reaching *fully* legitimate settlements (although they are optimistic for the potential of debate to generate more legitimate policies 2014, pp. 72–73). The article shows great promise in engaging seriously both with the important role language and power structures, without subordinating one to the other; this may be an interesting stream of research beginning to mend, what Oliver Bennett has memorably called *the torn halves of cultural policy research* (2004).

There are several avenues by which cultural policy scholars might fruitfully push forward the theory of Boltanski and Thévenot, particularly with regard to considering the social and re-construction of these regimes of justification, as fundamentally cultural constructions with specific political intent. Although Boltanski and Thévenot recognise the cultural construction of the different ideals or orders of worth, they construct them from canonical texts⁵, and view them as stable and unreflexive. However the present paper argues for cultural policy scholars to investigate precisely the way in which the key institutional fields subsumed under the discipline (outlined in Table 1), reinterpret and renegotiate the ‘ideals’ to which they subscribe, and how influential artists, foundations, museums and market actors (to name a few) actively work to define what art is, what a foundation does, what a museum is etc. and what ideal relations these institutional arenas should have. Furthermore, the

potential of cultural policy studies to investigate elements “below the threshold of report” (Boltanski, 2012 [1990]) such as emotions (Silber, 2011) and desires for authenticity and the role they play in upholding and changing institutions of cultural policy is put forward.

The institutional arenas of cultural policy

Cultural policy scholars have concerned themselves particularly with the institutional set-up of the state government support for the arts (Cummings & Katz, 1987; Gray, 2000; e.g. Redcliffe-Maud, 1976). Increasingly however, awareness has grown emphasising the institutional set-up and role of other significant arenas of cultural policy, such as philanthropic organisations (Upchurch, 2007), corporations (Ivey, 2008), museums (DiMaggio, 1991), artists (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009), artworks (Ahearne, 2015), networks and élites (Upchurch, 2007), arts education (DiMaggio, 1991; Efland, 1990), the art market (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010), the media (L. Edwards et al., 2014), the public sphere (Duelund, 2008) and the family (Flisbäck & Lindström, 2013). Although these are clearly not exhaustive and many studies cut across these categories (Flisbäck & Lindström, 2013; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Upchurch, 2007), it is argued that these institutional arenas both individually and collectively make up the most significant institutional arenas of cultural policy formation, since they both “work to prescribe or shape cultural attitudes and habits over given territories” (Ahearne, 2009; see also Nye, 2004) and, significantly, reflect and constitute “the rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society” (Meyer & Rowan, 1983, p. 84).

The following section seeks to give an overview over some of the most significant institutional arenas of cultural policy. While some of these arenas are particularly well-researched areas of cultural policy, such as the role of the state, others have despite their significant influence over cultural policy, and strong presence within other fields of research, resisted being comprehensively included in a framework of cultural policy. This may in part be due to their established status as fields in their own right (such as museums in museology) as somewhat autonomous literatures. In part, it may also be because cultural policy theorists have long resisted efforts to locate a middle ground, between cultural policy as a “way of life” and cultural policy as a discipline studying only those substantive areas that explicitly claim to govern culture (Bennett 2004). This distinction has been softening with the growing attention to intermediary institutional orders (discussed shortly), but also with the renewed attentiveness to ‘implicit’ and ‘explicit’ cultural policy (Ahearne, 2009; see also DiMaggio, 1983)⁶. Although an overlay between some of the intermediary institutional arenas of cultural outlined and the central institutions and orders charted by Friedland and Alford (1991), Boltanski and Thévenot (2006[1991]) is acknowledged, it is emphasized that the model proposed is not built on theory, rather these arenas are grounded in the small but growing cultural policy literature that attends precisely to the institutions of these spheres and draw attention to the advantage of building on, and developing, a more explicit institutional analysis in these areas. Importantly, the purpose is not to promote these arenas on par with Friedland and Alford’s *central institutions* or Boltanski and Thévenot’s *regimes or orders of worth* at higher levels of generality, since the object here is to describe the institutional arenas of *cultural policy* rather than those of Western society in general. It is however conceded that this model reflects a highly westernized view of the key arenas, and studies of less democratic or less economically developed nations might point to different key arenas or cultural policy formation, indeed such efforts would be highly valuable to investigate not

only the differences of institutional arenas within the western world but on a global scale. These arenas have been outlined below, noting examples of institutional work in each arena; in some cases this work simply draws attention to the institutional mechanisms, while other examples directly make use of neo-institutional theory.

Table 1: Institutional arenas of cultural policy

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
State	Philanthropic organisations	Corporations	Museums and galleries	The artists	Works of art	Networks/ élites	Arts education	Art market	Media	The public sphere	The Family
Hilman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989	Upchurch 2007	Ivey 2008	DiMaggio 1991	Banks and Hesmondhalgh 2009	Ahearne 2015	Upchurch 2007, see also DiMaggio 1982	Efland 1990, see also DiMaggio 1991	Khairi & Wadhvani 2010	Edwards <i>et al.</i> 2015	Duelund 2008	Bourdieu 1996, Flisbäck and Lindström 2013

The 12 arenas

(1) *The state*, as noted by virtually all cultural policy observers since early foundational work the institutional role and form of the state (see e.g. Chartrand & McCaughey, 1989) and its subsidiary regional and municipal organisations play a key role in defining cultural policy and supporting the arts. The particular form and priorities of state support are not only highly institutionalised, but the institutional form of the state is constantly acted upon. The uptake of creative industries policies during the 1990s e.g. is a key example of how categories which were previously reified by policy as distinct became amalgamated strategically by states during the 1990s and onwards. States also form an immensely powerful arena of cultural policy through many implicit policy areas affected by framework conditions.

(2) *Foundations and philanthropic organisations* precede the role of the state in most Western countries. Philanthropists have played a key role in supporting the arts, with a rare few being institutional entrepreneurs (Upchurch, 2007) defining the appropriate ways of supporting the arts for future generations. By their choices of what to support they collectively make up a key arena of cultural policy. Foundations, philanthropic organisations and élite individuals (introduced shortly) play an important role, often parallel to the market, large corporations and the state in dictating the financial conditions for the arts, and reflect an ongoing effort to define what is and what is not appropriate to support.

(3) *Corporations* have become increasingly important conductors of cultural policy since they provide the conditions for arts that can be commercialised, unlike the art market, which emphasizes the public demand, corporations often form the selective layer ‘in between’ the artists and the market. As investigated by Ivey (2008) corporations conduct cultural policy notably by choices that affect public access to cultural heritage.

Other ways in which corporations conduct cultural policy is through their immense cultural influence over working life, the aesthetic of cities and products we consume, and their marketing (aimed at creating new markets and consumers).

(4) *Display venues*, form a powerful and highly institutionalised sphere of the arts as noted by key institutional art theorists (Becker, 1982; Danto, 1964, 1983; Dickie, 2001) . Most art forms thus have an ‘ideal’ venue of display, museums and galleries form this venue for the visual arts, concert halls do for music, the theatre does for drama etc. The venue of display and its organisation forms a key arena for institutionalising the values of the art form and while e.g. museums and galleries are also able, and indeed are expected, to creatively bring forward new meanings; they do so within highly institutionalised constraints as DiMaggio and Powell investigate in early neo-institutional work (1983).

(5) *The artist*, only rarely appearing in the literature on cultural policy the artist (Banks & Hesmondhalgh, 2009), is a key (although not independent producer of artworks), the artist draws and must manipulate a variety of institutions in order to be recognized as an artist. As a key producer of culture, the conditions, and choices, of the artist, and their public reception, become a defining feature of cultural policy.

(6) *The artwork*, is most tentatively put forward since its agency is not well established. Rarely appearing in the mainstream of cultural policy literature (for a notable exception see e.g. Ahearne, 2015), works of art are seen as a central arena to investigate within cultural policy i.e. how do artworks conform, convey, confront and develop as an institution in their own right and vis a vis other central institutions. This agenda has been strongly explored in the visual arts, almost in parallel, by art historians (see e.g. Gombrich, 2007 [1950]), institutional art theorists (Becker, 1982; Danto, 1983; Dickie, 2001) and by political sociologists studying the appropriation and subjugation of art for political purposes (see e.g. Brincker, 2014).

(7) *Networks/élites*, although each individual arena comprises its own networks and élites, that may collectively seek to conduct, proffer or work against particular forms of cultural policy, I argue that élite players and networks across arenas may constitute an important arena of cultural policy in their own right. These élite actors, may be connected to powerful organisations, they may be influential artists, that are able to manipulate the ‘rules’ of cultural policy and appear more unconstrained by their individual arenas of cultural policy. See, for example, the work of Upchurch (2007) on the formation of the Canadian arts council, and the early work of DiMaggio (DiMaggio, 1982, 1988) on cultural and institutional entrepreneurship in Boston.

(8) *Arts education*, with the increasing professionalization of cultural production, the form(s) of institutionalised cultural education are epitomized by, but not exclusive to, *the academy*, *the conservatory* and *the university*. In line with institutional theory both the formal and informal rules and rationalised myths governing the specific and cultural education of artists and workers within the other key arenas (state, foundations, museums etc.) as well as the cultural education received by the citizenry at large through upbringing, peers and the formal education system from early childhood are considered relevant. The work of Efland (1990) seeking to expose the underlying

intellectual norms and societal structures of cultural education, and their historical development provides a good example, as well as DiMaggio's (1991, pp. 272–273) study which specifically takes note of “the expansion of higher education in the fine arts” as a key factor ‘facilitating’ the rise of professionalism in the U.S. cultural field.

(9) *The art market* is comprised of the market actors; buyers, sellers and brokers (such as auction houses), who intertwined with museums, galleries and peers and reviewers, come to place value on artistic production in a specific market, however these markets themselves are highly institutional and often reflect the conscious (institutional) work of actors to constitute new market categories. In a key neo-institutional study, Khaire & Wadhvani (2010), for example, detail the how the category of modern Indian art was institutionalized by specific market actors, with an interest in profiting from the creation of this new market category.

(10) *The media* and press is a central sphere of cultural policy, both as a governing and governed field. This is for example captured by the idea of *mediatization*, a concept that covers the profound structuring effect of media in society (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). Although frequently amalgamated with the public sphere, more bureaucratically organised forms (public/private broadcasters and media houses, both print and digital) that ‘mediate’ views in the public sphere, are distinguished from the public sphere itself. Both its governance and forms of media production form a highly institutionalised and a constantly changing arena of cultural policy as recent work by Edwards *et al.* (2014) has drawn attention to in the area of digital and copyright policy.

(11) *The public sphere*, although highly interconnected with the media (as a platform for public voices) and more auto-technological platforms (e.g. online networks, personal blogs), the public sphere is nonetheless also a venue of living bodies whose norms and values form a distinct and key pillar of cultural policy. Cultural policy is both the cultural governance of the public sphere and the public spheres governance of cultural policy. Audiences and public receptions of an artwork are seen as part of this category, and therefore also highly interconnected with the form of art education offered to different groups in society. Key work beginning to outline the institutional mechanisms of the public sphere has been undertaken by Duelund (2008), based on a larger study of cultural policy in the Nordic countries (Duelund, 2003).

(12) *The Family*, the family forms a central locus of cultural reification (Bourdieu, 1996), the way families are constituted, their values and ways of life as an institutional arena of cultural policy, but also qua their choices of cultural consumption and support. This includes, the understudied role of their more ‘everyday’ decisions about cultural choices for their children, young adults and family-members that wish to pursue the arts (see Flisbäck & Lindström, 2013 for a notable exception) and the somewhat closer scrutinised role of élite families in shaping and reproducing institutions of cultural policy (see e.g. Ostrower, 1995b; Parker, 2003). Transcending a number of different institutional arenas, élite families influence cultural policy through high level jobs in the public and private sector, as board members in philanthropic foundations and museums, as donors, through personal and professional networks, though consumption patterns and public appearance. Institutional theory is well suited to unfold the underlying mechanisms of these processes and to attend to the institutional conflicts inherent in this transcension.

It is argued that viewing these arenas in unison resonates both with the more substantive view of cultural policy oriented towards artistic production and with the distinctly governmental view of cultural policy (Lewis & Miller, 2002; T. Miller & Yúdice, 2002), which reaches far beyond activities of the state, and profoundly structures our cultural experiences in everyday life.

Contributions and fruitful agendas

In this paper I have outlined key ways in which cultural policy issues map on to institutional theory. In doing this, I have emphasized the socially constructed choices that are reflected in empirical and theoretical conceptions about cultural policy and pointed to the institutional mechanisms that capture and theorize these processes. Specifically, the paper points to the advantage of engaging with theories and debates concerning isomorphism (how organisations acquire similar traits), cultural and institutional entrepreneurship and work (how actors instantiate new meanings and practices), institutional logics (the central logics actors draw upon and, as reflectively engage with) when working toward particular cultural adaptations, as well as the role of language and justification in cultural policy.

The review of existing usage of neo-institutional and its parallel convention theory suggests that a more direct engagement with the theory would benefit the field of cultural policy and the development of institutional theory, creating (once again) a more culturally informed institutional theory and a more institutionally informed cultural policy analysis. Cultural policy offers an incredibly rich and empirically well examined field of policy-making, and institutional theory offers a rich theorization of organisational and sociological mechanisms underlying policy-making, addressing their intersection promises to move forward the literature of both schools. The typology covering what are perceived to be twelve most significant institutional arenas of cultural policy formation is meant as a framework for discussion and an invitation to a greater consideration of the institutional mechanisms at play in generating and developing these arenas both individually and vis-à-vis one another. Further work might fruitfully explore the relationship between certain arenas, and the institutional logics and regimes of justification invoked in their re-organisation. Moreover, cultural policy theorists might illuminate the uses and limitations of well-established logics in attending to the mechanisms of cultural policy formation.

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Notes

1. Matarasso & Landry offer an interesting overview of ‘21 strategic dilemmas’ in cultural policy; these are also reproduced in Pratt (2006: 36).
2. DiMaggio’s work reflected concerns that institutional theory overstated the power of institutional environments and therefore faced challenges in accounting for agents and change.
3. Boltanski and Thévenot move forward the hard structuralism of Bourdieu in favour of a freer conception of agents in *On Justification* (2006 [1991]).
4. Meyer and Rowan 1977, Zucker 1977, DiMaggio and Powell 1991, Meyer and Scott 1983, Tolbert and Zucker 1983 Scott 1995, Greenwood *et al.* 2008.
5. Drawing on Rousseau (civic), Smith (market), Saint-Simon (industrial) Bossuet (domestic), St. Augustine (inspired), and Hobbes (fame) to outline the ideals of their respective regimes of justification
6. A curious note is made of the early intersection of cultural policy and institutional theory in the United States, embodied by the work of Paul DiMaggio (see for example 1982, 1983a/b and 1991), suggesting another set of ‘torn halves’ to borrow Oliver Bennet’s metaphor, namely the somewhat separate developments of cultural policy studies in initially North America (where cultural policy scholars such as Paul DiMaggio became key institutional theorists, contributing mainly to American sociology and management journals) and Europe (through the then European Journal of Cultural Policy).

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Paper 2: Logics of Legitimation in Finance for the Arts

LOGICS OF LEGITIMATION IN FINANCE FOR THE ARTS: A TALE OF TWO FOUNDATIONS AT CRITICAL POINTS IN TIME

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Reflections on Experience

Abstract

The following paper investigates the underlying reasons, the logics of legitimation, for why two highly influential foundations, a public and private, finance the arts by analysing their justifications at critical points in time. The paper contributes to a larger discussion within management and neo-institutional theory, which seeks to engage with organisational action in terms of its institutional and justificatory imperative, by showing how two key organisations supporting the arts, reflect and reflect upon wider societal institutions, and their practices and purpose, by drawing upon and reconfiguring their appeal to higher institutional orders at critical moments. The paper shows the significance of nine particular logics of legitimation underlying art support; the industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic, projective, emotional and temporal. The paper argues for an increased sensitivity to temporal and emotional logics, which are not well reflected in the extant literature. Finally, the paper offers a heuristic model to understand organisational reflection as a careful consideration of organisational practice and purpose, the wider societal institutions, institutional logics, and the nature of the critical moment, which competent organisations attend to.

Introduction

Why do public and private foundations support the visual arts? The short answer to this is of course because they must, it is written in their respective law or charter. The longer answer, which concerns us here, seeks to engage with the underlying reasons, the logics of legitimation for why these organisations finance the visual arts and their justifications at critical points in time. The paper shows the significance of nine particular logics of legitimation underlying art support; the industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic, projective, emotional and temporal, of which the most central are the professional (industrial), artistic (inspired) and civic logics. The paper contributes to a larger discussion within management and neo-institutional theory, which seeks to reflect on organisational action in terms of its institutional and justificatory imperative, by showing how two key organisations supporting the arts, reflect upon their practices and purpose by drawing upon and engaging higher institutional orders at critical moments. Based on the analysis, the paper argues for an increased sensitivity to temporal and emotional logics, which are not well reflected in the extant literature on institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) and regimes of justification (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007; Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Silber, 2011).

The paper begins with a brief theoretical overview, followed by a description of its analytical strategy and a longer analysis organised around a number of critical moments, where the organisations are affronted by critique, must affront a particular organisational challenge, or undertake a significant prioritization or change relating to the core of the organisations' practice or purpose, creating a particularly strong imperative for the organisations to legitimate themselves. Finally, the findings are discussed, suggesting a heuristic model that attends to the "quadruple reflection" upon (wider societal institutions, institutional logics, organisational practice and purpose, and moments of critique), which competent organisational actors undertake, followed by a brief outline of the papers main contributions and specific suggestions as to directions for further research.

Theoretical context

Public and private support for art is a highly institutionalised feature of western civilization, from Early Modern Italy (Parker, 2003) to contemporary western society, one that has seen significant academic interest (Belfiore, 2002; Cummings & Katz, 1987; DiMaggio, 1991; Duelund, 2008; Ivey, 2008; Lemasson, 2015; Ostrower, 1995b; Porter & Kramer, 2002; Rey-Garcia & Puig-Raposo, 2013). Despite the high degree of institutionalisation in the particular context of Denmark, from which the two case study foundations hail, the use of resources on art must be legitimated, in the case of the Danish Art Foundation, because public resources are being spent on it and because the foundation becomes central to the 'ecosystem' of Danish cultural life, and in the case of the New Carlsberg Foundation because of concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a private foundation in the highly egalitarian Danish society, must be legitimated vis-à-vis its influence on said cultural life. This context calls for an institution theoretical view, attentive to the "rules, norms and ideologies of the wider society" (Meyer & Rowan, 1983), i.e. the central institutions and the way in which support is legitimated vis-à-vis these institutions. Legitimation, the on-going process of asserting legitimacy, is therefore a key area of interest in this paper and to

scholars of management and institutional theory (Boxenbaum, 2008; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011; Suchman, 1995; Suddaby, 2005). Early contributions to this agenda have been offered by both institutional and convention theorists despite their different academic foundations (Diaz-Bone, 2014), and recent research has argued for the potentiality and suitability of convention theory in offering complementarity and analytical strength, particularly to the institutional logics perspective of institutional theory by attending to the micro-level (Cloutier & Langley, 2013), providing a more competent view of the actor (Pernkopf-Konhausner, 2014), greater attention to the embedded nature of actors (Boxenbaum, 2014), but also the potentiality of a wider integration of the two schools (Brandl et al., 2014).

This debate is founded in the fortuitous similarity and synchronicity between a 1991 essay by Friedland and Alford on the important relation between “[t]he central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West – capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion” and the “multiple logics available to individuals and organisations. [... Who] transform the institutional relations by exploiting these contradictions” (1991:232). This relation was elaborated virtually simultaneously, in the convention theoretical work of Boltanski and Thévenot (2006 [1991]), who argue that actions are justified with reference to different ‘orders of worth’ (The Market, The Inspired, The Domestic, The Polity of Fame or Renown, The Civic and The Industrial,) drawing upon different ‘higher common principles’ (ibid). These ‘orders’ correspond roughly to six ‘real’ worlds (the market, art-world, family, public sphere, state and industrial) in which certain polities take precedent. Since then, Boltanski and Chiapello have suggested that the most recent spirit of capitalism is best understood by a ‘projective’ logic (2007). The main argument of Boltanski and Thévenot, however, is not one of separate spheres, where individual polities govern, but rather that individuals and collectives as able and reflective actors draw upon a variety of fundamental regimes of justification, particularly at *critical moments* (ibid) to assert and justify their actions. The premise of this paper is thus that the reasons why organisations (in this case, art foundations) say they support the arts are taken seriously. In this view, actions and justifications are not separate but co-constitutive; organisational actors are understood to think of justifications ex-ante, in situ and in retrospect, not always and not always extensively but particularly when confronted with decisions that are made public (or publicly).

The conscious iterations of these legitimations is well captured by the idea of ‘justification work’ (Jagd, 2011; Taupin, 2013), which drawing on the idea of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), illuminates the conscious way in which actors seek to infuse meaning and justify organisational practices, by drawing on prevailing institutional logics or moral orders, particularly through rhetoric. Such a connection between justification and legitimacy has also been explored drawing on Aristotle, investigating ‘rhetorical strategies of legitimacy’ (Suddaby, 2005) and, more recently, how organisations “maintain and support existing logics and how rhetoric is deployed” (Brown et al., 2012: 315). A discussion to which this paper adds how organisations both ‘reflect’ and ‘reflect on’ these logics. The paper complements occupations with conflicting logics (Lounsbury, 2007), particular bricolages (Christiansen & Lounsbury, 2013) or constellations (Waldorff et al., 2013) – by showing the reflective development of organisational logics in the management of art support. The paper particularly shows the importance of logics, other than those firmly established by the extant institution and convention theoretical literature, such as emotions and temporality and offers a heuristic model to understand organisational reflection.

Research strategy

After an initial perusal of documents surrounding the two foundations; academic literature (Duelund, 2001, 2003, 2008; Jeppesen, 2002; Langsted, 1999; Skot-Hansen, 2002), commissioned reports (Langsted, 2011; Liebst, 2011), historical and art historical analyses (Glamman, 1997; Nørregård-Nielsen, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c), press coverage (see sources), annual reports and speeches (the most important of which are published in the annual reports), the annual report was chosen as the best document to study the logics of legitimation, in part due to its comparable form and appeal to a 'general public' audience, although its readers are particularly museums, hopeful recipients and interested journalists. But also precisely for the genre's purpose to explain and legitimate the organisations work. The paper focuses on the legitimations invoked at the most critical moments over the past 40-50 years of concurrent activity by the New Carlsberg Foundation (est. 1902) and Danish Arts Foundation (est. 1965). In the case of the New Carlsberg Foundation the most critical moments all pertained to its largest individual beneficiary, the New Carlsberg Glyptotek, whereas the most critical moments for the Danish Arts Foundation pertained to wider political debates and societal developments. In the New Carlsberg Foundation, the annual report involved only a list of acquisitions and a financial statement until 1975, following this, the reports involved elaborate narrative accounts written by the members of the board, but also often 'curated' accounts written by recipients of the foundations support, such as museum inspectors, who place the objects of the foundations support in an art historical perspective and legitimate the organisations work thorough this. Given the high level of education of the foundation's board (and museum inspectors), the accounts are highly reflected and draw upon an extensive amount of knowledge about the objects of support. In the Danish Arts Foundation the reports analysed included the overarching board's statement as well as the accounts made by the two visual arts committees (Committee for Visual Artistic Decoration and the Committee for Acquisitions and Stipends), explaining their practices and purposes. The statements of the Danish Arts Foundation, although also highly reflective, draw on a different kind knowledge about the objects of support, its committee members being practicing artists and art professionals, but rarely art historians. Furthermore the board and individual committees of the Danish Arts Foundation have a limited time in their position (3 years) and therefore, the accounts often emphasize the particular profile of the sitting committee vis-à-vis previous committees, while the time span on the New Carlsberg Foundation's board-members are often significantly longer and the foundation therefore has a greater degree of continuity, although it too changes its profile and practices, which also must be legitimated.

The analysis took an updated approach to grounded theory (Suddaby, 2006), considering prior theoretical work without rigidly trying to force data into extant categories, but using terminology from the extant literature (civic, market, industrial, domestic, inspired, renown and projective) when the data clearly spoke to a well-known logic or regime of justification. In practice, all available annual reports from the Danish Arts Foundation (47 reports) and the New Carlsberg Foundation (104 reports, emphasis on last 41 reports) were collected or borrowed from the foundations, read and analysed by identifying, thematising and theorising all instances of legitimations resulting in 170 pages of detailed analysis, upon which a larger narrative account was created. From this account, notes about the key events were taken and corroborated with background information about key events from academic articles,

interviews, biographies and press coverage. Finally the following analytical account was constructed (see Analysis), taking departure in a number of critical moments that put pressure on the organisations to justify their practices and purpose. Based on this account key logics of art support have been drawn out and discussed vis-à-vis the extant literature and a heuristic model to understand organisational reflection is offered (see Discussion).

Case selection

The Danish context is illustrative of a mixed liberal economy, in which both the state and private organisations play a central role (Kaspersen, 2013). This context is marked by two particularly influential foundations, one private and one public, which stand out as intrinsically interesting cases to study (Stake, 2006), since they are the most significant providers of support to the visual arts both financially (each contributing around 100 mio. DKK to the visual arts per year) and symbolically as they are seen as the among the most powerful actors in the Danish art world (M. Jeppesen, 2009, 2010, 2012; Nielsen & Heltoft, 2016), thus making them highly influential, constitutive and reflective upon the wider field level logics. The purpose of selecting these two cases was thus to be able to draw parallels and reflect on wider beliefs about the importance of the arts rather than to conduct a direct cross comparative study. To delimit the study, the paper focuses almost exclusively on arguments for and surrounding the support of visual art, although the justifications for other art forms are presumably similar, the visual arts represent one of the most highly institutionalised recipients of art support from private and public foundations in Denmark. Key legitimations for art support arguably vary in different contexts, organisations and periods of time, however, the cases may shed light on wider held beliefs about the purpose and practices of art support in western democratic nations.

Analysis

Carl Jacobsen and his foundation: A brief introduction

Carl Jacobsen founded the New Carlsberg Foundation in 1902 and, in a conciliatory act (Nørregård--Nielsen in NCF 2002, 132), endowed the foundation and his brewery, the New Carlsberg Brewery, to the greater Carlsberg Foundation, under which the foundation remains an independent organisation. Carl was the son of J.C. Jacobsen (founder of the original 'Old' Carlsberg Brewery), and due to their complicated relationship, his father had established the Carlsberg Foundation (est. 1867), a philanthropic foundation for science and research that would inherit the Carlsberg Brewery upon his death, rather than his son (Glamman, 1990, 1997). The Carlsberg Foundation was unique for a number of reasons; firstly it created the world's first foundation owned company, secondly, unlike philanthropy of its time it had a professional board-management self-selected from the Royal Danish Academy of Arts and Letters. It was this professional model, which by then had become well established, that Carl Jacobsen mimicked in the board of the New Carlsberg Foundation, which apart from himself, included an art historian and an archaeologist. His son, Helge Jacobsen, inherited Carl's seat on the board, but after his death in 1946, the three members of the New Carlsberg Foundation's board have been art historians, archaeologists or museologists selected by the Carlsberg Foundation, making the professional a defining logic of the organisations legitimisation. An educational logic is also strongly present in the organisations founding purpose to 'develop and satisfy' the need for art in its fatherland (see Fig. 1).

Carl had, through his cultured upbringing, taken a shining to the visual arts and been an extraordinary active collector and patron of the arts up until the creation of the New Carlsberg Foundation, notably creating the Albertina Stipend, erecting the Church of Jesus, endowing most of his immense art collection to the City of Copenhagen and embarking on the creation of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek (www.glyptoteket.com) an unconventional museum of sculpture and visual art, inspired by Ludwig the First's Glyptothek in Munich (Glamman, 1997: 225). With the establishment of the foundation he formalised the underlying ethos of his support, sought to ensure the construction of the Glyptotek and continuation of his work for the visual arts in Denmark.

Fig. 1: Charter

“The tasks of the New Carlsberg Foundation are:

- A. *in part* to continue the work which Carl and Otilia Jacobsen have begun in service of the arts, by the establishment of museums, acquisitions of artworks, the construction of monumental buildings etc.,” *in part* to in other ways, which over time may prove useful to its purpose, to promote the study of art and knowledge about the arts, all with the purpose of developing and satisfying the need for art in our fatherland.
- B. By art we do not only understand visual art and architecture, but also art industry and the, in our country, under-appreciated, garden art.
- C. The first task for the foundation is the completion of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek
- D. As long as I, Carl Jacobsen, or I, Otilia Jacobsen, or one of our sons have a seat on the board, it should be possible to use up until 10.000 kr. of the foundation's income for public purposes, which lie outside the realms of the abovementioned framework.” (New Carlsberg Foundation 1902, 14-15)

Reflection upon the charter, and renewed-emphasis (and hence de-emphasis) on particular phrases at critical points in time becomes a defining feature of the organisations legitimation, as this analysis will show.

Decreasing interest and increasing running costs at The Glyptotek: A difficult party to celebrate

“A wish to know about the antiquity is a question of identification. We wish to know where we come from, we wish to know our roots, but of course we have difficulty understanding man of antiquity, even previous generations at all. (Johansen in NCF 1982, 127)

A critical moment in the foundations history concerns the decreasing public interest and preconditions to understand ancient art and antiquities and the increasing operating costs at the Glyptotek, which place increasing demands on the foundations budget. This difficult situation is brought forth upon the 75th anniversary of The New Carlsberg Glyptotek, in a highly sophisticated and reflective report. On one hand, the report argues for the paramount significance of the antiquity to understand our place in a larger common European and Middle Eastern cultural history and thus our contemporary society, by re-producing the Glyptotek's Director Flemming Johansen's speech “About the concept of antiquity – before and now”, which clearly seeks to legitimate the foundation and its acquisitions in a context where many of its artefacts are no longer viewed as art and their contemporary relevance is less taken-for-granted, through their humanistic and educational value:

“But the strongest contact with the antiquity we achieve by continued reading of the preserved authors, from Homer to Ovid, and by standing ourselves face to face with one of the remnants of the antiquity, a humble thing like a Danish flint-axe or a masterpiece in the form of a Greek vase or a Roman portrait, where one can unite knowledge, fantasy and feeling to a personal impression of the antiquity, - as one can unremittingly develop here in Carl and Ottilia Jacobsen’s now 75-year old New Carlsberg Glyptotek.” (Johansen in NCF 1982, 130)

The justification here lies not only in the knowledge, but the inspired and the intimate personal understanding gained from proximity to the artefact, proximity made possible by the generous donations of the foundation and its founders.

Alongside this speech, the foundations Chairman Torben Holck Colding writes a detailed account about the financial relationship between the foundation and the Glyptotek and the museums other financial partners (namely the City of Copenhagen and the Danish state), lamenting that 45% of the foundations budget is now spent on the Glyptotek. This is in part justified by the strong emotional attachment the foundation has felt to the Glyptotek, through its founder, as Colding writes: “The New Carlsberg Foundation has *felt* itself as the inheritor of Carl Jacobsen” (emphasis added, from NCF 1982, 131). And its increasing appropriations are justified by the growing professionalization of the museum:

“From being a rich man’s private collection the Glyptotek quickly grew into one of Denmark’s most important museums and an internationally recognised research centre. Thereby placing unexpected demands on the running costs, its library, its technical equipment and its staff.” (ibid)

At the same time the Chairman seeks to distance the foundation from the Glyptotek:

“In opposition to the Frederiksborg Museum the New Carlsberg Glyptotek is an independent institution, under an independent board and according to Carl and Ottilia deed of gift belongs to the fatherland of its founders.” (Colding in NCF 1982, 131)

Here the museums ‘deed of gift’ is used to argue for the foundations purely informal responsibility to the museum, but significantly Colding also appeals to the logic of the ‘fatherland’ to argue for a more fairly distributed responsibility. The intent of the report, with this appeal, is clearly to put pressure on the Danish state and municipality, to own up to its gift. This struggle is particularly well illustrated in the following reflection on the foundations experience:

“During the 1970s the board understood that the Foundation, insofar as it had to undertake other activities, as designated by its charter, precisely to offer support for Danish art and Danish museums in broader terms, could not continue to participate in the expenses to the Glyptotek’s

running on equal footing with the State and Municipality. But not until the beginning of 1979, when its [share of] support has reached approximately 2 million DKK, almost 36% of the foundations available sum, did the foundation reach out to the two other supporters to provide assistance to find a way out to relieve the New Carlsberg Foundation” (Colding in NCF 1982, 131-132)

Importantly, the appeal to a logic of efficiency (‘insofar as it had to undertake other activities’), the state and municipality, should be viewed in light of the significant value of the Glyptotek and the foundations endowments to it (which account for almost 100% of the museums collection) to understand our place in a larger common cultural history.

Expansion and restoration of the Glyptotek: A large financial investment

A characteristic of the foundation during the first 90 years of its operation was its emphasis on the acquisition of prestigious artwork. In the early decades of its operation, the foundation legitimated its work by drawing greatly upon the status of ancient Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Egyptian cultural heritage. Upon the death of Carl Jacobsen (1914), and take-over of his son, the foundation began to acquire highly esteemed French art and art of well-established Danish Golden age artists, the latter of which Carl Jacobsen himself had also acquired privately. Modern French art was a passion of his son and perhaps the most prestigious art at the time in a Western context, and the foundation sought to acquire the work of famous French artists, e.g. artworks by August Rodin and Eugène Delacroix. Gradually the foundation began to expand its support from the main museums in the capital to larger Danish cities and provincial museums, as part of this movement the foundation also began the gradual increase in the acquisition artwork by contemporary Danish artists. This was in part fostered by the practical issue of transportation in the interwar period and particularly during the Second World War, but it was also an ideological prioritisation, which allowed the foundation the ability to endow a larger number of national institutions. Since the Glyptotek opened in 1897, emphasis on the ‘construction of monumental buildings’ had therefore been extremely limited. However, in 1992, the foundation makes a critical decision to re-prioritize Carl Jacobsen’s monumental building – the Glyptotek. As Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen, the foundations Chairman and renowned art historian writes:

“There has not since the time of the founder been taken such a large individual decision, and it will be a financial strain that will force the foundation to prioritise its tasks more strictly than previously.” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 1992, 166)

The large investment, and critical departure from its almost century old prioritization of art acquisition over monumental buildings therefore must be legitimated, not least to pre-empt critique owing to a less significant amount of support of visual art during the on-going project. Here, the foundations management draws on the history of its founder to legitimate its action merely to ‘uphold and preserve’ what the founder had begun.

“Carl Jacobsen could [also] as company-owner and founder make great appropriations and without having to having to be accountable. Any board that continues in this spirit will always be marked by a certain impotence, because the members have not themselves created a big idea, but have simply been employed as a kind of entrusted servants to work in the absence of the master. [...] Today, in most instances it is the task of the foundation to uphold and preserve. In this connection according to the charter there is no closer institution than the Glyptotek, which with its almost 100 years has found itself in need of preservation” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 1992, 164)

The use of the charter is also interesting, since any formal responsibility to the Glyptotek was written out of the formal charter following its completion, but the Glyptotek remains highly favoured, and until the 1970s largely uncontested, benefactor of the foundations support as illustrated by the previous section. However, in this critical moment there is a marked re-interpretation of the charter, vis-à-vis the justification pursued due to the increased running costs of the Glyptotek, drawing upon a formal legalistic logic of legitimation qualified by the charter. Importantly, the prioritization is also legitimated by Glyptotek’s ability to create ‘renown’ for the small state of Denmark, its ‘civic’ justice, its virtuous ‘idleness’ and its ability to connect us to our inner humanity.

“The New Carlsberg Glyptotek is one of the most important pieces of evidence that we are not just a small poor country. The museum is surrounded by an aura of generosity; it speaks equally friendly to everyone, and should be used as a refuge, where one without forgetting the world for a second comes into contact with ones inner humanity.” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 1992, 166)

Gifts and acquisitions at the New Carlsberg Glyptotek: An inconvenient affair

One of the most critical moments experienced by the New Carlsberg Foundation reached its height in 2008, with a public debate surrounding the provenance and method of acquisition of a number of the Glyptotek’s antiquities. The foundation had first acknowledged this issue publicly on the occasion of the foundations 100th anniversary, where its Chairman Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen, wrote specifically concerning an Etruscan⁴² grave finding that may have been uncovered illegally:

“[This] reflect[ed] the previous acquisition policy, which preferred not to know of illegalities but also did not see it as its duty to investigate the provenance of a possible new acquisition. This was related to a previous view of the antiquities value and meaning as artworks, while a new era favoured a reading of them in a more cultural historical context, which presupposes knowledge about the finding-place and observations during the excavation. Previously one had been satisfied with a sparse message that the artefact originated from the art market. For this reason, among others, the Glyptotek has had a certain reservation with regard to the acquisition of antique findings whose finding place and other background is unknown.” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 2002, 152)

⁴² From modern-day Tuscany.

The legitimization draws heavily on the past, or temporal logic, that antiquities were previously viewed as artworks, whereas the ‘new era’ considers them as historical relics. Interestingly the state-of-mind also becomes a key legitimization, illustrated by the assertion of ‘reservations’ in its acquisition practices. The statement can also be read in a context of growing political awareness about cultural heritage within the European Union, with Italian legal proceedings involving the aid of several European museums, including the Glyptotek (not mentioned in this report), and increasing political support for the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, evidenced by its Danish ratification in 2002.

In 2008, Museum Inspector, Jette Christiansen is ‘curated’ by the foundation, to provide a more detailed account of the Glyptotek’s and, by its participation and financial support, the foundations involvement in past methods of acquisition as well as the museums involvement in the Italian legal proceedings, in light of the public discussion about a number of Etruscan artefacts held by the Glyptotek (see Bundegaard, 2008; Knudsen, 2008; Stockmann & Benner, 2008). This account draws on three central logics of legitimization, the temporal, emotional and legal. Firstly, that the acquisition of artefacts ‘on the international art market’, which in “past decades been synonymous with acquisitions bought in Switzerland.” had only made “the museum directors at the time [...] proud and accomplished that they were able to expand the museum’s collections, which had until then been the most important task of a museum director” (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 138).

Secondly, Christiansen offers an elaborate account of the museums contact with the Italian legal proceedings, which draws heavily on a legal legitimization⁴³ in its assertion that “[t]he Glyptotek was thus not part of the indictment but was asked to provide assistance” in a case against an international smuggling gang that stood behind a number of items acquired by the Glyptotek, notably items looted from the grave of an Etruscan Prince (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 139). What Christiansen does argue however, was that the past practice of acquisitions of unknown provenance on the international art market led to artefacts being “increasingly selected for their aesthetic value, since they had during the journey been robbed of any meaning as historical documentation which they had in relation to the place and the archaeological connection they had once been part of” (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 143). To affront this challenge, Christiansen points to the museums increasing prioritization of dialogue, collaboration and exchange with national museums concerning “common cultural heritage” (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 145) drawing on communicative, projective and humanistic logics.

Julius Bomholt and his legacy: A brief introduction to the Danish Arts Foundation

The Danish Arts Foundation of 1964 emerged in the wider European context of an acute awareness of the ills of state controlled art and cultural life in the post-war period and an increasing amount of social and cultural support undertaken by the Danish state. Already in 1956, the Danish Art Fund, a predecessor to the Danish Arts Foundation had been created under the auspices of the Ministry of Education in response to an increasing public interest spearheaded by a vocal community of visual artists, calling for more art and artistic decoration in the public sphere

⁴³ This legal legitimization also resounds in the statement “At the Glyptotek we are currently awaiting the finalisations of the case in Rome and in the meantime [we] are considering the opportunities for exchange which the Italian’s have offered us as replacement, since they recognise that they have no legal rights to their repatriation.” (ibid: 145).

(Straarup, 2016). The fund was administered by the Ministry of Education and initially used “to promote the visual artistic development and decoration of the government’s buildings and parks” (Hammer, 2016). Owing to an increasing amount of cultural administration undertaken by the Ministry of Education, and a significant effort on the part of the Social Democratic Minister of Education, Julius Bomholt, a separate Ministry of Cultural Matters was created in 1961, which Bomholt became the first Minister of (M. F. Jeppesen, 2002). Bomholt had a long held vision for Danish cultural life, which he wrote about in a number of books on working class culture (1932), Danish cultural life (Bomholt, 1938) and cultural policy (Bomholt, 1953), in which he argued that government should promote “cultural improvement for all people” (Duelund, 2003: 37). However, until the creation of the Danish Arts Foundation of 1964, Bomholt did not relinquish his influence over the Ministries appropriations, this ambivalence, given the experiences of the Second World War, reflected the Social Democratic parties strongly held view of its own benevolent vision to provide and ensure this cultural development. Nevertheless, with the increasing amount of cultural appropriations and the increased visibility of the Ministry of Cultural Matters, the challenge became to ensure that the governments support for the arts remained legitimate in the public view. This drew the ministry towards the well-established model of science and cultural support known from the Carlsberg and New Carlsberg foundations and the Arts Council of Great Britain (est. 1945), with a professional board at an arms-length from the funding source.

The underlying developmental logic, however, remained evident in the Law of the Danish Art Foundation (May 27th 1964) which outlined its obligation “to work for the advancement of Danish creative arts within the visual arts, the literary arts and the sound arts”, through the decoration of public buildings and sites, the purchase of visual art, support for artists, the bereaved after visual artists, and through support for travel and study trips (DAF 1965, 2-6). Although the foundation was largely created in a moment of social democratic zeitgeist, during the 1960s in favour of a more socially active government, the creation of the Danish Arts Foundation became a highly critical moment, in which the foundation saw a larger movement of working class Danes, who did not want, what they perceived to be the governments elitist and paternalistic art foundation. Peter Rindal of the Danish People’s Party became the most well-known spokesperson for this movement, which gathered 60.000 signatures in protest (Kjær, 2014), and Rindal’s surname became associated not only with the movement at the time, but *Rindalism* became a common neologism for unfavourable views of the arts or art support in Denmark. The first annual report directly addresses this critique:

“The debate surrounding the Danish Arts Foundation in first months of the year point to the importance of the population being fully informed about the workings of the foundation” (DAF 1965, 21-22)

Drawing on a communicative logic the foundation also expresses its intention to rent a gallery (The Free Exhibition hall) “for the purpose of an exhibit, which in part should encompass all the artworks acquired in the previous year, and in part through photography show the decorative projects that by the participation of the foundations have been completed in the same period” (ibid). And argues for the creation of ‘an unpretentious publication,’ ‘in a significant amount,’ “so that anyone interested may be able to get their hands on it” (ibid).

This communicative logic appears to rest on the idea of a public sphere that can be legitimately engaged, if not appeased, through information. In the same report the foundations addresses a critique directed at specific prioritizations in the foundations work, illuminating a recurring critique, usually by slighted beneficiaries, throughout the foundations history. Here the foundations response points to a founding logic of legitimacy, one that along with the developmental logic is perhaps the most ritualized up until the foundations 2014 restructuring – appeal to the logic of artistic quality:

“... the committee wishes to make clear that it seeks to conduct its work solely to for the advancement of the arts, without regard for those forms of presentation, which often offer repetitions. It sees it as its primary role to observe the workings of Danish artists with the purpose of tracking and promoting the development of artistic quality.” (Fischer in DAF 1965, 26)

Justifying art support during the 1980s: A period of conservatism and austerity

The 1980s present a particular moment of critique for the Danish Arts Foundation, which in the context of a Conservative government and significant austerity measures must argue more arduously for its purpose and appropriation of public funds. “Artistic quality” has become a highly ritualized phrase surrounding the selection criteria of the foundations, but as the Chairman of the board in 1980, Ejnar Johansson, asks in his narrative account “What is artistic quality?” The account makes explicit the difficulty that the foundation has in this period to justify its appropriation of public funds, specifically to explain how it decides which art to support – how it decides what is best. The following statement makes explicit an underlying sentiment and struggle which challenges both foundations supporting the arts:

“It is a small consolation, that one can clearly *know* something without being able to define it with irreproachable logical words and sentences. Our experiences about things and concepts are collected with so many senses that words do not reach so far” (Johansson in DAF 1980, 7)

The challenge in justifying the foundations legitimate appropriation of funds is well reflected in Johansson’s text which tries on one hand to explain artistic quality, through the personally felt and on the other to make visible some of the hallmarks of artistic quality e.g.:

“The strive for unity in an artwork is one that transcends time and location around the world: in China, in Africa in Greece ... and on Sealand. One can take a portrait by Matisse or an angel from Angelico or an abstract picture by Kandinsky – they are apparently far apart, but they have one thing in common, they have unity, what the dilatant doesn’t, or the uncreative person doesn’t have” (Johansson in DAF 1980, 8)

Johansson insists on a view that underlies, and legitimates both the New Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Arts Foundation, that there is a difference in artistic quality, and this difference can be both observed and felt. He also

acknowledges, that wrong decisions occasionally will be made, and reflecting on this he expresses another underlying view, which accepts this human error, whilst arguing for the system on the whole:

“I think that one has a right to be wrong sometimes, if only one manages to get it right as well. It is more risky to fail to support one, who should have had support, than it is to by mistake give someone who turns out to be a flop” (Johansson in DAF 1980, 10)

The above statement should also be seen in the context of critique, which relates to particular decisions of the foundation. In this vein, Johansson uses a reference to the renowned Danish painter J.F. Willumsen in part to address what is perceived to be uninformed critique, but also, in relation to the question of artistic quality, drawing attention to the effort needed to reach a stage of knowledge to appreciate artistic quality:

“And wasn’t it Willumsen who in his time said something to the effect of – also the arts have a language, but a language which must be learned before it is understood.” (Johansson in DAF 1980, 25)

This statement holds a particularly strong educational logic echoing the organisations founding developmental logic.

Justifying arts support during the “boom”: A different kind of crisis

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the Danish Arts Foundation experiences a different kind of critical moment, in part stemming from a changed view of the arts in an improved economy and in the early 2000s stemming from a strong political critique against the professional and elitist cultural life spearheaded by the centre-right government in Denmark. In the context of this improved national and international economy, there is a significant “boom” in international art markets concentrated in London, New York and Switzerland, reflected in smaller scale by a growing art market in Copenhagen and a wider view of the arts as an integral part of an experience economy (Florida, 2002). The Danish Arts Foundation is highly conscious of this development and seeks to assert its legitimacy in opposition to this market and communicative-logic, as illustrated in the following passage:

“The art foundations visibility in everyday life has also been of concern for us. Not least in a world, where the media panders to the “event” and tries to make everything into entertainment, must one consider the arts as a significant counterbalance to this” (Dyreborg in DAF 1992, 57)

The improved economy of the early 1990s along with increased appropriations for the arts, which the foundation has been calling for, is also acknowledged by the foundation with a re-legitimation of the foundations role drawing on a professional and elitist logic, this should particularly be understood in the context of a growth in amateur art, and an art market sustaining both amateur and professional arts. This professional logic is illustrated well in the board’s statement in 1993:

“The board is of course delighted with the increase of the foundations available funds with 25. mio kr. It is important to acknowledge that the DAF particularly supports elitist, serious, deeply thorough artistic work. The DAF therefore sees the legal change and the increase in funding as an expression of a societal up-prioritization of the professional creative arts.” (Ingvarsen in DAF 1993, 10)

The 90s-00s are also characterised by an increasing focus on the regional role of the art support, which in a wider political and societal context reflects a strategy of regional economic development. Here the foundation returns to its ritualized emphasis on artistic quality, above any other, particularly functional, role of the arts:

“[The board] has specified that the DAF’s main criteria for support as always is the artistic quality and not the projects spectacular or experiential value in connection with the ‘cultural-city’” (Ingvarsen in DAF 1994, 11)

From the mid-1990s there is a mounting cultural clash between different notions of democratic legitimacy. This clash is already under way with ‘94 Social Democratic Minister of Culture (Jytte Hilden), who argues for an increased emphasis on the needs of the population (a civic regime of justification). Here, the foundation draws upon a sophisticated use of the democratic or civic logic to argue:

“When the presentation somewhat worryingly states “the needs of the population and their wishes do not always harmonize with the ability of the cultural policy to change purview, direction and centre of gravity” there is reason to be on guard. A policy which gives good conditions for growth for really ground-breaking and experimenting art, cannot be led in accordance with the populations wishes, however democratic and innocent such a view seems” (Frandsen in DAF 1995, 11).

Although, leading to few substantial changes in actual art policy, the most significant clash occurs during the early 2000s with the political shift in leadership to the centre-right Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who launches a highly symbolic showdown with the tastes of the (left-wing) cultural élite. The following decade is marked by an increasing political focus on creating a cultural consensus on Danish art and cultural heritage exemplified by the conservative Minister of Culture, Brian Mikkelsen’s initiative to create a ‘cultural canon.’ In response to this, the Danish Art Foundation, in a particularly sophisticated grasp on the situation, decides to publish four essays representing four highly diverse academic and professional views on the arts and different aspects pertaining to the role of art support (in DAF 2001).

The period is also characterized by a number of structural changes surrounding the Danish Art Foundation and the wider field of cultural institutions (the art academy, public museums etc.), whose appropriations are gradually affected by the government’s block on the increase of public appropriations. A parallel “Danish Art Council” is also established in 2003 to undertake a specific communicative role, and in early years this is rhetoricized as ‘marketing’ of Danish art and cultural life. The importance of this is given further weight in the years after the 2005 cartoon

crisis.⁴⁴ In general there is a much greater political pressure on the arts to justify their appropriations of public funds, made explicit by the Conservative Minister of Culture (Brian Mikkelsen). This call is reflected in the 2003-report stating:

“To avoid myths in the future the Minister proposes the greatest possible openness about the way in which the DAF gives out its funds. We readily take this dialogue, however we do think that the DAF throughout its years first and foremost through its annual reports, which publishes all recipients of support, the number of applications and the committees considerations about the annual allocations, has made it very clear to the public how the foundation works and administers its funds.” (Schepelern in DAF 2003, 8)

By drawing upon the detail of the public account (a logic of transparency), the foundation criticizes the Minister’s lack of knowledge of the established form of reporting, which it thereby argues already answers to the Minister’s call. During the period, the foundation is also highly critical of the government’s social-policy, which is visibly tightened during the 00s. This critique should be understood in the context of an expansive Danish system of social security, which came to bridge the gap between remuneration from commissions, art support and different kinds of employment for many artists. To which Martin Erik Andersen, member of the 2004 Committee for Acquisitions and Stipends, notes:

”The conditions that are now in Denmark- where one is sent out to scrape bricks clean etc. [terms for public benefits...] – and if one is to have a somewhat normal life - then there isn’t energy to continue the sensibility around the artistic, which can be necessary to move it to a place where it becomes visible. There are people who are made invisible for economic reasons.” (Andersen in DAF 2004, 10)

This critique draws on the civic logic of participation, plurality and visibility of all groups in the public sphere, in this case the visual artists’ – in addition, this argument draws on the founding developmental logic to bring art to the people.

The Danish Art Foundation, year 1: A new beginning

The period around 2010, is marked by an increasing debate surrounding the system of art support on a general level, and specifically an enquiry about the two-stringed (Danish Art Foundation and Danish Art Council) system of support (Langsted, 2011; Liebst, 2011). This culminates with the amalgamation of the two organisations, the closure of the Committee for Art in the Public Sphere, one of the founding committees (initially, the Committee for Decoration), and the incorporation of its tasks into the renamed Visual Arts Stipends Committee (formerly, the Visual Arts Acquisitions and Stipends Committee). In addition the reorganisation leads to the establishment of a

⁴⁴ The Danish Cartoon crisis refers to a number of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad published by a Danish newspaper, the subsequent turmoil and protests from the Muslim community and considerable international press.

new Committee for Project Support – a reduction of the two former committees of the Danish Art Council (the Visual Arts Committee and the International Visual Arts Committee). In response to these changes, the 2014-report sees an entire re- historicisation of the Danish Art Foundation, signalled in part by its title “The Danish Art Foundation – year 1”, the re-appropriation of its ‘founding father’ and an a different emphasis on its original intent as illustrated by a re-emphasis in the central logics of legitimation invoked:

“It was Denmark’s first Minister of Culture Julius Bomholt who was the Godfather of the DAF. His idea was to politically allocate funding to support the artists because he believed that in a democratic society was important to invest in the art that could mirror society and make its citizens mentally richer. This understanding of working for the best of society has influenced this first year in the DAF. There has been increased focus on the DAF in the end being for the citizens’ sake, wherefore it is also necessary to talk about investment rather than support” (Ørskou et. al. in DAF 2014, 10)

In this, reorientation it is *society* and its *citizens* rather than the arts themselves which are in focus. There is also a direct uptake of the language of market, inherent in the idea of investment, in the “first year” of the Danish Art Foundation. While these logics are not new, and can be seen found as supporting logics for the foundation in different periods of time – it is the emphasis in itself, what is brought to the foreground, which is noteworthy, and the re-orientation of its time. Overall, the critical tone of previous decades is less marked, and the entire ‘spirit’ of the foundation, understood as the collective nature of its logics in this period, appears to be more projective, flexible and lighter, emphasized both in its temporal orientation and artistic preferences, but also exemplified by the committees self-representation as “coordinating and exploratory” (ibid), a projective spirit, and the reorientation of its purpose, on advancement (rather than aesthetic quality) and the rather new instrumental orientation towards specific target groups in the context of the Danish Art Foundation, illustrated clearly in the following passage:

“Legally the DAF has as its definitively most central task to advance the arts, herein favour a geographic spread, children and young people’s meeting with the arts and not to hinder inter-aesthetic expressions. This is something we discuss on the DAF’s Board. But it is the individual committee, which sovereignly decides how the committee acts vis-à-vis its own art form” (Ørskou et. al. in DAF 2014, 9-10)

The sophistication, by which this reorientation is presented is particularly evident in the way in which the foundation one hand draws on the legal legitimation, the wording and basis in the law, but on the other hand almost seamlessly integrates a much more functional view of art support. This is legitimated greatly by drawing on the logic of the “new” and a conscious presentation of parts of the old practice as ‘not working’, an appeal to a form of industrial efficiency:

“We are concerned both with how we live up to the law and constantly on our toes with regards to an art scene that is constantly changing. [...] On the whole, we on the board are aware that we in

the new structure have to take the good from history and leave behind that which doesn't work. That is how opportunities arise to create new traditions and practices.” (Ørskou et. al. in DAF 2014, 10)

We now move to a discussion of the logics of legitimation invoked by the two foundations. The section draws parallels and seeks to offer an overview of the most important logics of legitimation for art support pursued at critical points in time, discussing these vis-à-vis the extant institutional and convention theoretical literature, finally reflecting on the findings at a higher level of generality.

Discussion

Although impacted by the spirit of their founding times, at the turn to the 20th century and 1960s, and their respective foundation on the initiative of a private industrialist and a public minister, the New Carlsberg Foundation and Danish Arts foundation show a remarkable grounding in similar logics of legitimation despite their emergence in two distinctive societal spheres, the public and the private. In both foundations, the defining logics of foundation are a service to – and advancement of – the arts, professional judgement and civic enlightenment within the boundaries of a nation state. These legitimations resonate approximately with Boltanski and Thévenot's, Inspired, Industrial, Civic regimes of justification, and resonate less with Friedland and Alford's *lexis* (to which we shall return). What is also evident is the specificity with which these appeals to higher orders, or regimes of justification, are made, suggesting the need to attend to the many different ways in which the Inspired, Industrial, Civic regimes of justification are invoked. Despite their particular orientation, favouring the art and decorative work of more established artists in the New Carlsberg Foundation, and the greater inclusion of younger, less established artists and more interdisciplinary work in the decorative commissions and artists supported by the Danish Art Foundation, the two foundations also show a significant resonance in their organisational logics of legitimation. This resonance also extends to the set-up of their committees as professional executive boards (drawing respectively on the professional legitimacy of the art historian and the practicing artist), while the New Carlsberg Foundation tends to support visual art through acquisition and the Danish Arts Foundation production support, both have a tradition for making decorative commissions. Until very recently, both foundations also saw themselves entirely as “anti-institutions” against the market, and while the projective entrepreneurial spirit is evident in both foundations, it only becomes specifically invoked as a marked logic upon the recent restructuring of the Danish Art Foundation and under the new leadership in the New Carlsberg Foundation (both in 2014), resonating with Boltanski and Chiapello's analysis of the most recent stage of capitalism (2007). Although not part of the most critical moments of the New Carlsberg Foundation, the foundation has become more engaged in the public debate and entrepreneurial with its new Chairman (former board member), Karsten Ohrt, who upon ascension launched an innovative fund e.g. for projects “of a communicative character, or initiatives that go across different artworks [...] It could be initiatives that support the arts wish to influence creative innovation in society ” (Ohrt in NCF 2014).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The foundation has showed an increasing willingness to participate in the public debate since the 1990s, and of recent, by the admission of an academic researcher (the author) to conduct research of the foundation, the

Where the two foundations differ greatly, concerns their subjection to critique. The New Carlsberg Foundation enjoys a highly privileged position and is only rarely subject to direct public criticism, despite its Chairman, frequently being seen as occupying the most powerful position in the Danish art-world in the public's view (Nielsen & Heltoft, 2016), a growing public awareness of the influence and resources of private foundations (Ritzau, 2015; Stockmann & Brovall, 2014), and critique of their general opacity to the public (Brovall & Stockmann, 2014; Brovall, 2016). However, it would be a mistake to conflate the degree of participation in the public debate with the degree of legitimacy held by the two foundations, in either direction. As a public foundation it is clearly part of the Danish Arts Foundations legitimacy that it is subjected to-, and willingly engages in, a greater public debate, but this does not necessarily mean that the New Carlsberg Foundation lacks legitimacy. As one of the largest Danish newspapers wrote upon the retirement of Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen, the most influential recent Chairman of the New Carlsberg Foundation (1988-2013), "In the art-world it isn't difficult to find someone who disagrees with the godfather's art views, which among others has weighted an interest in golden age painting. However, it is very difficult to find someone who does not respect this Western-Jutlander's way of managing his position" (Brovall & Thorsen, 2013).

As the analysis shows, the legitimacy of the two foundations rests greatly on sensitivity to a diversity of logics and shifting societal institutions and their ability to consistently argue for and re-iterate their purposes and practices, particularly in critical moments. In the key critical moments of the New Carlsberg Foundation during the past 40 years only one has come from a direct critique of its practices. Generally critical moments have pertained to pragmatic issues (e.g. growing running costs, the degradation of artworks and space constraints), societal shifts (e.g. decreasing interest in, and prerequisites of visitors with regard to the antiquity) and the foundations role vis-à-vis its founder's museum.

In the Danish Arts Foundation, critical moments have been much more difficult to isolate, since the foundation appears to be the subject of constant critique. At the same time the foundation has maintained a steady practice subsuming support for more art forms under its domain and received continuous, if not always increasing, amounts of funding over the past 50 years, suggesting a high level of political legitimacy of the foundation across Danish political parties, despite shifting governments. In light of this, the analysis has brought to light extraordinary moments of critique that have questioned this fundamental consensus and gone beyond frequently occurring but inconsequential debate about individual recipients support. The key moments of critique have thus pertained to the existential legitimacy of the foundation on establishment, its legitimacy in the face of a reduced role of the state across all areas receiving state support, the challenge of the experience economy and a surge in political disdain for academic and professional views on art and the critique of the set-up of the Danish Arts Foundation and Art Council, resulting in their 2014 merger and restructuring.

employment of a professional archivist to digitize the foundations historical documents for the public online (soon to be launched) as well as the employment of a designated communications professional and new website (both in 2014).

The emphasis on these extraordinary critical moments, however, does not make visible the span and depth of data analysed, nor the continuity of legitimation and sensitivity to societal shifts in periods without extraordinary critique. This is sacrificed for the purpose of isolating defining logics at critical moments and offering a more accessible overview, which typifies the reflective nature of legitimations in the face of critical moments. Table 1 (below), offers an overview of these central logics of legitimation and their particular moments of strength.

Table 1: Logics of legitimation at critical moments

Logic of legitimation	Industrial, Knowledge	Market	Inspiration	Family	Renown/ Opinion, Communicative	Civic, Legal	Projective Entrepreneurial	Emotions, Humanistic	Temporality
<i>NCF</i> : Moments of particular strength	Foundation 1902 1980s		1980s	1980s	1990s (renown for the state) 2000s (increasing dialogue)	Foundation 1980s (charter), 1990s (civic), Early 2000s (legal)	2008	1980s, 2000s (pride) (common cultural heritage)	1990s (history of founder, charter), Early 2000s (old view)
<i>DAF</i> : Moments of particular strength	Foundation 1965 1980s 1990s-00s 2014 (advancement)	2014	Foundation 1965 1990s-00s (artistic quality)		Foundation 1965 (renown of nation) 2000s (communicative)	1990s-00s, 2014 (society, citizens, geographic-spread)	2014		2014 (re-historicisation)
Extant literature	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006)	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006) Friedland & Alford (1991)	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006)	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006) Friedland & Alford (1991)	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006)	Boltanski & Thévenot (2006) Friedland & Alford (1991)	(Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007)	(Silber, 2011)	-

While the narrative analysis best offers an insight into the sophisticated process of critique and legitimation, the diagram can be used to get an accessible overview not only of the central logics of legitimation and their particular periods of strength, but also of the concurrence of particular logics of legitimation at different points in time, and between the two foundations. The diagram also offers an instant overview of the resonance between the logics drawn upon by the two foundations vis-à-vis the extant literature.

The analytical process of considering the key legitimations exposed the diversity of ways in which overarching logics or orders of worth were unveiled in practice and the sophisticated nature of ‘justification-work’ (Jagd, 2011; Taupin, 2013) undertaken by the foundations, who not only draw upon overarching logics, but do so in particular ways that indicate the potential in unfolding the different uses of an individual logic. Among this diversity of ‘micro’-logics, most of them were so interrelated that they could be easily clustered and subsumed under a well-known higher order logic. However, future work might fruitfully attend to the diversity at a lower level, and the sophisticated ways in which micro level logics are invoked, the definitional lines and degrees of interrelatedness that constitute a higher or lower order logic. For example, some of the key founding legitimations of both foundations (educational purpose, professional management, and in later instances the appeal to efficiency) resonated well with Boltanski and Thévenot’s industrial order grounded in the enlightenment ideals of knowledge

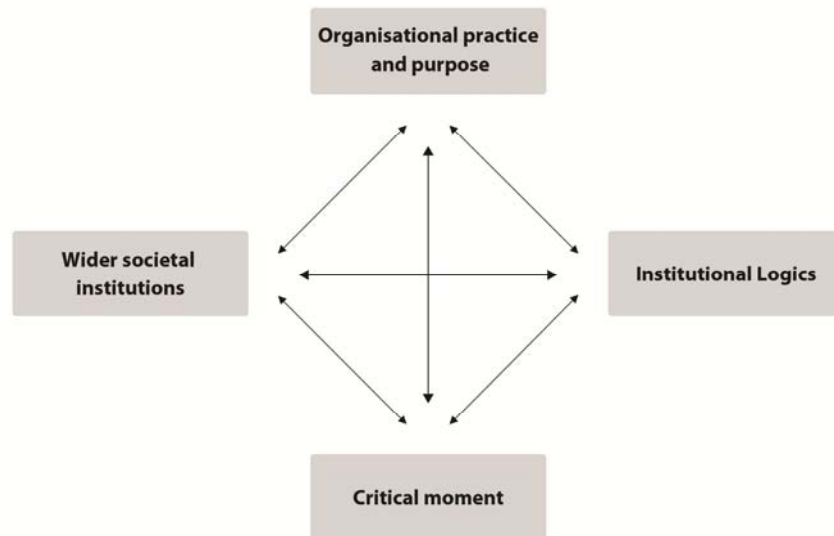
and efficiency (2006, 118). However in practice these legitimations appeared as distinctive, although highly interrelated forms of legitimation. Another example of this difficulty is related to distinctive appeals to the law, civic value, the nation, democracy, communicative legitimacy and transparency, the order of renown or opinion. While these appeals can be subsumed under the Civic order (law, nation, democracy) and order of Fame or Renown (communicative, transparency), in practice these legitimations often implied different meanings, different ideas of justice and sophisticated interrelated constructs such as the appeal to democratic legitimacy stemming from public communication of practices. A similar degree of sophistication involves distinctions between appeals to emotions/state-of-mind (e.g. “we have felt ourselves”), humanistic values (“common cultural heritage”) and Boltanski and Thévenot’s inspired order. Although often closely related to the inspired order, these legitimations frequently appeared so distinctive from the invocations concerning the value of art, that the emotional order was best understood as a distinctive logic of legitimation, with pronounced emotional and humanistic ‘takes’. This argument for parsing out an emotional logic resonates with recent convention theoretical work based on the justifications of elite philanthropists in Israel (Silber, 2011, 2012b).

Another element of dissonance between the extant literatures concerned the pronounced logic of temporality, and particular uses of the ‘past’, in the legitimation of the two foundations. The temporal legitimation appears on many occasions, with perhaps the best example in the following excerpt (upon critique of the acquisition of artworks of an unknown provenance): “This was related to a *previous view* of the antiquities value and meaning as artworks, while a *new era* favoured a reading of them in a more cultural historical context” (p.75, emphases added). Here, temporality becomes an essential logic to argue for the change in perspective. The paper therefore suggests a greater attentiveness to temporality and emotions, and a further consideration of these as distinctive logics of legitimation.

Based on the analysis, when considering the reflective nature of organisational legitimation at critical moments at a more conceptual level, the paper argues for attending to the “quadruple reflection” on the organisational practice and purpose, the wider societal institutions, institutional logics, and the nature of the critical moment that competent organisational actors attend to. A heuristic model may therefore be of use to conceptualize the interconnectedness and complexity of this reflection (see Figure 2).⁴⁶ In this model, organisational legitimation is intimately connected to organisational practice and purpose, to the wider societal institutions, institutional logics and critical moments. A key contribution of the paper is therefore to show that by attending to organisational legitimation at critical moments in time, we are able to unfold the process of reflection and become aware of the way in which these different elements come into play. As the analysis shows this is not a linear process in which each critical moment leads to the same mechanism, weighting or reflection of these elements. To understand the interplay of these elements we must look at the particular moment and the organisations understanding of this moment.

⁴⁶ The layout of this model is inspired by set-up of Porter’s heuristic tool to understand the determinants of national competitive advantage (1990).

Figure 2: *Prism of organisational legitimation*



Contributions and further perspectives

The key contributions of this paper are threefold. Firstly, based on the analysis of the legitimations of art support in Denmark at critical points in time, the paper offers a historical analysis showing the presence of nine overarching logics in art support (industrial, market, inspired, family, renown, civic, projective, emotional, temporal, see Table 1). Based on this work, the paper argues for a greater sensitivity to logics of emotions and temporality, which, with a few notable exceptions are not well reflected in the current literature on convention theory (Silber, 2011, 2012b). However both emotions (Barley, 2008; Creed et al., 2014; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Voronov & Vince, 2012a) and temporality (Schultz & Hernes, 2012; Wadhvani & Bucheli, 2013) are seeing a small but rising interest in organisational theory, hence these budding areas would appear to be fruitful directions for further research.

Secondly, the paper unfolds the process of legitimation, and invocation of particular logics at critical moments in time, showing the high level of reflectivity of the particular foundations. Empirically, the paper shows the resonance of the professional, artistic, and civic logics invoked in support of the arts, in both foundations, both at their establishment and over time. A key finding in this regard pertains to the degree of specificity or micro-logics within the invocation of higher order institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) or regimes of justification (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). Future work might fruitfully attend to these different ‘takes’ on logics. Finally, based on the analysis, the paper argues for attending to the specificity of reflection on the organisational practice and purpose, the wider societal institutions, institutional logics, and the nature of the critical moment that competent organisational actors attend to. The suggestion of this heuristic device is not for it to act as an over-structuring theoretical construct, but rather to suggest we orient ourselves to the specific interplay of these elements in organisational justification at particular moments in time.

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In addition to written sources a small number of background interviews were conducted at the New Carlsberg Foundation, Danish Arts Foundation and Danish Agency for Culture, which provides administrative support to the Danish Arts Foundation.

Paper 3: Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation

Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation:

A study of temporal legitimations in the New Carlsberg Foundation

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Abstract

Philanthropic foundations are a significant organisational form legitimating the power, wealth and success of the founding family and firm. The following paper attends specifically to how a family foundation makes both strategic and institutional use of temporality, particularly the past, in different ways to legitimate its purpose and practices. The paper theorizes upon this based on a detailed analysis of the temporal legitimations pursued by a well-established and highly influential philanthropic family foundation supporting the visual arts in Denmark, drawing out a number of underlying strategic and institutional uses of the past pertaining to the charter, the founding family, our place in history, the moment, anecdotes and coincidental stories. Significantly, we argue that while some of the uses of the past in family foundations are strategic, in which the participants are reflexive and instrumental about their use others are institutionalized, in which the participants have limited reflexivity and agency in the core purpose and practices of the foundation and addresses the different contexts that create propensity towards different degrees of reflexivity and institutional reification.

Strategic and Institutional Uses of the Past by a Family Philanthropic Foundation: A case study of temporal legitimations in the New Carlsberg Foundation

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Introduction

Families with great wealth and power have been important locomotives of entrepreneurial activity and philanthropic giving well before the industrial revolution (Parker, 2003). With the industrial revolution however, philanthropic foundations in particular have been a significant organisational form legitimating the power, wealth and success of the founding family and firm with great transformative potential (Fleishman, 2009; Korten, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2006). The following paper attends specifically to how a family foundation makes both strategic and institutional use of temporality in different ways to legitimate its purpose and practices. The paper theorizes upon this based on a detailed analysis of the temporal legitimations pursued by a well-established and highly influential philanthropic family foundation supporting the visual arts in Denmark, drawing out a number of underlying strategic and institutional uses of the past pertaining to:

1. The use of the charter, formal and informal relations
2. The use of family history and familial dynamics
3. The use of the past as a way to understand our place in history
4. The use of the moment to re-define the foundation
5. The use of anecdotes, or coincidental stories to legitimate its purpose and practices

Significantly, we argue that while some of the uses of the past in family foundations are strategic, in which the participants are reflexive and instrumental about their use (Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe 2011) - others are institutionalized, in which the participants have limited reflexivity and agency in the core purpose and practices of the foundation and addresses the different contexts that create propensity towards different degrees of reflexivity and institutional reification.

The paper is structured with an introduction positioning the contributions of the paper vis-a-vis the extant literature in strategic and institutional entrepreneurship, and organizational analysis. This is followed by an introduction to the empirical context, the methodological approach and the case study foundation. We then offer a detailed analysis of the strategic and institutional uses of history in our illustrative case and discuss how historical and organizational theorization can move forward strategic entrepreneurship research. Finally we draw tentative conclusions based on our study and point to fruitful areas for future research.

Theory

There is a growing focus within the area of strategic entrepreneurship attending to the importance of institutional context to entrepreneurial processes. The nature of the wider institutional context influences the type of activities (Baumol, 1990; Sobel, 2008) and mind-set of entrepreneurs as Miller, Le Breton-Miller and Lester (2011) have investigated in the case of family versus lone founder strategic behaviour. As Welter suggests “context can be an asset and a liability for the nature and extent of entrepreneurship” (2011).

Early work within the area of institutions and entrepreneurship attended to the process by which powerful actors were able to instantiate new societal understandings as suggested by the idea of *cultural entrepreneurship* (DiMaggio, 1982). In this work DiMaggio investigated how an economic and cultural élite in nineteenth century Boston strategically instituted a distinction between high and popular culture. This argument, was unfolded in DiMaggio’s work on *institutional entrepreneurship*, which argued that “new institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realize interests that they value highly” (DiMaggio, 1988). Haragdon and Douglas (2001), using the case of Edison’s electric light, pointed to the paradox that entrepreneurial activity both relies upon existing institutional arrangements and technological developments whilst being able to radically change existing arrangements. In response to the implied necessity of success and imperative of larger institutional change inherent in this idea, a number of scholars suggested attentiveness to more ‘humble’ and everyday “purposeful action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), shifting the focus onto more subtle forms of entrepreneurial activity.

Legitimacy, legitimation and historical work

Entrepreneurship, was only one of the three closely connected processes, which DiMaggio argued institutionalised high culture, the others were ‘classification’ (what high culture was and was not) and ‘framing’ an understanding of the former (1982: 35). Inherent in this argument was the necessity for the new institutional order to acquire legitimacy in order to succeed and the strategic activity involved to ensure this. Legitimation is thus a mutual interest area to scholars of institutions and entrepreneurship (Boxenbaum, 2008; Suchman, 1995; Suddaby, 2005), particularly the role of discourse (Khaire & Wadhvani, 2010) and use of strategic language (Suddaby, 2005, 2010), stories and histories (Foster et al. 2011; Hansen, 2007, 2013; Mordhorst, 2014), as media by which actors and organisations can craft and obtain legitimacy. The language of actors and entrepreneurs, however are not constructed completely freely, in addition to the particular skill needed by organisations to craft legitimating accounts, they face constraints given by their past and institutional context. Actors can create legitimacy by

rhetorical skill, create or manipulate narratives and histories, by which they can legitimate, or de-legitimate existing or new arrangements, infuse new meaning (Selznick, 1957) and present a new story, but they do so in the face of the pre-existing. The question of institutional freedom is always a matter of degree.

History, particularly how organisations invoke and reiterate it strategically, in the face of past strategic decisions, well-established social facts and institutions, pre-existing narratives and histories, is therefore of central value to scholars of strategic entrepreneurship as the following case will illustrate. What we observe is that actors engage in conscious *historical work* (see also Foster and Suddaby 2015) to legitimate, ‘create, maintain and disrupt’ both their own foundational work and a general public view of its place in history, while noting particular instances of highly ritualized reproductions of the past. Furthermore unlike previous work on family logics (Jaskiewicz et al., 2015; D. Miller et al., 2011), which focuses on the conflict between market and familial logics of legitimation and unfolds different forms of engagement with the family, we offer an angle driven by an interest in the many different ways the logic of the past is unfolded.

Case selection and methodology

Patronage of the arts is one of the most highly institutionalized markers of status and attainment, from the Antiquity through Early Modern Italy (Parker, 2003), to contemporary western society (Ostrower, 1995a). In Denmark, the New Carlsberg Foundation (hereinafter NCF), stands as the longest consecutively running private philanthropic foundation supporting the arts, specifically the visual arts. Founded in 1902, by the brewer Carl Jacobsen (1842-1914), son of J.C. Jacobsen (1811-1887) who established Carlsberg Breweries and the Carlsberg Foundation, the world’s oldest corporate foundation, for the support of the company and scientific research. The foundation has been generally been respected and positively perceived, owing in part to the legitimacy of its professional nature and in recent years to its greater degree of public communication than most other private foundations in Denmark (Brovall & Stockmann, 2014; Heltoft, 2016). When it was formed, the foundation strategically employed a compromise between the (by then) highly established Carlsberg Foundation’s model of arms-length support, while maintaining family involvement throughout its founders and hereinafter his son Helge Jacobsen’s lifetime (1882-1946). At the same time as Carl Jacobsen was venturing into a well chartered territory for his contemporary industrial élite, he did so with an organisational form and degree of professionalization that had not previously been applied to philanthropic support for the visual arts in Denmark, and the organisation remains today the most completely professionalised private foundation supporting the visual arts.

We employ the annual reports post 1974 up until today, where the foundation began making elaborate narrative accounts written mostly by art historians, to investigate the way in which the foundation uses history strategically to legitimate its purpose and practices. The reports were chosen, for their quality as the foundations key legitimating account, and for their consistent form of self-presentation after 1974. Prior to 1974, the organisation made a less elaborate explanation of its work, presenting however, a detailed list of all endowments and acquisitions made in all years. The paper thus does not focus on uses of time during the era of the founding family, but rather the uses of time in recent decades, where the foundations practices and purposes are highly institutionalised and has a significant past to draw upon. While there are other potential sources of this information, public speeches, press

appearances and interviews with present day board members, the annual report is favoured for its consistent form of representation over a period of 40 years. The key legitimization pre-1974 lies greatly in the renown of the well-established categories of the artwork acquired, primarily ancient art from Greece, Italy and Egypt, and later drawing on the renown of Modern French and Danish golden age art and artists.

In practice, the reports were collected at the NCF's office in Copenhagen and all legitimating statements were identified, thematised and categorized in terms of their appeal to greater institutional orders, generating a multiplicity of institutional logics that were then categorized into a smaller number of overarching higher orders. The process thus involved an 'updated' approach to grounded theory methodology (Suddaby, 2006), upon which the yielded logics were compared to the extant literature on higher order logics (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007; Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012).⁴⁷ In addition to these, a number of recurring logics of legitimation for art support in Denmark were uncovered relating to mental-political space, temporality, transparency, humanistic and emotional logics. While this work offered an insight into the multiplicity of logics invoked to legitimate the purpose and practice of art support, it did not trace the different uses of a specific higher order logic or concern itself with their strategic and institutional use, as the following paper does.

We now turn to the case, illustrating the way in which the temporal logic is invoked in the New Carlsberg Foundation, for clarity the section is structured following the key thematic uses of the past.

The New Carlsberg Foundation

The charter, formal and informal relations

The charter and the assertion and re-assertion of the foundations formal and informal obligations are a recurring theme of legitimation and use of the past. Already in its founding charter the New Carlsberg Foundation makes a significant use of temporality, to legitimate its existence in the definition of first task:

“A. *in part* to continue the work which Carl and Ottilia Jacobsen have begun in service of the arts, by the establishment of museums, acquisitions of artworks, the construction of monumental buildings etc.”

in part to in other ways, which over time may prove useful to its purpose, to promote the study of art and knowledge about the arts, all with the purpose of developing and satisfying the need for art in our fatherland.

B. By art we do not only understand visual art and architecture, but also art industry and the, in our country, under-appreciated, garden art.

C. The first task for the foundation is the completion of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek

⁴⁷ Friedland and Alford outline capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion (1991), similarly Boltanski and Thévenot draw out the Market, the Inspired, the Domestic, the Polity of Fame or Renown, the Civic and the Industrial orders of worth (2006), with Boltanski and Chiapello pointing to the Projective as the most recent order (2006), Silber has also tentatively suggested emotions as a regime of justification (2011) and Thornton et al. argue for a community logic (2012).

D. As long as I, Carl Jacobsen, or I, Otilia Jacobsen, or one of our sons have a seat on the board, it should be possible to use up until 10.000 of the foundation's income for public purposes, which lie outside the realms of the abovementioned framework."

(Carlsberg Foundation 1902, Appendix: 9)

In this, the foundations approach to the arts is legitimated on one hand through its continuation of its founder's previous work and, on the other, by drawing on the timely, the necessity of the foundation to renew itself vis-à-vis its initial logic of continuation of past practices (both discussed shortly). The future work of the foundation must continue and in the case of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek (museum established by Carl Jacobsen, see glyptoteket.com) complete what the founder has begun. The charter, however, in itself is continuously used to legitimate the foundations purpose and practices, but as we illustrate, its use is characterized by both by ritualized re-production and implicit *taken-for-grantedness* as well as a more strategic emphasis on different aspects and creative re-interpretations at critical points in time.

The relationship between the foundation and its museum, the New Carlsberg Glyptotek is particularly interesting to look as an illustration of this. This relation is highly institutionalised, to the extent that even though the foundation during late 1930s, as a result of the Glyptotek's growing deficits, removed the specific financial commitments towards the Glyptotek which were included in the foundations Charter of 1924, the foundation continues to support the Glyptotek's growing deficit without any explicit discussion of this until the 75th anniversary of the Glyptotek (NCF 1982), which as a critical moment creates the impetus for a particular reflection on the relation between the foundation and the museum. The choice of this strategic moment also reflects the pragmatic issue that the foundation now spends 36% of its budget on the museum – making the decision as to the appropriate balance in its allocations a matter of principle. The challenge is inherent in the foundation chairman's account, on one hand writing:

"Created as it is by Carl Jacobsen himself [the Glyptotek] remains close to the foundation and has received large endowments both for its collection and (in later years) for its running" (Colding in NCF 1982, 131)

And on the other hand noting its formal change "from being a rich man's private collection the Glyptotek quickly grew into one of Denmark's most important museums and an internationally recognised research centre. Thereby placing unexpected demands on the running costs, its library, its technical equipment and its staff" (ibid). And its gradual realisation:

"During the 1970s [... that] insofar as it had to undertake other activities, as designated by its charter, precisely to offer support for Danish art and Danish museums in broader terms, it could not continue to participate in the expenses to the Glyptotek's running on equal footing with the State and Municipality. But not until the beginning of 1979, when its [share of] support had reached approximately 2 million DKK, almost 36% of the foundations available sum, did the foundation reach out to the two other

supporters for their assistance to find a way to relieve the New Carlsberg Foundation” (Colding in NCF 1982, 131-132)

The move to clarify relations vis-a-vis the Glyptotek is thus on one hand a gradual one, in a previous report (NCF 1975), the foundation announces a move out of the museums building (discussed shortly), and by 1982 the foundation officially discusses the growing deficit of the museum and the foundations stance on it, but does so in a highly sophisticated manner on one hand presenting the argument for its endowments to the museum (see *Our place in history*) and on the other discussing the implications of the growing deficit. In this the critical moment the foundation makes a significant re-emphasis on the formal status of the Glyptotek:

“In opposition to the Frederiksborg Museum [financed by the Carlsberg Foundation] the New Carlsberg Glyptotek is an independent institution, under an independent board and according to Carl and Otilia’s deed of gift belongs to the fatherland of its founders.” (Colding in NCF 1982, 131).

What we assess here is not the truth-value of the statement, since the foundation’s board shows a significant overlap with the board of the New Carlsberg Foundation and the latter has given or afforded the museum almost all of its art and artefacts, rather we emphasize the subtle and strategic re-ascription of the museum to the fatherland, rather than to Carl Jacobsen. We now move on to the uses of past relating to the founder and founding family, the ‘ritualised’ language relating to the founder, is presented here along with excerpts of the charter, which often appears in the narrative accounts as quotes by Jacobsen himself.

Founder and familial dynamics

The invocation of the founder and the founding family is another central theme of legitimation and use of the past. In recent years, the foundation has made increasing use of specific well-known expressions of the founder. The use of these expressions is interesting in part because they draw upon different higher order legitimations, and the selection of particular expressions therefore also reveals the greater logics of legitimation valued by the foundation. For example, Carl Jacobsen’s expression “Let the arts glorify our city and it will glorify us” (e.g. NCF 2010: 126) appears frequently in recent years to argue for the public benefit of the foundation and its role vis-a-vis the city and country. Other, recently appearing phrases are; the use of the founder’s expression “Semper Ardens! Always burning!” (e.g. Moltesen in NCF 2013: 95) to argue for the strong passion of the founder and foundations work, and the use of the phrase “In Service of the Arts” (Ohrt in NCF 2014: 94), from the foundations charter, to argue for the artistic purpose. Another phrase which has recently gained traction is the founder’s aim “to develop and satisfy the sensitivity towards the arts and need for art in Denmark” (Ohrt in NCF 2014: 95). This appears, in the context of a greater public focus on the role of foundations vis-à-vis the state as a result of decreasing government funds for the arts, and a greater focus within the foundation “to communicate with regards to art in Denmark” (ibid) fostered by a greater public focus on the power and legitimacy of private foundations and the lack of public knowledge about their work (Brovall & Stockmann, 2014a, 2014b; Stockmann & Brovall, 2014).

The 'founder' is invoked both in an institutionalised and strategic form, on one hand by reproducing the established phrases and stories about the founder, on the other by the selective use of the founder and what particular aspects of his life, work or quotes which are invoked. In some instances the strategic use of the past is very clear, and in others the particular re-emphasis or use of the past is very subtle. A clear example, is illustrated by the use of the past on the occasion of the foundation's move from the Glyptotek (museum built by Carl Jacobsen) to its own quarters; a significant change. This move is explained as a result of space constraints caused by the growing staff, research activities and exhibitions of the museum. In this critical moment in which relations must be clarified, the foundation makes a particularly strategic use of the past, by moving to the founder's childhood home drawing upon the intimate past of the founder vis-à-vis this particular place:

“Carl Jacobsen was born in 1842 in the house in Brolæggerstæde and he grew up here until the family moved in 1854. The steadily growing brewery however, still had its offices in the ground floor of Brolæggerstræde. First in 1907 did Carlsberg leave the old brewery, which now houses the New Carlsberg Foundation that was established in 1902 by brewer Carl Jacobsen.” (Strømstad in NCF 1975, 112)

As a result of the move the foundation gains a greater distance to the Glyptotek's daily life, while infusing meaning through its choice of a new location. A later report reinforces this relation in a more institutionalised form stating: “The New Carlsberg Foundation has felt itself as the inheritor of Carl Jacobsen” (Colding 1982, 131). Another example of this more institutionalised and general use of the founder is found upon the decision to fund a catalogue to document the entire collection of the Glyptotek, in which the catalogue's editor Anne Marie Nielsen writes:

“The Glyptotek truly deserves a monument, which deeply reflects Carl Jacobsen's spirit” (Nielsen in NCF 1994, 157)

A more strategic invocation of the past is exemplified upon the decision to fund the expansion of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek. Here, an excerpt of the founder's hope to see the Glyptotek expanded is invoked upon the strategic decision to do so. Here a particular quote clearly expressing the interest of the founder is used directly to argue for a particular project.

“In *The Creation of New Carlsberg Glyptotek* from 1906 the brewer Carl Jacobsen offers the following end: »The Building now stands as a whole. I do not say »finished« since I hope my descendants will have the fortune to make new acquisitions, which could make expansions in the two courtyards necessary« That is what is happening now” (Johansen in NCF 1994, 162)

Initially the familial dynamics, between Carl Jacobsen and his highly influential father J.C. Jacobsen do not figure strongly in the narrative reports. However in recent years, the complicated and difficult relationship between Carl Jacobsen and his father are often mentioned, a dynamic which was well known to their contemporary Danish public and later became canonised in the Danish television series about the family behind Carlsberg, *The Brewer*, from 1996. For example, upon the foundation's 100th year anniversary its Chairman Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen

writes about the relation between the greater Carlsberg Foundation and NCF, that “everyone did theirs so that the new construction would not show any cracks, and that is one hundred years ago” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 2002, 132). The quote illustrates the strategic decision to reveal more about the foundation, while retaining a highly institutionalised image that does not fundamentally move beyond pre-existing public knowledge about the foundations past.

Another central use of the past, relates to the founder and his personal preferences as a way in which the acquisition profile of the foundation is legitimated. While Carl Jacobsen’s ‘love of the arts’ is one of the most ritualised sentences about the founder in the foundations reports, the choice of particular art in the earliest narrative reports appear more de facto, as a result of the most prestigious art of the time, gradually introducing a more personal and idiosyncratic Carl Jacobsen. A particularly interesting report in this regard is the one marking the foundations 100th anniversary, which displays both the highly ritualised and personal Carl Jacobsen e.g. in a highly institutionalised description of the founders acquisition the foundations Chairman Nørregård-Nielsen writes:

“Carl Jacobsen had furnished his home with thoughts on eternity. His childhood love of Thorvaldsen became more or less transferred to the master’s young students and followers... In addition a selection of particularly golden age art was added, but supplemented by more contemporary artists such as Kristian Zhartmann, Carl Bloch and Lauritz Tuxen.” (in NCF 2002, 136)

The emergence of a more personalised Jacobsen, with individual tastes, conflicts and idiosyncrasies, in the foundations most recent reports reflects a strategic engagement in a contemporary context, which values a more personal knowledge of corporate and political leaders, and holds a desire for transparency and authenticity. This imperative is reflected well in the following except “If one looks at Carl Jacobsen today, there is no reason to doubt his genuine enthusiasm, and already here [discussing the founders early acquisitions and endowments] we see, that his joy over something beautiful always expressed itself in the need share it with others” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 2002, 136-37).

We also observe an interesting use of familial dynamics and personal idiosyncrasies invoked in the legitimation of the foundations acquisition of impressionist art, a new practice begun under the leadership of Carl Jacobsen’s son Helge Jacobsen. Upon the Glyptotek’s 100th year, and the acquisition of significant impressionist works, this familial past is intricately and highly strategically invoked.

“His fathers declared object of hate, impressionism, was the place where the son placed most of his efforts, but not as a vendetta or a revolt – as it had almost become the norm in the a family where patricide seemed built in from the start of every generation [...] Helge Jacobsen did exactly like Carl Jacobsen had done in his time in relation to his father, he had found an area which his predecessor had left untouched, denied or simply not seen the potential in and through a huge effort built it into the existing as it couldn’t have been any different.” (Friborg in NCF 2008: 149)

Here, his father's dynamics with his grandfather are strategically invoked to legitimate Helge Jacobsen's departure from Carl Jacobsen's acquisition profile and the foundations continuation of acquisition of impressionist art.

Our place in history

Another central theme of legitimation concerns the use of the past as a gateway to understand our place in history. For example, in 1981, upon the 100th year of the Glyptotek a transcript of its museum director, Flemming Friberg's anniversary speech is published in the annual report. Here the foundations purpose is explained through the work that the Glyptotek is able to do, to connect contemporary man to the antiquity:

“A wish to know about the antiquity is a question of identification. We wish to know where we come from, we wish to know our roots, but of course we have difficulty understanding man of antiquity, even previous generations at all. (in NCF 1982: 127)

The foundation strategically inscribes its work into Danish and wider European cultural history, thereby legitimating its endowments to the Glyptotek.

“The sculptures of the antiquity where a tremendous source of inspiration for the Renaissance artists e.g. Michelangelo, Raffael and Tizian [...] The ideals of the Renaissance found resonance outside of Italy, in Spain, France, the Netherlands and not least in England. It became an ambition for kings and great men to their antique artworks in art and curiosity cabinets [...] In Denmark Ole Worm, 1588-1654, collected a museum Worminarium, which was admitted by Fredrik III to the Royal Art Chambers. [...] In Italy Pompei was unearthed from 1748, and artists like Thorvaldsen and the Swede Johan Tobias Sergel gave the antiquity new life through their classicistic sculptures (in NCF 1982: 128-29)

What is notable here is the how the significance of the Danish sculptor Thorvaldsen (a favoured artist of Carl Jacobsen, whose work had been influential in Carl Jacobsen's upbringing) and the New Carlsberg Foundation is legitimated through the strong connection to the art of the antiquity, drawing upon the highly institutionalised status of the antiquity and Renaissance artists.

Ten years later in the context of a growing societal and cultural political emphasis on contemporary art, and upon the 150th birthday of Carl Jacobsen, the foundations Chairman Hans Edvard Nørregård-Nielsen writes:

“We have received a large and rich cultural inheritance from a past that was willing to sacrifice, and it is at times a little embarrassing, that it today is so difficult to uphold and answer what we have been entrusted” (in NCF 1992, 166)

The past here is something we have been entrusted, something that the foundation must act as a guarantor of, the quote also exemplifies the difficult distinction between the strategic and institutional uses of the past. Although the

view of the past as something sacred is a highly institutionalised view⁴⁸ – its invocation in this particular instance is highly strategic. As a number of reports also exemplify, by holding up a particular element of the past, and presenting it as a point of contrast to the present, the present is criticized and the foundation's role is legitimated. For example, in 1997, the foundation publishes an interview with a prominent Danish artist, Bjørn Nørgaard, who was commissioned by the foundation to produce a number of artworks – in this interview the artist's (and through its use, the foundation's) views are used to question and critique the present state of the arts. This critique should be understood in the context of a booming economy and art market during the 1990s, which the artist implicitly feels has driven away focus from “a row of virtues and responsibilities we have forgotten” (Nørgaard in NCF 1997, 159).

Kairos: Use of the moment

The timely, or the ‘moment’ is another particularly frequently invoked use of temporality; inherent in this argumentation is the untimely, the old, and the passed. This particular use of the past gains particular strength with the foundation's increasing support of contemporary art.

One example of this is e.g. the strategic use of the ‘present’ to argue for a new presentation of the past (contrasting the aforementioned use of the past, to criticize the present). This is illustrated well upon the foundation's decision to fund an expansion of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek during the 1990s, in which the renewal is legitimated both by the founders' hope (see *Founder and founding family*) and by the need for a more timely presentation:

“The Glyptothek and its audiences look forward to the opening in the summer of 1996, where one of Europe's finest collections of impressionism and post-impressionism will be presented in a new and better way.” (Johansen in NCF 1994, 166)

Or as a later report states, “The feeling of identity is affirmed if we are visible to the outside, but cultural heritage is uninteresting if it left for dead, and for it to live it needs to be used and find resonance in the present” (Saabye in NCF 1995, 147). The latter quote also reflects the institutional context of the 1990s with a stronger focus on communication and contemporaneity evident in e.g. a report on support for a double museum in the borderland between Germany and Denmark:

“Museums are not just places for storage and remembering, but also to a large extent discussion forums, which relate critically to our present.” (Lauridsen and Mogensen in NCF 2000, 157)

Another example of the invocation of the contemporary or the ‘timely’ to legitimate the choice of support for a particular artist or decorative project is illustrated particularly well in the excerpt below justifying a decorative project by the Danish artist Erik A. Frandsen:

⁴⁸ Evidenced in part by its materialisation in the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

“[Frandsen has] directed his attention to what is appropriate with regard to the place, but also towards the timely, the sensibility towards the right thing in time, and that does not exclusively, but not least, mean that time which we call contemporary or now, but also the timing of the task and the decoration. [...] In the exhibition it is about the *timing*, which has to be in order. The artist has to consider the place, he must also be present; he needs to be able to find that which makes the place in himself, he has to view the decoration as a place in time, and he needs to be able to communicate it through his own *kairos* in the place” (Gottlieb in NCF 2006, 142-143)

The above example illustrates a combination of both strategic and institutional intent, the submission to the timely, the greater spirit or context, in combination with the ability of the artist to seize the moment.

In rare instances the foundation offers a strategic invocation of complete submission to the past spirit of the time. One particularly interesting appearance of this mechanism regards the time around 2007/2008 where there is increasing public focus on the Glyptotek’s ancient acquisitions from foreign countries; their provenance, method of acquisition and legal status. In a rare mention of this issue, previous reports delicately suggest that “We know too little about most of it, because the items have mostly been viewed as artworks and therefore have often reached the collections without one knowing anything about the premises for their finding or the greater context of the items” (Nørregård-Nielsen in NCF 1996, 147). However, over the course of a year the issue becomes more directly addressed as a result of an Italian enquiry for assistance in legal case and increasing public awareness. In 2007 e.g. the foundation addresses the practice of financing excavations as a means of acquiring ancient artefacts and the acquisition of artefacts bought directly from the Cairo Museum (the national museum of Egypt) e.g.

“As a result of NCF’s efforts the collection could still be expanded, also after Carl Jacobsen’s death in 1914. In 1923 the treasures of a newly found burial chamber thus came to the Glyptotek, after the foundation had bought them at Cairo Museum. At the time the Egyptian antiquities authorities financed part of their excavations by the sale of newly found antiquities. This form of revenue generation was almost entirely abandoned in the 1920s and at the same time tighter rules for antiquities trade and export were adopted. In the past 80 years the increase of new Egyptian artworks has therefore been extremely limited.” (Jørgensen in NCF 2007: 141)

A year later, at the height of public debate (Bundegaard, 2008; Knudsen, 2008; Stockmann & Benner, 2008), the foundation’s acquisition of Etruscan antiquities well into the 1970s is more directly addressed, by Jette Christiansen, one of the museum’s inspectors:

“if one looks at the case from the outside, it was undeniably difficult to explain that the Glyptotek had bought Etruscan items in Switzerland, and that they somehow had to have landed there as a result of a number of criminal activities. The expression ‘acquired on the international market’ had over the past decades been synonymous with acquisitions bought in Switzerland. The museum directors at the time had only been proud and accomplished that they were able to expand the museum’s collections, which had

until then been the most important task of a museum director. Now more than 30 years later we had a very bad case on our hands.” (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 141)

The accepted practices of previous times are here used to legitimate a practice, which in the contemporary context is highly illegitimate. Christiansen also states; “the museum has not since its change of Directorship in 1978 made acquisitions on the international art market. A new generations ethical and moral attitude to cultural heritage hereafter made its mark on the museums acquisitions policy” (Christiansen in NCF 2008: 141). This assertion should be seen in part as the submission to new institutional practices, which developed during the 1960s which were formalised in the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Rules which the museum and foundation have followed since 1979 and which the state of Denmark only in ratified 2002 (ibid), here the ‘timely’ decision to act in according to changing norms, is used to legitimate the foundation in a greater Danish context of untimely institutional change.

No such thing as coincidence: anecdotes and coincidental stories

Anecdotes and coincidental stories about past events also play a key role in enhancing the legitimacy of the foundation. For example the foundation’s former Chairman Nørregaard-Nielsen mentions the renowned Danish writer Henrik Pontoppidan who;

“a spring day in 1897 had made his way to Valby to see that there on New Carlsbergvej were a number of wagons: “on the one in front, which stood outside the large gates, they were loading a magnificent marble statue – a sitting young man with his hand on his knee- and I hear that they had already been in the process of transferring the Glyptotek’s previously private treasures to the new building as property of the state for a long time.” Pontoppidan also caught a glimpse of the brewer, also known as “His Highness himself... From this moment on I got a very different impression of this man and his will to sacrifice. I thought to myself, whatever small or low knowledge of art he may have had, a passionate collector he most definitely had been... And best as I stood there watching him, I immediately forgave him both his panoptic-architecture, his powerlessness and his supposed arrogance.” (in Nørregård-Nielsen, NCF 2002, 142)

The appearance of these ‘coincidental’ stories are of course, anything but; they are always strategically employed, and often present a very different form of reasoning qualified in the ‘small world’ of personal experience and their anecdotal retelling. The invocation of this particular story e.g. comes on the occasion of the foundations 100th year, where the foundations chairman makes an elaborate account of the foundations history and justification for being.

Another example of the use of stories, even rumours, to legitimate the status of a particular group of works is well illustrated in the excerpt below, concerning the acquisition of a particular group of marble portraits.

“Rumour has it that in the same grave as these, a number of fine Roman marble portraits were found. Carl Jacobsen bought these in 1887 from Count Michele Tyszkiewicz, who has brought the entire group to

Paris. [...] As the circumstances are, with many other findings from this period in Rome, there is very little about documentation of the circumstances. The builders have hurried and taken the antiquities that they could sell. We have done our utmost to find documentation for the finding of the portraits and believe that it is likely that they belong to the grave alters which now are to be found in the National Museum in Rome.” (Moltesen and Østergaard NCF 2007: 146)

The quote also illustrates the compounded way in which the ‘coincidental story’ is used together with the ‘founder’, art historical knowledge and the state-of-mind (‘we have done our utmost’) to legitimate the importance of the artwork. The use of stories, as illustrated is highly strategic, and there is a strong awareness of their use, owing greatly to the art historical training of most of the authors of the annual reports. On occasion, this is also explicitly acknowledged, e.g. the aforementioned authors note:

“Any museum object has so many stories to tell, that we as communicators must choose which we think is most relevant” (Moltesen and Østergaard NCF 2007: 154)

Discussion

Our research indicates five central ways in which the temporal logic is invoked to legitimate the family philanthropic foundation; relating to (a) the charter, formal and informal relations (b) family history and familial dynamics (c) our place in time (d) the moment (e) anecdotes and coincidental stories.

While the use of the past as a way to understand ‘our place in history’, may be specific to a family philanthropic foundation supporting the acquisition and now preservation of ancient art. We suggest that the strategic and institutional invocation of the charter, family history, the present and ‘coincidental’ stories are central to the way in which family philanthropic foundation legitimate and justify their role in society and that some are specifically shaped by institutionalised giving practices of the foundation (discussed shortly). In the analysis we have delved into the particular way the past and temporality are invoked as a higher order logic in their own right, as such our analysis does not cover other key legitimations of the foundation and art support, such as the invocation of market, state, democracy and religious logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) or similarly, market, inspired, renown, civic or industrial orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), with the family (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991) appearing exclusively in relation to the invocation of the past. What we offer is therefore not the full picture of the logics involved in the legitimation of the family philanthropic foundation; instead what our case illustrates is the centrality and sophistication of the temporal logic, moving forward the research on the use and qualification of an alternative logic. We now discuss the central ways in which the temporal logic is invoked in our illustrative case, reflecting on the different contexts that proffer strategic and institutional uses of the past, and aspects that are not adequately covered by our case study.

The Charter

It is, and has historically been, a legal requirement for foundations or trusts to have a charter stipulating their purpose, dating back to the earliest European religious trusts, charitable and family trusts or foundations. The

charter itself is therefore an institutionalised form, with the content of the charter availing itself to both highly institutionalised and strategic purposes. Emphasis on the use of the charter thus offers an additional dimension to its legal requirement and initial content. In our case foundation, we observed the initial structure and charter of the foundation to reflect a highly valued pastime of wealthy élites (acquisition of and endowment of art), not least the example set by the founder's father, but also the élite families of his time, particularly if we also consider the wider European élite, which Carl Jacobsen was part of. The particular formation of the initial charter, however served one hand to complete and continue the specific efforts of the founding family and on the other to continue this work in ways that in the future would prove useful to the foundations purposes, creating the framework for the foundations work to reflect both highly institutionalised practices (e.g. its support of the arts and the Glyptotek) and to remain highly sensitive and strategic vis-à-vis present conditions. We point to the degree of reflectivity allowed for in the initial charter, to understand the degree of strategic and institutionalised behaviour of the particular foundation. What we specifically observe in our case foundation is that the initial open ended nature of the charter, allowed for a highly strategic use of the charter in itself in the forty years studied, emphasizing different aspects of the charter reflecting the incumbent boards preferences and pragmatic challenges at different points in time. On the other hand, we see a highly institutionalised overarching 'spirit of giving' which surrounds the charter, and a power of past preferences that remain even as particular phrases of the charter are changed – the rewriting of the foundations commitment to the New Carlsberg Glyptotek, e.g. has not resulted in the Glyptotek receiving any less support, in fact the Glyptotek has received substantial financial support for publication, renovation and expansion in both 1996 and 2006.

Founder and familial dynamics

Our case illustrates the significance the founder's words, life and work and that these have become increasingly prominent in the legitimation of the foundations work in the past decades. The analysis points to the increasingly strategic use of particular 'institutionalised' expressions, quotes and stories about the founder (e.g. his hopes for the future of the Glyptotek or his personal tastes). While our analysis favours a view of the foundations strategic uses of the founder and founding family, the increasing information given, and the impetus for the kind of personal information should also be understood in the larger context of an increasing focus on communication in the public sphere, exemplified by increasing corporate communication, more visible and 'personal' corporate and political leaders, not least cultivated by mass, digital and social media. The New Carlsberg Foundation has been ideally positioned to make strategic use of its past, having a large and well-known history to draw on. At the same time as the foundation has used this past to strategically argue for particular practices and purposes, the foundation has also become more aware of its public profile and past as a strategic resource. In 2014 e.g. the foundation launched a new and far more elaborate website (see www.ny-carlsbergfondet.dk/en), hired a press consultant and an archivist to organise and digitalize historical documents in the New Carlsberg Foundation. This archivist had previously worked for both the Glyptotek and Carlsberg Breweries creating the 'J. C. Jacobsen Family Archive' suggesting a strong consciousness surrounding the history, particularly the family history.⁴⁹ The ability to act make such

⁴⁹ The 'family' metaphor is also frequently invoked to describe the six organisations connected to Carlsberg Breweries The Carlsberg Foundation, Carlsberg Laboratory, The Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, Tuborg Foundation, New Carlsberg Foundation and New Carlsberg Glyptotek (see

strategic use of the foundations past requires a high degree of skill on the part of the foundation, particularly given the pre-existing public knowledge about the foundation; to credibly use its past, requires an extensive knowledge of the foundations history, the spirit of the foundation and the existing public knowledge.

Our place in history

The legitimization of the past to understand ‘our place in history’ appears to be tied to our case study foundation’s previous practice of support for the acquisition, and current support for the preservation of ancient art from abroad. While this legitimization is greatly influenced by the institutionalised practices of the foundation and the museum, it draws upon the well-established view of a past in need of protection. What we observe is that the legitimization of the foundations work, to help us understand our place in history, is a highly institutionalised legitimization invoked in the support of the Glyptotek, even as the Glyptotek undergoes a significant shift in its purposes and practices (from acquisition to mainly preservation and communication). This shift occurs as both organisations gradually become more aware of the ethical dilemmas involved in the practice of acquiring, or supporting the acquisition of, ancient cultural artefacts from foreign countries. As the foundation changes its acquisitions policy, from the acquisition of mainly Greek, Italian and Egyptian artefacts, and increasingly Modern French and golden age Danish art, to more contemporary (particularly Danish) art in the past forty years, the legitimization of art to understand our place in history becomes transferred to the Danish golden age masters, the support of which is used to connect and place Danish art in a wider European cultural history. Moreover, in the context of rising costs on the international art market, the rise of the Danish Art Foundation (the national public art foundation supporting contemporary art) and an increasing public appreciation of contemporary art, fostered not least by the growth of modern art museums in Denmark, NCF increasingly uses the past to strategically legitimate itself vis-a-vis an increasingly commercial and fast paced art scene. This occurs even as the foundation itself greatly increased its support for contemporary art (discussed shortly).

The use the past to understand ‘our place in history’ is closely tied to the objects of the foundations support, this relationship between objects and legitimization, which is also suggested, but remains unexplored, in Boltanski and Thévenot’s work on justification (2006) suggests that future research might fruitfully explore this relationship in greater detail. Another element, which also underlies this use of the past, concerns the role of emotions and state-of-mind. This element remains unexplored dimension in the present paper and might fruitfully be investigated in future studies since we know very little about the relationship between emotions and institutions, interest in which has only recently emerged in institutional and convention theory (Creed et al., 2014; Silber, 2012b; Voronov & Vince, 2012b), particularly since emotions have seen a more thorough investigation in the field of academic history (see Sullivan, 2013 for a review).

Kairos: Use of the moment

With the increasing valorisation of ‘the contemporary’ and prioritization of contemporary art we observe an increasing use of ‘the moment’ or ‘the timely’ to legitimate the foundations role and the role of the artwork it

www.carlsbergfondet.dk). See also J.C. Jacobsen Family Archive (<http://www.carlsberggroup.com/Company/heritage/archive/Pages/DetailPage2.aspx>)

acquires and museums it supports, this trend reflects the wider institutions of society and the higher status of contemporary art. This use of the past offers a prime example of the changing institutions of the wider society being infused into the organisations practices, at the same time as the foundation continues to legitimate itself through its role as a protector of the past, and this schism and ability to pursue both roles, elucidates the organisations highly reflective ability vis-à-vis its institutionalised practices and wider society. It is therefore also difficult to categorize the use of the moment, as a strategic or institutional use of the past, despite the status of the moment reflecting a greater societal and cultural focus on the timely, the use of the timely as a legitimisation is highly strategic.

Anecdotes and coincidental stories

The use of anecdotes and ‘coincidental’ stories about the past is interesting in the context of a foundation, which draws its legitimacy from the professional experience and education of its board members, and writers in its annual reports. On the surface, anecdotes and coincidental stories constitute a very different use of the past than the art historical, and knowledge-based contextualisation particularly present in the uses of the past that refer to historical place and present. However, the use of these coincidental stories requires a particularly strong historical awareness of the past, particularly past and present institutional rules, to strategically invoke these stories into the legitimisation in the annual report. We observe that similarly to the uses of the past drawing upon the founder and familial dynamics and historical place, the use of anecdotes and coincidental stories share a strong underlying emotional component. In this regard further investigation may fruitfully attend to the contexts in which emotions are present in particular uses of the past and more broadly the extent to which emotions constitute a separate regime of justification as suggested by Silber (2011), or are an inherent component of any institutional order, and the strategic and institutional implications of this, vis-à-vis an organisations ability to legitimate its practices and purposes.

Conclusion and Further Perspectives

Our case study illustrates the particular significance of organisational knowledge and historical awareness to be able to strategically and institutionally make use of the past in legitimating its purposeless and practices. Among the key uses of the past we observed; use of the charter, the founder/founding family, historical place, present and anecdotal stories; we observed the following factors to be of key significance to the organisations ability to strategically and institutionally make use of the past. We phrase these factors as questions, since they may be asked more generally of any family foundation to understand ability to make use of the past:

- 1) To what extent are the foundation and the public knowledgeable about the organisations founding family and history? And to what extent is this history perceived to be legitimate both in the public and in the organisation?
- 2) In what spirit was the organisation founded and how is the organisation and similar organisations understood in the context of present society?
- 3) How specifically are the organisations purposes defined in the charter and how freely is the organisation able to act vis-a-vis its charter and to what extent have the charter and organisational practices changed over the course of the organisations history?

- 4) What particular meanings are infused into the objects or projects of the organisations support? Have these meanings or objects changed in the organisations work? To what extent do these objects or projects resonate with the wider institutions of society i.e. the wider society goals that are perceived as worthy? And to what extent are wider societal trends perceived to be legitimate?

Our case is an example of an organisation with a high degree of knowledge about its organisational past and wider cultural history, which has been favoured by an underlying public approval of the foundation's work, and been able to weather instances of public disapproval by drawing strategically on the greater spirit of the time, in which these actions were perceived to be legitimate. This ability to use the past, is on one hand a reflection of the organisations knowledge about the past and on the other hand a reflection of a generally legitimate view of the foundation and the foundation's ability to restore its legitimacy by changing its practices. In addition the foundation has derived legitimacy from being more open than the Danish public's general view of foundations as closed and uninformative, and this has strengthened the foundation's legitimacy and ability to invoke different uses of the past as a legitimating strategy, which rest on communicative action. Furthermore, the particular wording of the charter, has given the foundation significant leeway to adapt its practices to remain legitimate. The foundation has also been able to enhance its legitimacy by honouring the spirit in which it was founded, e.g. as a support for an associated museum, even while changing its charter to delicately free itself from a specific financial commitment. We also observe the foundation's ability to retain this greater spirit, connected to early objects of its support specifically antiquities, by continuing to support their preservation and presentation, even while the foundation has gradually made established modern and contemporary art its key area of acquisition. The organisation's ability to consciously and conscientiously undertake this work makes it an ideal case to study the skill and sensitivity by which a family philanthropic foundation can continuously change while retaining its legitimacy and relevance.

The case thus draws attention to the very subtle kind of organisational entrepreneurship; the foundation is able to do through its strategic and institutional reflection. Illustrating the value to scholars of strategic entrepreneurship in attending to historical 'work' (Foster & Suddaby 2015), particularly with regards to understanding organisational legitimacy. Our study indicates that future work might fruitfully consider a number of aspects that our study touches upon, but we were unable to engage with more deeply; this concerns e.g. the rise of the public Danish Art Foundation and how such a large player may have affected the wider institutional context and the strategic choices of the New Carlsberg Foundation. This also begs the question how public foundations, that do not have the familial history to draw on strategically and institutionally use the past, and in turn how younger foundations with a less extensive history do so. We also consider the relationship between objects of support and legitimation strategies to be a particularly interesting area for future study. A final element, which emerged in our study was the role of emotions and state-of-mind in the legitimation of the foundations purposes and practices, which was particularly present in the uses of the past pertaining to the founder, historical place and anecdotes, suggesting the need for an improved understanding of emotions and institutions.

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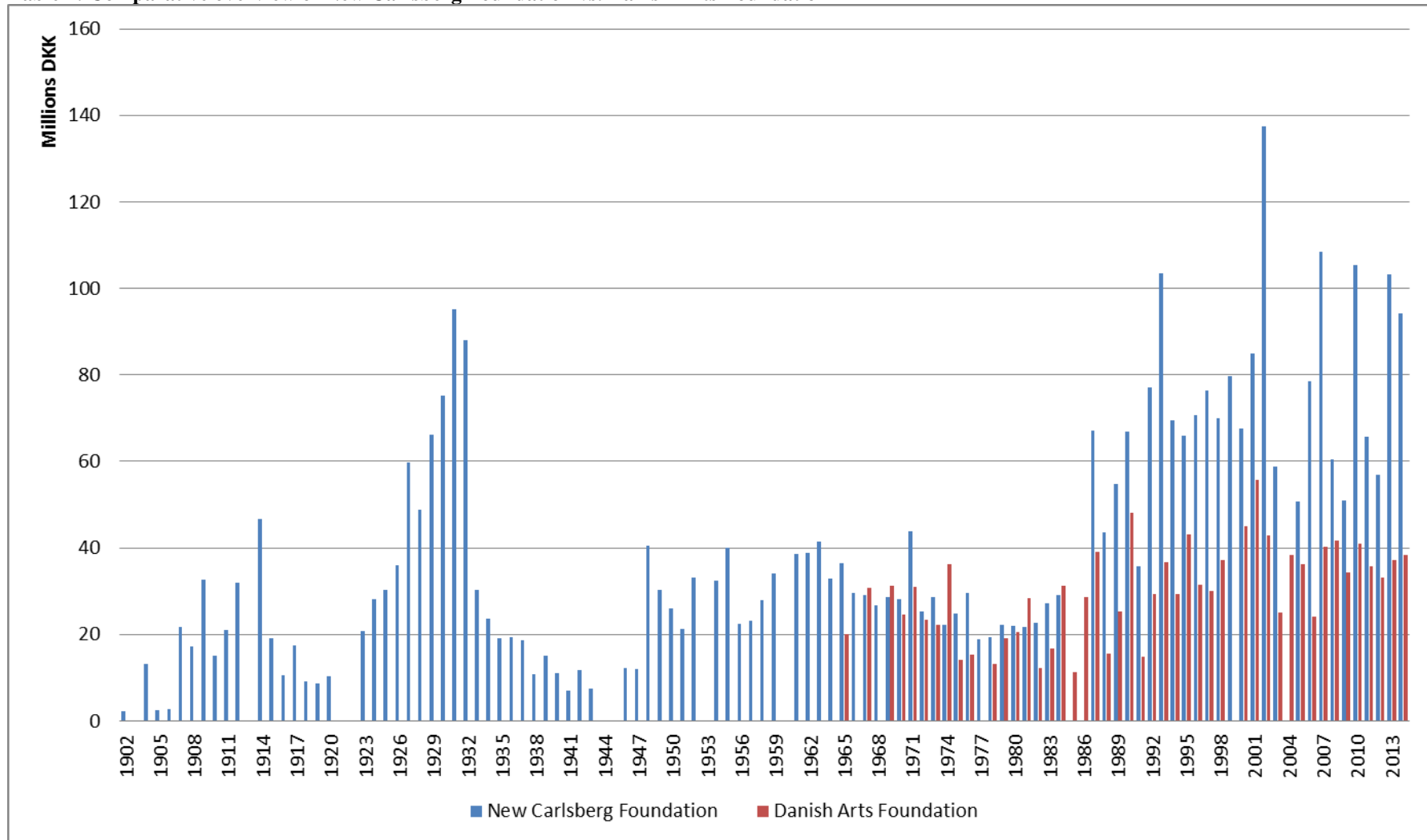
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Appendix

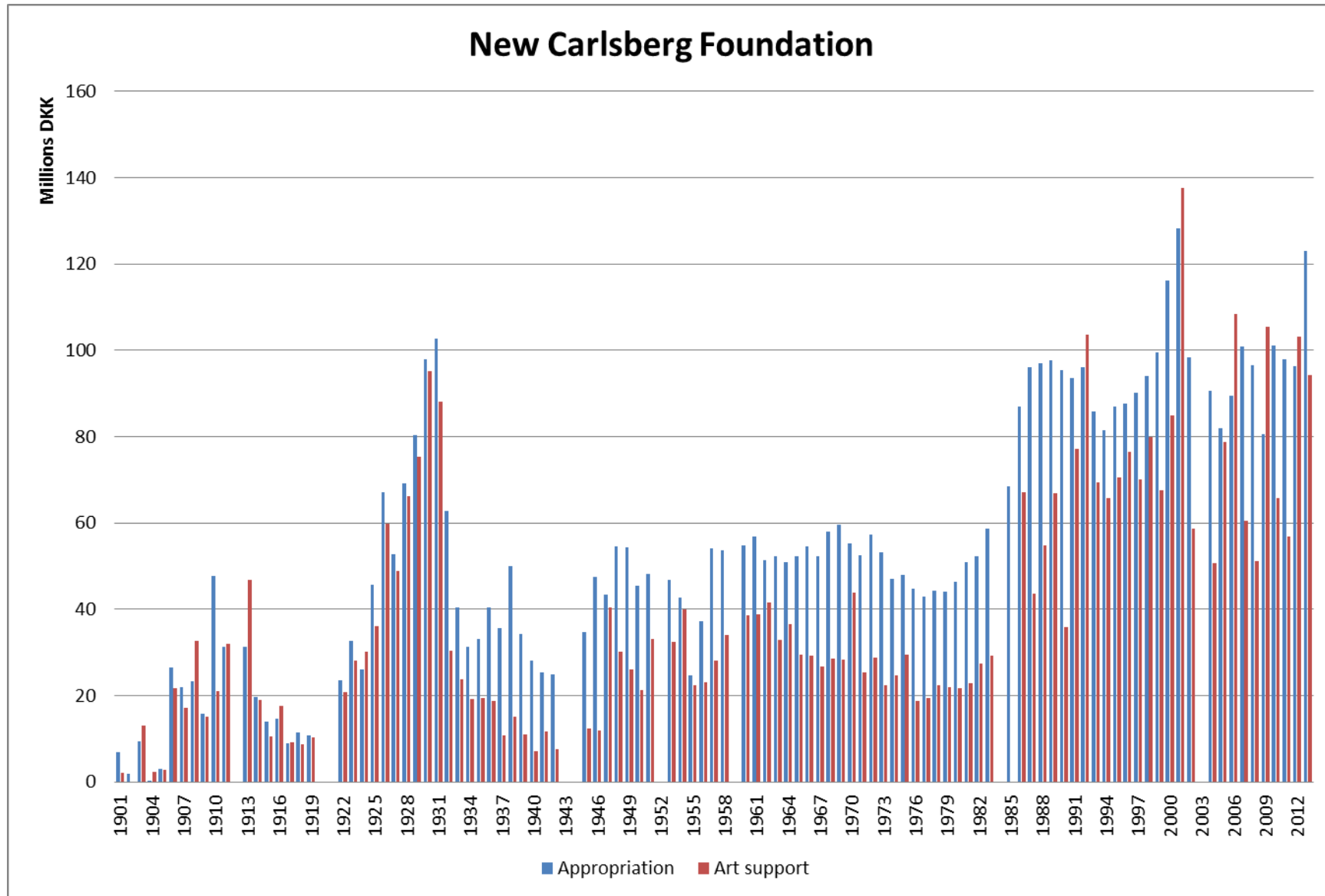
Appendix 1: Quantitative overview over art support

Table 1: Comparative overview of New Carlsberg Foundation vs. Danish Arts Foundation



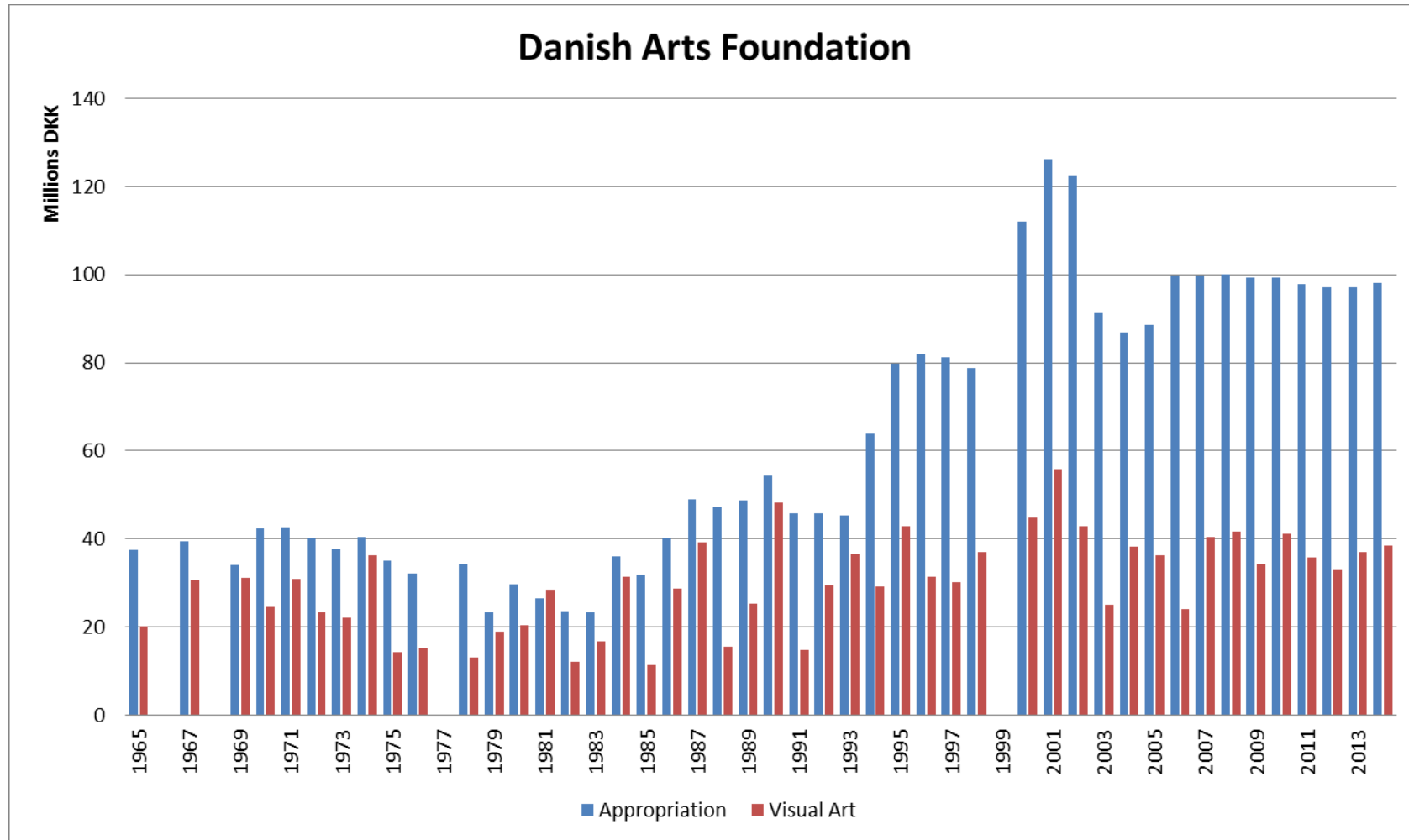
Note: adjusted to 2015-prices according to Statistics Denmark's consumer price index.

Table 2: Overview of New Carlsberg Foundation



Note: adjusted to 2015-prices according to Statistics Denmark's consumer price index.

Table 3: Overview of Danish Arts Foundation



Note: adjusted to 2015-prices according to Statistics Denmark's consumer price index

Appendix 2: Background interviews and examples of interviews guides

Overview over informants

Name	Position	Organisation	Time
Anne Krøigaard	Head of Secretariat	New Carlsberg Foundation	Running dialogue 2013-
Maria Fabricius Hansen	Former Board Member	New Carlsberg Foundation	28/02/2013
Morten Kyndrup	Board Member	New Carlsberg Foundation	21/05/2013
Hans-Edvard Nørregaard-Nielsen	Former Chairman	New Carlsberg Foundation	28/11/2013
Karsten Ohrt	Chairman	New Carlsberg Foundation	20/07/2015
Claus Grønne	Archivist	New Carlsberg Foundation	20/07/2015
Tom Hermansen	Chief Advisor	New Carlsberg Foundation	20/07/2015
Anette Østerby	Office Director, Visual Arts	The Danish Arts Agency	16/03/2015
Jesper Smed Jensen	Office Manager, Visual Arts	The Danish Arts Agency	16/03/2015
Gitte Ørskou	Chairwoman, Committee for Visual Arts	The Danish Arts Foundation	09/07/2015

Interview guide for Morten Kyndrup, New Carlsberg Foundation

- How do you see the New Carlsberg Foundation's role?
- Where do you think the New Carlsberg Foundation is heading?
- Does the New Carlsberg Foundation work strategically in relation to changed societal circumstances? A changing visual art scene?
- How do you see the New Carlsberg Foundation role vis-à-vis the states'? Synergies? Battles?
- There seems to be a gradual hollowing of state funding, does the New Carlsberg Foundation work strategically in relation to this?
- Why does Denmark need the New Carlsberg Foundation? What would happen without?
- Why does the foundation support the arts?
- What value does the foundation create?
- Does the foundation look to any other foundations for inspiration?
- How does the foundation work today?
- How are new board members elected?

Interview guide for Gitte Øskou, Danish Arts Foundation

- How would you describe the art you support?
- Why do you support the visual arts?
- How is this expressed in the art you support?
- What is the problem the Danish Arts Foundation solves?
- How would you describe the Danish Arts Foundation's role?
- What visions and ideas do you contribute with as Chairman?
- How do you (the Committee) work?
- How do you decide what is offered support?
- How does your work for the Danish Arts Foundation and your work at Kunsten (Museum of Modern Art Aalborg) interrelate?
- Is there a reconceptualization going on between the role of private foundations and the role of the state? If so, how do you see your role in this?
- Does the states prioritization(s) of art affect your work? And how does it affect society in general?
- Does the Danish Arts Foundation consult private foundations in its work? why, why not? What is the character of the collaboration?
- Can you tell me about the Danish Arts Foundation's historical role?
- What is characteristic about the situation today? What is different to previously?
- Do you consult other countries art foundations? (e.g. Arts Council England), why? why not?
- What, in your opinion is/are the biggest misunderstanding(s) about the Danish Arts Foundation and the role of the visual arts committee's role?

Appendix 3: Overview of thematisation from reports

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Themes	The new, the young the unknown (old, known)	The national, often linked to the rural or national-regional (international/cosmopolitan)	Site-specific, the local (related to the known/familial/national/capital)	The international-regional (Europe, Nordic, Western, cosmopolitan, often related to Renown)	Knowledge, education, research, developmental, professional* (separated from the industrial)	Inspiration, <i>au de la peinture</i>	Intimacy/familiarity, the known (the unknown)	Associative legitimacy, the established, old, the known	The past, inheritance (future)	In time, contemporary, timely, synchronic*	Permanence, future, realisation	Time as a resource (market/industrial)	The collection
Periods of particular strength (NCF)	70s, 80s	Foundation, 25 th anniversary, 70s	20s (capital region), 60s	90s	*Throughout	80s, 90s	80s	Founding years, 80s (consecration)	70s, 80s,	80s	90s		80s
Periods of particular strength (DAF)	2010s	60s, 90s			*Throughout 60s, 80s, 90s 2010s					70s	90s	90s	60s
Higher order institution	Mental-political space				Enlightenment	Inspired	Familial	Renown	Temporality				
Representation in lit.			Thévenot		(industrial) B&T	B&T	F&A, B&T, Thévenot	B&T					

Overview of thematisation cont.

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Themes	Humanistic, social welfare*	The horror (beauty)	Authenticity, artistic quality (inauthenticity, pseudo-art)	Emotions, contemplation, state of mind*, personal preference/affinity, distaste, sense	Uselessness, idleness (productivity)	Projective collaborative	Legal, civic bureaucratic	Market	Industrial, utility (uselessness)	Public, deliberative, communicative, transparent, diverse, democratic, <i>critical/frank</i>
Periods of particular strength (NCF)	90s	80s,	80s	90s	90s	90s	Founding period (1902-)	90s	90s	90s
Periods of particular strength (DAF)	*60s 70s		60s, 90s	60s, 70s, 80s,		Late 60s, 80s, 2010s	Founding period (1965-), 2014	(60s)		60s-70s, 90s-00s, 10s (less critical)
Higher order institution	Felt/Emotions Related to the inspired order (B&T)				Related to the inspired	Projective	Democratic/Civic	Market	Industrial 'efficiency' logic	Related to the civic, the public sphere, renown
Representation in lit.		(inspired) B&T		Silber, *Thévenot ROE		B&C	F&A, B&T	F&A, B&T	B&T	F&A, B&T Habermas (PS)

Appendix 4: The New Carlsberg Foundation before 1974

In 1902 upon the establishment of the New Carlsberg Foundation, its charter was printed in an addendum to the annual report of the greater Carlsberg Foundation, in this we find the founding legitimations for its existence; service to the arts, education, development, the nation and the public:

“The tasks of the New Carlsberg Foundation are:

- A. *in part* to continue the work which Carl and Otilia Jacobsen have begun in service of the arts, by the establishment of museums, acquisitions of artworks, the construction of monumental buildings etc.,”
in part to in other ways, which over time may prove useful to its purpose, to promote the study of art and knowledge about the arts, all with the purpose of developing and satisfying the need for art in our fatherland.
- B. By art we do not only understand visual art and architecture, but also art industry and the, in our country, under-appreciated, garden art.
- C. The first task for the foundation is the completion of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek
- D. As long as I, Carl Jacobsen, or I, Otilia Jacobsen, or one of our sons have a seat on the board, it should be possible to use up until 10.000 of the foundation’s income for public purposes, which lie outside the realms of the abovementioned framework.” (Carlsberg Foundation 1902, 14-15)

In the early years of the New Carlsberg foundation’s operation, from 1902-1907, its activities are justified mainly with basic financial accounting. This is primarily because the foundations funds were almost exclusively used to finance the construction of the New Carlsberg Glyptotek. With the opening of the Glyptotek in 1906, the foundation began using its funds to fill the gallery and from this point onwards begins to deliver a comprehensive list of its acquisitions. In the first decades of its operation, the foundation legitimizes its work through the acquisition of highly established categories of art, drawing upon the status of ancient Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Egyptian and occasionally Babylonian, Assyrian and East-Asian cultural heritage, and the well-established idea of what is appropriate in a Glyptotek, having seen Ludwig the first’s Glyptotek in Munich. Upon the death of Carl Jacobsen (1914), the foundation begins to acquire highly esteemed French art and art of well-established Danish Golden age artists, which Carl Jacobsen himself had also acquired privately. Modern French was already a well-established category and perhaps the most prestigious at the time in a Western context, and the foundation seeks to acquire the work of famous French artists e.g. sculptures by August Rodin and etchings and paintings by Eugène Delacroix, Édouard Manet, Paul Gauguin, the latter of whom had a relation to Denmark, having resided in Copenhagen briefly from 1884-5. Christen Købke, C.W. Eckersberg and Bertel Thorvalden are among the renowned Danish Golden age artists acquired, and the foundation also acquires the work of the contemporary Norwegian-Danish sculptor Stephan Sinding, both of whom had work already to be found in the Glyptotek owing

to the bequest of Carl Jacobsen's private collection, reflecting the preferences and acquisitions made by Carl Jacobsen during his lifetime.

Following the first few decades the foundation slowly begins to support more broadly, particularly acquisitions for the capital region's National Gallery, the National Museum at Frederiksborg Castle (run by the greater Carlsberg Foundation) and the Danish Art Industry Museum, but on its silver jubilee the foundation endows a variety of museums all over the Danish nation beginning an era of a key focus on select a handful of important national museums in the capital, counterbalanced by a focus on offering works to public facilities and museums in Danish provinces through a lottery system of allocation. With this movement towards endowing the provincial museums, the foundation begins to acquire a significant amount of work by Danish artists –becoming a supporter of the arts, through national acquisition, but maintaining the practice of a more international profile of acquisition, along with the work of the most esteemed Danish artists, to the national museums in the capital region.

Following its silver jubilee the foundation also slowly begins up-prioritising publications in Danish about the arts. In 1932-33, an illustrative year for a number of institutionalised practices, the foundation endows the Glyptotek with Egyptian, Greek and Modern art, in addition to the Glyptotek, the National Gallery, The Art Industry Museum and the National Museum are supported in the capital region. Alongside this many smaller museums and public facilities around the country are endowed with the work of mostly Danish art. Thirdly the foundation supports a number of "other chartered purposes" including a park for Aarhus University, a decoration for Christiansborg Castle (home of the Danish Parliament), the support for various associations e.g. the Association for French art, the documentary project of 'Denmark's Churches' and a sizable amount of travel stipends.

In the late 1930s, there is a change in its charter where the specific financial commitment towards the Glyptotek, to support deficits in the Glyptotek's running costs, which were included in the foundations Charter of 1924, is taken out, and the reference to the Glyptotek is written into its initial task "to continue the work which Carl and Ottilia Jacobsen have begun in service of the arts, by the establishment of New Carlsberg Glyptotek and other museums, acquisitions of artworks, the construction of monumental buildings etc." (NCF Charter 1940).

During the following decades the foundation maintains a relatively stable practice, and continues an accounting practice in which legitimations are conveyed indirectly through the categories of work. Following a more nationally oriented period of acquisitions and endowments for pragmatic reasons during the Second World War (1940-45 in Denmark, during which moving art was difficult) and upon the death of Helge Jacobsen in 1946, the foundation begins a number of 'innovations' reintroducing Carl Jacobsen's *Museumsmandslegat*, a stipend for Museum 'men' and the introduction of 3-year stipends for 'young scholars', mostly museum inspectors. The foundation also begins a practice of longer 5-year commitments for example to the Art Industry Museum, which is offered a fixed instalment for its own acquisitions each year over a five-year period. The latter initiatives carry within them a strong developmental logic, and underlying trust in the community of art professionals and therein a professional reverence and arms-length kind of logic, running parallel to acquisitions based on its own professional judgement.

These new practices appear to be 'layered' on top of a continuously strong appreciation for established categories such as Antique or French Modern art and with regard to the latter, if possible, the work of renowned artists exemplified e.g. by the 1948 acquisition of a Picasso, with the majority of international work being endowed to national galleries in the capital. Alongside this, the foundation maintains a now 25-year long tradition of acquiring mainly the work of Danish artists (both old and contemporary) and offering a number of these via a lottery system to provincial museums. There is a logic inherent in the rural Danish museums, being endowed with more mono-culturally »Danish« art. Mid-century, however, museums in the larger Danish cities, Aalborg, Odense and Aarhus, begin to receive works of art with more international motifs, painted by Danish artists on travels in Southern Europe. The foundation, through its highly established nature, also begins to 'consecrate' various Danish artists; through the acquisition and prestigious placement of the artists' work e.g. two sculptures by Astrid Noack (1888-1954) are endowed to The New Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1955. During the 1950s the Glyptotek also begins amassing a greater and greater deficit, which is continuously noted and covered by the New Carlsberg Foundation.

During the early 60s the foundation, owing in part to the great profits of its brewery, is able to massively scale up its support for the arts. This fosters a form of accounting, where specific categories (but not substantially new priorities) are brought forward more clearly. The foundation now consciously denotes the prioritization of art endowments "within" and "outside" the capital region. There is also a massive increase in "Decorative" projects, in 1960-61 e.g. more than 30 decorative projects, where the foundation rather than simply giving one or two pieces, is responsible for the decoration of an entire public facility, hall or building. This shift towards a more active policy, can be attributed to both increasing resources, the ascension of a new Chairman, the art historian, Torben Holck Colding, and a greater public spirit in Danish society. In 1962-63, the annual reports also notably begin to include pictures of select items as a documentary form of legitimation. In 1964-65, there is notably no mention of the newly founded Danish Art Foundation, however, in 1966 the lottery form of endowment of artworks notably disappears, and leaving only professional decisions as a form of endowment. The following decade the foundation notably begins to show a greater interest in international modern and contemporary art, both through its consecration of young Danish art, and through the acquisition of more established and internationally renowned artworks, outside the category of French modern art, illustrated by e.g. the endowment of artwork by Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966) in 1965, Lucio Fontana (1899-1968) in 1967 to Louisiana and e.g. the acquisition of the Japanese-American artist Shinkichi Tajiri (1923-2009) "Made in U.S.A.", which simultaneously exposes the highly national orientation of its other acquisitions, with the exception of the well established categories of antique and French modern art. During the 1960s and 70s the foundation also begins to support a small number of travelling exhibitions to high schools and vocational colleges, as part of a more 'public' service.

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