# Understanding the Organisational Hybridity of Cultural and Art Organisations:

# The Case of Contemporary Art Spaces in Taiwan

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# Abstract

**Understanding the organisational hybridity of cultural and art organisations: The case of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan**

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Research into the phenomenon of hybrid organisations has emerged from a number of different academic and professional spheres, typically focusing on the multiple, complex social issues related to the concept. However, across this work the definition of 'hybrid organisations' is yet to be determined. In addition, little is known about hybrid organisational behaviour in the field of cultural and art institutions, especially across different national and cultural settings.

Responding to this need, this research sets out to explore the organisational hybridity within cultural and art organisations. Taking Taiwanese contemporary art spaces as case studies, it argues that these art organisations cannot achieve hybridity without being able to negotiate complexity. Specifically, it shows how in the Taiwanese context this is achieved by embedding culturally specific approaches into organisational structure, strategy and programming.

What emerges from the research is the importance of the role played by staff in expressing hybrid characteristics; with leadership vital in empowering staff to develop this hybridity. By taking the example of artists-in-residence programmes for all three of its case studies, the thesis demonstrates how hybridity is reached through the ways in which staff have established human relationships with the stakeholders; negotiated the challenges of cultural policy and governmental funding; and facilitated programmes to identify how and why hybridity works.

This research contributes to an understanding of the particular dynamics of hybridity within cultural and art organisations. The findings show that the benefits of hybrid organisations are applicable to different kinds of institutions and offer sustainable ways to foster organisational development. However, beyond this the thesis also shows how the unique contexts of the Taiwanese experience provide a particularly vivid situation in which to see organisational hybridity in action, but also it reminds us of the importance of understanding organisations within their own cultural context.

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## 1-1 Introduction

In 2014, a Thai artist joined the artists-in-residence programme at Siao-Long Cultural Park, Tainan, Taiwan. He was interested in creating art installations related to Siraya Culture, the Siraya being an aboriginal tribe who lived on the plains, and still live distributed throughout Tainan. The Thai artist wanted to create artwork with a pig's head bone, because the head bone of the pig is one of the symbolic elements of a religious ceremony in the Siraya tribe. He asked the staff of Siao-Long Cultural Park if there was a pig skull available to him. In addition, the artist also would like to work with a tailor from the tribe who could make traditional Siraya clothes for his sculptures. A series of processes had been undertaken by staff, including finding the skull from a traditional market, cleaning it up for the artist to work, visiting the tribe and looking for tailors who knew how to design and make Siraya clothing. At the office, staff constantly talked with each other in order to generate ideas, collected information and exchanged experiences for fulfilling the artist's needs – working together to solve problems. Many discussions had taken place between staff and the Thai artist to help him in completing art works during his residence. Throughout the collaborative process between Siao-Long and resident artists, it was not only necessary for staff to understand how to work both with artists from different cultural contexts and at the same time with local community members, but it was also important for staff to work together to deal skillfully with challenges.

This example exemplifies the day-to-day affairs within specific types of art organisations in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces (their context will be explained in a

later section). It not only illustrates the ways in which staff work with their colleagues and the resident artist, but also points out that the programmes they facilitate are often unexpected - a phenomenon which has influenced the organisational behaviour of these art organisations. In this example, staff need not only to work with multiple participants (the director of the art organisation, resident artists and community members) but also to facilitate programmes collaboratively (with staff members, resident artists and community members). They are representing a culture that requires them to behave strategically but equally they need to be sensitive to the wider cultural and social context. Similarly, when an interaction like this occurs, the role of the art organisation's staff is to deal with complex matters, while the artists expect to facilitate programmes of community engagement, and at the same time examiners (governmental funders and accountants) hope that more visitors will attend despite the limited government funding. It is a complex moment in which a number of different needs are met, and individuals are reaching for different aims. For moments like this to happen, the cultural and art organisation needs simultaneously to be many things (a commissioner and a facilitator), and it needs to behave in different ways (formal and hierarchical, but also open and flexible). The cultural and art organisation, in this way, needs to exercise (and to retain) both of these identities and practices. It needs to exhibit hybridity.

**Research aim**

This thesis sets out to understand the specific (hybrid) dynamics of organisational culture within cultural and art organisations. Taking Taiwanese contemporary art spaces as case studies, this research aims to explore why and how these hybrid dynamics allow these organisations to thrive and succeed. Specifically, it focuses on their hybrid characteristics and is pioneering in being the first study trying to understand the

particular dynamics of this hybridity, and what works within that. The term 'hybridity' has been discussed differently within various disciplines (Powell, 1987; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Joldersma & Winter, 2002; Hulme et al., 2010) and seems not to have been fully defined yet (Mair et al., 2015). Reviewing the current research on hybrid organisations and as the first study of organisational hybridity in cultural and art organisations, this research locates case studies in Taiwan, comparing different organisational functions of contemporary art spaces to see how characters articulate hybridity. In brief, this thesis is about showing and evidencing how these art organisations are a kind of hybrid, and why the hybridity works. Throughout, the thesis attempts to identify that there is something specific (and 'hybrid') about the way in which relationships with stakeholders are managed, how cultural policy is implemented, and how funding is secured within these contemporary Taiwanese art spaces.

## Original contribution

The thesis intends to make an original contribution to the restructuring of a theoretical framework for the concept of hybrid organisations with (particular) regard to cultural and arts organisations. It also demonstrates a new approach to examining hybrid characteristics in particular social and cultural contexts. The thesis will therefore not only provide new insights into how hybridity has been shaped within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces but also offer evidence in support of the way in which this organisational hybridity is able to cope with difficulties. This research argues that Taiwanese contemporary art spaces succeed by self-consciously following a hybrid organisational culture; these art organisations negotiate complexity by embedding flexibility into their organisational culture. It is this flexibility (a hybrid of Taiwanese and Western approaches) that allows them to collaborate with multiple stakeholders,

respond to cultural policy and to the governmental funding system, and to design community-based programmes which draw upon an array of cultural and social issues.

## Research question and focus

This thesis poses three principal questions to explore these hybrid and flexible dynamics of cultural and art institutions in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces:

1. How can the organisational behaviour of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces be seen as hybrid within the context of Taiwan's complex society?
2. How do Taiwanese contemporary art spaces behave in hybrid ways while engaging with different stakeholders?
3. Why is hybridity essential for the sustainable development of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces?

This study sets out to investigate the importance of hybrid organisational behaviours: the focus of the research is on the values and behaviour of staff members within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, as opposed to their visitors. The reason for this internal emphasis is to respond to a knowledge gap in scholarly work on hybrid organisations in Taiwan. Very little, as of yet, is known about the concept of Taiwanese hybrid organisations: only a precious few papers relay relevant concepts. For example, the leadership model influenced by traditional Chinese values ('paternalistic leadership') has been widely discussed by scholars (Cheng et al., 2004; Wu, 2012; Yu et al., 2009), but the term 'hybrid' has seldom appeared in research about Chinese organisational behaviour. The concept of 'hybrid', as proposed by Cheng and Lin, suggests that a new organisational type may have gradually emerged in Taiwan, which is neither the typical patriarchal leadership model nor similar to the Western

organisational model, but instead, a mixed-values phenomenon within Taiwanese organisations (1999). However, the influence of hybridity in organisations, especially in Taiwanese cultural and art institutions, has remained unclear.

This thesis follows a case-study methodology, using semi-structured interviews for data collection. Data for this study was collected to analyse three types of operational functions of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in order to examine holistically aspects of organisational structure, strategy and programming. Therefore, this study is driven by three Taiwanese art institutions; the case-study organisations are Bamboo Curtain Studio, a private and non-profit organisation; Treasure Hill Artist Village - a semi-governmental organisation; and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts - a University museum. All three case-study organisations are located in Northern Taiwan; figure 1 shows the location of the three art organisations. The analytical approach was based on how the three case studies facilitate artists-in-residence programmes within their operational functions, and it targets staff within the case-study organisations to discover the similarities or differences among them in terms of their hybrid characteristics. The reason for choosing the three art organisations will be further explained in Chapter 3: Research Methods.

Since this research is located in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this introductory chapter attempts to outline the research contexts of these art institutions, including the cultural and social context of contemporary Taiwanese society, the context of the artists-in-residence programmes within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, and the context of hybrid organisations in relation to current research. In the second half of this opening discussion, the theoretical framework and structure of the thesis will be further explained – including how the theory of collaboration has informed the research design.

Figure 1: Location of three case-study art organisations (Google Map, 2020)

## 1-2 Research context: The context of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan

### The context of contemporary Taiwanese society

In contemporary Taiwan, there is no doubt that Taiwanese values have undergone radical changes as political authoritarianism has weakened and Taiwan has been increasingly influenced by modernisation (Brindley, 1990; Wang, 1993, 2005; Huang, 2000; Yang and Cheng, 1987). Throughout these political and social changes, Taiwan has peacefully and successfully transitioned from the decline of authoritarianism to the realisation of democracy (Chu and Chang, 2001); Taiwanese culture has upheld 'stronger attitudes towards self-autonomy and [is] more against social dominance and authoritarian conservatism' (Liu et al., 2010: 592).

The development of democracy in Taiwan however is influenced not only by political movements, but also by Western cultural values. According to writers such as Brindley (1989) and Lu and Yang (2006), therefore, Taiwanese people are more likely to reflect both traditional and modern values in their behaviour. As Lu and Yang argue, the Taiwanese seem to have a tendency towards 'traditional-modern bicultural behaviour' (2006), which means that, due to historical and political changes, the Taiwanese have gradually managed to integrate both Chinese traditional values and Western values.

In the context of this specific perspective, it is necessary to clarify the terms Chinese and Taiwanese at the beginning. The term 'Chinese', as interpreted in this research, is a cultural term, implying neither politics nor geography. For example, the discipline of Chinese indigenised psychology (Yang, 1995; Yang, 2006; Li, 1982; Wen, 1988; Hwang, 2000, 2005; Huang, 1999, 2005), which was developed by scholars from

Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, refers to Han culture, mostly shaped by Confucianism. The Taiwanese tendency towards a bi-cultural characteristic has to a certain degree influenced the organisational culture of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. However, it is not a simple matter to identify their specific organisational behaviour based on this kind of bicultural characteristic. Most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces engage closely with various stakeholders, such as local communities, resident artists in Taiwan and globally, examiners (governmental funders and accountants). The complexity of human relationships has required these art institutions to integrate multiple values and behaviours in order to collaborate with different stakeholders with the aim of facilitating programmes. For example, one of the important skills for staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is to deal with the issue of cultural specificities, since in any project they encounter different individuals with unique cultural and social backgrounds. In addition, the challenge of limited budgets has allowed the Taiwanese contemporary art space to shape its unique organisational structure and strategies in order to address financial issues.

**The context of artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan**

The development of the idea of artists-in-residence in Taiwan is not only influenced by Western concepts but also by political change within Taiwan itself. The term artists' residencies derives originally from the West, and the meanings of artists' residencies also have been altered in different periods (Policy Hand Book on Artists' residencies of European Union, 2016). According to the *Policy Handbook on Artists' residencies*, artists' residencies arose in the late 19th century, evolved into a new stage in the 1960s, and continued in the 70s and 80s (2016). During this latter period, one of the new movements within artists' residencies aimed for 'social interaction and attempted to

involve the public: guest and studios in villages and cities served as bases for social and political change' (ibid: 69). In the1970s, artists' residencies thrived in the Western world (Tung, 2013). At that time, in comparison, because of political difficulties within Taiwan's international relations, Taiwanese artists focused during this period on the cultural identity of the island, creating art works to reflect the indigenous and localised elements of Taiwan (Lai, 2003). It was not until the late 1980s that artists' residencies emerged in Taiwan (Tung, 2013).

Wei-Hsiu Tung, Assistant Professor of the National University of Tainan, has observed the development of artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan for a lengthy period of time. Tung draws on the perspective of art educator David Harding to define the notion of artist-in-residence as 'artists immersing themselves in the area, taking art as a way to reflect the social and cultural issues which deeply relate to the communities' (1995: 28). She further indicates that:

> The residence allows artists to re-examine their sociocultural worlds in the light of otherness, which in turn is made to reflect on itself. This is why art practice in residence is said to unfold creatively through a process of mutual reflexivity within a particular culture, community, or place. Artistic residences create a space that celebrates the encounter with difference in everyday life experience (2013: 48).

However, from the late 1990s onwards, the artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan have shifted from reflecting the culture of Taiwan to being active organisations responding to social change and cultural awakening (Tung, 2013). In other words, as Tung argues, artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan are no longer simply defined by artists staying at certain sites and creating, with the facilitators of such programmes as passive conduits, but, instead, are understood through the organisations that make the

artists-in-residence programme happen and which foster art as a 'carrier of social values' (2013: 16).

Reflecting upon Taiwan's context, most of the organisations that facilitate artists-in-residence programmes are Taiwanese contemporary art spaces which recognise and strongly support the above concept. For example, the three case studies, Bamboo Curtain Studio, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, usually consider how to arouse the attention of the public with regard to certain social and cultural issues as the core of their operation. For these art organisations, the purpose of the artists-in-residence programme is to prompt more people to pay attention to certain social changes that are considered important but may not yet have been recognised as such by a wider audience. This approach has been interpreted by these three case studies as the concept of public benefit, which means how to utilise the resources these art organisations possess to achieve the maximum benefits for the participants involved. However, there is still uncertainty regarding the precise definition of the term public benefit (Wu, 2016). The concept of public benefit will be explained in Chapter 3: Research Methods.

The way Taiwanese contemporary art spaces design artists-in-residence programmes has shaped a very unusual set of circumstances that involves various individuals throughout the collaborative process of every project. The participants may include staff members, resident artists, curators, community members, school students and teachers from elementary schools to universities. On one hand, the direction of artists-in-residence programmes is helpful for these art organisations in enhancing the degree of hybridity in order to collaborate with multiple participants; at the same time, however, it also raises uncertainties particularly in the facilitation of community-based programmes. This

research is based upon an analysis of how the hybrid characteristics of the three case studies shape the ways they facilitate artists-in-residence programmes, thus it is vital to provide a brief overview of artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan.

There are several contemporary art spaces across Taiwan that have recently facilitated artists-in-residence programmes as one of their main operational tasks, such as Taipei Artist Village in Taipei (northern Taiwan), Siao-Long Cultural Park in Tainan (western Taiwan), The Pier-2 Art Center in Kaohsiung (southern Taiwan) and Lìzé Puppet Art Colony in Yilan (eastern Taiwan). The concept of artists-in-residence programmes is an important tool for exploring the hybrid features of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Artists-in-residence programmes not only represent the development of contemporary art in Taiwan over the last two decades, but have also been supported by governments for a considerable period of time. For example, all three case studies - Bamboo Curtain Studio, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts - participating in this study have operated an artists-in-residence programme officially funded by the Ministry of Culture during the timeframe of this study which was conducted from 2015 to 2016. To be specific, two of the three case studies, Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, are institutions whose sole function is to operate artists-in-residence programmes. Therefore, the reliance on governmental funding by art organisations which facilitate artists-in-residence programmes has created problems in operation and programming (this issue will be analysed in Chapter 5: Hybrid approaches to cultural policy and governmental funding).

In addition, artists-in-residence programmes have been developed as one of the focal areas of cultural policy for successive Taiwan governments since 2008. For these governments, the artists-in-residence programme has been gradually recognised as an

approach to facilitate international connections. In 2008, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), previously the Ministry of Culture, initiated the subsidy project '文化部補助藝術村營運扶植計畫 [Ministry of Culture Directions on subsidy project of the operation and cultivation of artists' villages]', which aims to support art organisations that have run artists-in-residence programmes involving international exchange. Reliant upon government finding, the artists-in-residence programme has, in some respects, flourished and been developed by different organisational functions of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. An example of this is the type of governmental foundation, such as Taipei and Treasure Hill Artist Village, managed by Taipei Culture Foundation, which has been supervised by Taipei City Government. In addition, the type of governmental organisations, such as Siao-Long Cultural Park and The Pier-2 Art Centre which are managed directly by Tainan city and Kaohsiung city governments. The third type is operated by private organisations, such as Bamboo Curtain Studio.

The study has identified that, despite being primarily supported by the Ministry of Culture, the ways in which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces facilitate artists-in-residence programmes not only play a role in developing contemporary art in Taiwan, but crucially also facilitate programmes to critique diverse social and cultural issues on both a local and global level. In a wider context, Taiwanese society is increasingly influenced by Western culture and reflects the impact of globalisation (Brindley, 1989; Chu and Chang, 2001; Liu et al., 2010). As Tung argues, artists-in-residence programmes are a way for artists to critique the power dynamics between locality and globalisation integrated in Taiwan's contemporary society (2013). Artists-in-residence programmes have enhanced the ability of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to offer a critical voice in programming relating to social and cultural issues. At the same time, however, these programmes have increased the challenges posed by the complex

relationships between art institutions and their multiple stakeholders as well as by the expectations of governments.

## The context of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan

Most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have been transformed from re-used industrial heritage spaces or historical sites which, themselves, have been shaped by a specific political and historical context. Some of them had been funded by the Council for Cultural Affairs (previously the Ministry of Culture), as a result of governmental funding policies '九十年度閒置空間再利用實施要點 [Implementation of the re-use of vacant spaces in 2001]' and '行政院文化建設委員會閒置空間再利用六個試辦點九十三年度補助作業要點 [Council for Cultural Affairs Implementation of the re-use of vacant spaces for six pilot sites in 2004]'. For instance, Tsung-Yeh Arts and Cultural Centre was the Japanese office of a sugar manufacturing factory opened in 1912 and closed in 1993. In 1999, the Tainan County Government[1] undertook renovations and reopened it as a cultural centre in 2001. It was one of the renovation projects funded by the policy of '九十年度閒置空間再利用實施要點 [Implementation of the re-use of vacant spaces in 2001]'[2]. At a local government level, many city governments also conducted various renovations on vacant industrial heritage or historical sites, such as Siao-Long Cultural Park and Treasure Hill Artist Village. It can be seen that many of the contemporary art spaces in Taiwan have re-used vacant sites with the support of governmental cultural policies.

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[1] Tainan City Government and Tainan County Government were integrated as Tainan City Government in 2011.

[2] An appendix of an executive report about what institutions in which cities have been funded by 九十年度閒置空間再利用實施要點 [Implementation of the re-use of vacant spaces in 2001]: https://stat.moc.gov.tw/eBook_List_DoL.aspx?year=2001&id=90_10

Therefore, there are influences at various types of influences that shape the cultural specificity and complexity in the development of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In accordance with the specific cultural and political development of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, this research uses the term Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to define the research subject, rather than museums or art galleries. First of all, since there is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with the significance of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, it is essential to identify a clear research subject with particular reference to these types of art organisations in Taiwan. One of the differences between them and museums is that most of these are non-collecting art organisations, which mainly focus on projects engaging with local community members. In order to investigate the values and behaviour of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this thesis adopts Western concepts from the field of Museum Studies to examine their function and aims. The perspectives offered by the field of Museum Studies are helpful to understand the practices of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. For example, in the last two decades, Western scholars have noted a shift in museum practice that has broadened the meaning of the museum's function as a social institution which plays a significant role in improving the lives of individuals and working more closely with communities (Silverman,2010, 2015; Lynch, 2011). In accordance with this perspective, this research argues that Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have a similar function.

Furthermore, Hooper-Greenhill indicates that 'the museum in the future may be imagined as a process or an experience' (2000: 152). This perspective suggests that museums may be constantly evolving into something of an intangible space for connection and collaboration: in other words, the practice and programme may move beyond the walls of museums (Silverman, 2015). Referring to this notion, this research

uses 'Taiwanese contemporary art spaces', rather than 'artist village', to demonstrate the kinds of art organisations that run artists-in-residence programmes. As Tung indicates, the term 'artist village' was a 'rather narrow understanding of artistic residence by the Council of Cultural Affairs that gives preference to abandoned places. […] The focus of attention has been the locations rather than the people involved' (2013: 86). Lai, one of the consultants for the 2015 symposium of the Taiwan Artist Village Alliance, also suggested that an artist village should not only preserve several tangible houses, but should be a functional space that allows art practices to unpack both the visible and unseen issues (2015). According to Lai and Tung, art organisations running artists-in-residence programmes usually aim to focus on who is involved and what has been generated through the process. In 2016, at the annual conference of the Artist Village Alliance, the name of the alliance was officially changed to Taiwan Art Space Alliance (TASA). This change of name reflects the potential of contemporary art spaces in themselves and as distinct from museums. Currently, the concept of artists-in-residence within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is often employed as a method of facilitating projects that are experimental or community-based, and which value the collaborative process over the artistic end product.

The above discussion has attempted to address the general context of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, from the overall cultural context of Taiwanese society, the development of artists-in-residence programmes, and the context of contemporary art spaces. This context helps us to understand how contemporary art spaces have emerged in Taiwan, and how they have been shaped by a wider social context and governmental policies. However, how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have developed hybrid approaches in relation to their organisational structure, strategies and programming requires a more thorough examination that takes into consideration current studies in

relation to the concept of hybrid organisations (Haigh et al., 2015; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Cheng & Lin, 1999).

## The context of hybrid organisations: current research into the concept of hybrid organisations

Research into the phenomenon of hybrid organisations has been increasingly emerging from different spheres over the last decade, most of them particularly aiming to deal with complex and multiple social issues (Haigh et al., 2015; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Joldersma & Winter, 2002; Claver-Cortés, et al., 2012). In other words, a growing number of researchers has come to focus on so-called hybrid organisations, hybrid organisational structures, or hybrid strategies (Santos et al., 2015; Haigh et al., 2015; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Joldersma & Winter, 2002; Claver-Cortés, et al., 2012). However, the terminology and theoretical framework still need clarification (Mair et al., 2015). In addition, the definitions, strategies and structures are evidently different in various disciplines. Therefore, it is necessary to define and explore what kinds of hybrid organisational structures have been developed in different disciplines, and how they relate to this research.

There is a significant difference in the definitions which derive from various perspectives. For example, in the business model, the term 'hybrid organisations' may refer to the organisations possessing hybrid structures which mix for-profit and non-profit models (Haigh et al., 2015; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012); however, in terms of Chinese organisational behaviour, it may refer to the mixed leadership styles of Confucian-based traditions and modern, Western-oriented values (Cheng & Lin,1999). Some scholars argue that the unstable or changing features of hybrid organisations

suggest that they are still in a transitional and dynamic stage of development (Mair et al., 2015; Powell, 1987). In summary, a theoretical framework for hybrid organisations has not yet been established, nor has the experimental research about them been fully developed.

In the field of Chinese organisations studies, research into the discipline of Chinese organisational behaviour has gradually increased since 2000 (Lin et al., 2015). However, most studies focus on the concept of paternalistic leadership (Chiang et al., 2012; Chen et al., 2010; Chiang and Chang, 2010; Farh et al., 2008), as does many of the research data collected from enterprises and companies (Cheng et al., 2010; Chiang et al., 2012; Chou et al., 2010; Wu and Jiang, 2012). Research about hybrid organisations in the Taiwanese context, or research focussing upon non-business models has seldom therefore been reviewed in recent Taiwanese research. Very little is known about research on hybrid organisations in the context of Taiwanese art organisations, hence it is necessary to take care in unpacking the term hybridity through this research. The following discussion will attempt to show what features of hybrid organisations have been discovered by scholars and their relation to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

**The features of hybridity**

No matter whether organisations are social enterprises or business firms, there is an increasing awareness of uncertainties within the economy and rapid developments in contemporary society (Hulme et al., 2010). The development of hybridity within organisations is one kind of adaptation to the unstable economic and social environment (Powell, 1987; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Joldersma & Winter, 2002). To summarise, the

primary mission for hybrid organisations, or organisations preparing to become hybrid, is to be aware of and to be able to adapt to a rapidly changing and complex society. How, then, does the term hybridity function within this research? Hulme et al. define the term hybrid as 'of mixed origins' and the 'interaction of two elements of incongruous kinds' (2010: 4). In this definition, the term hybridity clearly shows that the nature of 'being hybrid' is to mix two or more different elements which may have been seen as dynamic, interactive, but also controversial in certain situations. For example, it may not be relevant to this thesis yet important in the issues of race and colonialism. As the museum ethics scholar Marstine demonstrates in her book *Critical Practice: Artists, Museums, Ethics*, with regard to the collections and practices in some museums, hybridity serves 'as a methodological approach to social justice and alternative forms of democracy' (2017: 1).

There are several distinctive elements which can contribute to the features of hybridity. One of the significant elements is flexibility (Hulme et al., 2010). In the perspective of business management, the definition of flexibility is 'the ability to deal with uncertainty and unforeseeable changes' (Swamidass and Newell, 1987; Barad and Sipper, 1988; Gupta and Goyal, 1989). Within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, the ability to act flexibly can be regarded as the principal skill for the operation of their services. In some ways, they have to do so to survive the constraints of restrictive budgets and a lack of staff. In an organisational strategy, flexibility could also refer to the way Taiwanese contemporary art spaces deal with relationships and programmes. The term will be further unpacked in the chapters on analysis. Overall, the way Taiwanese contemporary art spaces facilitate programmes is diverse and, in order to fulfil different purposes, their organisational strategies may change strategically over time.

Decentralisation undoubtedly represents one of the essential hybrid characteristics (Claver-Cortés et al., 2012). The purpose of decentralisation is not only to create a lateral and equal working environment, but also to enable practitioners from across the organisation to influence the decision-making process. In brief, decentralisation refers to two dimensions: creating an equal work environment between leaders and staff and encouraging a joint decision-making process involving practitioners in the planning of projects. However, decentralisation cannot be achieved without a change in behaviour by leaders. As Hulme et al. suggest, 'if leaders want to operate inclusive and productive organisations, they should expect to work with their people, not have their employees work for them' (2010: 9). Thomson and Perry also indicate that 'devolution' for leaders is one of the keys to enhance collaborative capacity (2006: 20). Gray points out that 'without hierarchical authority to which most managers are accustomed, the process must be accomplished laterally' (1989: 9).

The concept of decentralisation is useful in examining how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are different from most other Taiwanese organisations. For example, the way the leaders in the case studies behave not only helps to shape the organisational culture of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, but also contributes to a specific institutional structure in respect of the way decision-making is organised. The term decentralisation is key to understanding the characters of the directors of the case-study organisations. However, the concept of decentralisation still cannot fully explain the characteristic features of the leaders in the three case studies of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. For this reason, the following section particularly draws on studies of charismatic leadership from Western theories and on moral leadership from Chinese organisational behaviour to show the several types of leadership that can be identified in the behaviour of the leaders from the case studies. Chapter 4 will further examine the specific

characters of decision makers (directors and senior managers) within the three case studies.

Charismatic leadership has become one of the influential theories in the area of leadership research over the last two decades (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Shamir et al., 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1990; Podsakoff et al., 1990; Howell & Avolio, 1992). The key element of charismatic leadership is that the leader possesses significant personal charisma which impacts upon the values and behaviour of staff members and further moulds staff into a strong organisational identity (Huang & Kao, 2015). However, some scholars argue that although there has been significant experimental data collection, the establishment of a theoretical framework is relatively less developed (Yammarino & Avolio, 2013; Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). Hence, research into charismatic leadership is still in the process of development.

There are two symbolic features generated from Western theories about charismatic leadership (Huang & Kao, 2015). The first is subordinate shaping, which means leaders usually have an impact upon staff by interacting with them directly, and lead by example in order to show their vision and values to staff (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Shamir et al., 1998). For example, the leaders in the case studies are usually enthusiastic to try new things, and further encourage young staff not to fear failure in programmes. This behaviour on the part of directors often enhances the ability of staff to deal with challenges or difficulties.

The second feature is culture shaping, which means leaders usually particularly emphasise certain behaviours to deliver their values and perspectives (Huang &Kao, 2015). These behaviours strengthen the degree of 'values-fit' between staff and

organisations (Nadler & Tushman, 1990; Huang & Kao, 2015). For example, discussion is one of the common ways for communicating different ideas within Bamboo Curtain Studio. The studio manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio states:

> Each year, the founder/director and two senior managers will discuss with each of us, understand our needs and try to find out what we want to do and how we can learn in the next year. For me, this kind of meeting is amazing, which lets me feel they sincerely care about us and also lets me know clearly about the organisational goal and mission (2016).

However, the influence of the wider cultural context cannot be ignored. In a society deeply influenced by traditional Chinese values, such as Taiwan, the concept of charismatic leadership deriving from Western theories seems unable fully to explain the behaviours of leaders within most Taiwanese organisations (Su & Huang, 2006; Huang et al., 2012; Huang & Kao, 2015). As Huang and Koa assert, the behaviour of 'model shaping' by leaders in many Taiwanese organisations has shown that the phenomenon of model shaping derives from moral leadership (2015). As morality is a vital value in Confucianism, the moral behaviours of leaders will impact deeply upon the organisational identity of staff. To be specific, within the context of traditional Chinese culture emphasising a top-down relationship in society, for charismatic leaders, showing higher moral standards is crucial to enhance their influence on staff (Huang & Kao, 2015). For instance, Lee, the Research Director of Bamboo Curtain Studio, indicates that 'you can find Margret (the founder of Bamboo Curtain Studio) is incredibly passionate about facilitating every programme and truly kind to each young staff without expecting anything in return' (2016).

In addition, the ability to deal with difference is an important feature of being hybrid. As

Hulme et al. indicate, 'embracing difference is a key element in hybrid organisations' (2010: 4). This includes working on multiple levels, and collaborating with different kinds of partners. This phenomenon can also connect to the concept of cultural intelligence (CQ), which means the ability to cross divides and thrive in multiple cultures (Middleton, 2015). For example, staff in the three case studies are usually able to find and read different cultural codes embedded in the behaviour of participants from various social backgrounds. Even if staff do not understand at the beginning, they tend to be willing to learn from each other. Chapter 4 will further explain the concept of embracing difference from the data generated, and how this can be identified as part of the hybrid approach in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

## 1-3 Theoretical framework: Collaboration theory

Increasing numbers of scholars have agreed that collaboration has become a practical approach for multiple partners to consider in dealing with conflict and achieving joint agreement (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991; Huxham, 1996; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994; Thomson and Perry, 2006). The principle of collaboration is embedded everywhere within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Within the case studies, staff collaborate with each other and with their directors, which is influential in shaping the organisational structure and strategies. When dealing with outsiders such as artists, curators, community members and examiners (governmental funders and accountants), it is crucial to understand how to establish relationships with participants and work together to facilitate programmes. This thesis therefore proposes collaboration theory as its theoretical framework to explain the features and importance of collaboration. It is also helpful to review collaboration theory emanating originally from Western scholars in relation to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

This section will be divided into three parts. The first aims to define the term collaboration through previous research and explores how the definition of collaboration has been gradually developed by various scholars. Furthermore, this section asks how the concept of collaboration has evolved over time and in response to the demands of various parties to work together. Thirdly, the section explores the specific advantages and particular difficulties that arise during the collaborative process. It is, in addition, necessary to find out how collaboration theory can be applied to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

A growing number of studies has identified that, when facing complex problems with

multiple groups in a turbulent and dynamic society, traditional strategic approaches seem insufficiently reliable to rely upon (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray; 1991; Huxham, 1996; Thomson and Perry, 2006). Therefore, the concept of collaboration has become an alternative approach for multiple parties to consider in coping with conflict and achieving joint agreements (Gray, 1989; Thomson and Perry, 2006). As Gray indicates, the aim of collaboration is to fulfil 'the need to manage differences' (1989: 1).

**Various definitions in the field of collaboration theory**

There is a general agreement amongst many scholars that collaboration is composed of three principal elements: it involves two or more groups; addressing problems and dealing with interests (Huxham, 1996; Gray, 1989; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994; Thomson and Perry, 2006). However, there is some uncertainty around the terminology of what collaboration is (Huxham, 1996). For example, there are terms closely related to collaboration, such as coordination or cooperation, which are frequently used in the literature as well (Gray, 1989; Huxham, 1996). Gray gives a distinctive explanation that 'coordination refers to formal institutionalised relationship among existing networks of organisations' (1989: 15); whereas, 'cooperation is characterised by informal trade-offs and by attempts to establish reciprocity in the absence of rules' (Mulford and Rogers, 1982: 13). In short, they represent formal and informal influences within groups, and each usually 'occurs as part of the process of collaboration' (Gray, 1989: 15). The collaboration continuum mode proposed by Waibel and Erway also indicates that cooperation and coordination occur during the process of achieving collaboration (2009).

Although the term collaboration is used by different scholars to refer to various types of structure, it is necessary to define what collaboration refers to in this research. Initially,

collaboration was theorised by disciplines such as management, public administration or public affairs, which aim to solve complex social issues. Gray defines collaboration as 'a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible' (1989: 5). This definition provides a preliminary framework that positions collaboration as a process rather than a condition, involving different parties in managing problems constructively and achieving a creative agreement. By 1991, Wood and Gray had broadened this concept into the following: 'collaboration occurs when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to that domain' (1991: 146).

In the second definition, the nature of collaboration as change-oriented is set out clearly (Wood and Gray, 1991). For example, interests within groups may change or redefine while collaboration is taking place (1991). Soehner also states that collaboration is transformative, and inevitably involves change (2005). In the field of museum studies, Silverman contends that 'museum work, especially collaborative work with communities, is fundamentally processual in nature' (2015: 2). He values 'process as product' (2015: 1), which resonates with collaboration theory where collaboration is viewed as a process rather than a condition.

However, this change orientation may result in the collaborative process being unstable. In practice, collaboration is difficult to operate and often easily fails at any stage of the collaboration (Gray, 1989; Thomson and Perry, 2006; Huxham, 1996; Bryson et al., 2006). To be specific, instability is embedded within the very nature of collaboration. In a museum context, Karp describes collaboration as being difficult and often resulting in

failure; however, it often yields significant and unexpected outcomes (Karp and Kratz, 2015). Silverman also emphasises that there is much to be learned from failure (2015: 2). For example, the director of Tokyo Wonder Site, Imamura, proposes that the artists-in-residence space should be 'a place [that] allows failure', encouraging artists to experiment (2015). The management of instability should be taken seriously by all participants; the necessity of risk-taking, over which no one party has total control, ultimately offers more in return for this risk.

Furthermore, the collaborative process is not only dynamic and continuous, but cyclical (Ring and Van de Ven, 1994). Ring and Van de Ven argue that collaboration is based on the existence of three components, and that each component is established on the principle of mutual benefit. They indicate that negotiation, commitment and implementation are the three dimensions of collaboration; however, the process is circular rather than linear, as proceeding through one dimension may generate new problems that require participants to return to a former issue. Based on these concepts of Wood and Gray (1991) and Ring and Van de Ven (1994), Thomson further elaborates that collaboration is:

> a process in which autonomous actors interact through formal and informal negotiation, jointly creating rules and structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions (2001, 2006: 23).

This definition frames a clear and explicit recognition which involves features of cooperation and coordination, autonomy, integration, continuity and reciprocity. In conclusion, only if each participant recognises that collaboration will generate interests which are mutually beneficial, and which could only be achieved in partnership, will

collaboration succeed (Gray, 1989).

## Motivation for collaboration

Initially, people adopt collaboration to cope with complex issues that could not be solved by traditional approaches (Gray, 1989; Wood & Gray, 1991). Traditional approaches have not been sufficient to resolve problems in a turbulent environment. Gray indicates that 'turbulence cannot be managed individually because disruptions and their causes cannot be adequately anticipated or averted by unilateral action' (1996: 58). Therefore, collaboration is an alternative means for diverse stakeholders to identify and implement solutions to difficult issues.

There are numerous motivations for different parties to consider collaborating with each other (Gray, 1996). For example, how to involve more community members in community-based programmes is always a challenge for many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Usually, people from local communities are invited to join at the outset of the programme. They may not think about collaborating with the art organisations; instead, doing what the art organisations want them to do might be the motivation for them to participate in the programmes. Therefore, at Bamboo Curtain Studio, the staff often invite community members to participate in the discussions at the beginning stage of the programmes. The intention is not only to raise the motivation of participants to become actively involved in the programme, but also to show mutual respect for each other in achieving real collaboration.

**Features of collaboration**

There are several vital characteristics which may cause the collaborative process to achieve significant outcomes; however, at the same time, it is also fraught with unpredictability and fragility. The first and key feature is shared power. Gray clearly points out that the central value of collaboration is shared power (1989). The feature of shared power strongly reflects the fact that the nature of collaboration is change orientation. As such, it refers to the power structure embedded within all parties, negotiating which is never an easy task. For example, Himmelman argues that the reasons for bureaucracies to resist collaboration may involve 'challenging long-standing rules, regulations and the attitudes and the behaviours associated with the culture of bureaucracies' (1996: 33). However, if participants do not recognise that collaboration requires participants to let some power go for the purpose of creating something new, collaboration cannot exist. A director from a public agency interviewed by Thomson and Perry explains that participants 'put resources on the table (collaboration), take our hands off (power) and then the team creates from there; something happens differently because of process' (2006: 20).

If shared power is considered one of the central values during collaboration, then it may easily generate a trusting relationship among partners and lead to the success of collaboration. Most scholars regard trust as the difficult, sensitive but essential element in a collaborative process (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991; Bryson et al., 2006). Most case studies have shown that, eventually, each partner is willing to continue collaborating because of trust. They might trust each partner who is involved or trust the main leader of this collaboration. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio has established trusted relationships in working with its surrounding communities for 20 years. The

resident curator, Ostendorf, states that Bamboo Curtain Studio intends not only to continually engage with surrounding communities for the foreseeable future, but also to maintain a high level of commitment to work with them in every community-based programme (2016).

Nevertheless, collaboration is actually an unstable, risk-taking and resource-consuming process. Resource consumption, in respect of collaboration, does not mean funds or cost; instead, it usually means the amount time that is consumed. Inevitably, the establishment of trust requires significant time and communication among partners, and requires an equal amount of dedication (Thomson & Perry, 2006). However, the unstable nature of collaboration may easily undermine this long-term achievement (Gray, 1989; Thomson & Perry, 2006; Bryson et al., 2006). In some cases, if some partners perceive that there may be a power imbalance, they may soon be less willing to collaborate. Or, if they spend a long time continuing to face different changes and challenges, partners may not be willing to continue (Lynch, 2011).

Furthermore, since collaboration is a continual process, problems will constantly present themselves during any stage of the process. For instance, although partners may build an agreement at the beginning, in terms of practice, they may encounter new problems because this agreement may not be feasible to implement. Gray suggests therefore that it is helpful if the implementing partner is involved initially, which can reduce the difficulties in the practical stage (1989). For example, the objectives of artistic programmes run by Bamboo Curtain Studio, which are usually community-based, require involving community members at the beginning to work *together*, instead of working *for* Bamboo Curtain Studio.

## 1-4 Thesis structure

This study intends to build a space to discuss and debate the hybrid features of cultural and art institutions involving a collaborative process between their stakeholders, rather than the outcomes. The aim of this thesis also reflects the hypothesis expressed within the book *Museum As Process*, wherein Silverman emphasises that 'museum work, especially collaborative work with communities, is fundamentally processual in nature' (2015: 2). By setting the context and theoretical framework for the research, this research clarifies that the focus of this study is to evaluate the process of collaboration within the case studies and with their stakeholders, as a product in and of itself, rather than the outcomes achieved. It is the collaborative process within which significant hybrid characteristics emerge. To summarise, this research also attempts to build a space that allows more researchers to discuss and explore how the phenomenon of hybrid organisations can be theoretically established within the Taiwanese context and internationally in the future.

This thesis is composed of seven chapters. The first chapter establishes the research aim and questions and the focus of the thesis and describes the methods used to analyse findings. This chapter also draws on research findings to show the cultural and social impact upon the environment of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In the content dealing with the theoretical framework, this chapter looks at research on collaboration, examining the multiple definitions and key features of collaboration that have accrued over time. In the following chapters, this study will identify how collaboration plays a key role in managing hybridity within staff members and with their stakeholders.

Chapter 2 goes deeper into one key area of research, to explore the values which have

influenced the socio-political character of Taiwan. This chapter will draw on Chinese indigenised psychology to explain how Han culture has had a continuous impact upon and affected the behaviour of the diverse communities of Taiwan (Yang, 1995; Yang, 2006; Li, 1982; Wen, 1988; Hwang, 2000, 2005; Huang, 1999, 2005). Since the three case studies represent one type of Taiwanese art organisation, it is helpful to interrogate how the larger cultural context has influenced Taiwanese organisations in general. In addition, the study on organisational behaviour references research by Western scholars which has influenced Chinese organisational behaviour.

Chapter 3 describes what kinds research methods this thesis adopts and how this study has designed interview questions for the purpose of collecting data. This chapter also introduces the general backgrounds of the three case studies, to show similarity in terms of the shared values that all three case studies embrace and to demonstrate the differences between the aims of each case study.

Chapters 4 to 6 are analytical chapters. They draw upon data collection to show how the three case studies construct their organisational structure, strategies and programming in the context of the relationship between stakeholders; their response to cultural policy and governmental funding policies; and the methods used by these art organisations to facilitate community-based programmes. Each chapter focuses on a different theme. Chapter 4 demonstrates that hybrid approaches are complex and create diverse relationships between staff and stakeholders; Chapter 5 identifies how staff rely upon hybrid approaches to respond to the influence of cultural policy and governmental funding. Chapter 6 then deals with how staff fulfil the demands of community-based programmes in a hybrid way.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions from the research. This chapter focuses on how the findings provide evidence that hybrid characteristics help the three case studies to achieve success and sustainable development. In addition, this chapter also demonstrates the contributions made by this research, its limitations and implications, and offers recommendations for future research.

**1-5 Conclusion**

This study attempts to understand why and how the concept of hybridity has been articulated by and embedded within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in three aspects: organisational structure, strategy and programming. The sociocultural context of Taiwan, in which these art organisations operate, provides the wider framework of the study. The first section of this chapter outlined the general context relating to Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Taking into account the context of current Taiwanese society, this chapter has clarified how political development has influenced Taiwanese values and behaviours, and how Taiwanese bi-cultural characteristics have been shaped by the social and political changes in Taiwan. In addition, it has argued that the development of artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan and the appearance of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are closely interrelated in the development of cultural policies in Taiwan.

However, one of the knowledge gaps in this study arises from the limited amount of research undertaken on the concept of hybrid organisations. Since research about hybrid organisations is still in its infancy, this study draws only upon features that relate to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Collaboration theory, which is equally important to this study, helps state a clear vision: that successful collaboration can be achieved while all parties regard working together as the only approach. In its nature, collaboration is change orientation and features as a circular process rather than an outcome. On the one hand, this tendency has encouraged involved parties to create a new situation allowing different voices to be heard. At the same time, however, change as is its nature has also contributed to the unstable and fragile situation that collaboration represents. Reflecting on the context of Taiwanese contemporary art

spaces, this study intends to find out how collaborative activities have been negotiated by the three case studies and what particular kinds of approaches have emerged in programming.

The next chapter defines the extent to which the research context relates to Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The larger cultural context of Taiwanese society has been deeply influenced by Confucianism; therefore, the following chapter will begin with the theory of Chinese indigenised psychology to draw on the key features of traditional Chinese values and how they impact upon most aspects of Taiwanese behaviour. In addition, the Chapter 2 will illustrate the original discipline of organisational behaviour from Western theories (Robbins and Judge, 2009; Hellriegel et al., 1995) and the discipline of Chinese organisational behaviour (Silin, 1976; Redding, 1990; Westwood, 1997; Farh and Cheng, 2000; Cheng, 1995). It goes on to discuss how these theories relate to the organisational form of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

# Chapter 2　Chinese Organisational Behaviour

## 2-1 Introduction

This thesis considers the cultural and social contexts that play a key role in influencing the values and behaviour of the majority of Taiwanese people. In Taiwanese society, one of the dominant cultural values refers back to Confucianism, which has shaped the wider social context of Taiwan (Yang, 2005). Even though Taiwan has become democratic and open from the late 1980s, traditional values such as guanxi (關係, relations) and face (面子) are still influential in contemporary society (Su, 2007). This specific cultural context has also had an impact upon many Taiwanese organisations and has in addition given rise to a particular organisational behaviour, which has been designated as Chinese organisational behaviour (Chou, 1984; Cheng and Huang, 2005; Yang, 2005; Hamilton, 1990). Accordingly, this study seeks to examine how traditional Chinese values have or have not influenced the overall organisational culture, whether this is within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces or in the context of facilitating programmes with their participants. If the three case studies are hybrid organisations, what are the differences between them in the aspects of organisational structure and strategies?

In order to answer these questions, this chapter sets out to discover what might be meant by 'traditional Chinese values' in the context (at least) of this study, and outlines the key features of Chinese organisational behaviour. The first half of the chapter draws upon the theory of Chinese indigenised psychology which assists in identifying the larger cultural context of a society influenced by Confucian culture. This section also highlights the features of Chinese cultural values and the functions they have developed

in confronting different social and personal circumstances. The second section of this chapter looks at the discipline of organisational behaviour and specifically Chinese organisational behaviour. This section discusses how Chinese values have shaped organisational behaviour in Taiwan and what key elements of Chinese organisational behaviour may relate to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

## 2-2 Chinese Indigenised Psychology

Chinese indigenised psychology has its beginnings in the late 1970s and exercised a growing influence after the 1990s. This timeline reflects the historical and political changes from the decline of authoritarianism to the growth of democracy (Chu and Chang, 2001). Scholars, mainly from Taiwan and Hong Kong, had noticed that Western psychological theories are based on the perspectives of Western culture, such as individualism, which do not always appropriately apply in the context of Chinese society. The emergence of Chinese indigenised psychology is the essential breakthrough that native scholars have deployed in their fight against Western psychology, especially American psychology, which has dominated the development of psychology in non-Western countries (Yang, 1970, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1986; Yang,1992, 1993; Hwang, 1987, 2000; Ho,1991, 1998).

From the last decade of the twentieth century, most Taiwanese and Hong Kong scholars of psychology have embarked upon in-depth, long-term, indigenised research into their 'original' culture. Using systematic study and applying Western research methods, these researchers have collected and surveyed a large number of qualitative and quantitative research studies to establish a system of Chinese indigenised psychology (Yang, 2005). As one of the leading scholars, Yang argues that the purpose of Chinese indigenised psychology is to devise an adequate system to understand the psychological complexities of Chinese society (2005). Hence, this system should 'fully recognise the psychology and behaviour of indigenous people, and further improve individual people's lives as well as those of the whole society[3]' (Yang, 2005: 6).

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[3] The original text is: 充分瞭解他們(自己社會的人民)的心理與行為，並有效增進他們的個人適應及社會適應。

This section will draw on four main orientations generated from Chinese indigenised psychology, which includes family orientation (家族取向), guanxi orientation (關係取向), authority orientation (權威取向) and other orientation (他人取向) (Yang, 2005). These four dominant orientations will be divided into several parts to discuss their crucial elements and how they influence Taiwanese society. The discussion looks first at family orientation and ask what values this conveys within traditional Chinese culture. The following section explains guanxi orientation and other orientation, to give an account of the importance of the most significant and complex cultural elements: guanxi (關係) and face (面子). The third section addresses controversial relationships - harmony and conflict. This part will focus on the last orientation – authority orientation - to illustrate the hierarchical relationship between the authorities and others.

In all the studies reviewed here, Chinese indigenised psychology is an essential device for understanding the larger sociocultural context of Taiwan. By means of this approach, this thesis intends to highlight the differences between the three case- study organisations in terms of their hybrid organisational structure and strategies, which not only enable them to behave flexibly in designing and operating programmes, but also to comply with the prevailing context in a respectful way, especially while collaborating with participants. Politically, Taiwan has successfully transitioned from authoritarianism to democracy, but cultural specificities, such as of guanxi, still have a strong influence on Taiwanese society. For instance, a society influenced by Confucianism usually regards face as a powerful and reciprocal resource between the person in power and other individuals (Hwang, 2005), as, for example, within the relationship between a boss and employees. As Su indicates, reciprocity is the norm as the basis for resource exchange, which means that 'face', the product of guanxi, still dominates Taiwanese behaviour (2007).

**Family orientation and values**

The root of Chinese culture can be regarded as Chinese social orientation (Yang, 1995; 2005). In contrast to individualism, social orientation means individuals focus on how to comply with, reconcile and coordinate their social environments in order to retain a harmonious relationship with others (Yang, 1995; 2005). The term 'social orientation' may raise another question: scholars Ho et al. (1991) state that most people in a society naturally possess a certain degree of social orientation and that this tendency is common in many societies. However, Yang further argues that

> Social orientation may not commonly exist in every society; in some societies, people's behaviour is oriented towards individualism. […] The concept of social orientation represents an interactive relationship between a person and the environment and is composed of a low degree of autonomous trend and a high degree of homonomous trend. In comparison, individual orientation represents a high degree of autonomous trend and a high degree of homonomous trend[4] (2005: 198).

Specifically, Yang (1985) has classified four characteristics to demonstrate the nature of Chinese social orientation, which are: family orientation – which means individuals within groups; guanxi orientation - relationships between individuals, their relatives or complete strangers; authority orientation - individuals and their relationships with people in power, and the last, other orientation - individuals and their behaviour in which they are strongly affected by people's opinions. These four features should be seen holistically; they are highly relative and mutually influence each other.

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[4] The original text is: 社會取向未必普遍存在於每一社會，有些社會(如西方現代工商社會)的大多數成員所採取的可能是個我取向的適應或運作型態。[…] 社會取向界定為融合性趨勢強而自主性趨勢弱的一種人境融合型組合，將個人取向界定為自主性趨勢強而融合性趨勢弱的一種個體支配型組合。The terms 'autonomous trend (自主性趨勢)' and 'homonomous trend (融合性趨勢)' have been quoted from the original text (Yang, 2005: 175).

## Family orientation and values in Chinese culture

A number of published studies has established that family orientation may be considered as the core of Chinese social orientation (Li, 1985; Li, 1982; Yang, 1985, 2008; Yang, 1992, 2006). In ancient China, which was based on an agricultural society, the social unit was family, instead of the individual. The features of agricultural society were explicit hierarchy, and an emphasis on harmony and endurance (Yang, 2005).

In terms of family orientation, everything is considered through the lens of family, and less attention is paid to the characteristics of individuals. This tendency seems similar to collectivism; however, Yang argues that this is a kind of 'ingroup collectivism', or 'familial collectivism' (1985). In brief, the concept of family orientation means that family, or blood relationship, is the most important relationship, and non-specific others are less important, unless the others are people in power. Li (1982) and Fei (1948) further provide the concept of 'selfishness' or 'egoism' to explain the feature of family orientation. They indicate that the term 'self' or 'ego' does not relate to the individual himself or herself; however, it means the individuals, their family and relatives.

In relation to the value of family orientation, traditional Chinese people demonstrated a strong tendency to focus their concerns on the interests of their own family, with little regard for other families, even going so far as to discriminate against them (Yang, 2005). As a result of this tendency to care exclusively for immediate family, people who grew up within the Chinese cultural context might be less likely to pay attention to civic problems which seem not to affect them (Li, 1982; Yang, 2005). For instance, before Bamboo Curtain Studio initiated the community-based programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek in 2010, few surrounding community members, especially the younger

generation, had noticed that there is a small creek so close to their houses. Therefore, how to raise the awareness of the public about certain social and cultural issues is one of the primary concerns for many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Might this general cultural tendency influence the organisational strategy of the three case studies? How do they engage the participants through various programmes within this cultural context?

The value of family orientation can be extended to the concept of 'familisation (家族化)' (Yang, 1981, 1985), which applies the concept of family orientation to a whole society, or even an entire nation. The most typical example is the relationship of 'father and son (父子)', as being comparable to that of 'king and courtier (君臣)'. In a traditional Chinese context, the father was the most powerful figure in the family. Therefore, 'father and son' was the most representative symbol of a top-down relationship in Chinese society; 'king and courtier' is the familisation of 'father and son'. Hence, the king (equal to father) and courtier (equal to son) relationship is also a top-down relationship, in which courtiers must obey and be loyal to their king.

It cannot be ignored that this hierarchical relationship seems to remain as an evident power dynamic in modern Taiwanese society. One common and symbolic adaption of familisation applies to the relationship between 'boss and employee (老闆及員工)'. To be specific, in most Taiwanese organisations, the relationship between boss and employee continues to reflect an explicit top-down relationship (Cheng, 1995). However, this feature has nothing to do with the personality of leaders or employees, which is naturally shaped by the larger cultural context. In short, no matter whether the leaders are benevolent or authoritarian, the top-down relationship remains firmly in place, with the only difference being the degree to which this kind of relationship is dominant (Farh and Cheng, 2000; Cheng, 1995). If this hierarchal relationship is

embedded within Taiwanese behaviours as well, the challenge of decreasing and transforming the tenacious power dynamics requires a specific and unconventional type of leading character to take on the role of director within the case studies. How do leaders of case studies work with staff in designing programmes or strategies? What features in their organisational structure make the three case studies distinct from many other Taiwanese organisations?

If family orientation is the core feature of traditional Chinese culture, then Confucianism is the root of the Chinese culture. Essentially, traditional Chinese values emphasise several characteristics such as guanxi, hierarchy, personal morality, obeying authority and practicality (Yang, 2005). However, values have continually changed over time. Brindley argues that intellectuals in Taiwan have a sense both of tradition and of modernity; Western cultural features, such as materialism, desire for change and independence have challenged traditional values and affected the whole of Taiwanese society (1989). This change has further moved Taiwan towards a society which is composed of mixed values. According to the statistics provided by the Ministry of the Interior National Immigration Agency in 2019, an increasing number of international marriages between Taiwanese and foreigners, such as nationals of south- east Asian countries, have gradually impacted upon the population composition in Taiwan during the last few decades. The influence derives not only from the change in composition of the population, but also from the cultural impact. For example, more and more libraries across Taiwan now collect fairy tale books of Thailand or Vietnam, for children to become familiar with the cultures of their mothers.

## Guanxi and Face - Guanxi orientation and Other orientation

Guanxi (relations) may be regarded as the most specific characteristic of Chinese culture. Guanxi is not only considered as an intangible but powerful subject, but also strongly shapes interpersonal relationships in Chinese society (Hwang, 2005). Scholars classify this phenomenon as guanxi orientation (Yang, 1986; Wen, 1988; King, 1985). For years, guanxi deeply affected, and still affects, the human network within Chinese culture (Yang, 2005). The following section demonstrates several key features of guanxi and its adaptations.

There is a growing body of literature recognising that guanxi has evolved into multiple dimensions across different situations (Yang, 1986, 2005; Wen, 1988; King, 1985; Hwang, 2000). First of all is 'guanxi formalisation (關係形式化)', which means individuals notice when and where to play certain roles depending on different circumstances (Yang, 2005). For example, Confucianism specifies that 'fathers should behave in benevolence, sons should behave in filial piety'. If people do not act in this way, they are considered not to comply with social norms. Role play (角色扮演) is a culturally specific symbol embedded into cultures influenced by Confucianism (Jui, 1985; Yang, 2005). People who have grown up in a Chinese cultural context often enact and shift between different roles simultaneously. For instance, an individual plays the role of 'father' in his family but may also take on the role of 'employee' in his work environment. Reflecting upon the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this study attempts to understand how directors and staff interact with each other; does guanxi also play a key role within the work environment? In addition, it examines how and why staff embed cultural values within their hybrid organisational strategies while working with multiple stakeholders.

The second feature in which guanxi applies is guanxi interdependence (關係互依性) (Yang, 2005; Hwang, 1987, 2000), which means that social roles in the context of Chinese culture are all reciprocal, such as father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brothers (兄弟). For each role to work well depends on the corresponding one, and the latter tends to have heavier duties than the former. For example, the duties of a son are much more onerous than those of a father, and the duties of a wife are much more elaborate than those of a husband. In other words, although the relationship is reciprocal, the structure of the relationship is determined by a top-down hierarchy rather than by an assumption of equality.

The concept of guanxi interdependence can also be traced back to Taiwanese workplace culture. For example, employees tend to be more likely to be required to work hard as a way of expressing loyalty (Cheng and Chiang, 2005). This is a feature of authoritarian leadership, which means that the leader may ask the employee to take on responsibility if something goes wrong, even if the employee is not to blame alone or directly (Cheng and Huang, 2005). These power dynamics between leaders and staff in the Chinese context have raised an interesting question about the ways in which leaders of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces deal with power issues between themselves and their staff. If this culturally prescribed hierarchy operates independently of the personality of leaders of contemporary art spaces and continues to exercise a profound influence over Taiwanese behaviour, what kinds of characteristics do these leaders possess that help to shape a work environment in which power can be shared between staff and their leaders?

Another culturally specific product of Chinese culture is the concept of harmony (和諧), embedded within the perspective of guanxi orientation, which refers to guanxi harmony

(關係和諧性) (Yang, 2005). Initially, Confucianism emphasised the harmony between nature, humans and the environment. However, over time, harmony has come to mean a collective feeling in society (Chang, 1989). Yang argues that traditional Chinese people have reached a situation that he describes as 'for harmony only' (1982). Yang further explains that, when Chinese people are extremely anxious of causing the other to lose face (which means disrupting social harmony), they strive to protect the other's face. Whether people act in this way depends on their relationship with the other person, a concept Yang aptly identifies as 'relationship determinism (關係決定論)' (Yang, 2005). In Chinese society, no matter whether guanxi is close or not - which depends on the closeness of the relationship between people - guanxi has affected how individuals treat others. To be specific, guanxi usually determines people's behaviour towards others in different relationships. Fei (1948) has addressed a symbolic concept called 'differential mode of the association (差序格局)', in which he explains that guanxi is like ripples created by a stone thrown into water. The stone is the self, the individual, and the ripples are guanxi grades: the closer the ripple is to the central (stone) the closer is its guanxi. Guanxi orientation results in Chinese people often tending to apply special standards to their family or relatives, which Yang defines as 'particularism (特殊主義)' (2005). This means that if a certain person in the relationship is part of an individual's family, or holds great power, this guanxi becomes particular and the individual will treat this certain person like their family. Otherwise, people usually care primarily about their own interests.

Guanxi harmony is not always overtly present between staff and directors in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. However, outside of these art organisations, such as within the communities they work with, guanxi harmony can be a crucial factor when programming projects that are community-based. This thesis seeks to understand how

leaders and staff in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces recognise the importance of guanxi within the larger cultural context in which they interact. In addition, it investigates how they collaborate with stakeholders while confronting challenges in facilitating programmes, while at the same time behaving respectfully and working within Chinese culture.

## Face – the product of Guanxi

Face is an intricate notion, which features as the unique product of guanxi. The effect of face strongly depends on the operation of guanxi; having or not having face has a powerful impact upon the social reputation of individuals (Hwang, 2000, 2005). For that reason, it is difficult in discussion to separate these two terms, guanxi and face. As previously stated, Chinese societal values usually tend to emphasise social harmony, that is, to maintain everyone's face. Face therefore stands for an individual's social reputation in Chinese society. For example, if an individual 'loves his face (愛面子)', it means this individual takes a very serious view of how others evaluate him (Hwang, 2005). This cultural tendency can be linked to the third Chinese social orientation - other orientation (Yang, 2005). As Yang demonstrates, other orientation means that Chinese people are highly sensitive to criticism from others. Mentally, Chinese people hope to make a good impression in others' minds; physically, they try to behave the same as everyone else (2005).

Furthermore, since face is the extended product of guanxi orientation, Chinese people predominantly see face as an exchangeable resource (Hwang, 2005, 2011). For example, Hwang argues that if a leader 'gives face (給面子)' to a follower, this means he or she gives the follower a 'benefit' (face), and someday, the follower needs to pay it back

(1987, 2005). In this situation, how many 'faces' the leader gives to the follower depends on the degree of closeness of guanxi. Face has become an intangible social resource and still deeply affects interpersonal networks in contemporary Taiwanese society. Yang indicates that for people rooted in Chinese culture, most of their life is spent endeavouring to establish guanxi (earning face), rather than pursing work-related aims, and sometimes they even work because of guanxi or face (2005).

How to protect leaders' face is often therefore one of the most important matters for employees working in most Taiwanese organisations. With regard to this cultural phenomenon, can similar behaviour involving guanxi and face be found in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces? Taking into account that staff remain aware of the explicit, culturally-defined relationship between the director and themselves – that, ultimately, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces cannot avoid the influence of face entirely – how does face operate (or not operate) within these art organisations? Overall, in the context of Chinese culture, face still largely determines Chinese behaviour; guanxi produces face as an essential exchangeable resource. The authority (people who are in great power) manipulates guanxi to dominate people's behaviour. This binding relationship results in the fourth feature of Chinese social orientation - authority orientation.

**Harmony and conflict – Authority orientation**

At its very core, as a founding ideology, Confucianism encourages people to 'cultivate themselves and to take responsibility for maintaining social order and harmony' (Yang, 2006: 335). In other words, Confucianism respects people who focus on self-cultivation to achieve a harmonious balance between humans and nature. In original Confucianism, the highest harmony is described as 'harmonious but not the same (和而不同)' (Yang, 2006: 342), which means that people should have independence of thought but keep a harmonious relationship with others. Furthermore, Confucianism regards human beings as 'all different in the sense that people choose their own ways to realize their nature and each finds different ways to serve society' (Yang, 2006: 341-42). This concept, in some ways, corresponds to the concept of collaboration theory, which aims to negotiate difference and endeavours to achieve mutual benefits for all participants.

Cheng proposes the concept of the 'dialectics of harmonisation (和諧化辯證觀)' (1986), which suggests that harmony is not a static structure, but rather a dynamic process. In Cheng's perspective, harmony is the final goal, and in the process of achieving harmony, coping with potential conflict is a way to become harmonised. However, in a museum context, Lynch argues in favour of a more active attitude in which 'conflict must be allowed to be central to democratic participation in museums' (2011: 160). Looking back to the Chinese cultural context, people have a strong tendency to try to avoid, even fear, conflict (Pye, 1992; Solomon, 1971; Hsun, 1983). Even in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, which are relatively open and democratic, staff are conscious of harmony not only with the director, but also with their stakeholders. This does not mean that they try to avoid conflict; however, they believe conflict may not help to resolve problems: 'the way to deal with conflicts is to

put my egos aside and [let them] go', the resident curator of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Ostendorf, asserts (2016). For many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, how to work together to achieve higher goals is much more crucial than fighting for personal interests.

Research into employees in Taiwanese private companies has shown that different guanxi leads to various methods of resolving conflicts (Huang and Huang, 2002). For example, if guanxi is more central, people usually behave with compromise and patience; if there is no guanxi, people usually fight with each other directly. Furthermore, in the 'model of coping with conflict (衝突化解模式),' Hwang (1977, 1987, 2000) has shown that in the top-down relationship, subordinates usually choose being patient or using indirect communication to keep the face of the authorities. In addition, the third type of Huang's 'harmony model(人際和諧類型)' has shown similar consequences (1999). She defines this as 'restraint harmony(隱抑式和諧)', which particularly happens in top-down relationships, such as father and son, leader and follower. The latter cannot let conflict happen, so they choose restraint to keep this artificial harmony. Huang further points out that, most of time, the people in authority are not fully aware of the situation of artificial harmony (1999).

The top-down relationship between leaders and followers seems to be an inescapable phenomenon across Taiwanese organisations, even within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Therefore, how do directors of these art organisations act differently in the process of making decisions? Do all directors participating in the three case studies share similar characteristics in attempting to eliminate the top-down relationship between them and their staff? And how have the actions of directors helped to shape organisational culture?

Within the literature, the traditional, top-down relationship has raised questions about the reasons why Chinese people tend to obey authority unquestioningly (Yang, 2005). Traditional Chinese society was based on patriarchy; the model of patriarchy gave the person with authority (in a family the father; in a country, the king) great power to dominate group members. The ways in which patriarchy is enacted and maintained include the controlling of economic resources (property), ways of thinking (for instance, the father's idea is the family's idea), strict family rules (punishment) and explicit hierarchy.

Until recently, most Chinese people have been acutely aware of the existence and immediacy of authority. Yang describes this phenomenon as authority sensitivity (2005). Research on Taiwanese university students has shown that students are used to getting along with others in top-down relationships (Yang, 1970). In support of Yang's research, scholars Luo and Ung also point out that, in the study of the relationship between Taiwanese graduate students and their supervisors, the findings show that in 'a top-down relationship between supervisors and graduate students[5]' (2007: 92), 'the supervisors who have more power, are more influential in the relation with their graduate students' (ibid: 106). In many western societies, teachers and students in universities may tend to be on a relatively equal footing, which is, for example, expressed when students call teachers by their first names directly. However, it is and continues to be almost impossible for this to happen in Chinese culture; if teachers allow students to call them by their name, students may generally feel uncomfortable

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[5] Luo and Ung explain that, in the Chinese context, in relationships such as those between parents and children, employer and employee, teacher and student, there is a gap in power dynamics: the former usually possess more power in the relationship (2007). For the concept of familisation, please see p. 48.

and impolite.

This phenomenon has shown that language also plays an essential role in ways of thinking, speaking and acting. A relevant example comes from Bamboo Curtain Studio. The name of the founder and director is Margaret Shiu. When staff (all Taiwanese) speak with her in Mandarin, they call her 'Teacher Shiu (蕭老師)'; however, when there are artists or curators from abroad involved in the conversation, then the staff use her first name 'Margret' directly. This is instructive because, even though the environment of Bamboo Curtain Studio is open and free, staff remain aware of the top-down relationship when alone with the director. Equally, when international artists are present, staff switch their way of speaking to a Western style.

More generally, most Taiwanese people's awareness of authority leads to the feature of authority worship (Yang, 2005). Yang further explains that traditional Chinese people were not only unconditional in their worship of authority, but also had no criticism of it. They believed authority never made mistakes (2005). In consequence, this relationship was forever: parents will always be parents, which means parents cannot be argued with. If Chinese people believe an authority has great power and cannot be challenged, they usually tend to obey the authority completely (Yang, 2005). The behaviour of obedience to authority is crucial in Confucianism, in which central concepts such as the filial piety of sons and the loyalty of courtiers are the norms of obedience.

A clear example that this concept is officially enacted in Taiwan is evidenced by the *Civil Servant Work Act* (公務人員服務法), in which the second article states 'orders given by the executive within the scope of his or her supervisory authority, the officers are obliged to obey the commands; However, if the officers have inquiries about the

commands, they could make a statement anytime[6]' (1939). In this article, it becomes evident that the choice of wording in the written text, as it changes between the former and the latter sentence, strongly reflects the top-down relationship of power between the person in authority and the followers. The only exception to the *Civil Servant Work Act* is, if leaders ask you to do something illegal, then you have the official right to reject the order. Although the *Civil Servant Work Act* has been amended several times over the last eighty years, this article remains operational.

The *Civil Servant Work Act* shows that, in the context of Taiwanese society, leaders or the executive still in general maintain their power. Whether the organisational culture is open or conservative usually depends on the leader's actions. In the situation of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, how can the leadership be shaped by directors? Huxham and Vangen (2000) indicate that leadership not only refers to a leader's behaviour but is also embedded in the collaborative structure and process. They point out that a collaborative structure is 'a key driver of the way agendas are shaped and implemented' (2000: 1161), and the process is achieved through 'formal and informal instruments' (ibid: 1167). In other words, structure affects the potential of leadership and the process may be used as a tool for participants to be empowered or stripped of power. Furthermore, participants outside of collaborating organisations may affect or enact agendas in collaboration, which influences collaborative structures and processes as well (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). This collaborative orientation is helpful in examining the working environment involving directors and staff in the case studies. In certain ways, this approach may both enhance the leader's influence on staff and increase mutual trust.

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[6] The original text is: 長官就其監督範圍以內所發命令，屬官有服從之義務。但屬官對於長官所發命令，如有意見，得隨時陳述(公務人員服務法第 2 條)。

## 2-3 The concept of Organisational Behaviour from Western theories

This thesis is designed to explore the particular organisational dynamics of hybridity from Taiwanese cases. Therefore, a review of the research into organisational behaviour is necessary to find out how organisations have been defined, structured and developed. This section will draw on the discipline of organisational behaviour, both from original Western theories and from Chinese perspectives. It will look at the differences between Western culture and the Taiwanese situation, to determine to what extent these concepts are reflected within the environment of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Organisational behaviour is an applied scientific discipline used to explain and analyse phenomena within organisations (Chi, 2013). Robbins and Judge define it thus: 'organisational behaviour is a field of study that investigates the impact that individuals, groups, and structures have on behaviour within organisations, for the purpose of applying such knowledge toward improving an organisation's effectiveness' (2009: 44). Nelson and Quick also state that 'organisational behaviour is individual behaviour and group dynamics in organisations' (1994: 4). These definitions show that the study of organisational behaviour focuses on what behaviour stems from the interaction between individuals and groups within an organisation, and how this behaviour affects the organisational structure. In addition, the behaviour of individuals and interactive behaviour between the individuals and groups are interdependent and exercise a mutual influence. Hellriegel et al. also emphasise the significance of the behaviour of staff members in organisations, demonstrating organisational behaviour as 'the study of human behaviour, attitudes and performance in organisations' (1995: 4). Hence, research into organisational behaviour seeks to understand how the behaviour of directors and staff has established the organisational culture, and how the discovery of a

certain organisational culture may serve as a basis for helping the organisation to become effective.

One of the motivations for researching organisational behaviour is to acknowledge the importance of people's behaviour and of their interactions with each other within organisations. However, how to define what an organisation is? In the field of social psychology, De Cremer, Dick and Murnighan observe that,

> Organisations are, obviously, entities that include individuals, groups, interactions, and all that accompanies them. They are also repositories of uncertainty: They present people with challenges, dilemmas, and conundrums. At the same time, they engage people positively, in centrally important personal ways, often providing them with important elements of their personal identities. Organisations are also eminently social entities that have important pasts and hopeful futures (just like people do) (2010: 5).

Knight also demonstrates that an organisation is regarded as a cognitive system, required to recognise and process complex information and respond to the needs of the external environment (1976). From both definitions, it is evident that the study of organisational behaviour and social psychology regards an organisation as an organic system where people play a key role; which processes information and creates understanding and transformation; where at the same time, people work together not only to achieve organisational goals but also to fulfil needs from the external environment. Study of organisational behaviour therefore draws upon knowledge from diverse disciplines, especially from the perspectives of psychology and anthropology, to analyse the behaviour of individuals and groups within organisations (Robbins and Judge, 2009; Nelson and Quick, 1994; Hellriegel et al., 1995; Chi, 2013).

In accordance with these concepts, this thesis attempts to explore two dimensions of organisational behaviour within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. On one hand, the thesis intends to investigate their organisational structure, to identify how directors and staff work with each other and how the way they collaborate has shaped the hybrid nature of the organisations in a Taiwanese context. On the other hand, the study also attempts to understand how the relationship has been created through collaboration between staff and the stakeholders. Further, it asks how programmes have been operated by staff collaborating with participants from diverse backgrounds, and whether or not the programmes have been developed by means of culturally specific strategies.

In addition, organisational behaviour is a discipline combining both theory and practical evidence. It draws not only upon various disciplines, but also upon different forms of scientific evidence, using systematic study as the main approach to collect and analyse data (Nelson and Quick, 1994; Hellriegel et al., 1995). This approach provides a strong and effective perspective from which leaders, or decision makers, can take note of the behaviour of individuals or groups in organisations, and, furthermore, 'predict' this behaviour (Robbins and Judge, 2009; Chi, 2013). This feature of prediction is not only to help leaders to foresee what might happen in the future, but also to move an organisation towards a higher achievement (Chi, 2013).

In summary, the value of organisational behaviour study is that it uses a number of different forms of data to analyse different situations inside organisations, thus providing a clear vision enabling leaders to consider the next steps in organisational sustainability. In the course of organisational behaviour study, many extended research topics have appeared. For instance, the research on organisational change has shown that the demands of change affect not only organisational structure, but also the actions

of leaders (Kotter, 1996). Kotter points out that the key to successful organisational change relies to a degree on the effectiveness of leadership (ibid).

Change is never an easy process, no matter whether in the area of business management or the practice of museums and art galleries. One of the factors that makes change hard may be the fear of losing control of power. As Chambers states, institutions fear losing the privilege of dominating the power of knowledge (1997). However, Lynch argues that 'if we in museums are willing to accept differences, to let go some control and work to develop respectful solidarity between adversaries in museum, then we may be able to exercise the moral courage required to change' (2011: 159). According to Lynch's argument, cultural and art institutions nowadays need to be able to accept challenges rather than continuing to hold onto privilege; while these art organisations are collaborating with their participants, they (the art organisations) are expected to share power with them. This approach may allow different voices into the discussion, even within the decision-making process.

The other changing value for most art institutions is that they need to able to be aware that, in any kind of artistic programme, true success and true failure do not exist. It is sometimes difficult to ascribe failure to one particular project: it might depend on multiple elements, such as the method of displaying collections, time, venues and what groups of visitors to the institutions focus upon. As Silverman indicates, finding out why a project failed may be even more important than why a project succeeded (2015). To identify what art institutions learn from their unsuccessful experiences, it is useful to understand and analyse what causes projects to result in failure. This approach may not only help art institutions to rethink their current strategy or programming, but also enhance the skills of staff in dealing with challenges.

This thesis explores the ways in which examine whether or not Taiwanese contemporary art spaces possess similar operational values to Western museums and art galleries. In addition, the study seeks to understand why Taiwanese contemporary art spaces can be regarded as hybrid. For example, does the necessity of coping with a limited budget impact upon how contemporary art spaces develop a unique organisational strategy? How does an unusual organisational strategy show its hybrid capacity within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces? In addition, the study raises questions about how these art organisations might act when fulfilling the expectations of governmental funders, yet, at the same time, maintaining a critical voice in relation to government policy.

Organisational structure also plays an important role in shaping the characteristics of organisations. As scholar Chi points out, organisational structure will affect the behaviour of each person within the organisation (2013). Ranson et al. suggest that organisational structures are 'patterns of interaction within organisations, describing how actors actually transact their work, formulate policy, and allocate resources' (1980: 3). This definition indicates that the function of organisational structure comprises a variety of processes operated by directors and staff, and includes how to deal with day-to-day affairs, what regulations to follow and how to manage resources.

Organisational structure has thus actually enhanced the way organisations operate both mentally and physically, demonstrating the leadership and decision-making route of organisations, the work style of their staff and the design and facilitation of their strategies. The organisational structure therefore has a degree of influence on staff, in what way and how they work. For instance, in many Taiwanese organisations, the organisational structure is usually established on the basis of a top-down relationship between leaders and employees (Cheng, 1995; Redding, 1990; Silin, 1976; Chen &

Farh, 2010); the leaders' actions and values have a great influence on the way staff behave. This means that this kind of organisational structure directly reflects the directors' leadership. Reverting to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this thesis investigates the factors that how organisational structure may be shaped and explore whether the influence of directors' characters also plays a key role in creating the structure of hybrid organisations.

Revisiting the discipline of organisational behaviour - due to the increasing influence of Western culture - more and more Western theories have been introduced to Taiwan, including theories of organisational behaviour. However, organisational behaviour within most Taiwanese organisations is quite different from Western models (Silin, 1976; Redding, 1990; Westwood, 1997; Cheng, 1995; Farh & Cheng, 2000). According to Hofstede and Bond's research, there is a close relationship between cultural values and organisational behaviour (1988). For instance, the concept of Western leadership is based on individualism – a concept that may not be directly transposable to East Asian countries which are influenced by Confucian culture. In view of this, the next section will specifically discuss organisational behaviour within the Chinese cultural context.

## 2-4 Chinese Organisational Behaviour

The existing body of research on Chinese organisational behaviour suggests that Chinese organisational behaviour has been strongly shaped by Confucian values (Chou, 1984; Cheng and Huang, 2005; Yang, 2005; Hamilton, 1990). This particular socio-cultural phenomenon has formed a unique organisational culture within most Chinese organisations. The most significant model has been defined as paternalistic leadership (Cheng and Huang, 2005), which means that organisational behaviour is based on patriarchy, one of the typical symbols of traditional Chinese culture. In the field of Chinese organisational behaviour, emic research is the primary approach used to collect and analyse data. The methodology of emic research is to focus on a single and particular culture, while the analysis depends on the perspectives of the indigenous culture rather than the researcher's perspective, as each outcome should be related to the specific cultural context (Berry, 1969). According to this principle, Chinese indigenised psychology is the root resource for researching Chinese organisational behaviour.

## Paternalistic Leadership

Research into paternalistic leadership has been undertaken for nearly twenty years (Lin, Cheng & Chou, 2015). As evidenced by a number of established studies (Cheng, 1995; Redding, 1990; Silin, 1976; Chen & Farh, 2010; Chan & Mak, 2011), paternalistic leadership is regarded as an explicit top-down relationship, where power is established on the vertical 'domination-obedience' model (Chou, 1984; Cheng and Huang, 2005; Cheng, Farh & Chou, 2006). At the same time, however, leaders also tend to take care of employees and show a high standard of personal morality (Farh & Cheng, 2000). Hamilton argues that Chinese culture emphasises role formalisation (1990). For example, in ancient China, it was assumed that courtiers should be loyal to the king,

and, if they were not, they were unjust. In Chinese culture, the concept of role formalisation can be extended to different situations: Yang describes this extended adaptation as the approach of familisation (2005). As noted above, the role of father and son can be familised as king and courtier; in contemporary society, the role of king and courtier can be familised as boss and employee.

The emphasis upon loyalty in Chinese culture has strengthened the top-down hierarchy: the obedience of the follower, such as courtier (past) and employees (present), is a responsibility and also an obligation. Previous research has established that there are three types of paternalistic leadership: authoritarianism, benevolence and moral leadership (Silin, 1976; Redding, 1990; Westwood, 1997; Cheng, 1995; Farh & Cheng, 2000). Authoritarian leadership implies that leaders have the power of control and command absolute obedience from their followers. According to Cheng and Huang's research, authoritarian leadership is likely to appear in conservative organisations, such as governments, where leaders usually tend to possess great power (2005). However, the influence of globalisation and modernisation has caused a gradual decline in authoritarian leadership in Taiwanese society (Cheng and Farh, 2010).

On the other hand, benevolent leaders tend to take care of followers who are close to them (Redding, 1990; Pye 1981). For example, when followers make mistakes, leaders tend to give oral warnings rather than punishment (Cheng, 1995). In other words, benevolent leadership has shown the effect of guanxi orientation in the context of Chinese organisations. In relation to the degree of guanxi – that is the nature of the relationship between leaders and followers – leaders usually behave differently depending on the closeness of the relationship with their followers. This approach may cause followers to stay closer to their leaders and encourage towards a special and

binding relationship with leaders.

Ethical leaders behave with high moral standards and self-cultivation, and lead by example, which earns respect from their followers (Farh & Cheng, 2000). The value of morality is particularly crucial in Chinese culture; people normally establish their social reputation as the result of a high standard of personal morality (Yang, 2005). Looking back to the Taiwanese contemporary art space, how do directors behave in leading staff and making decisions? What characteristics of the directors in the three case studies that have been examined indicate that they are one of the three models of paternalistic leaders, or that they are different from these models? Furthermore, do the directors within the three case studies share similar characteristics, or do they act differently because they have different operational functions and staff members? This thesis sets out to explore whether or not leadership plays a key role in hybrid art organisations. It also asks whether leadership helps to promote hybridity within organisations.

## The concept of guanxi difference in Chinese organisational behaviour research

In the Chinese context, it is evident that different degrees of guanxi result in different forms of interaction between people (Cheng and Huang, 2005). Data from previous studies suggest that there are three major models of guanxi difference (Tsui and Farh, 1997; Farh et al., 1998). The first model concerns the family relationship, which is established on an understanding of the responsibilities and obligations of each role, such as exists between an employee and the boss. The second model refers to the acquaintance relationship, which focuses on the influence of face. The third model concerns the outsider relationship, which means that the relationship is established on

the basis of a purely transactional and pragmatic exchange with non-specific outsiders, the strangers. Farh et al. (1998) further offer the concept of 'particularistic tie', which means that an interpersonal relationship is constructed in accordance with certain standards. For example, person A is the son of manager B, and A works for manager C. Manager B and manager C are both department managers and friends. A therefore, belongs to a particularistic tie in the human network of manager C; this guanxi dynamic links to the acquaintance relationship. In most situations, Manager C will potentially be kind to A and punish him/her less than they might punish others in order to keep guanxi with manager B, in order to protect the face of both parties.

In addition, Chinese leaders often tend to classify their employees as 'insiders' or 'outsiders' (Cheng, 1991, 1995). Guanxi, loyalty and ability are three primary elements by which leaders classify employees and, based on the classification, decide what forms of interaction to initiate (Cheng and Huang, 2005). Therefore, the relevant groups, which are usually in close relationship with the leader, constitute the 'ingroup' (insiders), with the other employees belonging to 'outgroup' (outsiders). Insiders are people in 'particularistic ties', where leaders are benevolent and willing to take more care with these close employees. Otherwise, leaders usually do not consider issues of guanxi and face, and make decisions directly by reference to rules and regulations.

The influence of guanxi difference may lead to a type of leadership which focuses on the particular relationship between leaders and subordinates, the so-called 'differential leadership' (差序式領導) (Jiang & Cheng, 2008, 2015; Cheng, 2005; Jiang & Chang, 2010). The concept of differential leadership is influenced by Fei's theory - differential mode of the association (差序格局) (1948). As stated in Chapter 1, in Chinese society, people's behaviour is influenced to a great degree by whether or not they have a close

relationship with others. This cultural tendency, seen as differential relationship or differential treatment has been regarded as one of the powerful elements in Chinese culture (Jiang & Cheng, 2015). The emergence of differential leadership comes from Cheng's research on Chinese companies (1995): he found that Chinese leaders tend to behave differently with different employees, and proposes the concept of differential leadership (2005). Jiang and Chang define differential leadership as,

> Under the influence of personalism[7], the behaviour of leaders will be different with different employees. With this type of leadership, a leader tends to give his/her favourite employees more care or advantages[8]' (2010: 115).

According to this definition, the relationship between leaders and employees is based on a relationship of power imbalance, the determinative element being guanxi difference. Leaders usually possess great power but take responsibility for subordinates; on the other hand, employees are expected to follow leaders' order (Jiang & Cheng, 2015; Hwang, 1999; Jiang & Cheng, 2008; Wu, Hu & Jiang, 2012). The influence of differential leadership has been identified as helpful for enhancing the effectiveness and loyalty of close employees (insiders); at the same time, it encourages the outsiders (not so close to leaders) to act in a way that fulfils the expectations of leaders (Hsu, Cheng & Huang, 2002; Jiang & Chang, 2010).

However, the psychological phenomenon of different behaviour by leaders towards different employees is not a feature exclusively of Chinese culture. According to Jiang

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[7] Personalism (人治主義) means that personal relationship and preference will impact upon decision-making (Jiang & Chang, 2010; Jiang & Cheng, 2015). Scholars point out that in Chinese culture, favouritism, or personalism, play key roles in shaping the uniqueness of Chinese organisational behaviour (Redding, 1990; Westwood, 1997; Jiang & Chang, 2010).
[8] The original text is: 在人治主義的氛圍下，領導者對不同部屬有著差異對待的領導行為，是一種對較偏好的部屬會給予較多偏私的領導風格。

and Cheng's research (2015), the theory of leader-member exchange in Western organisational behaviour studies indicate that a close relationship between leaders and subordinates helps to strengthen the effectiveness of employees in work (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Graen & Scandura, 1987; Graen & Novak, 1982). The concept of leader-member exchange positions the relationship between leaders and subordinates as the vital factor in the effectiveness of leadership. It is normally the case that the exchange resource refers to mutual trust and support between close employees (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Considering the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, what leadership approaches can we expect to encounter among the directors? If Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are hybrid, is there any specific approach by directors which is not simply classified as the style of Chinese leaders or Western ones, but a new and unique way emerging from the case studies which identifies their hybrid characteristics?

Differential leadership has been described as leaders' behaviour being distinctive in respective of insiders or outsiders, yet it is still a complex concept that leads to another controversial situation. That is to say that, according to Jiang and Chang's research, leaders practising differential leadership tend to treat their close subordinates well; it also shows that leaders may pay great attention to their close employees and give them more responsibilities or duties than non-close employees (2010). Guanxi dynamics between leaders and employees is therefore complicated, unstable and fluid (from treating employees well to giving them more responsibilities). Jiang and Cheng indicate that, following Yeh's research (2011), close employees (insiders) may, on the contrary, be classified as outsiders because they cannot fulfil the leaders' expectations (2015). This differentiation resulting from guanxi dynamics is not exclusive to organisations but can be found also in collaboration between organisations and their participants. It poses the question as to how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces establish a relationship with

each participant whilst acknowledging guanxi dynamics throughout the process of facilitating programmes.

Although the term 'guanxi' possesses diverse meanings according to different contexts, it is deeply embedded within the social, political and cultural context of Taiwanese society. In the work environment of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, is guanxi also an influential element in the relationship between directors and staff? Does guanxi act as a trigger to influence the power dynamics within these art organisations? While encountering outsiders such as resident artists and community members, do staff change their behaviour to engage with participants? In addition, how do Taiwanese contemporary art spaces enhance their ability to deal with the complicated human network involving them and their various stakeholders? And why do the skills they possess work in coping with difficulties?

## 2-5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to outline the larger cultural and social context in which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are situated. Through the literature review of the field of Chinese indigenised psychology and Chinese organisational behaviour, this chapter has provided evidence that cultural values play a vital role not only in shaping an entire society but also organisations within that society. This chapter drew on two theories to investigate how cultural elements influence Taiwanese people's values and behaviour. At the same time, it asks how this cultural phenomenon has or has not affected Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In addition, it has posed questions about what kinds of values and behaviour we may expect to discover in the following analytic chapters which will suggest that the three case studies are kinds of hybrid organisations.

In the aspect of Chinese social orientation, the concept of family orientation can be understood as the root of Chinese culture and has determined Taiwanese ways of thinking about the self and about the other. This tendency may result in a particular cultural product – guanxi in the Chinese context. Guanxi orientation dominates most Taiwanese behaviours and can be extended and altered depending on different circumstances. An important tenet in this study is to explore how guanxi has been seen and interpreted within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in two dimensions: on the one hand, in relationships between directors and staff; on the other hand, in relationships between contemporary art spaces and their stakeholders. The influence of guanxi orientation also gives rise to the other types of orientation such as authority orientation and other orientation. This chapter has suggested that negotiating power dynamics is a sensitive issue in Taiwanese society, and has found that it is difficult to change in the firmly established, traditional top-down relationships between those in

authority and their followers (Yang, 2005; Hwang, 2005). If the power dynamic between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their participants is also one of the most fundamental issues in their collaboration with different stakeholders, this study aims to investigate how power is exercised among directors, staff and outsiders (participants), and whether or not this power dynamic has shaped the hybrid characteristics of the case-study organisations.

The disciplines of organisational behaviour and Chinese organisational behaviour in particular indicate that the study of individuals in organisations and of organisational values needs to be focused on a particular type of organisation. Therefore, this thesis relies principally upon interviews with directors and staff of the three case studies as a starting point for the study of hybrid organisational behaviour within cultural and art organisations. The next chapter will demonstrate how and why this thesis chose its research methods and organised the collection of data during the field work. It will also address the limitations of this research. In Chapter 3, it further explains how interview questions were designed; how the interviews were conducted in the course of the field work, and, based on this approach, how data was generated effectively. It also provides a brief introduction to each case-study organisation to explain its context, ethical framework and the programmes it delivers.

# Chapter 3    Research methods

## 3-1 Introduction

This thesis examines how contemporary art spaces in Taiwan are hybrid organisations and why this hybrid organisational strategy works within the context of Taiwanese society. That is, the art spaces are not only able to deal with complexity by means of their unique organisational structure and strategies, but also to embed cultural specifics into their programming whilst collaborating with participants from diverse contexts. The contextual chapters, Chapters 1 and 2, have drawn on the wider context of the Taiwanese social and political environment and identified the cultural and psychological approaches employed by academic authors to reflect on the ways in which hybridity is shaped within most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan.

However, this thesis also acknowledges the importance of research on cultural policy and the field of art management, as discussed in contemporary Taiwan. For example, much of the current literature on cultural policy and art management pays particular attention to the concept and development of cultural governance in Taiwan (Lai, 2011; Liu, 2013, 2018; Wang, 2011). As scholar Liu points out, the new approach is to rethink the values and strategies of cultural governance in the Taiwanese context, dealing with cultural affairs at a local level, and to reframe the theoretical structure of cultural governance within three integral aspects: the methodology of cultural governance; the attentions and purposes of cultural governance; the practical tools and skills in programming (2018). Yet, this thesis sets out to explore how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have articulated their own hybrid approaches by examining various layers of their specific organisational behaviour. The focus is to understand the process of

transformation within staff members in the three case studies, in terms both of mentality (values) and physicality (the shaping of strategies and the methods of facilitating programmes). This study does not therefore include research into art management and cultural policy in Taiwan in its research contextual chapters, but acknowledges and recognises the importance of those disciplines.

In this chapter, it is organised into four sections. Based on my professional experience in the field of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, this chapter will first address research ethics by setting out how I anticipated and negotiated any ethical concerns that arose during the field work. The following section explains which qualitative research methods this study employed to map the key elements of hybridity generated from the field work. The chapter will then demonstrate how, consequently, data was collected and analysed; what the limitations of the chosen methods were, and how these were addressed as part of field work and data analysis. The last section will explore the specific approach taken to one of the key research questions, namely: how contemporary art spaces in Taiwan may or may not share similar organisational goal and values. This section briefly introduces the three different operational modes of the case studies.

## 3-2 Research ethics

My professional position in the field of art organisations proved to be both a great advantage as well as a significant ethical challenge in the design of the research. Since 2010, I have been a curatorial and managerial practitioner at Siao-Long Cultural Park, an organisation that could be seen as a contemporary art space in Taiwan. Since 2014, Siao-Long has fostered a stable and cooperative relationship with Treasure Hill Artist Village and Bamboo Curtain Studio. These two case studies and Siao-Long exchange artists annually and the third case study organisation, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, has initiated artists' exchanges with Siao-Long from 2016. In addition, each of these art spaces is a member of the Taiwan Art Spaces Alliance. The events organised by the Taiwan Art Spaces Alliance are helpful for contemporary art spaces and their staff to learn, connect and share experiences with each other.

Although my familiarity with the institutional operation, programming, and language within contemporary art spaces was a significant advantage in building relationships of trust and interpreting data, I was also aware that my proximity to the case studies risked compromising researcher objectivity. The challenge was the transition of my position from that of an 'insider' to becoming an 'outsider' during the field work. Although I do not work in the institutions representing the three chosen case studies, the art organisation at which I am employed maintains close relationships with each of these case-study organisations. However, it might not be possible to become a complete outsider: my role as a practitioner at Siao-Long may have influenced the ways in which interviewees from the three case studies interpret and respond to my questions, and qualitative researchers are always involved to some extent in the way data is created. As a reflective researcher, I endeavour to acknowledge my personal perspective on the data

throughout the process. Consequently, the research design of this study is particularly

essential to allow me as a researcher, instead of a practitioner, to collect and analyse

data through an appropriate and rigorous academic approach.

## 3-3 Research methods

**Ethnography as the research method**

Ethnography is a practical method that has been shaped by multiple theories in philosophy such as (anti)naturalism, (anti)realism and post-modernism, and intersects with disciplines such as anthropology and sociology (Atkinson et al., 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In broad terms, ethnography is the study of culture focused on a specific group of people, conducted through observation, interviews, document collection and interpretation. Ethnographers work in the field of the culture they are researching (Zemliansky, 2008).

Based on the above description, it is evident that ethnography is an approach that allows researchers to understand one particular culture in depth. In support of my aim to explore the specific organisational culture within contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, the perspectives and methods of ethnography are useful in the way they create a holistic understanding of the organisational culture, the values and ethos of the institution and the challenges practitioners encounter.

This thesis employs ethnography as a method for collecting data (Asad, 1994; Stewart, 1998; Brewer, 2000; Pollner and Emerson, 2001; Bloor, 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This section will start by defining the term 'ethnography' and then reveal how the characteristics of ethnography in the context of reflexivity support the academic voice of this thesis. There are several authors from different research fields that have defined the term ethnography in a variety of ways (Wolcott, 1977; Atkinson et al., 2001; Brewer, 2000). Atkinson et al. point out that 'its various manifestations have always been marked by diversity' (2001: 2). From the perspective of Wolcott,

ethnography is a 'cultural description' (1973). Brewer further defines the approach as

follows:

> The study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data
> collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving
> the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in
> order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed
> on them externally (2000: 6).

This definition shows that ethnography is not only a methodology, but also a method for

the collection of research materials (Brewer, 2000: 7). For example, one of the key

features of undertaking ethnographic research is the concept of reflexivity, which has

gained currency in discussions between scholars over the last two decades (Brewer,

2000; Pollner and Emerson, 2001; Gray, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Brewer argues that:

> Reflexivity requires a critical attitude towards data, and recognition of the
> influence on the research of such factors as the location of setting, the sensitivity
> of the topic, power relations in the field and the nature of the social interaction
> between the researcher and researched (2000: 127).

The purpose of reflexivity in research is that ethnographers are aware of the

impossibility of being an unbiased outsider in respect of the research they are

conducting, and that, therefore, the representation of collected data reflects only the

researcher's interpretation and perspectives (Brewer, 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson,

2007). The concept of reflexivity is crucial for this thesis: being part of the

contemporary art sector in Taiwan means that collected data represents only part of the

reality of the specific organisational culture of these contemporary art institutions. In

order to collect data throughout the concepts of ethnographic practice which are related

to this thesis, several approaches have been undertaken in this research:

1. Staff of contemporary art spaces are studied in their everyday context, as opposed to setting a certain condition for them. In other words, I embedded myself within the field, rather than interviewing or observing staff outside the organisations where they work.

2. With the permission of staff employed at the three case studies, I conducted interviews with each member of staff within their work environment, combined with a formal and structured interview for each interviewee and several informal conversations. This approach empowered practitioners to get to know my character and become familiar with my presence in their organisations during the field work, which was helpful in building relationships of trust when I started interviewing staff members.

3. I did not approach data collection with a fixed and detailed research design at the start for data collection, and categories were generated out of the process of data analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson (2007). For example, even though power issues are one of the hybrid dynamics I am interested in exploring, I did not specifically discuss power relationships between staff and artists as part of the informal interviews. However, the realisation that analysing these kinds of power relationships was crucial emerged naturally throughout the field work, from the understanding that power relationships can result from the different ways that staff collaborate with artists to complete the art programmes.

4. Since this thesis sets out to explore the specific organisational culture of cultural and art organisations by looking at cases of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, data analysis involves the interpretation of the formal and informal elements of the organisational culture, including language, institutional missions, organisational

structure, the values and behaviours of staff members, and art practices. The aim is to find out how the specific characteristics of each organisation are revealed in the complicated human relationships between art spaces and stakeholders, the complexity of cultural policy and funding systems, and the facilitation of art programmes. Throughout the research process, it is the response of cultural policy-makers and funders, and the demands of community-based programmes, which together constitute the characteristics of hybridity, and allow us to identify the ability to deal with complexity in a human network with stakeholders, in the context of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan.

5. For ethnographic studies, in-depth analysis is essential for researching small-scale art institutions like the three case studies of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan.

The five features detailed above clearly remind us of the importance of reflexivity within ethnography (Pollner & Emerson, 2001; Gray, 2003; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Hubscher-Davidson, 2011). As Hubscher-Davidson indicates, 'researchers are part of the social world they study, and therefore recognize inherent reflexivity in research' (2011: 11). In brief, the term reflexivity 'refers to the simultaneously embedded and constitutive character of actions, speech and understanding' (Pollner & Emerson, 2001: 121).

The emergence of reflexivity as one of the key conditions for ethnographic study has shown that ethnographers have begun to acknowledge that they are part of the research process, and that the reality of ethnographic representation is inevitably partial and selective (Brewer, 2000). In summary, the outcomes of research are not completely neutral (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 15). As Woolgar argues, researchers should be 'recognizing the limits of their representation of reality' (1988: 27). Gray further points

out that 'a reflexive approach is one that questions the theoretical and other assumptions of the project' (2003: 21). To be more specific, a reflexive approach is an 'active process to question its research categories' (Gray, 2003; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and this attitude conveys the core value throughout the whole thesis. The above arguments help us to reflect on one of the difficulties of this research. This is important because existing literature and experimental research on contemporary art organisations in Taiwan seems relatively limited: these specific organisations have received little systematic and theoretical attention. Therefore, the concept of reflexivity helps this thesis establish an initial understanding of the hybrid dynamics embedded into the organisational culture within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Academics have employed different methods in their use of the ethnographic approach. For example, Gray emphasises that one of the main approaches in ethnographic research is to experience articulation, which is 'a way of knowing' (2003: 25). She points out that the use of language by various people is based on different socio-historical contexts (2003). Within the environment of contemporary art spaces of Taiwan, communication through different languages between staff members and their stakeholders is a common procedure for determining the degree of hybridity of contemporary art organisations. For example, in Bamboo Curtain Studio, marketing manager Bess Lee points out that the word choices in emails between Bamboo Curtain Studio and cooperating organisations from different nations are important in understanding the sociocultural context of the partners they work with. She further indicates that at times, unfamiliarity with the English language might cause miscommunications between Bamboo Curtain Studio and its partners. The ability to express oneself through language – Chinese and English in the case of three case studies - is the way in which staff understand the sociocultural context in which partners work.

Another significant feature of ethnography is participant observation. Dewalt and Dewalt define participant observation as:

> A method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture (2011: 1).

Initially, I planned to draw on semi-structured interviews and participant observation to collect data during field work. However, because my personal position has impacted upon this research to a certain degree, the way in which I conduct participant observation has demanded cautious consideration. For instance, I intended to decrease both researcher subjectivity and my influence on the staff members involved in the three case studies. I attempted to position myself as an outsider and researcher, instead of as a familiar colleague from a collaborating art organisation. A good example of the way in which I navigated these conflicting positions is a meeting held by staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio, aimed at organising a schedule to visit art institutions in Indonesia. The attendees of the meeting included two artists, from The Netherlands and Taiwan, two staff members of Bamboo Curtain Studio and me. The staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio did not share the purpose of my attendance with the two artists until the end of meeting, which allowed me to observe closely the reactions of the artists when they communicated with the staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio.

This thesis therefore chooses to deploy ethnographic methods because these techniques allow me to take the approach of reflexivity in working effectively in an organisational setting. In response to (specific) circumstances, the researcher has taken the position of insider or outsider and has then (thus) maintained a critical voice.

**The method of case study research**

As well as taking a reflexive ethnographic stance (and negotiating my role as insider/outsider), this research also utilises the technique of 'case studies'. The use of case studies in research may be considered as one of the most common procedures for determining one particular structure or contextual feature within a given environment. A case study approach is used to allow 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident' (Yin, 2014: 16). Gomm et al. also indicate that 'a case study is employed to identify a specific form of inquiry which contrasts with a social survey on several dimensions' (2000: 2-4). To be specific, research questions need to be structured to reflect the choice of case study and analysed through different dimensions, such as the political, economic, cultural or social, in order to explore the particular or potential phenomenon of the socio-cultural context. Therefore, a case study sets out to investigate the significance and uniqueness of one certain case where the specificity has not yet been uncovered by other researchers (Simons, 2009). In short, case study research is a process designed to reveal 'how' and 'why' questions and find a conclusion or set of decisions stemming from the research process (Yin, 2014).

For this thesis, case study research was particularly useful in studying an unusual type of art organisation. The research objects, contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, are not typical art institutions and function differently from museums or art galleries. The ways in which they operate, their functions and contexts, are all distinct from those of traditional museums and art galleries; furthermore, few studies have contributed to developing a theoretical framework for the study of hybrid art organisations in Taiwan.

The case study method offers an effective way to understand the organisational values and behaviour of the specific organisational culture based on the three case studies. To explore the hybrid dynamics of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their institutional structure, strategy and programming, this thesis poses a series of interview questions to reveal how hybridity works within these unique contemporary art organisational cultures in Taiwan. Before illustrating how the interview questions were designed in the section on data collection, the next section will demonstrate how I collected data, what difficulties I encountered during field work and how I analysed the data.

**Data collection**

The field work took place during a two-month period in Taiwan from March to April 2016. I employed three different approaches to conduct this exploratory study, which consisted of semi-structured interviews, document analysis and observation. Most of the resources I collected from the field work were via semi-structured interviews. My observations centred on both formal and informal communication between staff members and stakeholders.

Several challenges emerged during my time at the case study institutions, the most profound being the change of the third case study. Staff at one of my original case studies, the Taipei Contemporary Art Centre, were not available for interviews during the period of field work. Through a recommendation from Bamboo Curtain Studio, I reached out to Wang Te-Yu, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, where I was invited to interview two curators.

As a result, there were in total fifteen people available for interview at all the case studies. In addition to Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, I was able to obtain interviews with one manager and the director of Treasure Hill Artist Village. Bamboo Curtain Studio was the only art organisation where I conducted interviews with all six members of staff and the director, three curators/artists, and collected observation notes. The following table shows the total number of interviews and includes details of the observations carried out at Bamboo Curtain Studio.

| Case study institution | Semi-structured interviews | Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Bamboo Curtain Studio | A. 6 staff (4 staff members and 2 managers) <br><br> B. the director <br><br> C. 3 artists/curators (resident curators and cooperative artists) | Several times, included informal communications such as welcome party, joint dinnertime, and one formal meeting |
| Treasure Hill Artist Village | A. 1 deputy manager <br><br> B. the director | None |
| Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts | 2 curators[9] | None |

Table 1: The list of interviewees of the three case studies

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[9] As I observed, the position of curators in Kuandu Museum of Fine arts was close to the position of managers in Bamboo Curtain Studio).

The approach using semi-structured interviews was chosen because the questions can be developed naturally through the interview process. Schensul defines a semi-structured interview as 'one that identifies commonalities and differences across individual respondents on one or more topics' (2012: 94). Berg also states that the style of a semi-structured interview is flexible in the wording of questions; the interviewer can add to or change key words in their questioning to move between subjects (2009). To be specific, I established a series of questions that were relevant to the research. However, during the interview, the questions usually changed according to the interviewees' answers, which allowed me to uncover new concepts for research.

**The design of interview questions**

The interview questions were designed to identify the commonalities and differences between three different operational functions of the case studies, their operation, programme design and organisational values. The themes arising from the interview questions aided my goal of measuring the hybrid dynamic of organisational cultures within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. I created several series of interview questions depending on the position of staff within their organisation in order to gain various perspectives from different points of view. In total, there were six versions of the interview questions for staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, curators of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, directors of Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, and for resident curators/cooperative artist at Bamboo Curtain Studio. I have included the most common questions within a final version of the interview plan, which can be found at Appendix 1.

Instead of directly revealing the purpose of each question, I embedded some important

key words into the questions to ensure that the answers of interviewees were relevant to this study or brought up new ideas. Question 2 is a good example:

> One of the features of contemporary art spaces is that a public programme is ever-changing. Staff are required to have multiple skills to deal with various problems. In this situation, could you please describe the work style and environmental atmosphere at your organisation? Could you please use an example to describe them?

This question aimed to draw out the bigger picture of each case study organisation. The term 'organisational culture' relates to work style and the atmosphere of the work environment; it is used here to discover what the organisation looks like and, in interviews, to invite participants to illustrate their understanding of the workplace.

The interview questions were grouped within five thematic sections so, based on the answers the interviewees provided, questioning could change according to the interviewee. The first section, Question 1 to 4, is interested in the dynamics of relationships: firstly, in relationships between staff members and their interaction with decision-makers, such as managers or directors; and secondly in relationships between staff and their stakeholders, such as resident artists and community members.

During the interview, I would sometimes choose to explain that I was employed as a practitioner (before undertaking the field work, during which I was temporarily on leave), to gain the trust of interviewees. However, I also acknowledged my role as a researcher during field work to direct the focus of the interview towards the interviewee. An example in which I refer to my dual position is Question 3:

I was once the officer who dealt with artists-in-residence programmes, during which I found that working with artists can be challenging, for example, in negotiating budget management and communication skills with artists. In your experience, what is the biggest challenge in your job? For example, to understand contemporary art through the artists' terminology? Or to familiarise artists with the way your institution operates? Or are there other challenges you might think of as important?

The above question was designed to identify how collaboration works between staff and artists; what challenges staff might be faced with during the collaboration with artists, and how staff responded to these difficulties? I relied upon interviewees' answers to gradually map out how hybrid skills are drawn on differently by the three case study organisations. As previously stated, I alluded to the terms 'collaboration' and 'hybridity' in the questions.

Moving on to the next section, Questions 5 to 6, I focused on the opinions of staff about specific bi-cultural behaviour (Lu et al., 2008) in Taiwanese society, and how they considered collaboration would work in the future. This section sets out specifically to discover whether cultural values were essential elements in the way case studies behave. Question 5 and 6 do so in the following manner:

Question 5: Most contemporary art spaces work with artists from different countries. In your experience of collaborating with artists, what are the similarities and differences between artists from countries within the Confucian culture, such as Taiwan, Japan or South Korea, and from non-Confucian-culture countries, such as European-American countries? Could you use an example to describe this?

Question 6: Confucianism remains a core value of Taiwanese society. However, we have also been influenced by Western cultures, especially European and American culture. According to Taiwanese scholars, most Taiwanese people have

the ability to switch or mix characters between traditional and modern orientation depending on the situation. Do you agree with this? If yes, could you use an example from your work experience to explain? If not, could you please explain why? Or do you think organisational behaviour is a specific cultural style which has less to do with prevalent social and cultural values?

Another purpose of Questions 5 and 6 was to explore whether traditional cultural values formed the basis for the hybrid character of each case study organisation. These questions also illustrated whether the sociocultural contexts of foreign artists may influence collaboration between staff of contemporary art spaces and artists in terms of their behaviours, values and work style.

The third section, from Questions 7 to 9, interrogates how interviewees reacted to the contrasting concepts of conflict from a Western academic perspective and of harmony in Chinese traditional values. I attempted to understand how staff illustrate the relationship between themselves and the partners they work with to see what collaboration meant from the perspective of staff from different contemporary art spaces. Since the theories I drew on might be unfamiliar to most interviewees, I clearly pointed out the concept I intended to research and provided the interviewees with a scholarly perspective.

Questions 7 to 9 were designed to combine three vital issues together: collaboration, conflict and harmony.

Question 7: Some Western scholars see collaboration as an independent discipline. From their perspective, the nature of collaboration is difficult, unstable and easily disrupted. In the field of Museum Studies, a number of Western scholars provide examples to demonstrate how collaboration between museums and communities can pose a significant challenge. Silverman indicates, for example, that failure is often far more important than success in collaboration. In

Japan, Imumura articulates a similar perspective by describing the art space as a "laboratory of permitted failure". However, most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan are funded by governments and are under pressure because failure can risk loss of funding. In your experience, when a collaboration is difficult, how do you deal with risk? These kinds of difficulties, which we may call conflicts, how do you negotiate them?

Question 8: Most practitioners might see conflict as a negative; however, Western scholar Lynch points out that conflict may be positive when it is harnessed as an opportunity to create improvement. How do you think of conflict? Could you please use an example to explain?

Question 9: The cultural value of harmony seems deeply embedded within Taiwanese society. Some Taiwanese psychology scholars argue that deep-rooted values make some organisations wary of change, whilst other scholars argue that conflict and change are the basis for promoting true harmony and that they are an inevitable part of the process of achieving harmony. If issues arise during collaborations with artists, the most challenging part might not be about the collaboration itself, but about how to report the situation to the directors. In your experience, how does your institutional leader work with you when confronting difficulties? (Staff only)

Questions 7 to 9 sought to reveal how certain concepts between East (harmony) and West (conflict) function in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Question 9 was set to discover how staff at contemporary art spaces interacted with their leaders, especially as part of processes in which risk plays a role, and to understand what might be different between the organisational behaviours of contemporary art spaces and the Taiwanese businesses researched by scholars in the discipline of Chinese organisational behaviour. This section of questions also provided an overall view on how the case studies are designed and how they facilitate different art programmes.

The term 'hybridity' is concerned with the relationships between staff and stakeholders,

which are influenced by cultural and social values in East and West. One of the key questions underpinning this study is whether the concept of hybridity impacts upon collaboration between art organisations. Questions 10 to 12 of the interviewing plan relate to hybridity by asking participants to share examples of exchange between case studies and the art organisations they collaborate with, both domestically and globally. The importance of this set of questions lies in their ability to clarify how cultural policy impacts upon the future of collaboration, since the Taiwanese government regards contemporary art spaces as one of the vital approaches to international cultural exchange. For example, Question 12 asks:

> Taiwanese contemporary art spaces carry out an important role in promoting Taiwanese contemporary art, developing the art sector and advocating international cultural exchange. What do you expect of future collaborations between contemporary art spaces, artists and communities? As a member of staff, what part of the collaborative projects do you think requires strengthening, and what current advantages should be maintained or built upon?

Since the artists-in-residence programme is one of the key cultural policies run by the Ministry of Culture, these case studies provide crucial views on the future development of cultural policy. Based on the data I collected, this thesis has identified cultural policy as one essential element impacting upon the hybrid dynamics of the three case studies.

The last section of the interview plan served a few specific purposes. For example, through question 13, I aimed to understand the leader's character and insights into the organisational mission within the three case studies. Question 13 reads:

> Contemporary Taiwan is often seen as a diverse society integrating values from East and West: the field of organisational research acknowledges the importance

of both the common traditional values, such as obedience and hard work, as well as values deriving from a Western theory of leadership, such as lateral communication and cross-departmental collaboration. As a director of art institutions in Taiwan, how would you describe your leadership style? How do you work with staff? Could you please use an example to explain?

By posing these questions, I aimed not only to understand the personal influence of directors on the organisation but also to demonstrate how different organisational goals had been addressed by the leaders' actions.

**The composition of the interviewees**

The target group of interviewees comprised the staff and directors of the three case studies, who are key players in everyday collaborations between art organisations and their participants. The three different positions interviewees held were art administrators/practitioners, curators/senior managers and directors. It is necessary to understand the holistic organisational culture throughout the interviews with staff: excluding directors, the job titles of decision-makers changed according to the organisation staff worked for. At Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, decision-makers were managers, while in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, the position and duties of curators were similar those of the managers working for the former two case study organisations. Overall, I interviewed two directors from Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, two senior managers from Bamboo Curtain Studio, one deputy manager from Treasure Hill Artist Village, and two curators from Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts: the wide selection of participants allowed me to recognise how each organisation made decisions and to identify the personal leadership style of the staff.

I carried out fewer observations during the period of field work than I had planned. An unexpected problem occurred in Treasure Hill Artist Village which made it difficult for me to observe the behaviour of staff during their daily duties. At Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts I was introduced to the senior manager, Lee Shiu-Wen of Bamboo Curtain Studio, near the end of the field work and, therefore, had a relatively short period of time to interview the two curators of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. As such, it was challenging to conduct additional observations with the permission of all the staff at Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. Ultimately, most observations were collected from Bamboo Curtain Studio, which is why interview records became my primary source of data combined with the findings from observations.

The documents I collected and reviewed as part of the case studies formed the third part of the research data. Initially, I planned to collect documents such as official and non-official documents, annual budgets, annual plans for each case study and publications. However, I found that most documents I needed were already open to the public and had, for example, been uploaded or published online. Overall, I collected several publications to assist data analysis.

**The approach of data analysis**

Data analysis is (actually) the most challenging part of the research design, because there was little secondary literature to rely on. Instead, I was solely dependent upon the analysis of the primary sources I collected to develop a hypothesis and argument. Schensul has claimed that 'analytic decisions are generally made based on the research questions, the study model and the type of data collected' (2012: 98). Through classification of ideas, concepts, themes and other sources, data analysis takes place

through a process known as coding (Schensul, 2012; Parker, 2015). Parker further indicates that coding is a vital step in most qualitative data analysis; during the process of coding, data can be separated into different key components (2015). While listing and reorganising several key codes, the following step is to analyse the coded data. As such, analysis should be seen as an ongoing process, running from original coding to establishing theoretical concepts (Schensul, 2012; Parker, 2015). Importantly, setting up codes too early in this process may keep researchers from discovering new ideas. Instead of 'coding', key themes can be indexed as signposts - but not too early to give final arguments (Seale, 1999).

The above arguments were important during the process of data analysis. I found that when I initially focused too much on the term hybridity, I risked ignoring other codes that were vital to the research but not as explicitly expressed by participants, such as the terms flexibility, learning, uncertainty, flow or sharing, which are all relevant to the features of hybridity. An additional challenge in the data analysis process was the translation of Chinese interview records into academic English. Since some of the interview records were quite descriptive, appropriately interpreting the key words required a certain level of diligence.

The strategy for data analysis described here assumes that hybridity is embedded within the organisational culture of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan and focuses on key themes generated from the three case studies to identify what makes organisational cultures hybrid, how hybridity works for and within the three case study organisations, and why it helps them thrive in Taiwanese society. The approach I took was based upon the concept of thematic analysis, 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 6). The key feature of thematic

analysis is to explore 'certain patterns (themes) across an (entire) data set, rather than within a data item' (ibid, 8). Based on this definition, it is evident that the term hybridity is a primary theme that runs across the research. To conceptualise the term hybridity, this thesis has set out three research questions in the introductory chapter. These questions are designed to identify how the contemporary art organisations featured within the research work within the multiple-layered cultural context of Taiwan while negotiating a series of complicated human relationships; the difficulties presented by funding policies; the challenge of programming community-based art events. The next section will introduce the general contexts of the case studies and the core values shared among the three contemporary art spaces.

## 3-4 The values and contexts of the case studies

## The shared values concerning public benefit

To understand the motivations that drive these contemporary art spaces in working differently from other art organisations in Taiwan, this thesis seeks to identify a core value that the three case study institutions share. Each of the artistic programmes run by the three contemporary art spaces supports a similar purpose: to benefit the public they serve through artistic programming within the limitations of available resources. This insight was first mentioned by an artist and also a curator, who had previously collaborated with Bamboo Curtain Studio, Wu Ma-Li, who asks 'if our funding resource is from the public[10] and the space we operate is open to the public, how do we define the term "public benefit"?' (2016). The curator Wang of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts also argues that 'our [fiscal] resources are all from the public[11], and what we offer is all for the public' (2016).

As the above two quotes suggest, contemporary art spaces and financial resources are all from the public, so how do these contemporary art spaces define the term "public benefit" in terms of each unique approach to programming? Depending on the data I collected, there remained a need further to conceptualise the idea of public benefit on the part of the case study institutions themselves. Therefore, this thesis aims to provide a first foray into this subject.

Very often, the three case studies use art as a language to articulate specific social,

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[10] The 'public' Wu indicated here means people paying tax. It is important to state here that most contemporary art spaces are funded by governments. And the funding of governments stems from the annual tax income.
[11] The same meaning as Wu's.

cultural or environmental issues through their artistic programmes. However, combining the purpose of facilitating artistic programmes and at the same time of fulfilling the expectations of the public is often a significant challenge. Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, observes that 'you have to think carefully about the direction of artists-in-residence programme and how to establish them' (2016). In practice, each contemporary art space should have a clear understanding of their target groups and involve the views of those target groups within the process of designing programmes. For Bamboo Curtain Studio, the key target groups are nearby communities, while Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts mostly aims to engage Taiwanese contemporary artists. At Treasure Hill Artist Village staff are concerned with the original residents who also live inside the artist village. Depending on the different participants involved, the design of programmes and the way staff conduct them varies across the different contemporary art spaces. The value in terms of public benefit can emerge throughout the process of the facilitation of programmes.

One of the greatest difficulties is that fulfilling the public benefit is a long-term goal that is hard to make visible through data (Shiu, 2016). To summarise, cultural and social change taking place within target groups is hard to measure or quantify. For example, the major funder of the three case studies, the Ministry of Culture, tends to examine art and cultural programmes based on economic models, '…instead of focusing on long-term engagement or long-term research', the resident curator of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Ostendorf, indicates, 'which is understandable, but I hope this would change gradually in the future' (2016). Indeed, as for government, there remains a complex bureaucratic system in place that makes it difficult for contemporary art spaces to behave flexibly. This situation has significant influence on the ways in which contemporary art spaces respond to cultural policies and negotiate funding. Approaches to the governmental

funding structure will be further explored in the chapter 5.

Public benefit can also refer to the concept of resource sharing. Whether they are directors, senior managers, curators, staff or artists, each practitioner at the three contemporary art spaces has a strong conviction that they should be open and transparent to the public. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio has rich experience and evidence from data in collaborating with various participants for over two decades. In the year I undertook field work, the organisation had begun to digitalise all of these resources. 'We will build up a database and upload all of our resources online where possible', the Marketing and Communication Manager, Bess Lee, indicates. 'We have massive and diverse resources; we want people to access these resources' (2016). At the time of my research, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts was also considering the development of a database. However, instead of storing data on a website like Bamboo Curtain Studio, a virtual space, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts made resources available through a small library at its physical location. 'We still consider what specifically we can offer for artists/curators, [the theme is] contemporary art for sure; however, we need to find out what kinds of resources [of contemporary art] they can use immediately' (Wang, 2016).

The following section will introduce the contexts of three case studies at Bamboo Curtain Studio, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. Firstly, the section begins by describing their function and background, the composition of staff, the organisational structure and financial resources. The next section will then look at operation: even though these three case studies have all run artists-in-residence programmes, their missions and visions differ slightly. Most of the art spaces have a principal aim of building a network between Taiwanese and foreign artists and giving an

opportunity to contemporary artists to create works through various approaches. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio endeavours to facilitate an environmental programme utilising contemporary art. Treasure Hill Artist Village states that its primary mission is to connect communities. For this reason, the notion of connecting communities will be seriously considered when deciding how to exhibit contemporary art inside the historical site, Treasure Hill, a process that will be further discussed in a later section. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, on the other hand, takes a distinct approach towards residence programmes by issuing a global summons to research-based artists and curators.

One of the key features of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan is the close relationship with the evolution of cultural policy. In terms of the physical sites, the emergence of some Taiwanese contemporary art spaces has been made possible through the support of governmental funding policies, such as '九十年度閒置空間再利用實施要點 Implementation of vacant spaces reusing in 2001'. During the late 1990s and the early 2000s, through a project executed and supported by central government and city governments, a number of abandoned industrial heritages and historical sites were reused and transformed into contemporary art spaces, such as Siao-Long Cultural Park (former Japanese-established sugar factory) and Taichung Cultural and Creative Industries Park (a former wine factory). According to the Council of Cultural Affairs, reorganised as the Ministry of Culture in 2012, the definition of vacant spaces is 'old and unoccupied buildings or spaces that are safe structures and have a reuse value for the development of art and culture affairs (2001)'. However, some scholars argue that there is no clear definition to explain what 'vacant spaces' are and how 'reusing' them is facilitated by the Council of Culture Affairs (Han and Liu, 2008).

Another challenge that all case studies confronted is the high turnover rate of staff. From 2016, the year I undertook field work, until 2019, only three original staff members remained employed at Bamboo Curtain Studio; two of the curators interviewed at Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts had left, while the director of Treasure Hill Artist Village left his position as well. This factor risks increasing the uncertainty of organisational operations. This issue will be further explored in Chapter 4.

**The context of Bamboo Curtain Studio**

Bamboo Curtain Studio has been conducting its artists-in-residence programmes over two decades. As the host of a pioneering artists-in-residence programme in Taiwan since 1995, Bamboo Curtain Studio could be regarded as one of the most influential contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, in that it aims to observe social and environmental issues, collaborates with local communities and transforms environmental and social issues into art actions. Bamboo Curtain Studio strives to deepen local connections, and they believe that artworks should reflect the issues of locality, culture and the environment (Bamboo Curtain Studio, 2015).

In terms of the site of Bamboo Curtain Studio, it was originally an abandoned chicken-raising factory. From the mid-1990s, a group of Taiwanese artists campaigned to preserve this area and its surroundings and planned to transform it into an artist village (Bamboo Curtain Studio, 2015). One of the founders, artist Margaret Shiu, is the director and curator of what was to become Bamboo Curtain Studio. The location of Bamboo Curtain Studio is on the outskirts of Taipei city (the capital of Taiwan): in terms of organisational structure, it is a small-scale art institution, like most of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, and not a mainstream one such as a museum or art

gallery.

One of the specific features is that all artists-in-residence programmes at Bamboo Curtain Studio in recent years have sought to connect with the issue of environmental protection and sustainability. One of the aims of Bamboo Curtain Studio is that artists should be aware of what they observe in society or the environment. All art works need to respond to social, cultural and environmental issues. In other words, Bamboo Curtain Studio sees artists as a bridge between communities and society, and they engage artists and communities with the environment by means of different art actions or programmes.

In addition, Bamboo Curtain Studio plays a significant and important role in international connections between Taiwan and other countries. This is due to director Shiu, who has built a strong personal network with foreign art institutions, international artists and curators. Therefore, in many international conferences, Bamboo Curtain Studio often participates as the representative of the Ministry of Culture of Taiwan. In short, the global connection is one of the most significant advantages of Bamboo Curtain Studio. However, at the same time, Bamboo Curtain Studio exemplifies community engagement. For example, one significant art project: *Art Act at Plum Tree Creek*, though originally initiated by Bamboo Curtain Studio, is now led by the local communities, especially the surrounding elementary schools and local environmental experts from the community university, who empower students and families to participate actively in different movements in order to continue this programme.

How can Bamboo Curtain Studio possess the capacity to commit to both local engagement and global connection? Artist Danny Young offers the concept of 'standing

on the edge' (Chang, 2011). Young claims that the position of Bamboo Curtain Studio, standing on the edge, whether it is a tangible geographic site or an organisational structure, offers it a strong advantage in observing and critiquing the 'centre' (Chang, 2011). This centre may be the capital itself, or the events or issues which are widely discussed. This does not mean that Bamboo Curtain Studio does not care about the mainstream; rather that it keeps a distance from it in order to observe issues that concern itself and encourage the public to reflect through art works. This unique achievement enables Bamboo Curtain Studio to create art works independently but also to keep a close relationship with the mainstream. Director Shiu indicates that Bamboo Curtain Studio has two main goals. The first mission is to create a space which allows artists to experiment with art and which, most importantly, provides an opportunity for them to experience new things. The second goal is to engage with communities and to facilitate international exchange: contemporary art acts as a technique to operate various programmes. As Shiu explains, 'what we need to consider is not how many artists have resided or how many exhibitions have been held, but instead, to share experience and collaborate with each other together' (2016).

In terms of operational functions and funding resources, Bamboo Curtain Studio is a private and non-profit organisation. Most of the budget comes from governmental funding. With regard to the composition of staff, there were four staff members, two senior managers and one director at the time I did field work: all were female members. The organisational structure is relatively small-scale, with only a few staff members. This advantage has a great influence on the route and method of making decisions. Since staff are relatively few, in general, all staff are able to do everything, so the division of work is not very clear. Many volunteer projects run seasonally, inviting graduate students to participate through internships at Bamboo Curtain Studio. In

addition, Bamboo Curtain Studio has a number of collaborating partners who are not formal staff members of Bamboo Curtain Studio but work together with Bamboo Curtain Studio and are based within certain projects. For example, independent curator and researcher Wu Hong-Fei joined Bamboo Curtain Studio in 2015 to review and reorganise documents and records over the preceding two decades. This kind of collaborative partner is not a member of staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio, but you can often see them in the office or living room at the studio talking with everyone, whether resident artists or staff members.

**Treasure Hill Artist Village: Historical Site and Cultural Landscape**

Treasure Hill Artist Village, whether in terms of its physical location or its intangible historical and cultural context, is perhaps the most complex contemporary art space among these three case studies. Treasure Hill is the name of that location, which is situated in Taipei city, near the downtown area of the capital, only five minutes' walk from National Taiwan University, the highest ranking university in Taiwan. Originally, Treasure Hill was composed of illegal shanties, erected mainly in the 1960s and 1970s, meandering up a natural slope, haphazard and intricate, forming one of Taiwan's unique visual landmarks (Taipei Artist Village, 2015). In the late 1990s, the city government planned to remove these shanties and rebuild this community. However, as a result of serious protests from a number of artists, university students and professors and protectors, in 2004, Treasure Hill was formally registered as an area of historical buildings, and since then many artists and cultural studies scholars have endeavoured to preserve it.

Treasure Hill was also the first neighbourhood to be officially designated a historical

community of Taipei (Taipei Artist Village, 2015). In 2006, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City Government renovated it as Treasure Hill Artist Village and it officially opened to the public in 2010. Currently it is managed by the Taipei Culture Foundation. Taipei Culture Foundation is a semi-structured governmental organisation which aims to facilitate sustainable artistic and cultural development in Taipei city (Taipei Culture Foundation, 2017). One of the departments is the Artist Village Operation Department, and there are two artist villages operated by the Artist Village Operation Department of the Taipei Culture Foundation. The earlier artist village is Taipei Artist Village; later, in 2010, Treasure Hill Artist Village was officially added. The purpose of these two artist villages is to welcome artists and enable them to experience the real life of Taiwan: if the artist arrives in a strange city and enters an artist village, he/she should immediately catch a glimpse of what that city is like (Taipei Artist Village, 2015).

These two artist villages are managed by separating them into several departments, rather than into two divisions. For example, the departments include the department of art administration, which organises administrative affairs and hardware equipment; the department of education promotion, which organises volunteers and internal affairs; and thirdly the department of artists-in-residence programmes, which facilitates the artists-in-residence programmes and hosts resident artists. This latter, the department of artists-in-residence programmes, is the only one with two offices located in Taipei Artist Village and Treasure Hill Artist Village. In addition, there is also a designer who specialises in the design of all activities, and one member of staff in charge of the organisation's official website. Therefore, it is difficult to divide the two villages precisely: most staff deal with affairs concerning both sites. The main office is located in Taipei Artist Village. However, this is the only case study with clear divisions of responsibility. In general, there is one director, and each artist village is managed by one

senior manager and one to two deputy managers. The total number of staff members is nearly 20 for both sites.

The majority of the budget for Taipei Culture Foundation comes from Taipei city government; Taipei Culture Foundation is therefore supervised by Taipei city government. However, in terms of artists-in-residence programmes, Taipei Artist Village and Treasure Hill Artist Village are also partially funded by the Ministry of Culture.

The method of operation for Treasure Hill Artist Village is quite different from those of Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts; the primary feature of Treasure Hill Artist Village is its complexity in terms of population composition. The most significant factor is that the original residents are still living inside the artist village. Even though there are few residents and most of them are elderly people, these residents hold a community committee, which is funded and supported by the department of Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei City Government. In other words, the original residents, the community committee, resident artists and the office of Treasure Hill Artist Village are all on the site. Therefore, engaging with the community is one of the major tasks for staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village. For most of the time, the operation of Treasure Hill Artist Village requires a more ethical approach requiring it to respect and to intervene less in the daily life of the original residents.

The location of Treasure Hill Artist Village is close to the downtown area. At weekends, visitors from other cities and from Taipei will go to Treasure Hill Artist Village not only to look at exhibitions but also to visit that special site. Since the landscape and historical context are quite unique, for most artists who choose to take residence in Treasure Hill Artist Village, the art projects or art works they create must be relevant to the cultural,

social and environmental context of Treasure Hill. However, at the beginning of the artists-in-residence programme in Treasure Hill Artist Village, this approach sometimes caused dilemmas for it. For example, artists wanted to create art works which they considered a critique of the history of this space; however, from the perspective of the residents, this kind of artwork was usually perceived as offensive and insensitive. The former director of Taipei and Treasure Hill Artist Village, Su Yao-Hua, stipulates that 'the artists-in-residence programme in Treasure Hill Artist Village should allow more ethical [concerns and respect] rather than avant-garde [artworks]. If an artist really wants to create something experimental, I will recommend them to go to Taipei Artist Village' (2016). Su argues that due to the sensitive historical context of Treasure Hill, the right of original residents to live freely and to be treated with respect is the primary concern of Treasure Hill Artist Village. If the original residents feel uncomfortable about any art events created by resident artists, the officers of Treasure Hill Artist Village are responsible for negotiating between artists and community members. In other words, the ethical imperative of respecting the daily life of residents is a primary condition of artists-in-residence programmes at Treasure Hill Artist Village.

**Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts**

Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is the first fine arts museum to be located within a university campus of Taiwan, the Taipei National University of the Arts in Taipei (Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, 2017). The core mission is to promote the development of contemporary art in Taiwan. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts not only introduces current international artists and art exhibitions to Taiwan, but also endeavours to promote contemporary Taiwanese artists to other countries. To enact this purpose, the artists-in-residence programme of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts was initiated in 2007.

The history of the artists-in-residence programme has evolved in several stages. The first period was around 2007 to 2011 - this period focused on introducing international artists and the current contemporary art methods to Taiwan. The second period, from 2011 to 2015, focused on international exchange, since the director is a Taiwanese citizen living overseas in South Korea who has a deep personal network with other countries, and has endeavoured to connect with different foreign universities and exchange artists. During the third stage, beginning in 2016, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts initiated the curators-in-residence programme, which focuses on a researcher, curator or research-based artist taking residence in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts for a certain period. During the residence, the research plan should be developed into an exhibition or performance for the future.

The structure and staff members of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, compared to formal art museums in Taiwan, are relatively flexible and small, composed of approximately ten staff including a director, four curators and five staff, consisting of four art administrators and one technician responsible for hardware equipment maintenance.

The primary programme of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts has been temporary exhibitions, and due to the gradual expansion of the residence programme, the museum has made these equal in prominence to exhibitions (Wang, 2016). In order to balance these two major programmes, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts also invites resident artists to use their exhibition space if it is available. As for the budget, although Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is a university museum, and the annual budget comes from the university, most of the budget is for temporary exhibitions. Therefore, in terms of the residence programmes, most of the budget comes from funding from the Ministry of Culture rather than from the university itself.

## 3-5 Conclusion

Although Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have a strong advantage in their specific cultural and historical context, there are some difficulties that can clearly be observed in the events of recent years. The first challenge may arise from the constraints placed on the funding of these contemporary art spaces. The principal issue is that most art spaces rely heavily upon government funding. For example, the three case studies are all funded by the Ministry of Culture. In this situation, it is not only a question of how to maintain funding, but also of how to avoid resource competition. The Taiwan Art Spaces Alliance, which was initiated in 2015, and officially launched in 2016, aims to avoid resource competition by building up a platform to connect different contemporary art spaces and to share experiences. Although the exact aim and operational content have not yet been settled, this may be seen as an opportunity for a number of contemporary art spaces in the future.

The other issue is the imbalance in the distribution of contemporary art spaces, meaning that there is an imbalance between the city and the countryside with regard to the location of art spaces. Most art organisations are located in Taipei, some in the south of Taiwan, a few in Taichung (the middle city of Taiwan), and very few are located in eastern Taiwan (Arts Residency Network Taiwan, 2015). One inevitable result of this situation is that experts, artists and resources are disproportionately gathered in the capital. Furthermore, in comparison to performance and visual arts, it has been more difficult recently to make contemporary art appealing to audiences in Taiwan. According to the previous director of Treasure Hill Artist Village, Wu Dar-Kuen (2015), most works of contemporary artists are critical or reflect environmental, social or political issues, which sometimes easily capture audiences' attention; however, some are

hard for the public to understand. In order to improve this situation, some contemporary art spaces hold different kinds of workshops run by artists. This approach not only gives artists the opportunity to interact with audiences, but also builds up a connection with audiences through the medium of workshops.

With the research design and use of research methods now clear, the next Chapters 4 to 6 will present the findings from data gathered from the case studies. Chapter 4 considers specifically the hybrid approaches to complex and diverse relationships, with a focus upon the behaviour of staff members within each case study and their interactions with their director. Further, it investigates how they engage with stakeholders such as artists, community members, governmental funders and accountants, in order to show the complex relationship between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their participants.

# Chapter 4   People: Hybrid approaches to complex and diverse relationships

## 4-1 Introduction

The first three chapters of this thesis gave a brief overview of the contexts and frameworks of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan. They also addressed the methods this study employed to analyse the data generated from field work. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will now explain how hybridity has been identified by the research, through the multiple approaches established by staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The discussions will show what key elements have shaped the specific dynamics of hybridity within contemporary art spaces in Taiwan and demonstrate how hybrid behaviour and practices have been articulated by these contemporary art institutes and how they are practised when dealing with complexity. Based on data collection, two conclusive features of hybrid organisations stem from the three cases of contemporary art spaces: the notions of complexity and flexibility. As Claver-Cortés et al. suggest, complexity shapes 'the depth and diversity of organisations in the degrees of horizontal, vertical and spatial differentiation' (2012: 994). Hence, complexity can be seen as a stimulus for organisations that embed hybridity within their organisational behaviour, structure and strategy. The term complexity, throughout this study, refers to three major dimensions that will be further explained in the following chapters: complexity in human relationships; complexity in responding to cultural policy and the funding system; and complexity in meeting the needs of community-based programmes.

This chapter is concerned with the multi-layered and diverse relationships between

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their various stakeholders. The chapter demonstrates what staff behaviour can be regarded as hybrid and how the dominant hybrid elements have helped staff of contemporary art spaces to manage dynamic relationships with resident artists, community members and supervisors (governmental funders, policy makers and examiners). One of the most significant difficulties for Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is budget shortfalls. As a result, there is a great reliance on multi-tasking and on relationships of trust that foster collaborative work to meet the needs of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces despite budget limitations. Human resources, a term that in this thesis refers to people who are fully or partly involved in the programmes facilitated by contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, have become essential for these art institutions to operate programmes sustainably. This tendency results in a human relationship that is relatively complicated, especially within the context of Han culture in Taiwan. For example, the directors of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan broaden their human network gradually, from one individual to another, and even extend their influence upon nearby communities by calling for more community members to get involved in community-based programmes. This requires careful consideration in the design and implementation of community-based programmes and a high degree of diplomacy in communicating with different communities.

The term human relationship, in this study, refers to multiple stakeholders, such as the relationships within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces (between staff and directors); the relationship between contemporary art spaces and participants (resident artists, curators and community members); and the relationship between contemporary art spaces and their supervisors (policy makers, governmental funders and examiners). This thesis argues that the blurred and complicated human relationships between Taiwanese

contemporary art spaces and stakeholders have required the organisations to operate flexibly with multiple relevant parties. The flexibility these organisations have developed is a feature of hybridity, embedding a larger cultural context within the organisation, and is an ongoing and cyclical process. This flexibility involves three stages: the first stage of harmonising differences; the second stage of learning and sharing; and the final stage of becoming flexible.

This chapter focuses on one theme arising from the findings: the hybrid approaches generated from the three case studies, Bamboo Curtain Studio, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. What follows are two sections, the first of which explores the concept of complexity in human relationships. The focus of this research is upon the relationship between staff, senior managers (most in Bamboo Curtain Studio), curators (most in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts) and directors within contemporary art spaces, as well as the relationship between contemporary art spaces and their stakeholders. It asks how stakeholders have influenced the hybrid behaviour of staff within contemporary art spaces. The second section illustrates how staff adopted a certain level of flexibility when working with stakeholders, in order to identify the ways in which hybridity is embedded within the behaviour of staff. In addition, the chapter attempts to illustrate why and how the notion of flexibility as a behaviour has been identified by the research, and to demonstrate that it takes place in three stages and as part of an ongoing and cyclical process.

## 4-2 Complexity: human relationships within contemporary art spaces in Taiwan

> Organisational leaders need to create an atmosphere of openness, and forums for the exchange of ideas.
>
> Hulme et al. (2010: 6)

Everyone sat around the table and discussed the content of the cultural exchange programme in Indonesia and Thailand, which was soon to happen in the summer vacation of 2016. The meeting was held in a small living room next to the mini library in Bamboo Curtain Studio instead of in an office. The time of the meeting was the end of March. Participants in this meeting included two staff members, two artists (one was Taiwanese and the other from the Netherlands), and one senior manager. Except the senior manager, these four members were the team who were to execute this cultural exchange programme. I was the observer[12]. During the meeting, the senior manager raised several basic issues such as the exact time schedule, which places they would like to visit, who they wanted to collaborate with and what they were going to do in South-East Asia. The goal was clear, which was to share the experience of community engagement from Bamboo Curtain Studio with practitioners in these countries, and to seek collaboration between Taiwan and South-East Asia. Everyone rapidly became immersed in the conversation. Then staff members and artists discussed the details, provided ideas, set up a rough agreement and moved on. When a new idea emerged, people circled back to the previous issue, further nuanced a point, then proceeded to the next question again. The senior manager maintained a dynamic pace; when each question had been settled, she summarised the decision on that question and made sure

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[12] For the discussion on my role as a researcher both inside and outside of the institution, please see pp. 75-76.

everyone's opinions were heard. The meeting lasted around two and half hours, and the atmosphere was exciting, open and supportive. At the end of this meeting, the senior manager concluded that 'my mission is over, now it is your turn to show how your ideas have blossomed [while you were in the resident sites]' (2016).

This example presents a common experience of daily life within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, which includes all of the features to be considered in this chapter. For instance, the closing sentence (of the above example) is important here to show how decision-makers in the case study institutions are different. This senior manager only concluded every decision generated from group discussion with a closing statement. When the meeting ended, she would leave the room for staff and artists to decide how to design the resident programme and in what way to facilitate it. In other words, she empowered staff to make decisions on design and facilitation of the programmes by themselves. In the analysis of the material, this thesis has focused upon the behaviour of staff such as directors, senior managers, curators and staff of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan to draw on how the relationship between staff and decision-makers (senior managers, curators and directors) has shaped the organisational culture of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Although this study has discussed several leadership styles in both the discipline of Chinese organisational behaviour and Western research in chapters 1 and 2, this chapter will further analyse details of the personal characteristics of directors in contemporary art spaces in Taiwan to show the difference between them and directors from most Taiwanese organisations. There is evidence that the directors of the three contemporary art spaces play a crucial role in negotiating power dynamics between insiders (staff) and outsiders (stakeholders). The directors of the three case study institutions address power

issues between insiders and outsiders in different ways. The findings have shown that shared power is a symbolic core within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts in particular, staff and director work together in collaboration, and young members of staff are easily influenced by the behaviour of leaders. This phenomenon illustrates the characteristic of charismatic leadership, which indicates that a leader's personal charisma deeply impacts upon the values and behaviour of staff and further shapes a strong organisational identity (Huang and Kao, 2015). In the social context of Taiwan, the kind of leadership exercised depends on the leader's personal characteristics, and affects how easily and rapidly he/she will be accepted by staff members. As stated in Chapter 2, since Taiwan is still shaped by Confucianism, the guanxi (Yang, 1981, 1986, 2005; Wen, 1988; Hwang, 2005), and authority orientation (Yang, 2005) is based on the interpersonal relationship between individuals and the one in power, and Taiwanese instinct tends to respect the authority. If the leader possesses a significant personal charisma, this will strengthen the influence on the values and behaviour of staff. As Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, indicates, 'leader's vision shapes the organisational framework' (2016).

However, even in the context of Chinese culture, the directors of the three contemporary art spaces do not control staff by using face as an exchangeable product; face or guanxi seldom appeared as an issue during my interviews with staff. The review of Chinese organisational behaviour in Chapter 2 suggests that the behaviour of the directors in the case studies is unusual; however, this does not mean the staff are unaware of the hierarchical relationship between the director and themselves. In comparison, within this context, how to operate art programmes in order to encourage more encounters with community members is crucial, since face or guanxi is not a primary topic of concern. As Chen, the studio manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio indicates: 'although we have

little budget and work with so many challenges, it is interesting that my colleagues and I have no competitive relationship. We both hold an ideal and work together here' (2016).

Furthermore, the shared power environment can easily produce a work atmosphere of openness and freedom. Group discussion and teamwork are basic ways to facilitate programmes. Immersed in this kind of work style, which naturally shapes a learning and sharing environment, each staff member can learn from others and share their experiences as well. As Takamori, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, observes,

> The [work] atmosphere [of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts] is lively and pleasant, although it possesses professionals of official art museum; however, the environment tends to [the style of] alternative space[13], which means, we are good friends, let us do things together and let us try to solve problems together (2016).

Shared power is not only the central value of collaboration (Gray, 1989), but can also represent the perspective of decentralisation (Claver-Cortés et al., 2012). This approach needs to be initiated by the person in authority (Hulme et al., 2010), to create an equal work environment. Within the three case-study art institutions, even though the influence of the director is strong and deep, you hardly see him/her appear in the office. For directors, increasing resources is often a priority, especially in relation to involving more participants from a variety of fields for the facilitation of the artistic programmes

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[13] Originally, the concept of alternative space arose in the late 1960s in the United States, when some artists tried to react against the hegemony of traditional gallery space (Macdonald, 2006). This trend influenced Taiwan's contemporary art which soon appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, since the late 1990s, the term alternative space has been combined with the policy 'Reuse unoccupied spaces Experiment Implementation Act', which can be seen as a practical example of co-created achievements between government and private art organisations (definition from National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2016): for example, Siao-Long Cultural Park, Taipei Artist Village can be referred to in the concept of alternative spaces. Except for a few spaces run by government, most of these kinds of alternative spaces are run by private art institutions, such as Bamboo Curtain Studio, people usually work together for the same goals, and are more willing to undertake challenges.

of their institutes. The role of directors is that of navigator; their mission is to guide the organisation in fulfilling the core value of providing benefit to the public served by the institution. In addition, directors play a key role as adviser, offering suggestions, and allowing staff to design and execute the programmes by themselves.

However, this does not mean that the directors are not in charge of the affairs of the contemporary art spaces; instead, they share power with staff members to make decisions to a certain degree. In other words, 'they often give the big picture, and let staff members decide how to do it', Hong, the senior manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio states (2016). For example, a one-day workshop was held by Bamboo Curtain Studio in Kuandu Nature Park, which contains the vital wetland surrounding Taipei City. Staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio provided a big piece of cotton cloth, and invited visitors to draw on it. They encouraged visitors to imagine the relationship between the wetland and themselves, and draw their imagination on this big piece of cotton cloth together. The way in which this environmental art workshop was facilitated was different from the previous year: Chen, the studio manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio describes how 'it is hard to imagine that the director lets us, young (inexperienced) officers, make decisions, and even encourages us to try something new' (2016).

The responsibility for risk-taking is another essential feature of the characters of directors. The findings suggest that a willingness to take risks on the part of directors within contemporary art spaces in Taiwan can enhance the ability of staff to experiment bravely with something new. Lee, The Research and Development Director of Bamboo Curtain Studio explains that:

If the leader is willing to take the responsibility for consequences, this kind of

organisation tends to be more open, […] the staff are also willing to be responsible, because they understand that even if they confront difficulties, the leader will undertake responsibility (2016).

For example, when the founder and director of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Shiu, decided to support the community-based artistic programme *Art Act* at *Plum Tree Creek* in 2010, she encouraged all staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio to get involved in that programme. Shiu was not the kind of leader who demands control over all elements of planning and programming. Instead, she was involved in designing different practices and learning alongside each participant through the process. This example shows that the director of Bamboo Curtain Studio tends to accept instability and is willing to try new things: her style of leadership was recognised by staff, who are willing to work together with their director.

In addition, the findings indicate that senior managers and curators usually play an important role in fostering relationships between the director and younger staff. The senior managers at Bamboo Curtain Studio or the curators at Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts are experienced in art administration, which means they can acknowledge and enhance the contribution of staff. 'I never consider myself a "director"', the Research and Development Director of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Lee indicates, 'however, since Margaret (the founder of Bamboo Curtain Studio) is seldom in the office, it is important for me to consider how to build trust between young staff and Margaret'(2016). The curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, Takamori also observes that,

> [my job] as a curator is to place the right person in the right position [meaning they are good at something]. The relationship between director and staff should aim towards equality and interaction. [A curator's mission is to] let individuals facilitate something they are good at' (2016).

In addition, senior managers also play a role in communicating with outsiders, especially in initiating community-based programmes. The examples of the Bamboo Curtain Studio and the Treasure Hill Artist Village demonstrate that senior managers are highly aware of the relationship between the organisation itself and its stakeholders, which is not unlike the ways in which their directors behave. This finding arising from the research provides evidence that directors and senior managers both understand that human networks are difficult to build and maintain and that these networks are a pivotal condition for the success of the art programmes they facilitate.

## 4-3 Complexity: human relationships between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their stakeholders

> Sometimes you ask yourself where my private sphere is. It is hard to separate precisely, because you get along with them (artists) at very close proximity and over a long period of time (2016).
>
> Su, the former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village

In 2016, a female artist from Japan came to Bamboo Curtain Studio for a one-month artists-in-residence programme. From an interest in the meaning of colour and its influence on Taiwanese society, the artist aimed to interview different generations of Taiwanese people as part of her project. As she was unable to speak Chinese, a volunteer and member of staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio was assigned to accompany the artist to visit a number of places, including stores that specialise in burial preparations, such as clothing, paper money and so on. Translating between the artist and her interviewees was a big challenge for staff members, since they were not always familiar with the kind of English vocabulary adopted by artists and used within this specific context. To address these difficulties, staff used body language in combination with Chinese characters that Japanese-speaking interviewees could read. During her stay, the Japanese artist also sought to facilitate a workshop in an elementary school, which staff supported by visiting a teacher and school director. It took several weeks in advance of the artist's visit to initiate and establish communication between Bamboo Curtain Studio and the school in question. As usual, staff returned to their office to deal with administrative affairs after they had finished the day's activities with artists, which occasionally took a whole day. As part of the process, it was not uncommon for the artist and staff to meet again informally, for example in the kitchen to cook together, reflect, and then return to work at night if something required the urgent attention of the

staff. This situation may not occur in every contemporary art space in Taiwan but it is common in the everyday lives of most staff.

This example suggests that the relationship between staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio and the artist is complicated and blurred. In a Taiwanese context, the kinds of artists, who are selected by contemporary art spaces take residence with the institution for an extended period of time, ranging from a couple of weeks to three months, and are usually called 'resident artists'. Since the artists live and work inside the organisations and are often visiting Taiwan for the first time, they tend to stay close to their hosts, members of staff at contemporary art spaces.

The section that follows will further examine the kinds of stakeholders that Taiwanese contemporary art spaces engage with, specifically focusing on resident artists/curators, supervisors (policy makers, governmental funders and examiners), and community members (residents and local schools). This section will begin with the relationship between artists and the three contemporary art spaces under study, since this relationship is the most significant part of artists-in-residence programmes. The following section will then analyse the relationship between contemporary art spaces and supervisors, since policy makers, governmental funders and examiners have significant influence on the organisational strategy and structure of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Chapter 6: *Hybrid approaches to the demands of community-based programmes* is dedicated to the last type of stakeholder mentioned here - the communities that engage with the organisation.

Currently, while Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts maintains both the function of Art Museum and artist-in-residence programme, the other two case studies, Bamboo

Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, only run artist-in-residence programmes as their priority mission. In general, resident artists are selected by the contemporary art spaces, which means artists are partly subsidised by host organisations and are required to achieve certain outcomes set by the funding body. For Siao-Long Cultural Park, the subsidy artists receive is relatively generous compared to the other three case study organisations: here, subsidies include living expenses, free accommodation and gallery space, and a contribution towards the materials artists require to create their work. One of the outcomes Siao-Long Cultural Park expects in return is that artists host an exhibition which relates to the cultural and historical context of the park itself. In comparison, resident artists at Treasure Hill Artist Village may deliver an artist talk or an (optional) exhibition, while Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts asks artists to submit a final report and host several artist talks. Bamboo Curtain Studio is the only organisation that does not require artists to deliver a pre-set outcome at the end of the residence. Although outcomes are often mutually beneficial, requirements may put pressure on artists to produce a high-quality outcome in a short period of time.

Since resident artists take residence within the contemporary art space for a limited time and have to achieve an ambitious outcome within that time, artists tend to rely on their hosts – that is, members of staff. The extent to which artists depend on their hosts may differ, but most collaborations require a high level of care and attention from members of staff. Staff numbers in contemporary art spaces are relatively low and, very often, staff attend to a significant amount of administrative affairs while also spending time working with artists.

Senior managers do not always intervene in collaborations between young members of staff and artists, except when problems arise that require senior members of staff to

intervene. Even then, problems are often resolved as part of group discussions. At

Bamboo Curtain Studio, for example, resident manager Hong managed difficulties that

arose as part of a collaboration with an Indonesian artist. All staff, senior managers and

the director gathered to identify solutions and, together, negotiate a productive way

forward. When there are difficulties in engaging with the processes of collaboration,

senior managers and directors generally offer advice aimed at encouraging staff and

building coping strategies, rather than inflicting punishment. As Hong indicates, 'these

decision makers (senior managers and the director) not only offer practical suggestions

but also support me. The studio (Bamboo Curtain Studio) makes me feel confident in

my decisions, which is truly important' (2016). Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum

of Fine Arts, further points out the importance of understanding the language between

staff members and artists. She observes,

> The situation in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is slightly different. We are an art
> organisation where the function alternates between public museum and alternative
> space[14], therefore, our relationships with artists are closer. […] [which means]
> The director is an artist, I am an artist, some of our colleagues are artists too. We
> know what artists want and we sometimes anticipate things that they may not yet
> have thought about (2016).

However, the relationship between artists and staff may be more complex than

illustrated in the above situations. Since artists take residence at the site of

contemporary art spaces, members of staff and resident artists often enter each

other's private spheres. The informal working relationship, such as lunch or dinner time,

between staff and artists usually contributes to a relationship of trust. The term trust is

the crucial element to enhance collaboration in the facilitation of artistic programmes.

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[14] See the note about the concept of alternative space on p. 116.

As a result, the boundary between official and private relationships between staff and artists becomes blurred and vague. For instance, if the relationship fortunately becomes closer, this helps the artistic programmes to operate smoothly; however, the situation is not always that simple and easy. Consequently, human interpersonal relationships are highly sensitive and complicated, because staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces do not concentrate on one artist at one time; rather, already short-staffed art spaces often require their workers to deal with two or more artists at the same time. This situation may result in the artists arguing about resource allocation, which happened frequently within these three case contemporary art spaces. Su, the former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village points out that 'the artist sometimes questioned us: why do you (staff) treat this one (artist) better than that one (artist)? What is the common rule for your staff and what constitutes a special case?' (2016). It is hard to nuance the subtle differences, especially in the matter of interpersonal relationships. Hence it is essential to establish principles concerning terms and regulations, and a high level of transparency in the way information is communicated is essential. Detailed regulations established by contemporary art spaces allow artists to follow these rules and to work smoothly within the spaces.

For instance, at Siao-Long Cultural Park, resident artists receive detailed terms and regulations concerning Siao-Long Cultural Park's artists-in-residence programme months before their residence begins. The contents include the arrangements for artists to receive their living expenses, information about how much tax is payable by foreigners in Taiwan, and about how they are to buy materials following the purchasing rules of governmental art institution (Siao-Long Cultural Park). The artists are required to read the contents carefully and to confirm with the staff of Siao-Long before beginning their residence: only when the artists raise no concerns about the contents of

the terms and regulations of Siao-Long Cultural Park: Artists-in-residence programme, and then sign the document, are the artists officially confirmed as resident artists for that year. The terms and regulations of Siao-Long Cultural Park: Artists-in-residence programme will also be part of the official contract of Siao-Long Cultural Park: Artists-in-residence programme; in any instance where an artist brings up questions later during his/her residence, the contract is a crucial document for both sides to discuss. Since Siao-Long is managed by the city government, the bureaucratic process is relatively complicated. This approach has not only built a clear path for resident artists to follow and to understand how Siao-Long operates its artists-in-residence programme before the artists actually arrive at the park; it has also helped to decrease misunderstanding between the staff and resident artists in the operation of the artists-in-residence programme.

The following section will unpack the relationship between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and supervisors. Whether internally or externally, power dynamics take the form of a clear top-down relationship, established through laws and regulations. In the Taiwanese context, corporate sponsorship for art organisations is relatively uncommon. In fact, the funder is usually the Ministry of Culture in the context of this research, which means that the funder is also the cultural policy maker. The examiner refers to government accountants. The Ministry of Culture grants organisations their funding, while the accountants examine how funds are managed and spent. Chapter 5 will discuss governmental structure and explain how mechanisms such as cultural policies and governmental funding systems operate.

It seems that one of the difficult problems for most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in operating the artist-in-residence programmes is not a small budget or short staffing,

but the constraints from the governmental administrative process, which strictly limit

how contemporary art spaces use their budgets. The three case-study art institutions all

facilitate artist-in-residence programmes and are funded by the Ministry of Culture, and

one of the features of artist-in-residence programmes is to encourage artists to

experiment with new elements. 'We want them to test new materials' (2016), the

resident manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Hong notes. In short, the primary way

contemporary art spaces operate is process orientation, aiming to encourage artists in

trying something new rather than in producing art works. The founder and director of

Bamboo Curtain Studio, Shiu, argues:

> [Assuming contemporary art development is a production chain] we are at the
> forefront of the production chain [in contemporary art development]. We allow
> artists to explore, test and research. This kind of experimentation cannot be seen
> as the so-called 'production', since the effects of experiments will not be visible
> immediately. The cultivation of Taiwanese young artists is a long-term process
> (2016).

However, the challenge for contemporary art spaces in Taiwan is that government seems

to maintain an economic model for measuring cultural cultivation from the perspectives

of accountants working in the government accounting department. 'This situation

happens everywhere, also in my country', the resident curator of Bamboo Curtain

Studio from The Netherlands, Ostendorf, states, and 'the government focusses too much

on output (exhibitions or making of art works), instead of trusting practitioners to do a

good job' (2016).

Staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces often spend much of their time explaining to

accountants why and how they use funds, especially in government-managed art

institutions. Not only may accountants not understand how and why art organisations

work the way they do, but mostly, accountants have to take responsibility for each payment. In addition, the power of accountants introduces an unequal power balance between contemporary art spaces and accountants. In the current context, accountants may refuse to process a payment, which means that if they veto an application, the organisation is unable to obtain the payment. Often the accountants have little understanding of artists-in-residence programmes and, even if they do, each artist-in-residence programme is unique and experimental. As a result, accountants tend to act conservatively. This is not only because they carry responsibility for each payment, but also because government bureaucracy may tend to be cautious in areas of practices that are unfamiliar within the Taiwanese context. The former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village, Wu, points out that 'if the [bureaucratic] system is not willing to change [the way they do now], the situation will not change' (2016).

Currently, however, there is a slowly growing sense of a redefinition of the relationship between funder and grantee from the side of the funder. The Dutch resident curator of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Ostendorf, gives an example of a funding programme called Arts Collaboratory. Initially, two Dutch foundations, DOEN and Hivos, gave it funding, especially in Asia and Africa. Since 2013, however, the foundations have transferred their role from a typical one, where funders have the power to decide which one they will fund. Instead, they network twenty organisations (the former grantees) and let them make decisions together about where the funding goes. Furthermore, 'they don't report to the foundations about their activities, but they have study bodies, so they report to each other' (2016). This example shows that there may be an opportunity for the Taiwanese government to rethink the current power relationship between funder and grantee and move forwards to a more equal and collaborative situation.

The difficulty concerns not only the bureaucratic system, but also the connection

between governmental funder and Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. For example, the

principal funder for artists-in-residence programmes is the Ministry of Culture;

however, the truth is that the funded contemporary art spaces and the Ministry of

Culture seldom have the opportunity to sit down and discuss with each other. The most

common process is that these contemporary art spaces apply for funding every

November, receive granted funding at the beginning of the following year, execute

programmes throughout the year, report on and finish towards the end of the year, and

apply for next year's round of subsidies in November again. There seem to be few

opportunities or platforms for these contemporary art organisations to respond to any

questions they may face during the execution process. Another pertinent problem is

instability within Taiwanese political context. Due to the vicious competition between

the two main political parties – Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and Kuomintang of

China (KMT) in Taiwan - the winning party at the election may radically overturn

current policy. This situation could easily result in the fracture of policies, and has a

huge impact on funding for contemporary art institutions. This phenomenon will be

further discussed in the next chapter – Chapter 5: Hybrid approaches to cultural policy

and governmental funding. The following section will explore how staff at

contemporary art spaces respond to their complex relationship with different

stakeholders through a hybrid approach.

## 4-4 Flexibility – an ongoing and cyclical process

The section on complexity set out three unique and complex interpersonal relationships between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and stakeholders. Although the thesis discusses each of these relationships in three separate sections, in reality these three relationships usually overlap and occur simultaneously. For example, when the staff of contemporary art spaces go outside with the resident artist to assist with his/her artistic programme, staff are required to deal with the daily administrative affairs. At the same time, staff must report regularly to the director or senior managers to ensure that the artist's programme is in progress. If the artistic programme engages with communities, such as schools, then the planning must be extended. Since programming needs to match the time schedule of the school's curriculum, staff at contemporary art institutions must be able to judge how art programmes should be timed to connect with both the school and the artist. If the target groups were communities, such as local residents, then the programme became complex. Most of these planning operations were executed by the staff at contemporary art spaces, and were usually dealt with by only one or perhaps two members of staff. If this is the requirement for one single artist, imagine that the same members of staff have to deal with at least two or more artists at the same time. For this reason, members of staff at these contemporary art organisations often possess a high degree of flexibility to undertake complex and multiple tasks at the same time.

This section will explain how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces constantly negotiate complicated and diverse situations and how they behave flexibly to deal with the problems they encounter. The findings have shown that the feature of flexibility stems from the ways in which contemporary art spaces collaborate with their diverse

stakeholders. To be specific, if the complicated environment is the cause, then the outcome is the ability of staff to be flexible in responding to the complexity. The term flexibility, in this thesis, refers to 'the ability to deal with uncertainty and unforeseeable changes' (Swamidass and Newell, 1987; Barad and Sipper, 1988; Gupta and Goyal, 1989). The thesis argues that the ability to act flexibly is the characteristic which identifies these contemporary art spaces as hybrid organisations.

The findings offer evidence in support of the notion that the concept of flexibility is an ongoing and cyclical process, transforming the inner values of staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and transforming their behaviour outside the art spaces. In order to explore the process of flexibility, the thesis understands that three different traits demonstrate the features of flexibility within the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The first stage is harmonising difference, the next stage is learning and sharing, and the third stage is becoming flexible. The three-staged process of flexibility can be illustrated as follows:
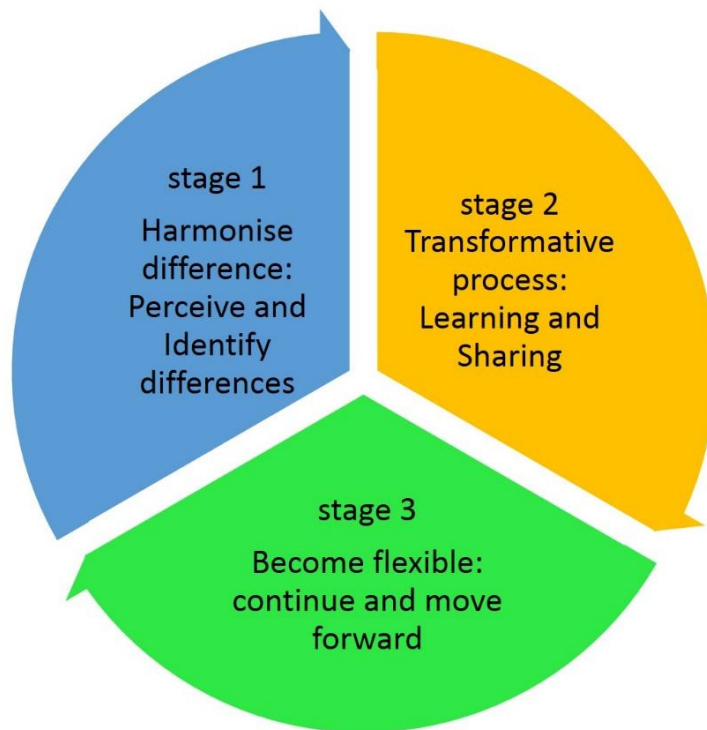
Table 2: The Chart of flexibility

Kuan-Yin Liu (2017)

This chart illustrating the process of flexibility shows that instead of being linear, this is a dynamic, interactive, constant and circular process. To be specific, each element is equally crucial and influential upon the others. This study highlights the importance that each stage of flexibility represents a degree of flexibility. Depending upon different situations, contemporary art spaces may move forward or maintain a single stage of flexibility throughout. For instance, an art programme may be designed to operate across all three stages of flexibility, but, in practice, be faced with several difficulties that prevent the programme from progressing beyond the second stage of learning and sharing. This example demonstrates that the degree of flexibility emerging from the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is dynamic and subject to change: there is no truly successful or failed state of being flexible. Rather, each programme can adopt a certain degree of flexibility. The following sections will explain each of the three stages of flexibility in sequence.

## Stage 1 - Harmonising difference

Within the environment of mixed, complex and diverse interpersonal relationships, one of the central issues is how staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces deal with difference. If these contemporary art organisations are seen as one kind of hybrid organisation, how can this be evidenced? First of all, it is essential to identify which obstacles hybrid organisations may confront. As Dodds declares, 'the real challenges to becoming hybrid are not technological but social and cultural' (2011: 1). The complexity of the human relationships that contemporary art spaces in Taiwan negotiate resonates with the way in which Dodds describes hybrid organisations. The results of this study indicate that the first feature of flexibility is to harmonise difference, which includes two stages: to perceive difference and identify difference. The term harmonise

difference reflects the ideology of harmony in original Confucianism, which understands the concept of harmony as harmonious but different (Yang, 2006; Huang, 2005); and in Cheng's concept of 'dialectics of harmonisation[15]' (1986). If harmony is a dynamic process, coping with potential difficulties or conflicts is a way to become harmonised. The findings suggest that employees at contemporary art spaces are able to perceive difference and further identify it substantively.

## Perceiving difference

Since the 1970s, Taiwan has peacefully and successfully transitioned from strong authoritarianism to the realisation of democracy (Chu & Chang, 2001; Liu et al., 2010). Due to historical, social and political changes, Taiwan has been increasingly and significantly influenced by Western culture, especially in terms of modernisation (Brindley, 1989). Traditional Chinese values influence Taiwan through the so-called Han culture which is shaped by Confucianism. These modern Western and traditional Chinese values have interacted with each other and have been consolidated within Taiwanese society. Lu and Yang (2006) argue that as a result of the gradual process in which two opposing cultural values have shaped the development of Taiwanese society, most Taiwanese people are able to mix or shift between Chinese traditional values and Western values.

This study indicates that the characteristics of staff in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces seem to have a strong and clear tendency towards this kind of behaviour. However, seeing staff as thinking either in terms of traditional or Western values would oversimplify the spectrum through which the logical processes of staff members shift

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[15]  For the concept of dialectics of harmonisation, please see p. 54.

between different values. While staff at contemporary art spaces may be faced with values held by the foreign artists they work with, that the staff are not familiar with, they tend to be sensitively aware of difference. This means that many of those working at the case-study organisations are sensitive about different cultural features and behaviour: when they encounter such differences, members of staff can naturally shift their way of thinking and behaving outside their own cultural context. In other words, when they perceive difference, staff will not act with selfish individualism, which means people tend to see things based on their own logic and values. Instead, staff are highly aware of the differences between individuals, not only in terms of the individuals themselves, but also in relation to the cultural meanings that lie behind the individuals.

For example, in the case of Bamboo Curtain Studio, an Indonesian resident artist held a workshop in a nearby elementary school. During the workshop, there was a significant cultural difference in teaching style between the Indonesian artist and the local Taiwanese teacher. The potential conflict that arose from this was negotiated by staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio, who played a mediating role between both sides for the workshop to continue. In the end some students could not finish the whole process on time, and nearly half of them failed to complete the work successfully. From the perspective of the staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio, this was a big problem, because the integrity and efficiency of a lesson is a priority in the Taiwanese context; however, when she discussed it with the resident artist, she had a different thought. 'He said', the resident manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Hong, explains, 'I want the students to learn failure, because failure is one of the serious lessons of our life […] at the moment, I truly agreed with him' (2016). During the time when Hong described this incident, I was sensitively aware of the transformation in the values of staff in moving from their personal cultural context in order to try to understand the artist's values.

The above example shows that while confronting difference, staff at contemporary art spaces tend to observe differences and read these differences independently. For example, the staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio tend not to make assumptions about the behaviour of one artist as being generally representative of Indonesian culture. Instead, members of staff understand the difference as a cultural characteristic, which has nothing to do with good or bad, advantage or disadvantage. Even when encountering a culture that staff may not be familiar with, most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces tend to be open and willing to understand the unknown. In summary, the behaviour of staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces can best be seen as a learning model, which is part of the second stage of flexibility. The importance of this learning process will be explained in the next section.

It is not only crucial to perceive cultural difference, but also to recognise personality differences for each stakeholder. As resident artists are the most collaborative partners within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, it is essential to understand the different character of each artist. Many members of staff at these contemporary art organisations agreed that language may be one of the most significant terms through which to understand the diverse character of each single artist; different artists evidently have distinct responses to the issue of language. Chinese and English are the two most common languages used within contemporary art spaces in Taiwan and yet misunderstandings easily arise during the communication process. This became evident in the example of Bamboo Curtain Studio, where a Japanese female artist struggled with her English language ability and confidence. However, staff did not immediately recognise the Japanese artist's sensitivity about her struggle with English communication during the collaborative process. It was only in hindsight, when hosting

workshops at a nearby elementary school, that several misunderstandings came to light. 'This case shocked me, which reminds me that I cannot use my personal values to make hasty decisions" (2016), the resident assistant of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Chang, demonstrates. This example demonstrates that, like Chang, staff at contemporary art spaces tend to reflect on their own position when confronting conflict. This self-reflexivity is pivotal for moving onto the next stage of flexibility: identifying difference.

**Identifying difference**

While perceiving differences, how do contemporary Taiwanese art spaces deal with problems that may emerge along with the differences? As Dodds indicates, 'embracing difference is a key element in hybrid organisations, in particular the mixture of people with different ideas and working styles' (2011: 2). This perspective aptly illustrates the importance of differences between individuals, especially regarding individuals' values and the ways in which they approach different challenges. During the interviews, participants at each of the three case-study art organisations demonstrated a high level of caution when offering examples to strengthen their perspectives: 'everything is case by case' (2016), a senior manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio remarked. For example, most staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio agree that, to a certain extent, cultural context shapes certain similarities. However, a culture cannot simply be judged based on someone (usually referring to a resident artist) you have encountered. 'I am not sure how much the culture has influenced and in what degree; I think it still relates to the personality' (2016), the Research and Development director of Bamboo Curtain Studio Lee, states.

This kind of characteristic relates to the concept of cultural intelligence. Middleton

explains that 'cultural intelligence is the ability to cross divides and thrive in multiple cultures' (2015). The curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, Takamori, alludes to this when remarking, 'don't take things for granted, [...], you need to turn it (personal value) down and rebuild it' (2016). In brief, cultural intelligence not only perceives differences, but actively crosses over and identifies with them. This perspective aptly reflects the concept of embracing difference as described by Dodds (2011).

For Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, a high level of cultural intelligence is crucial, as it can be challenging to meet the needs of both artists and local communities when working with artists from diverse cultural backgrounds. Negotiating sometimes competing needs is a dilemma that contemporary art spaces in Taiwan are unable to avoid. For example, at the beginning stage of Treasure Hill Artist Village, some foreign artists sought to impose an exotic atmosphere at the site due to the specific historical and political context and environment. However, this kind of art work may be perceived as an invasion by community members. The former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village, Su, argues:

> I don't expect artists to become social workers; they don't need to be either. However, when their residence ends, they go back to their country and our situation (at Treasure Hill Artist Village) can be a serious problem (2016).

Staff at Treasure Hill Artist Village faced these situations on several occasions, which caused Treasure Hill Artist Village to adopt a certain level of caution when reviewing artists' proposals. The organisational strategy of Treasure Hill Artist Village is significantly different from the other two contemporary case-study art spaces. This attitude also reflects the fact that most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan do not usually seek to avoid conflicts. In fact, difficulties and challenges exist every moment during

collaboration. However, the key question is how to deal with the challenges. As the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, Takamori, points out: 'I try to figure out the boundary [of the local culture], and I only curate programmes inside of the cultural values, and do my best' (2016).

These two examples have shown that while confronting different cultural contexts, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces tend to be highly aware of thinking and acting based on the other's values and logic, and are quick to consider what the ultimate consequences may be for each partner. It is interesting that this way of thinking is not directly related to cultural intelligence but refers more to traditional Chinese behaviour. As Yong indicates, 'Chinese usually are able to undertake and change from different roles in various situations' (2005). In certain ways, this also influences the flexibility of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. It is an advantage; however, the differences between traditional Chinese behaviour and cultural intelligence should be understood in a carefully nuanced way.

As discussed above, this approach resonates with 'traditional Chinese behaviour'. Taiwanese people can read the differences first, but it does not mean that they can actively accept them: in other words, the value of Chinese traditional behaviour is much closer to speaking and behaving in a socially acceptable manner. This behaviour reflects the feature of other orientation, which Taiwanese tend to behave in the social norm. Therefore, this kind of traditional Chinese behaviour may not be enough to achieve the stage of being hybrid. And yet, there is more to be investigated within the environment of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The specific difference is that staff at these contemporary art institutes are constantly shifting and broadening their values, which allows them genuinely to achieve the stage of harmonising difference, to perceive and

identify differences. However, a key question is how to examine whether staff are truly harmonising difference. If transforming personal values is an internal psychological activity, what is the unique behaviour that can be observed from staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces? The next section will explain the second stage of flexibility: the transformative process of learning and sharing.

## Stage 2 - The transformative process: Learning and Sharing

The first stage of flexibility demonstrates how staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces perceive difference and further identify it. However, this is not enough to be truly flexible. This chapter argues that becoming flexible requires a crucial transformative process from the first stage of harmonising difference (i.e. the understanding of difference), to the third stage of becoming flexible (i.e. working agilely with difference). In this section, I will examine how staff at contemporary art spaces deal with difference through a transformative process, from understanding the difference to behaving flexibly, which is the second stage of flexibility: the model of learning and sharing. This transformative process is necessary for staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to collaborate with stakeholders. Only when staff transform and broaden their personal behaviour can they achieve the third stage of flexibility, which approaches difference through a model of learning and sharing.

How can people learn from their encounters? Maxted defines learning as 'a process of active engagement with experience. It is what people do when they want to make sense of the world […] Effective learning leads to change, development and the desire to learn more' (1999: 14). A senior manager at Bamboo Curtain Studio also points out that 'if you do not understand them [your stakeholders], how can you accept them?' (2016).

The findings show that the three case study organisations tend to understand participants (resident artists and community members) to a certain degree and learn subsequently, for example, through working with the artists and community members. When staff at contemporary art spaces have immersed themselves in this psychological process, they actively begin the transformative process. Interestingly, interview transcripts suggested that the term 'learning' was the term used most frequently during all interviews conducted with participants. Whether they were staff, curators or directors, or even collaborative artists and researchers, each interviewee emphasised the importance of learning and being open to learning when confronted with people from different cultural backgrounds. 'There must be something you can learn' (2016), the studio manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Chen, states. However, if learning is a process of active engagement with experience, how can staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces be understood to utilise the learning model? One way is to examine behaviour through the concept of learning put forward by Emily Pringle, the Head of Learning Practice and Research at Tate Gallery. Pringle argues that 'the process of learning is from what we know, what we do not know, to know it differently' (2015). According to Pringle's perspective, learning is a transformative process. In the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this transformative process is frequent and constant, taking place in any situation and at any moment, since these institutions engage diverse people through complex interpersonal relationships.

In addition, the ability to learn requires not only a sense of being transformative but also a distinct autonomy. To be more specific, the staff in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces not only acknowledge differences, but actively learn from what is different from them. There is consequently a relatively high degree of spontaneous learning, because the people and the contexts that staff deal with are both complicated and interactive. A

phrase such as '[it] is interesting, because I learned a lot from [whom and what]' frequently appeared in the interview records, especially those recording staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio, and this shows that staff view learning as a positive experience. In the interviews I conducted, 'interesting' was a commonly used term. Even when situations were challenging, staff at the three case-study organisations tended to focus on how to solve conflict and prevent or improve situations next time.

The next feature of the transformative process refers to sharing. If learning is the process of experience engaged (Maxted, 1999), sharing can be referred to as the concept of resources shared, which happens particularly in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Resource sharing has been considered as one of the core values of the concept of public benefit[16]. This not only refers to the outcome of resource sharing, but specifically indicates that sharing is an interactive pattern between staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and the participants such as artists and community members. The founder and director of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Shiu, asserts, 'what experience you (artist) have, share with us; I [Bamboo Curtain Studio] have a great network [with various artists, art institutes and community members], I can help you to connect, let's co-create something' (2016). This means that artists and Taiwanese contemporary art spaces both own their resources: in the above example, the resource of the artist was their unique experience; the resource of Bamboo Curtain Studio was their powerful human network; then they worked together to create something differently.

The study suggests that staff at contemporary art spaces value intangible resources such as personal experience and interpersonal networks. This can be seen as a reflection of

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[16] For the concept of shared value and public benefit, please see Chapter 3, pp. 96-100.

the increasing importance that human resources have taken on, due to the limited budget available to contemporary art spaces in Taiwan. Furthermore, the above quote demonstrates that sharing is an interactive process that must be mutually agreed upon by all involved. This tendency strongly resonates with the nature of collaboration - that it is only if each participant recognises that collaboration will generate interests which are mutually beneficial, and which could only be achieved in partnership, that collaboration will succeed (Gray, 1989). For example, although Bamboo Curtain Studio shares a deep connection with nearby communities, it is still working hard to engage communities within each of its community-based programmes. Because the participants of each community-based programme, generally local residents, are different, newly developed programmes always emerge from a new collaborative process between Bamboo Curtain Studio and the participants they engage. Each programme is shaped through different degrees of flexibility, which means it can be challenging to reproduce the example of previous projects.

If the willingness to share is only one-way, it will not result in the final stage of flexibility. Therefore, if the process of learning and sharing is developed as a reciprocal venture, it can be possible to facilitate continuous collaboration. As Hulme et al. point out, 'by communicating with each other, people can share best practice, work together to achieve organisational aims' (2010: 7). In short, the skill of communication is crucial at any stage of collaboration. This finding demonstrates that staff at contemporary art spaces are usually willing to share and learn with artists, communities, colleagues and directors through communication. One of the distinctive elements here is that the relationship between the staff and their stakeholders (most are artists and community members) is much more like that of a collaborative team than what I observed at organisations that were competitors, especially Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu

Museum of Fine Arts. This specific way of working in a team is helpful in creating a learning and sharing work environment.

The transformative process embedded in the model of learning and sharing has demonstrated how the behaviour of staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces develops through a collaborative process between the organisations, artists and community members. In this sense, staff constantly absorb and integrate values learned from different participants, which shapes organisational behaviour and strategies and gradually creates a hybrid organisational model.

**Stage 3 - Becoming flexible**

This study would appear to confirm that the degree of flexibility that has been achieved contributes to a hybrid way of working in the three case-study art organisations. The findings are also consistent with those of Dodds, who suggests that 'hybrid organisations are characterised by fluidity and flexibility – in structure, process and working policies' (2011: 1). Taiwanese contemporary art spaces face complicated situations in their immediate context: these include negotiating interpersonal relationships with resident artists, community members and governmental departments. Each of the contemporary art organisations featuring within this thesis operates within the external structures of policies, laws and regulations. Nonetheless, their most significant challenge is a persistent lack of resources, especially following the shortfall in funding over the past few years. Therefore, in the stage of becoming flexible, the organisation needs not only to consider its ability to manage a human network with various stakeholders, but also the skills necessary to deal with an unpredictable work environment and time frame. To be specific, in order to maintain the operation of

contemporary art spaces, the directors tend to act strategically to meet their organisational goals despite the lack of funding. With regard to staff, the stage of becoming flexible shows that staff are able to work in a diverse working environment and agile timeframe, which will be discussed in the later section.

The process of broadening the network of human resources requires a high degree of flexibility. The former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village, Su, advises, 'what I learned the most in Treasure Hill Artist Village is, you have to continuously connect [different people], because your resource [budget] is too limited' (2016). In other words, one of the most pertinent issues for Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is to identify new sources of funding and expand resources, which requires organisations to behave strategically to meet their needs. For example, if Taiwanese contemporary art spaces only focus on artists, then human resources are too limited and make it difficult to facilitate art programmes. What these contemporary art organisations do is attract a more diverse array of participants, including artists, school teachers and students and community members involved in different art programmes. For example, for Bamboo Curtain Studio, communities and local schools are their primary human resources; for Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, it is university students and artists; for Treasure Hill Artist Village, it is the original residents and visitors.

The findings emerging from the analysis show that the prime mission of the three case study organisations is to identify different approaches and strategies to tackle the issue of limited funding. In this sense, the issue of 'resources' as considered here not only refers to funding, but, more importantly, relates to human resources and a multi-dimensional human network. The notion of seeing human resources as a social resource, reflects to an extent the wider Taiwanese context, which is shaped by traditional

Chinese culture, and Confucianism is the root of Chinese culture. As described

previously in Chapter 2, the guanxi orientation is one of the symbolic characteristics: as

Yang describes, guanxi deeply affects the interpersonal network of Chinese culture,

especially the authorities, who usually manipulate guanxi as a method to dominate

people (2005).

However, the decisive difference between the larger Taiwanese context and

contemporary art spaces is that the vital value and mission of contemporary art spaces is

to manage their limited financial resources in order to benefit the public through artistic

and community-engaged programmes; the directors are rarely seen using human

resources to further their personal interests. Although they are very effective at building

personal networks, and have a strong and comprehensive international human network,

they use these networks flexibly and diplomatically, and the only purpose in utilising

human resources is to reflect benefit back to the public. Different organisational

contexts and operational strategies require different human resources. One common

approach within the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is observed in, for

example, Bamboo Curtain Studio, where the director is well versed at broadening her

human resources based on the organisation's networks. In turn, the new participants

attracted through the organisation's efforts bring more people they know back into the

programme - which has gradually increased to include more individuals. This ability

was also evident in the accounts of directors at the other two case-study organisations.

Each possesses a high degree of flexibility in their interaction with different

stakeholders and is skilled and passionate about getting new people involved. This

phenomenon the organisational strategy for programming will further explain in

Chapters 5 and 6. Having considered the mission of directors in managing a diverse

human network, I now explain how and why the stage of becoming flexible is not only

important in enhancing human resources, but is equally vital in the work patterns of staff in Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Through variable and extended working hours, staff can support resident artists to maintain a focus on art programmes during their residence. For example, if an artist is interested in Taiwan's temple culture, then staff at the three contemporary art spaces may need to accompany the artist to ceremonies hosted by temples before dawn, since most of the Temple ceremonies take place before or during sunrise. Not unlike the example this chapter drew on in the section on complexity, staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are often unable to limit their work to a nine-to-five schedule. Through the research process, this study discovered the complexities of working in the environment of a contemporary art space: members of staff rarely arrive at and leave the office at the same time, meaning that the internal working environments of the three case study organisations are flexible. At the same time, however, work environments are demanding, since staff often work long hours on a daily basis.

## 4-5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the first dimension of hybrid approaches, focusing specifically on the complex and diverse relationships that staff members at the case-study organisations negotiated. Two features have shaped the contexts of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces as being hybrid: complexity and flexibility. The chapter has illustrated the complex nature of human relationships in the context of contemporary art spaces, and demonstrated how members of staff behave flexibly to deal with diverse stakeholders. The section on complexity identified three dimensions in relationships to show how different power dynamics flow within contemporary art spaces - between their colleagues, resident artists and supervisors. In order to respond to the complexity of interpersonal relationships, the nature of flexibility, as the findings suggest, is an ongoing and circular process, which contains three traits: harmonising difference, learning and sharing, and then becoming flexible. These three are equally important and will recur as new situations will continually emerge.

Although Taiwanese contemporary art spaces demonstrate such significant behaviour in regard to flexibility, there are many difficulties that threaten their existence. One of the problems is the unfriendly approach of art administrators. For example, staff in these art organisations must be able not only to deal with the administrative process, but also to curate exhibitions and design activities. A long time is needed to build up skills and develop networks. Low salaries and long working hours also make it hard for the younger generation to continue working in these organisations. This situation is closely related to recent policy developments and to the bureaucratic system. The next chapter will explore how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces formulate a flexible organisational structure and strategy while coping with the challenges of responding to official policies

and limited funding.

# Chapter 5  Policy: Hybrid approaches to cultural policy and governmental funding

## 5-1 Introduction

Most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan are immersed in a complicated sociocultural context that requires their staff and directors to act flexibly in multiple dimensions – with artists and local communities as well as with government funders. Bamboo Curtain Studio, for example, on the one hand engages with local communities to discover and critique environmental issues affecting the surrounding areas; on the other hand, it diplomatically interacts with governmental cultural institutions to acquire financial support from governments. The aim of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is to fulfil the core value of public benefit; however, at the same time, an institution like a contemporary art space is unable to generate its own income and can only rely on governmental subsidies. Therefore, complexity is not only found in the interpersonal relationship between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and stakeholders, but for example, is also embedded particularly in Taiwanese cultural funding policy, which in turn, through the allocation of funding subsidies, influences the methods of operation of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan.

Alert to this context (and moving our discussion to the second of our three forms of hybrid approaches), this chapter aims to investigate how the characteristics of hybridity are played out within the organisational structure and strategy of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan. The discussion here argues that even though the complexity arises from the uncoordinated system of policy-making and governmental budgeting, the art

organisations which feature within the case studies can exercise their function effectively because of their shared-power organisational structure and shift-based organisational strategy.

The difficulty for most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan is that they are heavily reliant on government funding to support their operational budget. This phenomenon may easily result in a certain degree of influence on organisational survival. Furthermore, the binary choice between long-term cultural policy making and short-term annual budgeting has given rise to the dilemma experienced by subsidised Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in striking a balance that can enable them to flow fluidly between these two opposite directions. For example, the governmental funding project for art institutions which run artists-in-residence programmes was initiated in 2008; however, the funding is budgeted annually. In contemporary Taiwan, the government, which includes the Ministry of Culture, is one of Taiwan's biggest funders in respect of art and cultural development. Therefore, the way that the government makes policy and allocates the budget has deeply influenced the organisational strategies of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

In this chapter, two sections have been included to identify the dynamics arising from this relationship between governmental policy makers, funders, accountants and staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. On one hand, there is the complexity of cultural policy and governmental funding, and on the other, the flexibility embedded in organisational structure and strategies, as explored within three case studies of art institutions. The section on complexity draws upon the social and political context with reference to the uncertainty that affects the long-term development of cultural policy, and the system of governmental funding in Taiwan in relation to the context of

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In addition, it seeks to reveal how the current model of governmental subsidy and bureaucratic structure has questioned the operation of the art organisations featured within the three case studies. Furthermore, it offers evidence of the kinds of constraints affecting the three case studies, which rely heavily upon governmental subsidies to operate, and, to a larger degree, evidence of how cultural policy and governmental funding impact upon the organisational behaviour of these organisations. The following section offers further evidence to demonstrate how, due to the restrictions imposed by of recent funding model, the three case-study art institutions have developed flexibility within their organisational and strategic functions in order to achieve their institutional goals and to respond to governmental expectations.

## 5-2 Complexity of the social and political context – cultural policy and governmental funding

A growing body of discussion has investigated the development of cultural policy and that of art management in Taiwan for last two decades (Lai, 2010, 2011; Liu, 2013, 2018; Liu et al., 2015; Hsia et al., 2011, 2012; Cheng, 2004; Wang, 2011). Scholars have pointed out that even though the *Cultural Fundamental Act* was officially implemented in 2019, there is still a gap not only for policy makers but also for art and cultural organisations in fulfilling the needs of Taiwanese people in municipal affairs (Liu, 2018). For example, a variety of cultural events and movements has flourished in contemporary Taiwan; however, the complicated contexts of the Taiwanese economy, society and politics may be a key influence upon the power dynamics between the authorities (usually central or local governments, national or city museums) and participants ( usually artists, visitors and local residents) in coping with certain social and cultural issues (Liu et al., 2015; Liu, 2018; Wang, 2011).

In addition, with regard to the governmental funding policy, the situation may be far more complex. Funding is always the vital issue that relates to the survival of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan. Several difficulties have constantly challenged these art organisations. The primary issue is the lack of integration between cultural policy-making and governmental budgeting processes. In general, cultural policy is made by the ruling party, and legally passed by Legislative Yuan. In current Taiwanese society, each term of office for the ruling party is four years, and if the party is re-elected successfully, there are four more years in authority. As a result, the minimum duration of any given policy is at least four years. In comparison, budget allocation is made annually. This factor has increased insecurity in facilitating long-term art and cultural

programmes.

Furthermore, policy instability is another potential challenge to the ability to maintain any particular cultural programme. Since political competition is extremely serious in Taiwan, it is usual for the governing party to construct a new policy during its period of governance, which has resulted in a high degree of instability in policy execution. For example, the governmental subsidy '文化部補助藝術村營運扶植計畫 Ministry of Culture Directions on subsidy project of the operation and cultivation of artist villages' was enacted in 2008, during the period of the previous president, Ma Ying-Jiu. It has been continued during the Tsai's government since 2016; however, the survival of this project following the next election in 2020 remains uncertain.

In the social and political context of Taiwan, there are two major subsidy bodies in the sphere of the development of art and culture: both are exclusively governmental institutions - the Ministry of Culture and National Culture and the Arts Foundation (NCAF). However, to be specific, the subsidy project '文化部補助藝術村營運扶植計畫 Ministry of Culture Directions on subsidy project of the operation and cultivation of artist villages' managed by the Ministry of Culture is the only primary funding project for promoting artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan. This research is based on the period from 2015 to 2016, but the case-study art organisations have all obtained funding from the Ministry of Culture for the past two years. Even though the three case-study organisations possess other funding streams, these are not directly for the purpose of facilitating artists-in-residence programmes.

For example, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is a university museum; however, the budget from the university is mainly to maintain the museum's operation, regular

exhibition projects, research and collections. In brief, there is little funding for the artists-in-residence programme. The only income for operating the artists-in-residence programme comes from the above-mentioned subsidy project of the Ministry of Culture. Bamboo Curtain Studio has faced a much more crucial problem than Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts and Treasure Hill Artist Village, since it is a non-profit private organisation and most of the budget comes from the Ministry of Culture, the National Culture and Arts Foundation and a few private sponsors. Each source of funding is given for a defined function and is used only for that specific programme. In contrast, Treasure Hill Artist Village may be the contemporary art space which of all three cases is least affected by the constraints of governmental funding. The majority of its budget comes from the Taipei Culture Foundation; the extra subsidy from the Ministry of Culture is not the only financial resource for operating its artists-in-residence programme. In short, income for Taiwanese contemporary art spaces comes almost solely from one single provenance, which is the government, whether central government - Ministry of Culture - or local government, such as Taipei City Government (the supervisor of the Taipei Culture Foundation). Therefore, the bureaucratic nature of the political system and of policymaking has deeply influenced the operation of most funded Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Reflecting upon the issue of the governmental funding system, even if the governmental subsidy for artists-in-residence programmes can be retained, the policy of the Ministry of Culture to allocate funding annually on a 'one-off' basis indicates the lack of diversity in the subsidies to develop artists-in-residence programmes in Taiwan. This chapter argues that there is a number of subsidies for artists funded by the National Culture and Arts Foundation and the Ministry of Culture; in comparison, there are currently relatively few funding opportunities open to art institutions such as Taiwanese

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contemporary art spaces. In addition, the artists-in-residence programme is the main occupation for these three case studies. The funding must be applied for each year, which makes the sustainability of artists-in-residence programmes highly precarious. These circumstances could result in competition between contemporary art spaces to secure the limited governmental funding available. However, a central finding of this thesis is that most contemporary art spaces are aware that collaboration is the go-to approach rather than competition. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that, on one hand, the case-study art organisations focus on building up diverse human resources from various encounters in order to counteract the financial restrictions they experience; and that on the other hand, they are able to deploy hybrid approaches and have further developed significant organisational strategies to establish their uniqueness for the purposes of acquiring governmental support.

Moreover, a misunderstanding of the nature of the artists-in-residence programme from the perspective of governmental bureaucracy seems to be another challenge for Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in their attempts to facilitate art programmes. As pointed out in Chapter 4, one of the difficulties is that the governmental accounting department tends to regard cultural and art programmes as economic products. This means that, 'they (the accountants) do not focus on the depth of the international exchange you (the contemporary art spaces) have achieved; instead, they only consider how many artists you host for one year' (2016), Shiu, the founder and director of Bamboo Curtain Studio alleges. This misconception, in addition to a lack of knowledge of the characteristics of contemporary art spaces, has often increased the difficulty of operating artists-in-residence programmes. If the accountants are satisfied with all projects executed by means of a regular and unchangeable model, in accordance with standard administrative processes, then they may even so find a degree of

incompatibility between governmental institutions and Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. For instance, in the particular examples of Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, the purpose of these contemporary art spaces is to endeavour to facilitate innovative and experimental projects, most of which may not have been tried before. In addition, most programmes developed by the case-study art organisations involve collaboration with different parties, and the establishment of trust between contemporary art spaces and collaborative artists and community members requires long-term cultivation. The amount of time taken in establishing relationships is hard to measure in strictly quantitative terms and this is significantly different from the logic used by traditional governmental accounting departments.

The time factor applies not only to the establishment of relationships but also to the inevitable administrative process. For example, Treasure Hill Artist Village was registered by Taipei City Government as a historical site in 2004 (Treasure Hill Artist Village, 2017), which means that Treasure Hill Artist Village has been governed by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (2011) since then. For this reason, any renovation of a single building within Treasure Hill and the surrounding environment is under the supervision of the Application Review Committee of Cultural Heritage of Taipei City Government. Every renovation project from the point of submission to the end of the renovation process usually requires a long time to complete. The example provided by Kao, the deputy manager of Treasure Hill Artist Village, illustrates the complexity of the administrative process:

> For example, in Taiwan, each building should have at least one emergency exit. However, most of the buildings in Treasure Hill are old houses without emergency exits. If I needed to open a single door for emergency in one house, the technician should test if the house is strong enough, send the renovation

project to the committee and wait for permission to initiate it' (2016).

Even though the renovation project had been authorised, from approving the establishment of the emergency exit until the final official acceptance of the project, the whole administrative process may take at least one month but often longer. On the one hand, it is necessary that this process is conducted carefully, since the buildings in Treasure Hill Artist Village are fragile and in disrepair. On the other hand, however, if the house concerned were the one the resident artist preferred to use, then this lengthy process might easily have reduced the period available for resident artists to implement their projects. Resolutions are usually worked out through the cooperation of different departments. In Treasure Hill Artist Village, the department of art administration, which is separate from the department which operates the artists-in-residence programme, specialises in matters of physical structure, such as renovation and building maintenance, in order to maintain the safety and quality of the special sites inside Treasure Hill Artist Village. The usual procedure is that at the weekly joint meeting between the two departments, the department for the operation of the artist-in-residence programme will present its needs or the needs of resident artists especially with regard to hardware equipment or problems related to the artists' studios (old houses), and the department of art administration will undertake renovations to improve the condition of the old houses.

The constraints of governmental funding for Taiwanese contemporary art spaces not only impact upon the operation of the artists-in-residence programmes, but also result in a difficult situation for the staff numbers themselves. The three organisations in the case studies have all been faced with two serious problems - the lack of staff and the high rate of staff turnover. On the one hand, being small-scale organisations is an advantage

for contemporary art spaces in that it enables them to retain flexibility within the organisational culture especially in operating a varied range of programmes. The consequence of being short staffed, however, easily leads to a high-stress environment for staff of these art organisations, in that they are undertaking so many complex tasks at the same time that they might not have the capacity to keep going. Some duties are unexpected or require time-consuming negotiation between staff of contemporary art spaces and the resident artists or communities. For instance, for Treasure Hill Artist Village and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, since they have exhibition spaces within them, if the artist is willing to hold an exhibition at the end of her/his resident period, the staff are also expected to be able to curate the exhibition if the artist lacks experience in dealing with the space. It takes a long time for staff to develop the skills required, whether dealing with administrative affairs, curating programmes and communicating with community members, or establishing relationships between staff and resident artists or communities.

In Taiwan, any governmental-funded institutions often face the constraints of time and budget. In the wider context, the unintegrated processes of policymaking and budgeting, and the limited availability of funding are difficulties that directly impact upon the actual organisational operation. The time-consuming nature of negotiation and reaching compromises with governmental accounting departments, and long working hours that are disproportionate to the low salaries, have increasingly caused a high rate of turnover, particularly in the younger generation.

Analysis of data shows that only a few senior managers have more than three years' work experience in their current place of work, and the younger staff generally last only around six months to two years. From the perspectives of the young staff, especially in

Bamboo Curtain Studio, most of them choose to work there because they strongly identify with the leader's vision and the organisational aims. They want to accumulate experience and learn skills: in conclusion, the young staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio are career-focused, rather than salary- or position- oriented. However, this may result in the problem that most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan have found it hard to keep young staff for any length of time; once they have worked for a couple of years, they tend to leave. Even though the Ministry of Culture is now willing to open dialogue with contemporary art spaces under the terms of the recent model of governmental subsidy (a round table meeting was held in 2016), there is still a barrier between the governmental funder and contemporary art spaces if the agenda does not include accounting departments. As Gray indicates, it is crucial to allow the party involved in the implementation stage to be involved also at the beginning of the collaborative process (1989). In the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, the accounting department is one of the parties involved; most of the payment procedures take place during the facilitation of programmes, or after the programmes have finished. Some experienced staff at Taiwanese contemporary art spaces usually confirm with the accountants whether or not it is acceptable to process payments before the programmes have been facilitated. Although each programme is quite different and hard to reproduce from the experiences of previous programmes, this approach is to a degree helpful for staff in order to minimise the payment administration process.

This section has drawn on the social and political context of the issue of complexity in the aspects of cultural policy and governmental funding processes, in relation to Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The following section will further explore how these contemporary art spaces behave in a hybrid way in order to respond through their organisatuonal structure and strategies to the difficulties caused by restrictions of budget

and resources.

## 5-3 Flexibility within the organisational structure

> Flexibility is one of the most crucial parts in the environment of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan. It does not mean no rules to follow, instead, your staff have to well understand the policies, the practices and the bureaucracy mechanisms, then you can be flexible. Otherwise, you are just troublemakers.
>
> the former director of Treasure Hill Artist Village, Su, Y. H. (2016)

This quote demonstrates that one of the features of the flexibility of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is the process of negotiating changes by moving from what you do not know to being able to understand the issues well enough to articulate them[17]. To be specific, flexibility is established through a firm understanding of policies, and then by altering organisational behaviour with sufficient agility to fulfil both governmental regulations and institutional missions in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. Therefore, flexibility is regarded as a constantly change-oriented process which comes into play as soon as any changes of policies and funding systems are proposed.

Flexibility has emerged within the organisational structure during a collaborative process both within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and between them and their stakeholders. The nature of flexibility is the ability to adapt to uncertainty and respond open-mindedly to difficult issues (Swamidass and Newell, 1987; Barad and Sipper, 1988; Gupta and Goyal, 1989; Morgan, 2013), a function which is generated in the process, rather than through outcomes (Karp and Kratz, 2015). As a reflection on both mental and physical behaviour, this thesis shows that flexibility has played a vital role in shaping the features of the organisational structure of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, which are manifestly different from traditional Taiwanese governmental

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[17] This feature of flexibility also reflects on Pringle's concept of learning,

organisations. The extent to which these art organisations have developed flexible organisational structures, as explained in Chapter 4, depends to a degree on the influence of the leaders' behaviour. In brief, the characteristics of leaders have influenced the staff of contemporary art spaces because the work environment of these art organisations tends to support a collaborative process, which gradually creates flexibility within the organisational behaviours of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Looking back to collaboration theory and the feature of hybridity, the spirit of collaboration is process orientation (Gray, 1989; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994; Thomson and Perry, 2006), and flexibility has been regarded as one of the characteristics of hybridity (Hulme al., 2010). Therefore, if the organisational structure of contemporary art spaces is based on collaboration, the ability to examine to what extent these art organisations possess the features of a hybrid organisation depends on the degree of flexibility that the contemporary art spaces engender. This section will draw on the unique approach to decision-making and the collaborative ethos between the staff, senior managers, curators and directors, to show the development of flexibility within the organisational structures of the three art organisations featured in the case studies.

As was indicated in the previous chapter, shared power is one of the symbolic features of the environment of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. This section further points out that shared power has not only shaped the relationship between staff and directors within contemporary art spaces, but has also influenced how staff and directors communicate opinions and make decisions. Within the three case studies, especially in Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, staff, senior managers, curators and directors usually work together in collaboration, regarding how best to exchange experiences and ideas between them in a free and open environment.

Therefore, the approach to decision making is essential to the achievement of flexibility. The decision route is usually based on group discussion rather than submitting official documents. The example given below shows how group discussion has been facilitated and has impacted upon the behaviour of staff. Lee, the Research and Development Director of Bamboo Curtain Studio, states:

> The first cultural shock for me was that while I was first working in Bamboo Curtain Studio, there were different kinds of meetings EVERY DAY. Each of them took a couple of hours, and my memory was that every day I joined different kinds of meetings with all staff members, including Margaret (the founder of Bamboo Curtain Studio), which was around six staff members at that time. Months after, I realised that this was how Bamboo Curtain Studio operates their programmes. Everything would be discussed in minute details, including the artists' hosts, the renovation of studio space, the design of new projects, big events and so on; in a group discussion, all members participated, so each meeting took at least three to four hours. For example, while we were designing a new project, the first thing was a group discussion, yes, here it is again. Everyone would think from his/her own view first, and then discuss together 'how can we do it together for this new project?' This may take a long time and take several meetings to discuss; however, this is how a project is initiated in Bamboo Curtain Studio (2016).

This example serves to show that group discussion appears to have worked well particularly in small-scale organisations, like the three case-study art institutions. In Bamboo Curtain Studio, there were on average seven staff members during the field work in 2016, including the director; in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, around ten staff members including the director. 'Everyone is quite equal [in power], and we usually work as a team' (2016), Wang and Takamori, both curators of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, explain. The organisational scale of Treasure Hill Artist Village may be the biggest one within the three case studies. However, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Taipei Artist Village are managed together by the Artist Village Management Department of Taipei

Culture Foundation. It is hard to distinguish clearly which staff members take charge of which artist village, and the total staff members are nearly twenty individuals including the director.

Indeed, if the leader tends to listen rather than take control, the nature of group discussion effectively generates an equal and open organisational structure. Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts explains:

> I have said that the function of Kuandu Museum [of Fine Arts] is more like an alternative space in that you can discuss with the director directly. If you were in a public museum, you would need to submit official documents and rewrite them several times [and go through the system of processing the documents[18]], then you might be able to see the director and report to him/her. Flexibility is quite high in our museum. For example, the curators-in-residence programme - we [the staff] have discussed it several times and we held discussions with the director too last year, then we decided to execute it this year (2016).

It is evident that the staff of the three case-study organisations frequently used terms such as 'do it together", "discuss together", and "solve problems together" during the interviews, especially in Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. 'In Bamboo Curtain Studio, I can be brave to express my opinions during the meeting, the director and senior managers will give me the trust to let me feel safe to say my words', Hong, the resident manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, states.

Compared with contemporary Taiwan, where most enterprises are still based on a top-down relationship (Yang, 1981, 2005; Hwang, 2005), the system of group discussion in

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[18]In many governmental organisations, official documents must be processed through many departments. For example, a common administrative process with one single programme goes via staff, department director, secretary department, accounting department, civil service ethics department, deputy directors (usually are two), and then to the chief director.

decision-making is not only the common approach to their daily tasks for the three case studies but also constitutes a significant outcome of a hybrid art organisation.

The method of making decisions based on group discussion has naturally generated an open and democratic work environment, in which all staff members can learn from others and share their experiences as well. As Hulme et al. suggest, 'if leaders want to operate inclusive and productive organisations, they should expect to work with their people, not have their employees work for them' (2010: 9). The senior manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Hong, also asserts, 'I usually do not intervene in how staff execute a project, because they will report in the daily meeting (group discussion). The thing I usually do is to make sure everything is in the process' (2016). However, in a small-scale organisation, it is often the case that work division is invisible. Every staff member is required to be able to deal with multiple tasks at the same time. In other words, the task is fluid and changes rapidly, whether in the design process or in the practice. Each staff member needs to learn how to adapt immediately when presented with a new task.

If the decision route is based on group discussion, the decision-making process is relatively short within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In general, these art institutions are small-scale with only a few staff members. Sometimes, in a meeting, there are staff, the manager and the director, and the decision may be reached promptly. Compared with larger organisations, this approach reduces a lot of the administrative processes. At the same time, however, the decisions are not set in stone and may easily give rise to a dynamic situation. Since the decision route is relatively short, one more discussion or meeting and the decision may change again. In other words, the fluidity of the decision process is constant and cyclic rather than linear or rigid (Hulme et al.,

2010).

**A trend towards a collaborative process**

This thesis highlights the importance of collaboration as an approach for Taiwanese

contemporary art spaces in building up organisational structure and at the stage of

project implementation. The collaborative process in this chapter may refer to two

dimensions: collaboration within contemporary art spaces, and collaboration between

them and their stakeholders. Both dimensions involve different degrees of teamwork.

The way that the case-study art organisations can flexibly use teamwork depends on

how deeply their core value has been identified by their staff members. When the core

value is firm enough, the degree of flexibility can readily be shown through the

organisational structure and strategies. As the studio manager of Bamboo Curtain

Studio, Chen indicates: 'I chose to work here because I agree with the leader's vision

and value (organisational goal)' (2016).


However, collaboration is never easy. Uncertainty is in its nature (Gray, 1989; Thomson

and Perry, 2006; Huxham, 1996; Bryson et al., 2006). Yet, 'the nature of collaboration

allows engagement between different conceptions' (Karp and Kratz, 2015: 291). If there

is no such strong value embraced by every participant, 'the collaboration is often easily

destroyed at any stage' (Thomson and Perry, 2006). As Gray points out, it is only if each

participant recognises that collaboration will generate outcomes which are mutually

beneficial, and which could only be achieved in partnership, that collaboration will

succeed (1989). Takamori, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, also states, 'our

work is to fulfil all projects in a way of never-ending coordination' (2016).


A trend of project-based co-working has recently emerged in Taiwan, which also shaped

a new collaborative model within contemporary art spaces a few years ago. As well as a means to mitigate the problem of staff shortages within these art institutions, it is an opportunity to work with different kinds of experts from various disciplines. As Santos, Pache and Birkholz point out, this collaboration assists in "…identifying how leaders of social business hybrids are able to address these challenges — through design structures, governance mechanisms, and performance management systems' (2015: 37). In the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, the application of project-based co-working can be seen in the ways in which their directors deal flexibly with the difficulties caused by staff shortages. In the following section, the different approaches adopted by the three case studies to facilitate project-based co-working will be drawn upon in turn.

Bamboo Curtain Studio seeks to broaden its human network through project-based co-working because it is able to work flexibly with its multiple collaborators. Project-based co-working was initiated after a review exhibition. As one of the most experienced cultural organisations which has run the artists-in-residence programme for over twenty years, the current mission for Bamboo Curtain Studio was to review and integrate an amount of data from the last two decades. The final purpose was that 'we want to build an artists-in-residence database online, which can be free for everyone to use', the marketing manager of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Lee states. However, it was not possible for the massive archive of data to be finished by Lee herself; therefore, Bamboo Curtain Studio invited an independent curator, who took charge of the review and data research in 2015. The collaborative curator, Wu Hung-Fei explains:

> I heard from them [staff members], I was the first one invited to work with them
> in this approach [project-based co-working]. They gave a lot of freedom for me to

work by myself and in my own way; however, meanwhile, staff keep a close relationship with me that I know I can get help [from them] if I need to (2016).

Initially, Wu was a curator, but she has become a researcher since she worked with Bamboo Curtain Studio. The case study from Bamboo Curtain Studio shows that it is very good at maintaining a steady relationship with its collaborators even after the projects have ended. For instance, even though the archive review project was finished in 2016, Wu still works closely with Bamboo Curtain Studio up to the present day. Wu received a grant from the Ministry of Culture to do a research programme in 2017, and the broad and diverse human network of Bamboo Curtain Studio is a strong support for her. Another example is Jasmine Ostendorf, the resident curator from the Netherlands in 2015, who still maintains a close relationship by regularly contacting and visiting, since Ostendorf and the Bamboo Curtain Studio have both focused on environmental art for many years.

Even though the completion of a certain project may be forced owing to limitations of time or budget, the project will be extended in another way by strategic action. For example, the community-engaged programme, Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, was initiated in 2010 (Plum Tree Creek, 2010) and should have been finished in 2011. However, the communities involved in the project, such as local residents and local elementary schools, supported this act so deeply that it was continued by the communities themselves. In 2013, the leading curator of the programme, Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, Wu Ma-li, and Bamboo Curtain Studio received together the Taishin Arts Award (2013), one of the significant art awards in the field of contemporary art in Taiwan. Curator Wu Ma-li and Bamboo Curtain Studio accepted the grant to support the continuation of the programmes of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, even though the

programmes were no longer mainly run by Bamboo Curtain Studio itself.

The way Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts deals with project-based co-working is by flexibly applying governmental funding to promote certain international exchange programmes which are commissioned by the government. In Taiwan, the relationship between contemporary art spaces and the funder is a practical one. The governmental funder has gradually relied on these art institutions to fulfil essential tasks, by examining the strengths of each contemporary art space and then giving resources, usually a grant, to support these art organisations to invite an appropriate individual to co-work with them during a certain period. The individuals sought by Taiwanese contemporary art spaces usually have rich experience in a particular discipline or have solid human resources behind them. This is truly essential for their sustainability and also reflects the findings of the previous chapter: human resources are much more valuable than anything else. To a certain degree, this method helps contemporary art spaces in relieving the stress of budget constraints.

An example shows how this relationship works. Takamori, a project-based curator, was appointed by Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts in 2015. Takamori's postion is funded by the National Culture and Arts Foundation. In 2014, a long-term programme 'Curatorial Network of Visual Art, Taiwan' was initiated by the National Culture and Arts Foundation, which aims to facilitate the exploration of the international curatorial network, and the integration of curatorial resources in Taiwan (National Culture and Arts Foundation, 2017). In terms of the exploration of the international curatorial network, the National Culture and Arts Foundation invited Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts to work on research into the contemporary art environment in Asia, by visiting international cultural institutions and managing collaborative exchanges (National

Culture and Arts Foundation, 2017). Takamori was invited to join Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts in 2015, in order to assist with this new project. He is also an independent curator, who has run a curating team called Outsiders Factory since 2012, specifically curating diverse disciplines within art and cultural projects all over the world. Takamori was invited to work as a curator in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts on the basis of his deep and long-term relationship with South-east- Asia. In short, Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts aims to build up relationships gradually with Southeastern Asian countries by taking advantage of Takamori's knowledge and experience.

Treasure Hill Artist Village intends to involve young Taiwanese curators in working for the artists-in-residence programme in order to relieve the pressure on staff caused by the demands of their daily tasks. It is true that, in respect of its budget and staffing contingency, Treasure Hill Artist Village has relatively more resources than Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. However, it also hosts more resident artists than the other two case-study organisations. As explained in the previous section, it is hard to create a precise separation of work between Treasure Hill Artist Village and Taipei Artist Village as staff usually work at both sites. Therefore, the situation is that at each season there will be around ten resident artists on both sites (Treasure Hill Artist Village and Taipei Artist Village), and it is hard work for staff members to host all of the artists with equal attention.

Since late 2014, Treasure Hill Artist Village and Taipei Artist Village have facilitated a Guest Curator Programme, which means they invite a young Taiwanese curator to be the guest curator for a season, and each season there is different young curator as the guest curator. The mission for the guest curator is to work with resident artists, curate an exhibition if the artist would like to do so, and host the artist's talk during the artist's

residency. In summary, the project-based co-workers in Treasure Hill Artist Village are guest curators, and the aim is to meet the needs of resident artists, cultivate young Taiwanese curators and allow staff members the opportunity to acquire curatorial skills. The example of the Guest Curator Programme was shared by a curator who had been a guest curator before the time when I interviewed staff at Treasure Hill Artist Village. However, during my field work, I rarely heard the term "guest curators" used by staff members or resident artists in Treasure Hill Artist Village.

Overall, the flexibility shown in the organisational structure is based on different methods of collaboration. Group discussion and teamwork are the major working styles within the three case-study art organisations, but how well these styles operate depends on the degree of power sharing by directors. Human resources are still the priority for all the organisations in the case studies; The approaches they adopt in facilitating project-based co-working show that collaborating with different participants is an effective means of enlarging the human network. However, the preference for collaboration has raised another inevitable difficulty - the time factor. If contemporary art spaces in Taiwan regard collaboration as the primary method of working with their stakeholders, such as resident artists and community members, time consumption cannot be ignored as one of the serious issues, whether in the establishment of trust or long-term negotiation between contemporary art spaces and stakeholders.

Many scholars agree that a relationship of trust is the difficult, sensitive but essential element in a collaborative process (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991; Bryson et al., 2006), which requires time and care to establish. However, collaboration may fail under the pressure of the need for change (Karp and Kratz, 2015; Thomson and Perry, 2006). On one hand, collaboration opens a dialogue-based procedure to address diverse

opinions and suggestions (Karp and Kratz, 2015); on the other hand, it is necessary to accept that failure happens more commonly than success: how to learn from the collaborative process is far more important (Silverman, 2015).

The establishment of trust usually happens through informal means and progresses slowly. As a place which mainly holds artists-in-residence programmes, it is crucial for the art organisation to have a sufficient time for artists and staff of contemporary art spaces to engage with the process (of establishing trust). Usually it will happen at lunch time, afternoon teatime or dinner time, since this kind of trust establishment usually takes place within an informal setting. For Bamboo Curtain Studio, it is a truly important task to communicate not only with their artists, but also with staff from other art organisations. During the field work, I once participated in a kind of dinner party in Bamboo Curtain Studio and was fortunate to connect with one staff member from Treasure Hill Artist Village, as he and a resident artist of Treasure Hill Artist Village had been invited to join. I talked with the staff member for a while, even though he had only worked in Treasure Hill Artist Village for two weeks at that time, so he modestly said he might not be helpful for my research. I felt that it was essential to offer an opportunity for communication which not only deeply impacts upon the interpersonal relationships between staff themselves in Bamboo Curtain Studio, but also upon relationships with artists and staff from other art organisations.

The above section has drawn on the similarities and differences of three case-study art organisations to clarify how they behave in a hybrid way, through their organisational structures, in order to respond to financial restrictions. Even though all three case studies share the same core value of fulfilling the public benefit, each case study has shaped its own direction in order to achieve its institutional mission. Therefore, the

strategies have been articulated diversely, based on different organisational goals. The next section will explore how contemporary art spaces perform as hybrid organisations through their organisational strategy.

## 5-4 Flexibility shapes organisational strategy

> If you moor a boat and anchor it, and if the anchor is very strong but the anchor rope is very short, the boat, as soon as you get any waves or winds, begins to fight the waves and to crash on them. If, however, you make the rope long enough, then the boat has this ability to float and go with the waves. And it doesn't end up crashing[19].
>
> Middleton, J. (2015)

Julia Middleton, the founder of Common Purpose UK, applies the concept of Core and Flex (2015) through the theory of anchor, which explicitly notes the fragile but important balance between the firmness of the core and the degree of its flexibility. According to Middleton's perspective, even though the flex plays a key role in determining the failure or success of a project, without a strong and clear core to follow, flexibility cannot be achieved. As Middleton argues, 'the stronger your Core is, the more flexible your Flex is' (2015). The quote is relevant in demonstrating that the way Taiwanese contemporary art spaces operate their art programmes is based on a balance between a stable core value and shifts in strategic orientation.

In the previous section, the three case studies utilised different organisational structures in responding to difficulties presented by governmental funding; however, the shared core value among them – the public benefit – is never changed. To be specific, the organisational mission of fulfilling the public benefit is the initial, final and only purpose within the case-study art organisations. Middleton further points out that the relationship between the core and flexibility is based on the leader's action. She states:

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[19] This quote originally came from Middleton's explanation of the concept of Cultural Intelligence (CQ), which is an ability to cross divides and thrive in multiple cultures (2015). One of the important features emphasized by Cultural Intelligence is how current leaders face and deal with challenges in a volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous (VUCA) world (Donner, 2015).

> If you want people to go with you [leader], if you want people to trust in the way that they need to if you're going to, they're going to consent to be led by you, they have to see your Core and understand it, which means that you have to reveal it (2015).

The directors of the case-study organisations have shown a clear vision in fulfilling the public benefit. Their behaviour helps to increase the flexibility of the staff to give expression to the core value throughout hybrid approaches. In brief, the organisational structure and strategies can be flexibly altered by time and budget to achieve the organisational value in the end. In applying the theory of anchor within the context of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, the sea and waves refer to difficulties such as limited governmental funding. The boat is the contemporary art space; the anchor is the core aim of fulfilling the public benefit; then the rope stands for the organisational strategies in that contemporary art spaces agilely and diplomatically shift strategic direction to meet the expectations of policy makers and funders. Thus, the task of achieving constant strategic change relies mainly on the dynamics of collaboration between staff members within contemporary art spaces.

In the sphere of organisational structure, a shared-power work environment allows every staff member to concentrate on different issues and solve them together. Through staff collaboration via a process of brainstorming, dialogue and debate, strategies have been gradually generated from discussions, which aim to facilitate the smooth running of art programmes. Rather than blindly cater to the expectation of governments, most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces flexibly adapt themselves by adopting a position that does not turn away from the big picture of policy, yet the ultimate purpose is to establish a unique approach for achieving their particular institutional goal.

The uniqueness of most contemporary art spaces can be shaped through shift orientation strategy. The definitive feature of shift orientation is the assumption that these art organisations constantly change their role in different situations and reshape the organisational function in order to fulfil the public benefit to the maximum at that moment. As Takamori, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, explains: 'This proposal may work right now; however, it may not be appropriate anymore five years later' (2016). This chapter suggests that there are two features that can be characterised as change orientation within the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, these being content orientation and resource orientation.

## The strategy of content orientation

The feature of content orientation focuses on the content of the programme and the facilitating process. By way of clarification, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are more concerned about the collaborative process of creating programmes than the outcome. In the current museum context, scholars agree that collaboration between a museum and the community can broaden the sharing of knowledge and engage different perceptions (Labrador, 2015; Crosby, 2015; Silverman, 2015; Karp and Kratz, 2015).Although the collaboration may easily fail, some unexpected outcomes generated from the process are much more valuable (Silverman, 2015: 1) than the failures. The nature of collaboration is a cyclical process rather than an outcome (Gray, 1989, Wood and Gray, 1991; Thomson and Perry, 2006; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994); while different participants join the collaborative process, possibility and uncertainty are raised simultaneously. Therefore, how to develop the productive strategy is based on the degree of collaboration, not only among staff but also between contemporary art spaces and their stakeholders, such as resident artists and community members.

A strategy development process requires the involvement of different participants and the introduction of different topics in multiple stages of the collaborative process. The initial task is to establish which target groups the contemporary art space is seeking and then to consider 'how can the public benefit of this programme be enlarged to the maximum' (Wu, 2016). Ostendorf, the resident curator of Bamboo Curtain Studio, points out: 'they [Bamboo Curtain Studio] actually take community as a starting point [to work with], rather than, we [Bamboo Curtain Studio] have a great idea and we think you [community] would like it' (2016). It is crucial that, the participants in the implementation of the programme can join together at the initial stage of programme design, as this can significantly reduce any difficulties while collaboration progresses to the stage of implementation (Gray, 1989). However, like most of the museum and community collaboration programmes, negotiation in the design stage usually takes a remarkable amount of time in order to narrow down the subject for all participants to agree, and this might restrict the time available for fulfilling the whole project on time. Thus, collaboration is often a challenge for art organisations to cope with.

In contemporary Taiwan, the key turning point within the governmental perspective may be seen through the example of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek (2010), run by Bamboo Curtain Studio. The way that Bamboo Curtain Studio facilitated the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek was through multiple communications with local community members at the design stage, involving artists, schools' directors, professors of universities and environmental experts in the following stages, and eventually raising the self-awareness of local residents. The participants included local elementary schools, farmers, environmental professionals, nearby universities and community members. In the end, even though the environmental issue of Plum Tree Creek has not

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yet been resolved, the self-awareness of local communities and their concern for the place where they live have become powerful and sustainable.

The case of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project also explains how the content of a project has been altered by time and budget. Initially, Bamboo Curtain Studio failed for two years in its search for governmental funding. As a result, Bamboo Curtain Studio changed its approach in pursuing the Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project within other programmes that it ran at that time. To be specific, the Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project still existed; however, it had been part of other programmes for a period of two years. The content of the Art Act at Plum Tree Creek programme might slightly change in order to combine with the other programmes; furthermore, most of the Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project run in this period was not funded, or received only a few payments from the budget of Bamboo Curtain Studio. In the third year, the Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project was granted two million NT$ by the National Culture and Arts Foundation.

Th Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project can be seen as a milestone, in that a process-based art act can achieve an unexpected outcome, through the power generated within local communities as a result of raising their self-awareness. Since the impact of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project has been noticed by the government, some programmes based on long-term development have gradually appeared in the governmental funding list. For example, as is usual, the Ministry of Culture, the major funder for facilitating artists-in-residence projects, expects that funded art organisations present a physical outcome in the end of every year, which is usually an exhibition, performance or workshop. However, in 2015, the artists-in-residence programme of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts focused upon long-term research, which means that the applicant can do the

research for more than one year and present an outcome in the following year or soon after. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts remains one of the art organisations funded by Ministry of Culture from that date to the present.

**The strategy of resource orientation**

If content orientation of strategy highlights the advantage of process-based programmes facilitated by Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, resource orientation plays a role in supporting the sustainable development of art programmes. In this thesis, it has been identified that resource orientation refers to a programme that has been designed on the basis of the degree to which the resource can be enlarged. The motivation for this derives from the collaborative process among staff members of contemporary art spaces, or between them and their stakeholders, which seeks to maximise the resources that the staff have and to build up a creative programme which can easily be distinguished from other art institutions. In addition, resource orientation also sets out to address (the problem of) limited funding: in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, human resources, seen as a human network, are undoubtedly the most important resources these art organisations expect to benefit from. In the next chapter I will further explain how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces rely on resource-oriented organisational strategy to facilitate community-based programmes, by referring respectively to the cases of Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village.

The findings suggest that most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have constantly modified their methods of facilitating programmes depending on the different needs at that time. For example, the changes within the artists-in-residence programme at Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts clearly show the transformative process from the

previous artists-based programme to a curators-based programme. The artists-in-residence programme was initiated in 2007 and until 2015, even though the artists' disciplines changed over time, the call for artists in visual art was still the priority. However, in 2015, the programme was altered from including artists exclusively to focusing on curators. The reason is that the staff team reviewed the consequences thoroughly and decided to revise its position to be more relevant to their particular areas of expertise. In general, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces look forward to resident artists taking residence, as they see this as an opportunity to engage with different artists and community members as much as possible. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is limited in space, which is not beneficial either to artists or to itself. However, the aim of the curator is different and that this has determined the way in which the programme is facilitated. The mission for curators is to become acquainted with a number of artists during the period of residence. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is a professional museum; the network with Taiwanese artists is numerous and diverse, which is good for making connections with them and with foreign curators.

Dialogue and communication between staff members at Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts has elicited new ideas and the new agenda has been formed as a result of many discussions. Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, explains:

> Compared to the previous time, each term we could only host two artists. Now, if one foreign curator can know five Taiwanese artists in one term, it is far more progressive. That's why we began to shift our target groups from artists to curators in 2015 (2016).

When a foreign curator is selected by Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, he/she is required to research the whole field of Taiwan's contemporary art and put forward a proposal

which can be developed as an exhibition in the following year. 'We hope they can come again, and the research proposal can eventually be presented as an exhibition in our museum, rather than hastily finished at the end of that year', Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, remarks (2016).

However, if the organisational strategy has been developed flexibly to fulfil the art programmes of most contemporary art spaces over time, this approach has also and at the same time increased the instability of the strategy. It cannot be ignored that uncertainty sits at the core of the collaborative process, which is where the strategy comes from. As Wood and Gray point out, 'change orientation is the nature of collaboration' (1991). While collaboration is a cyclical process, participants get involved in different stages, problems emerge along with new issues, and all these elements could influence the sustainability of collaboration at any point. Wang, the curator of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, further clarifies:

> We are not sure if the change [to curator-based residence programmes] is good or not currently, but it indeed raised the uncertainty of our museum's residence programme. Some voices questioned us why you constantly change your subjects once every three years, this was another issue for us to think about (2016).

Therefore, if instability is one of the characteristics of the resource orientation strategy, how to build up the core value is far more crucial within the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In the quotation at the beginning of this section, the anchor theory suggests that the relationship between core (core value) and flexibility are both crucial and necessary in the collaborative process. Flexibility helps contemporary art spaces to tackle complex challenges; however, if there is no firm principle to follow, 'you are just troublemakers' (Su, 2016).

The core, in this thesis, refers to public benefit, which has been identified through the three case studies. As discussed in Chapter 3, even though public benefit is hard to define precisely through data collection, this research still intends to examine the degree to which the achievement of public benefit depends on the extent to which contemporary art spaces recognise the needs of target groups, and for how long they facilitate their programmes. As Wu, the leading curator of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek project explains: 'You do not need to preset a topic for a certain programme first, which would be narrowed down by time and continual discussions' (2016). In conclusion, the shape of the core value (public benefit) will be gradually developed through multiple approaches in facilitating programmes by different contemporary art spaces in a collaborative process between these art organisations and the participants.

Overall, organisational strategy within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is seen as shift orientation, which not only constantly re-examines the design of programmes in accordance with different needs, but also creates a process for them to reshape their positions over time. A process allows more individuals to be involved in the programme and raises as many dialogues and debates as possible. Through this process, a new opportunity has been built up for contemporary art spaces to work on the unchangeable principle. The programme of strategic shift orientation is the way that contemporary art spaces position themselves within different situations in order to adapt to their ever-changing environment. Since the political context is highly unstable in Taiwan, the policy could be changed while another political party is in power. The change of policy results in the retention of governmental funding. How to adapt agilely and diplomatically to the latest policy, but also retain the original motivation, requires a high degree of sensibility and flexibility for most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in the

larger socio-political context. In other words, shift orientation strategy is the way that

these art organisations closely engage with society and are supported by the government

as well.

**5-5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the issue of complexity has been considered with reference to the difficulties presented by current policy and the governmental funding system. This chapter also attempted to examine how contemporary art spaces perform flexibly in responding to these constraints through their organisational structure and strategy. This chapter set out to evaluate the influence of a lack of integration between the policy-making process and governmental budgeting in the Taiwanese context. The current governmental funding '文化部補助藝術村營運扶植計畫 Ministry of Culture Directions on subsidy project for the operation and cultivation of artist villages' (2008), is one of the most important sources of funding for contemporary art spaces of Taiwan, which aims to support both the art organisations which run artists-in-residence programmes, and the international exchange project. However, the challenges for most contemporary art spaces are the time pressure created by the annual application process and the high level of competition between contemporary art spaces themselves. These challenges have the potential to lead to uncertainty as to whether they will be able to facilitate the programme the following year. Furthermore, due to the restriction of funding, shortage of staff is the other serious problem for the survival of most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

Contemporary art spaces have created a flexible organisational structure in order to respond to financial insecurity. The three case studies have illustrated this flexibility in different ways based on their own institutional functions. For example, as the one which owns more resources and funds, Treasure Hill Artist Village facilitates a guest curator programme to cut down the extensive daily duties of staff members, but also provides an opportunity for young Taiwanese curators to work with resident artists from different

cultural backgrounds. Bamboo Curtain Studio has initiated a project-based programme to invite different experts to join the staff; thus, based on this collaboration, it enlarges the human network at the same time. As for Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, it has cooperated with the National Culture and Arts Foundation to facilitate the Curatorial Network of Visual Art of Taiwan. Based on this cooperation, the project-based curator, Takamori, has worked in Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts since 2015, helping the museum to broaden its connection with other Southeast Asian countries.

With regard to organisational strategy, the findings suggest that there are two orientations generated by Taiwanese contemporary art spaces - content-oriented and resource-oriented strategies. The strategic programmes have been developed through process, rather than outcome. In addition, each programme has been designed based on how well the resources can be augmented through the facilitation of programmes. However, the nature of organisational strategy is change orientation, which can easily cause a high degree of uncertainty for the programmes themselves. The concept of core and flexibility has shown that, while retaining the unchangeable core, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are able to shape their organisational structure through their adaptability, and their organisational strategy has been further influenced through the delivery of multiple programmes. However, the success or failure of the strategies is determined at the stage of implementation.

The next chapter will draw on examples from Treasure Hill Artist Village and Bamboo Curtain Studio to explore how these art organisations behave in a hybrid way concerning the demands of community-based programmes which engage with social and cultural issues.

# Chapter 6　Programming: Hybrid approaches to the demands of community-based programmes

## 6-1 Introduction

As we have seen, hybrid organisational culture is expressed through its ability to tackle complexity. Chapters 4 and 5 examined this complexity through the ways in which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces work with their multiple stakeholders (artists, curators and community members), and within the wider context of governmental funding mechanisms and the diverse interests of supervisors (policy makers, governmental funders and accountants). In addition, chapters 4 and 5 reviewed the dynamics of flexibility embedded within the human network in which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and participants operate, and how current cultural policy and the mechanisms of governmental funding have shaped organisational strategy. Building on these discussions (on working flexibly with stakeholders, and responsively with government), this chapter now attempts to explore how contemporary art spaces in Taiwan use similar hybrid strategies in their agile programming. Specifically, we look here at how they involve various individuals from different backgrounds through specific organisational strategies, in order to facilitate art programmes that target certain cultural and social issues. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio has for a long time focused on environmental change within its surrounding areas; Treasure Hill Artist Village has paid attention to engagement with community members of the historical site Treasure Hill.

The thesis shows that most of the art programmes operated by the case studies are

community-based programmes, in particular Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village. Community-based art programmes have been gradually designed and operated in East Asia and East Sothern Asia during the last two decades, especially with the aim of targeting social, educational, environmental and cultural issues in certain regions with diverse local individuals/groups (Yachita, 2016; Pillai, 2013). In the Taiwanese context, the group of participants involved in each of the community-based programmes is usually diverse and interrelated. This feature requires Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and those involved in them to grapple with the complexity of operating collaborative programmes in the specific socio-cultural context of Taiwanese society, having developed strategies that are unique to Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. For example, the importance of power dynamics between participants and staff underpins the collaborative process. In addition, the programming framework and organisational strategies of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces facilitate the delivery of the programme, which has been shaped by the management of limited access to resources. As stated in Chapter 5, strategy making within contemporary art spaces is usually based on resource orientation, which means that the requirement of resources (especially human resources) is often considered before the content of the programme is decided upon. These projects, facilitated in the communities of which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are part, provide evidence to examine their strategy in practice.

This chapter argues that Taiwanese contemporary art spaces design and implement community-based programmes through a complex and interrelated human network: this ecosystem may include artists, curators, local residents, school groups and university students and academics. During the process of engaging (with) these diverse participants, shared power and co-production are ideal states that are extremely difficult to reach without intercultural dialogue. As a vital foundation, what these contemporary

art spaces are doing is constructing a Taiwanese version of intercultural dialogue which allows them to address the power issues underlying the project of power sharing and co-production. Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have had to recognise cultural specificity and develop a distinctive Taiwanese approach to programming that synthesises Chinese and Western traditions, and thus contributes to the institutions' hybrid nature. Only through developing this hybridity can community programmes in contemporary art spaces in Taiwan progress successfully towards substantive shared power and co-production.

It is necessary to unpack further the term 'community', which has been defined and revised by academics for decades (Golding, 2013; Onciul 2013; Iervolino, 2013; Waterton & Smith, 2010; Andermann & Simine, 2012). This thesis adopts Waterton and Smith's definition of community as 'social creations and experiences that are continuously in motion, rather than fixed entities and descriptions, in flux and constant motion, unstable and uncertain' (2010: 8-9). They pointed out that the term community should be considered as referring to a group of people engaged in the process of sharing, debating and collecting values and experiences, debate and collection. To be specific, the concept of community is not a concept of people living in the common geographical areas, but an 'orientation that coalesces around shared interests, common cause or collective experiences' (ibid: 9). This definition appropriately reflects the communities with which the case studies collaborated. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio is located in the Zhuwei area between Tamsui and Guandu MRT stations in New Taipei City. Many of the community members are immigrants from these two areas or from Taipei city, because of the relatively cheap cost of renting and the price of real estate. In addition, there are two universities located in Tamsui and Guandu, so it is usual for the population to be composed of a group of mobile individuals from various

backgrounds, most of whom move into and out of the Zhuwei area constantly. Since most of the community members are constantly on the move, and many of them are from diverse and complex social and cultural contexts, it is a challenge for Bamboo Curtain Studio to know how to encourage the surrounding community members to become aware of the importance of community-based programmes through a series of processes involving debate about and sharing of values.

This chapter aims to demonstrate how Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village collaborate with their communities. As explained in Chapter 3: Research Methods, the case of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts offers additional data for analysing the feature of organisational structure and strategy. This chapter draws upon examples from Treasure Hill Artist Village and Bamboo Curtain Studio to explain the mission of community-based projects in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, and to consider how the ecosystem of participants' networks has been engaged. At the same time, this chapter also intends to investigate the challenges of facilitating community-based programmes in Taiwan's specific socio-cultural context, particularly focusing on acknowledging the difference between civic concerns and personal interests in Taiwanese society. In this chapter, the term 'civic concerns' refers to community-based programmes of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces that discuss and debate particular socio-cultural issues. In the wider cultural context, most Taiwanese people are not accustomed to working collaboratively on social and cultural issues. This cultural tendency may require staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces themselves to design programmes diplomatically in order to address public concerns - which requires culturally specific approaches to be carefully developed in response to the challenges. This thesis has also found that the concept of intercultural dialogue (EU, 2008) is a useful tool to examine the strategy of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in the

practical stage of programming. To be specific, the concept of intercultural dialogue is helpful in understanding how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces engage with communities in operating community-based programmes and in addressing power dynamics between staff and participants within the case studies, in terms of power sharing and co-production.

Two approaches have been identified through which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces facilitate community-based programmes specifically generated from the Taiwanese cultural context: the concept of role transformation in the dynamics of power within collaborations; and the establishment of a human network through a collaborative process. The former is illustrated by the case study of Treasure Hill Artist Village, through which this thesis will identify the strengths and weaknesses of semi-governmental art institutions cooperating with communities. The concept of role transformation refers to the ways in which, from the perspective of Chinese traditional values, staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village adapt their roles with agility through intercultural dialogue when balancing the power structures that are an inherent feature of their communities. The process of establishing a human network, throughout a collaborative process, emerges most evidently in the case study of the Bamboo Curtain Studio. This case study shows the potential of art institutions to achieve a degree of co-production with participants in terms of community-based programmes. During the process, staff in Bamboo Curtain Studio created an innovative approach by integrating the strategy of resource orientation and the skills of intercultural dialogue, thus contributing to the progress of collaborative projects.

## 6-2 The function of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in collaborating with their communities

The community-based programmes of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces aim to generate an open and mutually respectful dialogue among various participants, addressing multiple social and cultural issues through a collaborative process. This objective can be seen as the key action in responding to the primary core value of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces: to fulfil the public benefit. The way in which each case study reflects the concept of public benefit varies according to its particular context, organisational goals, and the groups it seeks to target. For instance, the issues of environmental sustainability are pivotal aims for Bamboo Curtain Studio, whilst concern for the historical and cultural context is primary for Treasure Hill Artist Village. Nonetheless, there are issues beyond those that the two case studies have prioritised which could have been included within the programme planning.

The primary challenge most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces encounter is how effectively to engage the attention of the public with regard to certain social and cultural issues. It is evident that the Taiwanese public is often unfamiliar with working with others on social and cultural issues. This cultural behaviour is not unique to Taiwan: in a European context, for example, it was acknowledged in *European Agenda for Culture, Work plan for culture 2011-2014, Report on the role of public arts and cultural institutions in the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue*, which described the phenomenon as 'a lack of cultural demand from the so-called silent communities, or no-goers' (2014: 78). Moving on to consider Taiwan, this lack of awareness of civic concerns is deeply influenced by Chinese traditional values and, importantly, represents one of the reasons why engaging individuals of different

backgrounds in a collaborative programme may considerably increase the complexity and tension of the working relationships between them. The dialogue around civic concerns is emergent territory in what scholars have identified as an instinct to avoid conflict with others (Yang, 2005; Huang, 1999), which is an expression of this specific cultural orientation related to traditional Chinese values.

In addition to traditional cultural influences, the other major difficulty many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces encounter in facilitating community engagement in civic issues is a lack understanding of the concept of citizenship amongst the Taiwanese. Isin and Wood assert that citizenship can be described as 'both a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social) that define an individual's membership in a polity' (1999: 15). The concept of citizenship is also discussed as part of *The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue,*[20] which clearly indicates that citizenship 'is a right and indeed a responsibility to participate in the cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs of the community together with others' (2008: 28).

On the contrary, family orientation as understood in Chinese indigenised psychology means that Chinese society tends to focus on the unit of the individual in relation to his/her family. Some commentators have highlighted what they see as a tendency in Taiwanese people to consider instinctively whether civic concerns affect them or their relatives directly or not (Yang, 2005; Fei, 1948): if a certain social issue may influence their rights or property, they are more willing to participate in the affairs related to that certain social issue. For example, a water reservoir project had been undertaken for

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[20] *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: Living together as Equals in Dignity*, launched by the Council of Europe Ministers of Foreign Affairs at their 118th ministerial session (Strasbourg, 7 May 2008).

some years close to Cheng Cing Lake in Kaohsiung city, Taiwan. There were long-term

campaigns by local communities against the water reservoir renovation project, one of

the reasons being that they believed that the reservoir was at ground level and so might

decrease the price of real estate nearby. In the end the water reservoir was situated

underground, beneath a public park, and the issue of flooding in that area has been

resolved since that time. However, rather than acting against the government, the

preliminary motivation for staff of contemporary art spaces is to find approaches that

encourage communities with whom they are collaborating to recognise their rights and

responsibility to engage in civic issues. This includes those issues that may not seem

directly relevant to their own lives, because of the ways that such issues impact upon

the wider community of which they are a part. These approaches will be further

discussed in a later section.

The methods used by community-based programmes in Taiwanese contemporary art

spaces to a certain degree reflect the concepts from museological theories and Western

museum practice, specifically with regard to the concepts of fostering social justice and

an inclusive society (Sandell, 2003, 2012; Lynch, 2011). For example, Sandell indicates

that museums pioneering socially engaged practice in the West 'have developed a way

of working that is outward looking and open to dialogue with a wide range of both

agencies and communities' (2003: 54). To engage different target groups, most

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are required to develop skills in programming and

to adopt characteristics such as openness and mutual sharing. Importantly, they

commonly develop their own ways of organising community-based programmes that

are responsive to the Taiwanese context. Therefore, even though these art organisations

may not be directly influenced by the contexts of Museum Studies, the methods

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces adopt in programming are recognisable as

indicating the application of the approach taken by Western cultural and art organisations to certain concepts and practices.

The ways in which these art institutions facilitate community-based programmes is through a series of artistic creations that exemplify an issue that they would like all participants - such as artists, community members, audiences and themselves - to engage with more critically. These collaborations are often explorations in which all parties learn by their work together. For example, Bamboo Curtain Studio was invited to participate in Guandu International Nature Art Festival in 2015. It held a painting workshop in Guandu Natural Park and welcomed all visitors to join in, which aimed to direct audiences' attention to the importance of the protection of wetlands. Staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio invited visitors to picture the landscape of wetlands and draw collectively on a large-scale white fabric. Throughout the process, some participants visualised childhood memories of playing in the wetlands, whilst other participants drew the feeling of their first experience of walking in the wetlands. This example showed how people may begin to think differently an issue that they may not have recognised before, and to express their thoughts and feelings subtly through the process of creating art. This kind of transformative process is crucial to the collaborative programmes within most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

For contemporary art spaces in Taiwan, it is equally important to set up an operating framework for community collaborations that is fully embedded within the socio-cultural context of Taiwan and is able to deal effectively with power issues. Since the issue of power dynamics between the case studies and their communities is an ongoing challenge, especially in the facilitation of programmes, this chapter has indicated that there may be two key concepts in relation to power issues: shared power (Gray, 1989;

Wood & Gray, 1991; Thomson & Perry, 2006; Bryson et al., 2006; Claver-Cortés et al., 2012) and co-production. Each term reflects a different degree of collaboration between the case studies and their participants in community-based programmes.

The term 'shared power' has been explained in previous chapters and can be seen as constituting the core of the collaborative process between the case studies and the participants. Moreover, this thesis also intends to explore whether the function of co-production could be revealed by means of data analysis. The term 'co-production' has been defined and discussed differently in various academic disciplines (Boyle & Harris, 2009; Voorberg et al., 2015; Kundsen, 2016; Lynch & Alberti, 2010; Lunch, 2011, Thyne & Hede, 2016; Verschuere et al., 2012). As Boyle and Harris (2009) offer the following definition:

> Co-production means delivering public services in an equal and reciprocal relationship between professionals, people using services, their families and their neighbours. Where activities are co-produced in this way, both services and neighbourhoods become far more effective agents of change.

The aim of the community-based programmes of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces is to raise awareness of social issues within the participants' various contexts, and to involve all individuals in working together to make changes, whether physical or mental. This chapter therefore adopts the definition of co-production provided by Boyle and Harris to illustrate how the transformative process of collaboration may be perceived within the examples of community-based programmes in the Taiwanese context.

Our discussion here considers collaboration in terms of shared power by means of the

example of Treasure Hill Artist Village. It will also, in the following sections, draw on the example of Bamboo Curtain Studio to identify the degree of collaboration in co-production. In addition, the concept of intercultural dialogue is an important tool in revealing the power dynamics which influence collaboration between the case study art institutions and their participants in community-based programmes. This concept is important in enabling us to understand the power relationship between the staff of the case studies and the artists, community members and audiences.

## 6-3 Intercultural dialogue as a method for understanding the community-based programmes of contemporary art spaces in Taiwan

**The concept of intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity**

The Council of Europe launched *The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (abbreviation in White Pater below) from a need to fulfil their mission of achieving thriving cultural diversity. The paper asserts the importance of intercultural dialogue and urges every European Union member to promote intercultural dialogue as a means to generate a society in which everyone 'can live together as equals in dignity' (EU, 2008). In accordance with The *Report on the role of public arts and cultural institutions in the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue from the European Agenda for Culture, Work Plan for Culture 2011-2014* (abbreviation in Report below), the cultural diversity 'implies the existence of common characteristics of a group of people, such as language, religion, lifestyle, artistic expressions; but also presents in the characteristics of each individual in modern society' (2014: 10). Intercultural language, on the other hand, focuses not only on people but also on organisations (ibid.: 10). The *Report* (2014) emphasises the inherent relationship between intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity, in which intercultural dialogue cannot succeed without the comprehension of cultural diversity, while cultural diversity is unlikely to thrive without intercultural dialogue.

Although the concept of intercultural dialogue was articulated by the Council of Europe, which explained the concept of dialogue as a mechanism that empowers collaborators to express creative conflict, the term has yet to be defined officially. *The White Paper* states:

Intercultural dialogue is understood as a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different […] backgrounds. […] It requires the freedom and ability to express oneself, as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others. […] (ibid.: 17).

The term 'dialogue' has been chosen deliberately. An emphasis on discussion between different people and opinions, 'intercultural dialogue consists of both agreement and disagreement with each other, a consensus and dissent between expressions' (EU Report, 2014: 10), raising questions and critiques as part of a mutually respectful discussion. Non-dialogue, on the contrary, "risks reinforcing stereotypical perceptions of the other, raising suspicion and creating tension in society" (White Paper, 2008). Turning now to the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, the purpose of community-based programmes is to allow different participants room to discuss issues that they all agree are important. Throughout the collaborative process, instead of finding consensus, each participant seeks to work with the others in order to bring about change within the current situation.

## Cultural institutions as vehicles for facilitating intercultural dialogue

Intercultural dialogue is not only a conceptual framework but is also essential to the facilitation of a particular programme. The concept, as defined by the Council of Europe, asserts that art and cultural institutions play a key role in promoting intercultural dialogue to reinforce social inclusion. *The Voice of Culture, a Brainstorming Report* between the European Commission and the cultural sector, recognises that 'the capacity and expertise of Europe's cultural organizations and professionals are important resources in the development of intercultural dialogue that supports positive cultural, social and economic integration' (2016: 1). Many cultural

institutions across Europe therefore exercise intercultural dialogue through their own political, cultural and historical contexts. For instance, the publication *Museums as place for intercultural dialogue* (2009), edited by Simona Bodo, Kirsten Gibbs and Margherita Sani, selected museological practices from around Europe to illustrate the advantages and limitations of facilitating intercultural dialogue.

In accordance with the European Agenda for Culture's Report (2014), four characteristics determine the value of intercultural dialogue: programming, staffing, reaching out to new audiences, and creating spaces for intercultural encounters. These four aspects are also helpful in examining Taiwanese contemporary art spaces as places for intercultural dialogue, especially Bamboo Curtain Studio. It is a significant finding of this thesis that the community-based arts programmes of the organisations in the case studies can and do encourage intercultural dialogue, although the idea is not generated by policy makers but emerges naturally through contemporary art spaces themselves. Through intercultural dialogue, the case-study art institutions are able to shape their character and vision and reach different degrees of shared power and co-production with their participants. The following sections now explain each aspect, as defined by the European Agenda for Culture, and draw on examples from the case studies.

**Programming**

According to the *Report* (2014), programming should be directly related to the audiences and engage with community needs. However, there is still room for cultural institutions to work on the interpretation of intercultural dialogue. Bodo argues that institutions see intercultural dialogue 'as a goal rather than as a whole way of working which should be engrained in the institution itself' (EU Report, 2014: 41). For

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, an open discussion with participants is truly important at the beginning stage, and allows them to understand the demands and attitude of the community. The ideal approach is to work with their community throughout the process. For instance, in the programme of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, Bamboo Curtain Studio invited communities to join from the very start, worked together and designed the draft of the programme through knowledge exchange. The whole process of programming Art Act at Plum Tree Creek was based on numerous discussions between the staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio, curators, communities, artists and academics.

## Staffing

In the *Report* (2014), the aspect of staffing focuses on the diverse composition of staff: diversifying staff helps organisations to mirror the society in which they function and to develop skills and knowledge in intercultural dialogue. There are only a few examples of diversity within staff groups, the majority of the staff in the three case studies are female Taiwanese whose ages span different generations. Nonetheless, the three case studies share a strong tendency to address social and cultural issues through artistic actions, dedicate themselves to learning, and share knowledge and experience with participants through the process, as explained in Chapter 4.

## Reaching out to new audiences

A consensus from the *Report* (2014) is that 'broadening and ensuring that cultural provisions benefit a larger population in the territory, is vital for the future of cultural institutions' (2014: 52). In responding to this criterion, the case studies, especially Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village, take a specifically Taiwanese

approach to building an ecosystem, by extending human networks facilitated through community-based programmes, in order to involve more community members that are under-served by cultural institutions. This is a new way of establishing human networks through a collaborative process, which will be further analysed in later sections.

**Creating spaces for encounters**

It is always a challenge for cultural institutions to provide a space in which participants feel free and comfortable to share. In the *Report* (2014), 'such spaces can generate opportunities for encounter according to the needs of the target groups, so that interaction and intercultural dialogue can take place among diverse communities and individuals' (2014: 62). One of the innovations in the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek is that staff at Bamboo Curtain Studio led a number of activities outside the organisation, most of them in public areas such as parks, residents' farms or public squares. This was designed not only to resolve the mostly unseen and under-acknowledged power tensions between art institution itself and participants, but also to increase the visibility of Bamboo Curtain Studio within communities that would not typically come to the studio.

Although the concept of intercultural dialogue has been employed for a decade, there is still room to expand existing definitions and for cultural institutions to work on their capacity and ability to encourage intercultural dialogue (EU Report, 2014). Intercultural dialogue is a transformative process for cultural organisations that has the potential radically to rethink the organisation's vision and behaviour through an equal and open dialogue.

For most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, intercultural dialogue is not only

undertaken as a means to an end, for strengthening cohesion between participants, but crucially, may be instrumental in the process of dealing with underlying power issues. In other words, shared power and co-production cannot be achieved without embedding intercultural dialogue into the process of developing and executing community-based programmes. Shared power and co-production can be regarded as ideals of collaboration, and are concepts that appear to be vital to the case studies of contemporary art spaces. In a museum context, the term co-production may be seen as an approach to collaboration between museums and target communities, characterised by the establishment of trust and the acceptance of constructive conflict (Lynch & Alberti, 2010). Reflecting on the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, this thesis also suggests that collaboration in facilitating community-based programmes is helpful in allowing for dissent, and that the traditional Chinese values of harmony and conflict avoidance must be acknowledged and addressed in order to achieve co-production. By building a reciprocal relationship, museums and participants can negotiate uncertainty and power distribution - issues that might threaten the success of the project at any stage of co-production. This is illustrated by an example from the exhibition *Myths about Race* by the Manchester Museum, which Lynch and Alberti describe as follows:

> In practicing radical trust, the museum may control neither the product nor the process. The former – if there is one – will be genuinely co-produced, representing the shared authority of a new story that may then have a knock-on effect in the rest of the museum (2010: 15).

The above critique illustrates the challenge of establishing co-production between cultural institutions and communities if equal participation is not fully accepted or recognised by those in the organisation. All three case studies of Taiwanese

contemporary art spaces were situated within different institutional structures, one a semi-governmental institution, another a university museum and the third a private, non-profit organisation. Only the last, Bamboo Curtain Studio, offered evidence in support of developing a collaboration that shares a close resemblance to the kind of co-production that Lynch describes. The work of Lynch & Alberti (and others) considered here, indicates that shared power is the key for achieving co-production. Some contemporary art spaces may be unable to co-produce with their participants because they face barriers from within the organisational structure, such as rules and regulations of related to their funding. The case made here is that differing degrees of power dynamics affect shared power and co-production in community-based programmes operated by Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. In the aspect of shared power, some art institutions welcome participants to work together within the limits imposed by rules and regulations; shared power usually occurs at a certain stage of collaboration. Further, the function of co-production is to make effective changes through the process of co-producing between organisers (such as Taiwanese contemporary art spaces), professions (such as academics), and participants (such as artists, curators and community members), in an equal and mutually respectful relationship. This dynamic power relationships will be discussed later with reference to the examples of Treasure Hill Artist Village and Bamboo Curtain Studio.

This section seeks to demonstrate that Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are not consciously trying to adapt the concept of intercultural dialogue from a EU context. By means of data analysis, however, the research has found that it is a useful theory in understanding how these art institutions engage with communities. There is no doubt that intercultural dialogue is a helpful means of facilitating community-based programmes, but it can only be effective and sustainable for contemporary art spaces

during the implementation stage, when taking into account the wider cultural context of Taiwan. It is necessary therefore to develop a Taiwanese version of intercultural dialogue.

The following section will examine data and identify two mixed approaches that reflect how Taiwanese contemporary art spaces sustain their hybrid features by facilitating community-based programmes - namely role transformation in the dynamics of power within collaborations, and the establishment of a human network through the collaborative processes. The former is a specific cultural adaptation that responds to Chinese traditional values, which helps the art institution to vary its role as both insider and outsider, in order to ensure that communities maintain an equal relationship with the art institution. The latter is a new way of establishing a human network through the strategy of resource orientation, which shows the potential for contemporary art spaces to tackle the financial restraints they continue to face under Taiwanese cultural policy and funding protocols.

## 6-4 A Taiwanese approach: role transformation in the dynamics of power within collaborations

### The historical and political development of Treasure Hill

The development of Treasure Hill Artist Village emerged at the convergence of various parties' campaigns - that is, the activities that artists and the academics initiated to preserve Treasure Hill Village (寶藏巖聚落). Treasure Hill Village originated as a type of so-called Military Dependents' Village (眷村), which has gradually expanded since the 1960s. The term 'Military Dependents' Village' refers to a community built by 'the soldiers and their dependents that followed the KMT government's retreat to Taiwan in or after 1949' (Lee, 2012: 299). 'These villages have become unique landscapes on this small island and developed a hybridized identity among the residents who lived, or are still living, in the villages in a diasporic context' (ibid: 297).

While some of the Military Dependents' villages were established by the government of Taiwan, others were established from unauthorised buildings, which means the villages were established by the soldiers and their dependents directly, without government permission. Treasure Hill Village belonged to the latter type, and was originally built by soldiers and their dependents from the 1960s to 1980.

Figure 2: Treasure Hill Artist Village (Taipei City Government, 2017)

Since the 1980s, the illegal buildings in Treasure Hill Village have given rise to a series of protection campaigns from academics and artists aimed at preserving the site of Treasure Hill. Because Treasure Hill Village was located in the centre of Taipei city, the Taipei City Government planned from the 1980s onwards to renovate the village and planned to build a public park. These plans were developed against the wishes of residents and protectionists, such as academics, historians and artists. The first protection campaign was initiated by professors and students from the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning of National Taiwan University, who entered the physical area of the village from 1997. In 2004, Treasure Hill Village was formally registered as a Historical Building by the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act*. In the course of campaigns lasting almost two decades, Treasure Hill Village was gradually transformed into an artist village that was officially operated by the Department of Artist Village Management of the Taipei Culture Foundation from 2010. The historical and cultural significance of Treasure Hill Village was recognised in that it is a site which has presented an example of the co-existence of art, community and environment (Taipei Artist Village, 2016).

Due to the complex socio-cultural context of the village, operations at Treasure Hill Artist Village place emphasis 'more on ethics, less on [contemporary] art' (Su, 2016), which means that the projects designed by resident artists should be based on a relationship of mutual respect with community members, both in creating art works and in researching the history of Treasure Hill. This aim has been highly efficacious for activities relating to the original communities. Currently, there are still approximately 20 households comprising original residents living inside Treasure Hill Artist Village. The focus of Treasure Hill Artist Village has been not only to transform an historical site into an artistic platform, but also to establish it as a site at which original residents can

continue to live securely.

Today, the site is managed by two different institutes from Taipei City Government (Figure 3). Figure 3 shows two main groups living in Treasure Hill: one comprises the original community members and is called Home of Treasure Hill (寶藏家園). These original residents founded Treasure Hill Culture Association (寶藏巖文化村協會) in 2004, as the organisation which is representative of residents in communicating with Taipei City Government, and holds activities related to the social care of the community. The Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government has also commissioned a team to deal with the affairs of Home of Treasure Hill, and has an office in the site of Treasure Hill. The other main group is the Treasure Hill Artist Village, managed since 2010 by Taipei Culture Foundation. Currently, Treasure Hill Artist Village operates 14 studios (transformed from the original old houses). The renovation project, which will allow more spaces for resident artists in the future, is still in development.
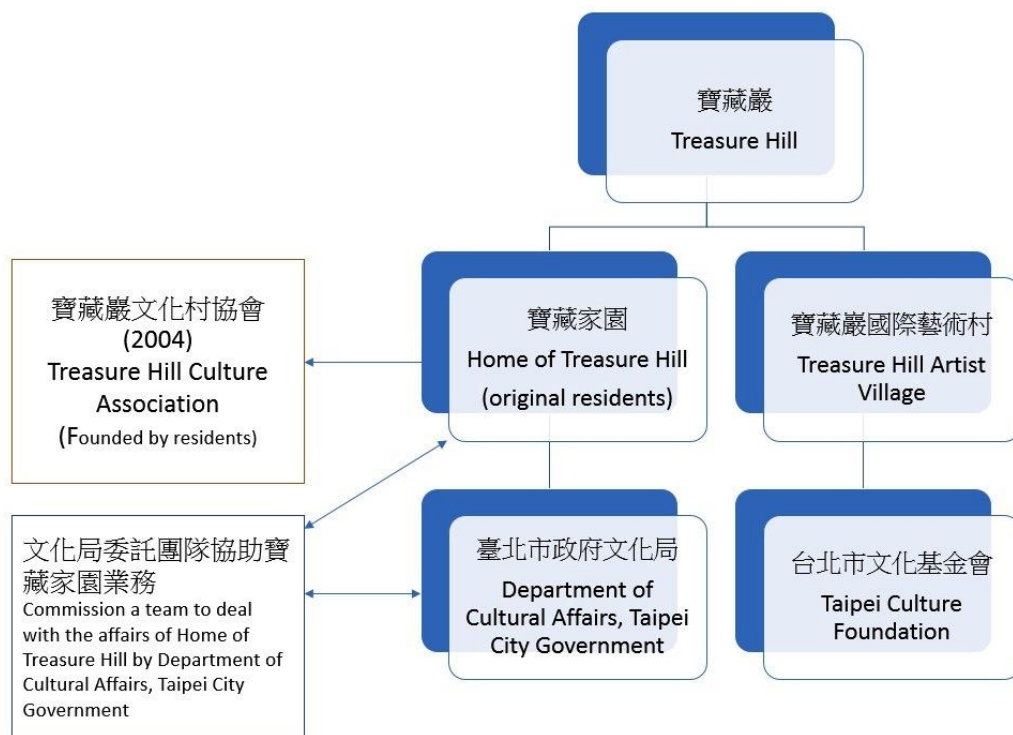
Figure 3: Structure of management at historical site Treasure Hill (Kuan-Yin Liu, 2018)

**The example from the established project of Treasure Village Grocery Store (寶村柑仔店)**

In 2013, the staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village initiated a collaborative project with communities in order to help community members to achieve better economic security and sustainability. One of the reasons for this is that many of the community members are older people and economic vulnerability is often an issue for these residents. The staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village therefore felt that a self-organised store might be an achievable solution to improve the daily life of the residents. As a result of multiple discussions between Treasure Hill Artist Village, community members and the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government, in 2015 a self-organised Taiwanese traditional grocery store called Treasure Village Grocery Store (寶村柑仔店) was initiated (Figure 4). The administration team of Treasure Hill Artist Village was entirely responsible for the establishment of Treasure Village Grocery Store and let the communities of Treasure Hill manage the store as soon as the store opened in 2015.

Figure 4: Treasure Village Grocery Store 寶村柑仔店 (Photography by

CityYeast/AguaDesign[21] Facebook, 2019)

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[21] CityYeast(城市酵母) is an ongoing project facilitated by AguaDesign since 2006, a project which endeavours to improve the development of public affairs across cities all over the world. In early 2019, after the opening of Treasure Village Grocery Store in 2015, AguaDesign was invited by Treasure Hill Artist Village to help the store to be more visible to visitors. Renovations include reorganising the interior space, marking labels in both Chinese and English, and promoting the value of Treasure Village Grocery Store through the internet and physical boards in the store. The record of the renovation project is available from: http://www.cityyeast.com/passion3_show.php?passion3type_id2=34&passion3_id=1616.

This seemed to be a successful example of engaging with the community; however, the process of completing Treasure Village Grocery Store required many specialist skills from staff at Treasure Hill Artist Village, especially with regard to the shifting of roles between insiders and outsiders. This is an example of the practical adaptation of intercultural dialogue in the Taiwanese context, which has been influenced by Chinese traditional values. The primary aim was actively to avoid issues that might be perceived by community members to affect their interests. A recognition of the sensitivity concerning the personal interests of participants and their relatives (insiders) has helped staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village to set boundaries for their own roles (as outsiders in this case) in the project, to make sure that community members could trust them.

This ability to shift roles requires staff to develop a sophisticated awareness of the thoughts and feelings of community members and, accordingly, to change their positions to maintain an effective balance of power between staff and residents. In this case study, the term "power issue" refers to the issue of personal profit (money earned from the store) and its significant influence on Taiwanese behaviours. As explained in Chapter 1, guanxi, the concept of 'relationship determinism' indicates how one person treats the other. (Yang, 2005: 185; Fei, 1948). In addition, the Differential Model of Association (差序格局) shows that, in the guanxi context, if individuals share a close relationship, the treatment of trust and profit-sharing differs from the way it is treated in relationships with outsiders (Fei, 1948). Staff have actively involved themselves in the progress of the collaborative programme, so Treasure Hill Artist Village indeed plays the role of insider by maintaining a close relationship with residents.

Yet, with regard to Treasure Village Grocery Store's profit, the role of staff switches to

that of a non-interested outsider. This shows how the roles of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' are fluid and open to negotiation. In becoming an outsider, Treasure Hill Artist Village decreases any implicit threat community members might feel in relation to competition around profits earned by the store. Kao, the deputy manager of the Art Administration Department of Treasure Hill Artist Village, illustrates this by remarking: 'we have to wait until the agreement with all residents. They need to negotiate among themselves. If there is one person to disagree, this will affect the operation at a later stage' (2016). This quote shows that during the negotiation process, the role of mediator is the other vital element between organiser (Treasure Hill Artist Village) and participants (community members) in dealing with different opinions. As the representative of the community members of Treasure Hill, the Treasure Hill Culture Association not only functioned as mediator between Treasure Hill Artist Village and residents, but also took on a leading role in negotiations with all community members. At the negotiation stage, staff were not insiders at all but remained outsiders, with the Treasure Hill Cultural Association as mediator to negotiate the issue of interests in the profits generated by the store. To summarise, the flexibility of Treasure Hill Artist Village in playing the roles of both insiders and outsiders has enabled the staff to cope better with the complex and varying interests of the residents. A sophisticated understanding of its role, and when to maintain distance, allows insiders (residents) the opportunity to deal with the issue internally.

The above example of Treasure Hill Artist Village clearly shows that in a community-based project, the method of intercultural dialogue could not be successful without embedding the wider cultural and social context within the collaborative process. In addition, the case of Treasure Village Grocery Store suggests that shared power is achievable at a certain stage - in this case, the process of establishing the store. The staff of Treasure Hill Artist Village are able to transform certain traditional Chinese

hierarchical values into a more balanced power relationship between itself and

community members. However, if the scale of community-based programmes becomes

complicated, with multiple parties from different contexts and without enough financial

support, how do Taiwanese contemporary art spaces facilitate long-term programmes

within a complex and interactive network?

## 6-5 A Taiwanese approach: a complex and interactive human network

This Taiwanese approach is the way in which Bamboo Curtain Studio negotiated their limited financial resources, by broadening their human network to reinforce the effectiveness of the community-based programmes they initiated. In accordance with Chinese traditional values prevalent within Taiwanese society, individuals are usually seen as valuable resources in guanxi. Previous chapters have discussed the difference between traditional Chinese values of guanxi and how it works in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, with regard to human relationships and organisational strategy. In terms of organisational strategy in particular, resource orientation has shown how the case studies transform individuals into practical resources in facilitating community-based programmes. This strategy enabled Bamboo Curtain Studio to utilise a different method in building up and maintaining a human network, while involving very large numbers of participants for a long-term, community-based programme. The following sections will explain how Bamboo Curtain Studio implemented an approach of establishing a complex and interactive human network through a community-based programme titled Art Act at Plum Tree Creek.

## An example of a community-based project: Art Act at Plum Tree Creek

Bamboo Curtain Studio is able to draw on current resources to design community-based projects and expand its human network gradually as part of the process. Initially, this strategy was designed to deal with fiscal complexities. However, throughout the collaborative process between the organiser (Bamboo Curtain Studio) and the participants, human resource-oriented strategic skills and facilitation methods converged to present an extraordinary outcome, which also indicated that this kind of

community-based programme might achieve the goal of co-production between organiser and participants. For instance, the aim of the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek was to encourage participants to raise questions rather than to achieve consensus amongst them-- to work *with* participants rather than *for* them. Importantly, discussions and interactive dialogues were actively encouraged by Bamboo Curtain Studio throughout the programme. Collaboration with participants was the main focus of the programme. This does not mean that there is no tangible outcome to any sub-project of the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, but that the emphasis for Bamboo Curtain Studio is on what has been generated from the collaborative process with various participants.

The community engagement process in Bamboo Curtain Studio has been in existence for nearly 24 years. It is a long-term project cultivated by staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio that has, over time, established a close relationship with communities through artists-in-residence programmes. During the first decade, Bamboo Curtain Studio rethought and reformulated its goals and missions several times. Until a decade ago, Bamboo Curtain Studio prioritised environmental sustainability as its primary goal. The community-based programme *Art Act at Plum Tree Creek* (樹梅坑溪環境藝術行動) served as an example for many Taiwanese art organisations working with community engagement programmes.

Engaging with the principle of environmental sustainability, the community-based programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek took place from 2010 to 2011. Plum Tree Creek is located close to Bamboo Curtain Studio, in the Zhuwei area of Danshui district, a popular tourist destination in New Taipei City. By highlighting this small creek, Bamboo Curtain Studio intended to encourage the interest of local communities in the

environmental issues that had become increasingly pressing for the areas in which they live. Curated by artist Wu Ma-Li and operated by Bamboo Curtain Studio, the project involved participants from across the educational system, including school leaders, professors and students from a local elementary school, junior high school and universities, but also engaged local residents and resident artists from Bamboo Curtain Studio. The staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio aimed to embed the programme within the everyday life of participants, and therefore facilitated a series of experimental sub-projects during this two-year-long programme.

The project Art Act at Plum Tree Creek also works to create ownership and agency among participants. An examination of the project through the summary report, '*Whose cake is it anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK*' (2011), written by Dr. Bernadette Lynch, is helpful in illustrating how Bamboo Curtain Studio dealt with power dynamics between staff and participants. In the report, Lynch identifies the problems that typically befall institutions pursuing participatory agendas. For example, she introduces the concepts of 'empowerment-lite' and invisible power, to demonstrate that museums facilitating community-based projects often maintain a level of control in decision-making or agenda-setting (2011). Risk-aversion and maintaining institutional authority are some of the default positions (2011).

The ability to negotiate power issues with participants at both at Treasure Hill Artist Village and at Bamboo Curtain Studio shows that each Taiwanese contemporary art space has the potential to shape its own solutions. The example of *Breakfast at Plum Tree Creek*, delivered as the first sub-project of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, was a successful breakthrough in reconstructing the power relationship between Bamboo

Curtain Studio and the participants. The aim of *Breakfast at Plum Tree Creek* was to appeal to surrounding community members to be interested in the project Art Act at Plum Tree Creek. Curator Wu designed 12 different themes about food grown in each month across a year, since the topic of food is usually a common and popular issue for most Taiwanese people. Instead of operating it exclusively on location at Bamboo Curtain Studio, the sub-project *Breakfast at Plum Tree Creek* was divided into 12 instalments and took place monthly, at different locations along the course of Plum Tree Creek. Some of the alternative locations included private farms of residents, public squares, temples, the wharf, and the office of the Chief of Village. This physical shift reconfigured the power structures that residents were used to, in which they traditionally played the role of passive partners. The intention of Bamboo Curtain Studio was to embed the programme within the community, a characteristic that Lynch emphasises is central to a feeling of ownership by the public (2011). Located in familiar places, residents felt empowered to engage in conversation freely and openly. This was also one of the goals of the programme - to create conversations across diverse participants.

**The shape of the spiderweb network**

The programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek was a human resource-oriented collaboration that constituted an approach specific to the Taiwanese context. The fact that there was a limited budget motivated Bamboo Curtain Studio to build up a complex system of human relationships: a finding generated from data analysis suggests that this system is presented graphically as a spiderweb (Figure 5). The community-based programme of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek is composed of an interrelated ecosystem, including individuals (artists, curators, and academics) and groups (school students and teachers, and local residents) from diverse cultural contexts. Beyond power differentials

between staff, artists and participants, therefore, this collaborative project also brought

challenges in relation to collaboration among culturally distinct actors.

The emergence of a spiderweb network is a unique finding from analysing the example

of the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek. The term "spiderweb network" naturally

arose while I mapped out this ecosystem of the human relationships involved in the

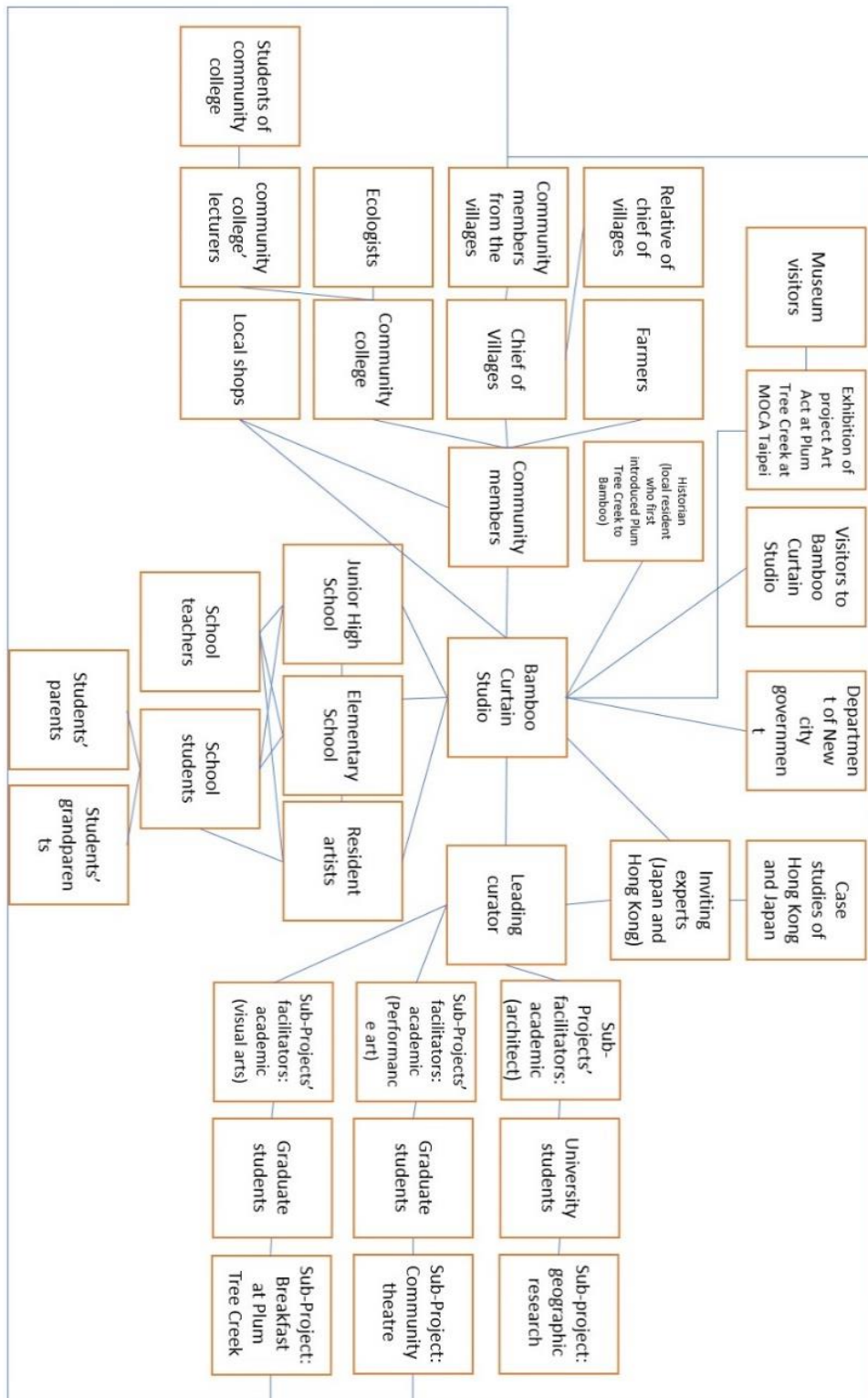programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek (see figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Spiderweb network (Kuan-Yin Liu, 2018)

Figure 5 is the outline of the human network of project Art Act at Plum Tree Creek. In the middle, Bamboo Curtain Studio plays an important role as a platform empowering these other actors in knowledge-sharing and maintaining the programme's operation. Each participant is an individual element - elements that, collectively, are woven into a compact network by the character of the platform, Bamboo Curtain Studio. Since it is an ongoing programme lasting two years, the participants step in and out often at different times. For instance, while leading curator Wu identified facilitators for each sub-project of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, Bamboo Curtain Studio also invited local audiences to discuss the programme together at the beginning stage of the project.

The shape of this complex and interactive human network has stemmed from the concept of maximising human resources, which means that it is necessary to consider human resources as well as the resources the individual has. It is a practical approach for operating a long-term programme with a small budget. Wu, the leading curator of programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek comments:

> I keep considering how to bring in more [human] resources [to this programme], each main facilitator I decided to invite for a purpose. For example, I invited the associate professor Jung Shu-Hwa of Taipei National University of the Arts not only because she was a professor, but because of the graduate students she taught, and furthermore, her extensive experience in relation to community theatre. In other words, I always search for resources based on one individual, and the resources behind her/him. The person needs to bring their own resources into this programme as well (2016).

Wu's comments here help to show how the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek has become a complex and massive human network through the concept of maximising human resources. In light of Wu's perspective, this resource-oriented strategy has taken

top priority in designing the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek; most of the leading facilitators are experienced academics in universities. For Bamboo Curtain Studio, it is crucial to form a firm basis for an effective human network at the design stage. Doing so not only consumes less time in building trust between Bamboo Curtain Studio and the facilitators of sub-projects (all leading facilitators are close to Bamboo Curtain Studio), but also allows Bamboo Curtain Studio to focus on the method of facilitation which can involve more community members joining in.

The format of the spiderweb network illustrates collaboration as a fluid human ecosystem between Bamboo Curtain Studio and the participants. The spiderweb network not only offers multiple pathways involving different individuals and programmes over time, but also opens up opportunities for the development of relationships between Bamboo Curtain Studio and new participants. For example, even though Bamboo Curtain Studio plays the role of platform, instead of centre, for operating the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, and the leading facilitators are familiar with it, the new participants these facilitators have brought in may take time to build up a trust relationship with Bamboo Curtain Studio, through the collaborative process. Yet, not all sub-projects were decided before the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek started: while the network expanded throughout the process, maintaining a harmonic human network became challenging.

One of the challenges that Bamboo Curtain Studio has faced is the difficulty of its relationship with the local political authority. In this chapter, the local political authority refers to the local political leader of the community with whom the institution deals: the Village Chief. In terms of the local administration in Taiwan, the administrative area of each Taiwanese city is separated into district; each district is divided into several
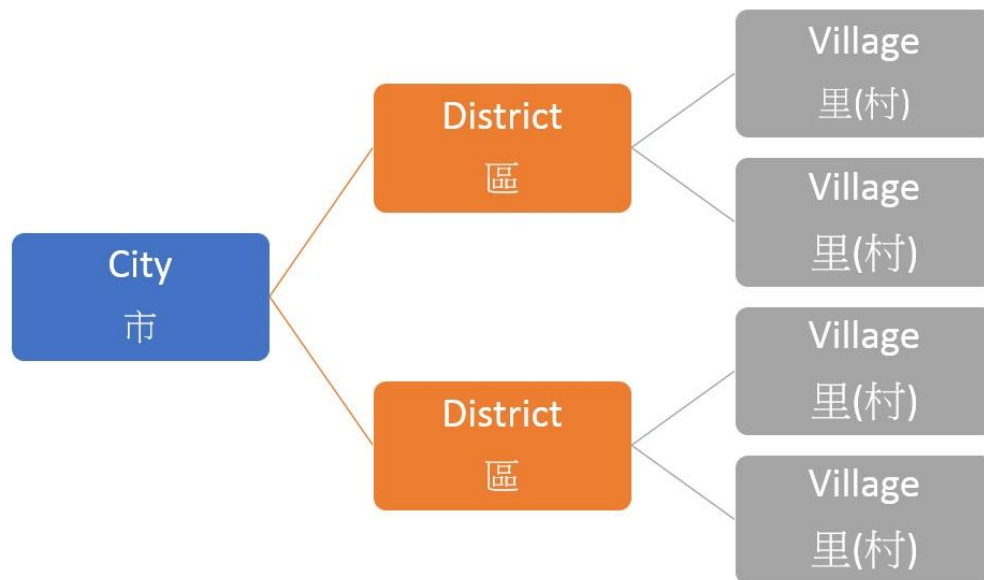
villages (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Administrative structure of city, Taiwan (Kuan-Yin Liu, 2018)

The example from the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek illustrates how Bamboo Curtain Studio currently navigates human relationships when dealing with local political leaders and how it avoids potential misconceptions. In the Taiwanese context, a Village Chief is usually in a position in which he/she can access resources, such as governmental subsidies and human networks – resources that can be influential for community-based programmes. The unfortunate misconceptions that can emerge as part of these relationships are illustrated by an example in which one of the village Chiefs thought the curator Wu from Bamboo Curtain Studio was attempting to compete with him for the election of Village Chief (Wu, 2016; Shiu, 2016). Consequently, the village chief rejected the proposal of Bamboo Curtain Studio for a community engagement programme whilst Bamboo Curtain Studio tried to visit the chief in question several times.

Instead of trying to ignore or avoid conflict, staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio coped with such relationship issues by addressing guanxi diplomatically. Staff cleverly dealt with the above issue by employing the contacts in their network to help them solve problems in a way both parties could accept. At the heart of the misunderstanding was the Chief's perception of Bamboo Curtain Studio as an outsider. He was, as a result, unwilling to recognise the purpose of the programme. As illustrated in chapter 1, Taiwanese people tend to be influenced by what Fei (1948) defined as the Differential Mode of Association, which means that the individual has a tendency to treat people in different ways: the closer the relationship, the more one perceives a person to be trustworthy and reliable. Thus, in response, Bamboo Curtain Studio brought in a relative of the Chief who had worked with the studio, to help relieve the tension by introducing Bamboo Curtain Studio and encouraging him to see the organisation as part of his extended set of relationships. As a result, the Chief changed his mind and supported the project

through sending flowers to the exhibition of programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek. Overall, because staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio are familiar with diverse cultural values and acknowledge local customs, the problem was mediated and transformed into a useful model for collaboration.

**The potential for achieving co-production**

If collaboration was the way to facilitate the community-based programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek - embedding a wider cultural and social context whilst addressing the skills of intercultural dialogue - the example of *Community Theatre,* a sub-project of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, may provide an indication that an interactive community-based programme has the potential for achieving co-production between cultural institutions and their participants. As discussed in previous sections, the core of co-production is to allow all participants, based on an equal and reciprocal relationship, to make something together and make it differently: in other words, the function of co-production involves a transformative process to achieve changes which can be beneficial for every participant (Boyle & Harris, 2009; Lynch & Alberti, 2010).

The project *Community Theatre* aimed to involve local residents in working together through the process of artistic creation to see whether or not there was change in participants' behaviours. Led by Jung Shu-Hwa, associate professor at Taipei National University of the Arts, assisted by graduate students from Taipei National University of the Arts and hosted by Bamboo Curtain Studio, participants within the project *Community Theatre* included the Chief and community members from Fude Village, and a nearby elementary school. The purpose of the project *Community Theatre* was to rethink the importance of the local environment and, ultimately, look at it from a

different perspective. Based on the theme of drama performance, the programme involved participants acting together to change the participants' vision and bring public affairs into their daily lives through the process of creating art works. The project *Community Theatre* operated in three stages: the initial programming, dialogue around information exchange and the transformation of values, and finally, co-creating a short play.

At the starting point, staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio held discussions with the Chief of Fude Village, and both of them set the condition that the artistic creation in the project should relate to the daily life of residents. During the initial stage, Jung and her assistants (graduate students from Taipei National University of the Arts) spent most of their time in breaking the ice and interacting with participants. Several small activities were intended to draw participants closer and to create an atmosphere in which each participant felt comfortable to speak and express their opinions. The middle stage was aimed at the practice of performance. Jung invited participants to select themes of daily life in which they were interested. Jung helped participants to piece these themes into a completed story and encouraged participants to perform the story together through improvisation. This stage engaged every participant as part of the larger group. The most significant change that this stage brought about was that participants began to see themselves as part of a team that discusses issues together comfortably. The final stage involved elementary school students and community residents in creating and performing a play together. The process of creating the play started by questioning students: they were required to find possible answers (instead of giving correct answers) by themselves, by interviewing older generations, and discussing the results with classmates. Huang, the elementary school teacher comments that:

It seemed there was no change after the play, however there was. Students used to throw leaves in the gutters, but now, they would not do so because the gutter would block; they recycled better. They started to notice their behaviours would impact upon the environment (Wu et al., 2012: 221).

Here the evidence illustrates how, when immersed in an interactive and dialogic-based space, co-production may be generated naturally. Most importantly, the role of facilitators is key to achieving the purpose of co-production - a transformative process that allows participants to perceive things differently and also to make changes. In the example of *Community Theatre*, participants comprised the community members of Fude Village, teachers and students of the elementary school; the facilitators were staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio, Professor Jung and graduate school students. All had co-produced the project together through the process. During the process, Professor Jung and staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio were aware that their role was that of navigator, creating a place that allowed everyone the opportunity for questioning and free expression. In this approach, the effect of co-production opens up a new way of thinking and influencing the behaviour not only of participants but also of the facilitators themselves, to move forward and help to create a society in which diversity thrives.

## 6-6 Conclusion

This thesis provides evidence that the two Taiwanese approaches that contemporary art spaces have developed to work with communities can be regarded as valuable contributions in respect of organisational adaptability with regard to their stakeholders. The ways in which contemporary art spaces consider and respond to the cultural context in which they exist are central mechanisms for arts institutions in successfully facilitating collaborative projects: they have the potential to integrate various values with new methods that help them effectively deliver community-based programmes within that specific culture. The approaches this chapter argues for are related to the hybrid features of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in the dimension of programming.

Case studies from Treasure Hill Artist Village and Bamboo Curtain Studio have helped to show that, in the context of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, small-scale organisations can execute community-engaged projects by seeing communities as active partners, rather than solely as beneficiaries (Lynch, 2011). However, at this time, there is a lack of appropriate evaluation research to examine the contribution made by these organisations. As the writer of *Size matters: Notes towards a better understanding of the value, operation and potential of small visual arts organisations*, Sarah Thelwall, notes, the concept of 'differed value' means:

> There is very little in the way of a clearly defined feedback loop, enabling these organisations to benefit directly from the value they create as it accrues over the lifetime of the work they commission (2011: 28).

These values are mostly 'invisible via current metrics' (ibid: 7). Shiu, the founder of

Bamboo Curtain Studio also argues that the Taiwanese government still relies on economic models to measure the value created by these contemporary art spaces (2016), which means that the government tends to prioritise quantity over quality in reviewing only tangible outcomes. This difficulty has undermined a recognition of the contribution of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to both adaptable organisational structures and to unique, culturally specific approaches to collaboration within the Taiwanese context. As Lynch points out, 'the way of working in smaller organisations has the potential to be applied in larger museums, which helps redefine good practice and could play an important mentoring role for others' (2011: 7). Reflecting Lynch's perspective, this thesis aims to analyse some significant findings from the case studies to suggest that the contributions from these contemporary art spaces are worthy of research. The following (concluding) chapter will summarise the findings of this research and review holistically the significance of the hybrid organisational culture of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces.

# Chapter 7   Conclusion: Understanding the power dynamics of organisational hybridity

## 7-1 Introduction

The thesis set out to explore the concept of hybrid organisational culture by means of three Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The research has revealed the ways in which institutional values and behaviours, together, form the foundation of the specific cultural context-based organisational structure, strategies and programming. In summary, this thesis has argued that the organisational cultures of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces can be characterised as hybrid. The aim was to compare three different operational models in order to investigate the nature of hybridity within these art institutions. Specifically, the intention here was to examine the ways these different institutions established human relationships with the stakeholders, articulated the challenges of cultural policy and governmental funding, and facilitated programmes.

In particular, it has been their respective artists-in-residence programmes (a priority for all three institutions) that have allowed the hybridity of these three organisations to be evidenced and explored. These art programmes have shaped (and been shaped by) a unique hybrid organisational culture. For example, the behaviour of each institution's directors in responding to issues of power, has increased the degree of flexibility within organisations; similarly, staff are skilful in understanding the cultural differences of artists from various nations working at their art institutions.

In addition to identifying the organisational hybridity of Taiwanese contemporary art

spaces as a significant attribute, the study sought to examine the underlying motivations and considerations for the particular organisational structures and strategies, and their influence on the everyday practice. The thesis therefore directed its focus specifically towards the behaviour of staff, not only to ask how this relates to current theories on Chinese organisational behaviour, but also to rethink the very definition of institutional hybridity – a concept that derives originally from a Western research context of art institutions and their organisational structures. This research has developed an approach to consolidating the general theoretical literature on the subject within the cultural and social context of Taiwanese art organisations – a topic that has been discussed neither within existing research on the organisational behaviour of Taiwanese art institutions, nor within Western academic reviews on the concept of hybrid art institutions. It is this gap in knowledge that this thesis addresses. The goal of this thesis, therefore, has been not only to review the current studies of Taiwanese organisational behaviour, but to understand and critique the unique nature of organisational hybridity within this specific cultural context.

## 7-2 The purpose of organisational hybridity

The findings of the thesis have argued that the main goal of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, as hybrid organisations, is to negotiate complexity in cultural values and practical social issues. In this study, the term 'complexity' has referred to both the interrelationships between contemporary art spaces and their diverse stakeholders, and to the formulation of policy and funding protocols. The results of this research support the view that the approaches and actions of leaders and staff (at least within these three case studies) are key factors in employing and embedding elements of hybridity. The results are understood by examining the hybrid characteristics of organisations holistically through three different dimensions: people, structure, programme. The study has found that the way these organisations engage with people has shaped their professional practice; this engagement includes internal relationships (amongst staff and directors), and external relationships (with stakeholders, such as curators and artists, funders and examiners, and community members). In terms of the organisational structure, this includes strategies for responding to cultural policies and to the funding systems underpinning Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. The third pivotal characteristic is demonstrated by examples of community-based programming (developed by Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village), providing a deeper insight into how the case studies integrate human relationships and organisational strategies within the programming stage.

The findings also support the conclusion that organisations cannot achieve hybridity without following a series of processes to develop organisational structure, strategies and methods of implementing these strategies. The research suggests that hybrid organisational culture informs the values formulated by staff, which are, in turn,

formative of the organisational structure of organisations. Further, the function of organisational structure has shaped organisational strategy, and the role of organisational strategy has formed the basis for the ways in which programming is executed.

Although the three case studies share similar organisational strategies with regard to content orientation and resource orientation (as discussed in Chapter 5), there is a difference among them in dealing with the challenges of programming, based on their own approach to organisational structure. For example, group discussions are employed in Bamboo Curtain studio mainly for tackling problems in the facilitation of programmes. In Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts and Treasure Hill Artist Village, in addition to discussions with directors and colleagues, official documents are usually required for any changes in the process of facilitating programmes. This study shows that, while confronting challenges in practice, Taiwanese contemporary art spaces take prompt action by constantly reviewing current strategies and altering them agilely to suit future programmes.

The following sections aim to reframe the findings by looking holistically at the three case studies. Based on the findings, this conclusion chapter further highlights the contributions made by research at large in supporting or critiquing current discourses on the concept of hybrid organisations and Chinese organisational behaviour, while at the same time, demonstrating the limitations of this research. Since the study is aligned with one particular policy programme in Taiwan, it is necessary to identify the policy implications of the findings, which further evidence the relevance of the existing Taiwanese cultural policy programme on which the study is based. In addition, it provides recommendations for future research.

The research has found that the following activities are necessary to achieve hybridity in order to answer the research questions in Chapter 1. Each of the findings will be explained in detail, as follows:

1. Forging an interactive and dialogue-based organisational culture
2. Regarding cultural specificity as a primary framework for organisational behaviour
3. Forming a sense of flexibility to construct institutional structure and operate programmes
4. Developing organisational strategies through content and resource orientation
5. Enhancing the establishment of trust with stakeholders
6. Sustainable development for working on civic issues

**Forging an interactive and dialogue-based organisational culture**

The findings have highlighted that organisations cannot become hybrid without an open and unrestrained work environment. The behaviour of leaders in decentralising power, particularly at Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, enhances the ability of staff to identify and respect cultural differences with stakeholders and to adopt a certain level of flexibility in coping with challenges. Although the leadership style modelled by Treasure Hill Artist Village may be similar to the other two case studies, the specific ways in which decisions were made there could not be analysed in more detail by this study: this will be further discussed in the section on limitations. A common thread is that leadership has been identified as being a vital factor in empowering staff to develop hybridity. The values and behaviours of directors were

helpful in building up a flexible organisational structure. The charisma of these leaders was seen to encourage staff to act confidently in their negotiation of challenges and, when necessary, in accepting that programmes had failed. As part of institutional decision-making, on the contrary, decisions usually emerged from group discussions. Leaders rarely, if ever, played a dominant role in making decisions.

## Regarding cultural specificity as a primary framework for organisational behaviour

The findings of the research also provide a deeper insight into the ability to identify and articulate cultural specificity - a useful skill, especially for staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces in collaborating with various stakeholders. The term 'cultural specificity', in this study, encompasses two dimensions: it refers broadly to the larger cultural and social context of Taiwanese society and, more specifically, to the cultural values possessed by different stakeholders. For instance, according to the staff of Bamboo Curtain Studio, their experiences of working with artists from Southeast Asian countries and artists from Europe showed in some cases that the cultural values informing the practice of artists from various backgrounds were likely to be different. An understanding of cultural specificity has therefore been considered of key importance in shaping organisational behaviours, especially for most Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, which are organisations that always operate within differing contexts created through their collaboration with their stakeholders. The findings arising from Bamboo Curtain Studio have revealed that barriers of communication between the institution and artists or communities could form a significant challenge prior to the launch of community engagement projects. In relation to one of the other case studies, Treasure Hill Artist Village, the research showed that an understanding of the aims and

interests implicitly expressed by community members, required staff to develop an ability to perceive the cultural codes embedded within residents' behaviours.

## Forming a sense of flexibility to construct institutional structures and operate programmes

The findings suggest that flexibility in negotiating human relationships within organisations and with stakeholders has involved a series of changing processes, which has helped the three case studies to construct organisational structures and operate programmes. The processes can be regarded as fostering different degrees of flexibility. The results of this research show that each of the three case studies achieved a certain degree of flexibility. For instance, in Treasure Hill Artist Village, the example of the established project of Treasure Hill Grocery Store showed that the nuanced role transformation of staff, in changing their roles from insiders to outsiders, was useful for operating community-engaged programmes. In Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, group discussions significantly rebalanced the power relationship between director and staff members. In Bamboo Curtain Studio, flexibility was identified within both the relationship between director and staff, and the facilitation of programmes with various stakeholders.

## Developing organisational strategies through content and resource orientation

The research clearly demonstrates that strategies for facilitating programmes usually stem from the decision-making process through group discussions, as within the case studies of Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts. What is important within these processes is that organisational strategies often aim to reflect current

(internal or external) policy and funding protocols, which, in turn, determine the ways in which programmes are implemented. Two remarkable approaches emerged from this study: strategies for content orientation and strategies for resource orientation. The term 'content orientation strategy' indicates that the focus of programmes is upon the process itself instead of upon physical outcomes. For instance, the case of Bamboo Curtain Studio shows that it regarded each programme as a unique collaborative process with participants, and, more importantly, considered the process generated from the programme as much more valuable than the outcomes.

The term 'resource orientation strategy' aptly encapsulates how hybrid organisations like Taiwanese contemporary art spaces mediate their limited access to funding. The findings highlight the importance of the pivotal role played by human resources within all three case studies in negotiating financial difficulties. For example, the three case studies have developed different approaches to coping with the issue of short staff. Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts is committed to the involvement of more curators as staff members in the delivery of temporary projects funded by the National Culture and Arts Foundation. Likewise, Treasure Hill Artist Village invited young Taiwanese curators to help resident artists in completing their art works during their residence. Bamboo Curtain Studio involved an independent curator in organising the twenty-year artists-in-residence research archive. Further, in the example of the community-based programmes of Art Act at Plum Tree Creek by Bamboo Curtain Studio, the resource orientation strategy has been identified as being evidently helpful in facilitating long-term community-based programmes.

## Enhancing the establishment of trust with stakeholders

A main thread identified by the study is the way in which Taiwanese contemporary art spaces have embedded their sophisticated understanding of cultural specificity into strategies that support the establishment of trust with stakeholders. The findings show that, even though the ways in which the strategies were implemented raised the level of uncertainty in collaborative projects with participants, dialogue-based and process-oriented activities strengthened the openness of collaboration. Instead of searching for consensus between participants, the role Taiwanese contemporary art spaces took on was to build an unrestricted and comfortable space that allowed different voices to be heard. This approach, as the study suggests, is helpful in establishing trust. However, since the process of data collection focused on the perspectives of staff members in this study, this sense of trust can only be partially reviewed by the curators and resident artists of Bamboo Curtain Studio.

## Sustainable development in working on civic issues

Another key idea put forward by the thesis is that hybrid organisations possess a high level of flexibility in altering their strategies and the ways in which they are implemented. The study has indicated that the three case studies are able to hold firmly to their core values, yet at the same time, diplomatically articulate strategies within the context of current policy and funding systems. The findings suggest that the organisational goal of the three case studies consists of continuously fulfilling their perceived responsibility as social bodies advocating on civic issues, which helps to reinforce the connection between themselves and community members. This propensity to act responsibly is advantageous to organisations in promoting the sustainable development of community-based programmes. For instance, the programme Art Act at

Plum Tree Creek by Bamboo Curtain Studio specifically focused on raising awareness of issues at the local level amongst nearby residents, who together explored environmental issues through the approach of contemporary art from 2010. In 2019, an extended programme, 'River Watcher[22]', was created by Bamboo Curtain Studio: this is an open online platform for observing and tracking the changes of rivers across Taiwan. Aligned with the concept of the programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek, the River Watcher programme has shown that Bamboo Curtain Studio consistently considers itself a vehicle for developing sustainable projects which achieve social change.

Overall, it was identified that the three case studies possessed varying degrees of flexibility. In terms of trust and sustainability, these findings are somewhat limited by the lack of information on participant perspectives – the views of artists, funders and community members. I will explain this further in the section on the limitations of the research. The next section considers how the findings contribute to bodies of knowledge across different disciplines.

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[22]Community-based programme Art Act at Plum Tree Creek was facilitated by Bamboo Curtain Studio mainly from 2010 to 2011. In the following years, Bamboo Curtain Studio has continued different activities to maintain concerns about the development of Plum Tree Creek, such as the free walk along Plum Tree Creek (走溪運動). In 2019, Programme River Watcher (大河小溪全民齊督工) operated by Bamboo Curtain Studio received a grant from G0v Civic Tech Prototype Grant (https://grants.g0v.tw/power/en/). Programme River Watcher is an open online database, which allows people to search for changes to rivers or creeks across Taiwan for free. It also welcomes visitors to share information on the website and expects more people to concern themselves with environmental issues. Programme River Watcher: https://river-watcher.bambooculture.tw/

## 7-3 Contributions made by the research

Throughout the analysis, this thesis has attempted to develop a clear argument that the theoretical understanding of hybrid organisations needs to be expanded in order to recognise the dynamics of cultural specificity, as well as the key role played by staff in implementing and embodying these dynamics. Moreover, the study demonstrates how these extended concepts of hybrid organisations support the construction of a new form of Chinese organisational behaviour in art or cultural institutes within the Taiwanese context. In this way, the findings of this research contribute to existing understanding of two key subjects: research based upon Western theories relating to the concepts of hybrid organisations and Chinese organisational behaviour. In short, the results from this research not only add to the field of research into organisational behaviour, but are also highly relevant to institutions seeking organisational change. In addition, this study illustrates what kinds of institutions, whether they are art or non-art organisations, can benefit from the ideas put forward by this thesis; in what way and where institutions begin when implementing change.

## Rethinking the definition of hybrid institutions

Although there is a limited body of research on hybrid art organisations, the current study offers evidence that the organisational behaviour of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces implies that some concepts concerning organisational functions and structures emerging from Western hybrid institutions can be productively embedded within the wider Chinese cultural context of Taiwan. On the face of it, this would suggest that recognising and responding to the needs of cultural specificity may be an essential factor in achieving a new level of hybrid organisational model. This study has attempted to interrogate this extended perspective of hybrid organisations by merging existing

concepts of hybrid organisations with the theoretical framework of collaboration theory (Gray, 1989) and the findings from this thesis. This approach will provide useful evidence in expanding our understanding of the processes that help non-hybrid organisations grow into organisations possessing hybrid characteristics.

A number of current studies of hybrid organisations in the disciplines of public administration and management in Western research suggest that a hybrid organisation is able to mix or integrate different sources (Hulme et al., 2010; Jäger & Schröer, 2013), and that the characteristics of hybrid organisations identified by researchers usually refer to flexibility (Hulme et al., 2010), decentralisation (Claver-Cortés et al., 2012), and the ability to deal with complex social issues (Haigh et al., 2015; Joldersma & Winter, 2002; Minkoff, 2002). Within the framework of collaboration theory (which holds that collaboration takes place within programme design and structure, strategy and implementation), this thesis adds to this body of knowledge by focusing on cultural specificity, and by considering the function of identifying and articulating cultural specificity as pivotal for shaping the hybrid nature of organisational culture. As such, this study expands current definitions of hybrid organisations that align with recent ideas developed through academic discourse on hybrid organisations. This thesis suggests that a holistic hybrid organisational culture requires a constructive process embedded across the organisational structure, strategy-making and programming.

Cultural specificity, as a concept that informs each of these areas, must be considered as the foundation of hybrid organisational values and behaviours. The notion of cultural specificity encompasses both an understanding of the wider culture and of the society, and of the specific cultural contexts created by the different stakeholders with whom Taiwanese contemporary art spaces collaborate. How to identify and articulate cultural

specificity depends on the ability of organisational staff to apply and transform the cultural codes implied by the behaviours of different stakeholders. This ability cannot be achieved without a series of internalised processes through which staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces identify and transform cultural values and practices within practical programmes. In brief, the internalised processes are the way staff collaborate with stakeholders in the aspect of perceiving and identifying differences, sharing and learning from differences, and then expressing differences through flexibility.

The above observation arising from this research reconceptualises the function of hybrid organisations and the essence of cultural specificity in theory and practice. The concept of cultural specificity emerging from this thesis extends our knowledge of the application of abstract cultural values. The study suggests that the purpose of hybrid organisations is to target complex social and cultural issues, which inevitably immerses these organisations within a complex framework of human relations. The roles of hybrid organisations therefore require approaches to be developed with an understanding of the culturally specific context in which community programming takes place. The findings demonstrate that culturally specific approaches cannot be shaped without a series of internalised processes on the part of staff that identify cultural values and differences, learning from and sharing differences, and becoming flexible in tackling differences. Throughout the thesis, this reframed hybrid organisational model shows that hybrid organisations actively considering cultural specificity not only support current concepts of hybrid organisations, but also strengthen the degree of flexibility and openness that characterises them.

**A new form of organisational behaviour for seeking organisational changes**

This study also contributes to existing knowledge of Chinese organisational behaviour by reconstructing the identity of hybrid organisations - an approach through which a new form of hybrid Chinese organisational behaviour in the Taiwanese context has emerged. This section will further consider what kinds of institutions may benefit from the findings arising from this study, what significant role the thesis identifies, and in what way these organisations can start to build and increase hybridity within their institutes.

**What kinds of institutions can benefit?**

The findings of this thesis have focused on understanding hybridity in art and cultural institutions through Taiwanese examples. The results of this research suggest that small-scale art organisations, or a single department of large-scale art institutions, may benefit from this study. The principal theoretical implication of this study is that power-sharing and openness are necessary to establish relationships of trust between staff members at the beginning stage. The study indicates therefore that it is feasible for a small-scale organisation or department with fewer staff to achieve organisational changes by embedding hybrid characteristics within the work environment from the outset.

A second condition for any art organisations seeking to become hybrid is the need to engage multiple parties as a collaborative team in addressing complex social and cultural issues. On the one hand, this thesis shows that a focus on articulating cultural specificity has enhanced the ability of staff of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to work with different individuals or groups from various cultural contexts. On the other hand, this study provides an integrated framework for organisations to shape their

hybridity gradually, from the ability to collaborate with their stakeholders, the establishment of organisational structures and strategies, to the ways in which they facilitate programmes. This approach has been suggested by this study as being useful and practical for art organisations, in particular in dealing with collaborative projects involving various participants, such as community-based programmes.

## Who plays the leading role?

Leaders within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are key players in navigating the future of organisations, as the study suggests, and organisational change begins with the key decision-makers in contemporary art spaces. The findings provide a novel insight for decision-makers acting in any art institutions, such as museums and galleries, in Taiwan and internationally. The thesis shows that the action of leaders in developing their art institutions as hybrid organisations is a constant process of accepting changes - one in which leaders not only take on responsibility for the success and failure of programmes, but also share power with their staff in making decisions. For example, leaders allow staff to design the programmes at a certain stage. As a result, the influence and effectiveness of hybrid organisations will naturally be expressed through the process of organisational change.

## Where do art institutions begin?

The ideas posited by this study indicate that art organisations that are willing to become hybrid need to initiate changes from the inside of the organisation - its organisational structure – as well as from the outside – the relationships with participants of community-based programmes taking place at a local level. The thesis suggests that the three case studies were able to generate dialogue freely in the workplace, a condition

that relies on the efforts of leaders or decision-makers. The thesis also indicates that the directors or senior managers of the three case studies were able to create a sense of hybridity in their organisations through a constructive process involving all staff. However, even if the organisational culture has been established, without a robust hybrid organisational structure to reflect this culture, strategy and programming cannot be further developed at a later stage. Additionally, practice at a local level is also beneficial for fostering close relationships with nearby communities and in fostering the development of long-term, community-based programmes. This study has attempted to examine hybrid organisational behaviour through the perspectives of staff members. The contributions of the research expand the remit of the current research on hybrid organisations, and further, demonstrate how art organisations can benefit from the study in Taiwan and internationally.

## 7-4 Limitations of the research

One of the challenges to this research project was posed by my professional context. Although this study did not include my place of work as a case study, as a practitioner working within a cultural institution similar to Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, I well understand the risk that my role and position may influence the views of interviewees and their answers. To prevent my own position from impacting upon the data and its interpretation, this research has attempted to convey the findings in an objective tone. However, I recognise that the nature of qualitative research means that researchers present their findings in ways that are, to some extent, based largely on a perspective derived from subjective observations and (analysis of) data.

Three case studies have been chosen to draw on the perspectives of directors and staff in outlining the overall organisational culture. In Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, the interview records from staff helped to analyse the various aspects of the leaders' characters. However, in respect of Treasure Hill Artist Village, the data from one deputy manager and from the director himself seemed not to be able to capture the leadership of the director of Treasure Hill Artist Village. This result implies that the findings mainly focused on the characters of the leaders in Bamboo Curtain Studio and Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, which might restrict the relevance of data for governmental decision makers, since Treasure Hill Artist Village is a semi-governmental art institution. In addition, I aimed to collect the research data from staff in different positions: the voices of curators, artists, funders, examiners, and community members therefore formed a relatively small part of the study.

In the aspect of programming, since there was a limited amount of material available on

programming in the case of Kuandu Museum of Fine Arts, the features of programming were mainly derived from Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village in this research. This result implies that, even though the examples from Bamboo Curtain Studio and Treasure Hill Artist Village provided evidence of similarities and differences between private art organisation and semi-governmental art organisations in operating community-based programmes, the research had limited opportunities to look at how a University museum dealt with programmes within its communities.

Overall, as the study aims to consider hybrid art organisational cultures specifically in the Taiwanese context, the research highlights the perspective and behaviours of staff. This study has attempted to forge a theoretical framework for hybrid organisational behaviours based on three dimensions: organisational structure, strategies and programming - which may provide scope for future research building upon this thesis.

## 7-5 Policy implications

One particular policy programme with stable endorsement from Taiwan's central government is the '文化部補助藝術村營運扶植計畫 Ministry of Culture Directions on subsidy projects of the operation and cultivation of artist villages', which has been deemed an iconic success in supporting Taiwanese contemporary art spaces to facilitate artists-in-residence programmes. However, evidence from this thesis seems to point to the fact that many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces continue to struggle with these governmental funding mechanisms. This study draws upon the findings to suggest that the above policy may not be entirely successful in realising its intended effect. The theoretical arguments for this observation suggest the need for policy review aimed at enabling these contemporary art spaces to work in more efficient and flexible ways when working with artists-in-residence programmes and long-term community engagement projects.

The findings generated from this thesis imply that the challenges experienced by many Taiwanese contemporary art spaces are related to the uncertainty of governmental funding. Importantly, the serious competition between political parties in recent elections has resulted in a high degree of instability in sustained support for current policies. For many years, the above funding policy has constituted the sole source of funding for these contemporary art spaces, operating through artist-in-residence programmes. This raises the issue that most funding is used for the execution of programmes, whilst a very small budget remains to support the organisations themselves. In addition, the thesis implies that the lack of understanding from examiners with regard to the contributions and significance of the work taking place in contemporary art spaces has diminished their legitimate role within community building

and as vehicle for social change. These challenges seem to result in a high rate of staff turnover due to the difficulties in operating contemporary art spaces in Taiwan.

The principal policy implication of this research is that the funder must acknowledge the contributions of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and, accordingly, focus the funding objective on the organisations as such, rather than their programming. To be more specific, the study suggests that governmental subsidies should be based upon a review of current policies in order to support the operation of organisations, including staffing capacity, organisational structure, resources and equipment. For example, policy makers might rethink their funding objectives by investigating whether existing work environments are friendly to staff of these art organisations, taking into account average salary and working hours. This thesis suggests that there is a need for funders to recognise the significance of staff and the potential for hybridity identified within Taiwanese contemporary art spaces. These contemporary art spaces should be regarded as vital advocates for a hybrid organisational culture, and their ability to foster hybridity within complex social and cultural contexts should be valued. On a long-term basis, it is the efforts of staff that connect neighbourhoods at a local level.

Another key policy implication of the study is that there is, as of yet, insufficient dialogue between Taiwanese contemporary art spaces and their examiners, despite the willingness of the art spaces to connect with stakeholders through open dialogue. The study implies that many contemporary art spaces might expect the policy maker, the Ministry of Culture, to take responsibility in initiating opportunities for dialogue; yet both parties might play a more active role. Such dialogue can enable examiners to understand and recognise better the difficulties of existing assessments of programming within contemporary art spaces: for the art spaces, a more reciprocal relationship might

create a better insight into the needs and expectations of examiners. The study suggests that only when these discussions take place consistently and constructively can each party begin to listen to different views, exchange opinions and produce debate.

## 7-6 Recommendations for future research

To develop future research on hybrid organisational behaviour within art institutions, there is a need for more case studies to take place at the Taiwanese level and in relation to the global dimensions of the subject. First of all, the issue of organisational strategy and how it influences programming in different operational models of hybrid art organisations, is an intriguing one which could be explored through further research. Future work might also examine the existing organisational strategies generated from this study, involving more voices from participants, such as community members, curators, and resident artists of community-based programmes. This approach would be helpful in understanding how the views of participants support or challenge the organisational strategies which have emerged from this thesis. In addition, a reasonable approach to tackling organisational strategies could also include/refer to research on the field of cultural policy and art management. The studies of art management and of the perspectives of policy makers/advisors would provide different angles for further investigation.

In addition, since this research has taken cases studies from within a Taiwanese context, future research might also investigate how the broader approaches adopted by hybrid art organisations may hold relevance within other eastern Asian contexts. More broadly speaking, further work is also needed to establish the concept of hybrid organisations in the form of art institutes, such as Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, within the wider East Asian context. Since East Asian countries are also influenced by Confucianism, a better understanding of the potential and different characteristics of East Asian hybrid art organisations and of how these institutions articulate cultural specificity in their own cultural context needs to be developed. Moreover, future research could also be

conducted to determine the effectiveness of hybrid art organisations beyond the context of East Asia.

Finally, a greater focus on hybrid organisations beyond art or cultural institutions could produce interesting findings that account for the significant role of hybrid organisations across the world. Further research could be undertaken into how other types of organisations have shaped their sense of hybridity. For example, are financial limitations equally influential? What about the political implications? How do such organisations behave as hybrid characters and why? More information from the field of hybrid organisations, from art to non-art organisations, from local to global, would help establish a greater degree of accuracy on this matter.

Initially, this thesis attempted to investigate the unique organisational behaviour of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, focusing specifically on the ways in which they facilitate artists-in-residence programmes. Despite the rarely considered significance of the hybrid features of these art organisations in theoretical and policy debates, throughout the research process, the benefits of hybrid organisations, as identified from the three case studies, have been shown to be applicable to different kinds of institutions and to offer sustainable ways to foster organisational development. The study has not only proposed a reframed structure for hybrid organisations in tackling practical challenges, but has also identified examples that demonstrate the qualities hybrid organisations should possess in the contemporary world.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Interview Questions

### A. Essential questions (9 questions)

1. 請簡短描述你的工作內容、年資及專業背景。

   Please briefly describe your professional background, work tasks and how many years you have worked here.

2. 當代藝術空間變動性較強，且須具備多種能力。請您描述這個機構的工作風格及氛圍，或舉例說明？

   One of the features of contemporary art spaces is that a public programme is ever-changing. Staff are required to have multiple skills to deal with various problems. In this situation, could you please describe the work style and environmental atmosphere at your organisation? Could you please use an example to describe them?

3. 我也曾著手藝術家進駐的業務，和藝術家合作向來都是極具挑戰的，無論是預算的運用、協調溝通都是門學問。請問根據您的經驗，您覺得最大的挑戰是什麼呢？譬如說：精通當代藝術、如何讓藝術家了解藝術村的基本運作方式、或是其他？

   I was once the officer who dealt with artists-in-residence programmes, during which I found that working with artists can be challenging, for example, in negotiating budget management and communication skills with artists. In your experience, what is the biggest challenge in your job? For example, to understand contemporary art through the artists' terminology, to familiarise artists with the way your institution operates; Or are there other challenges you might think of as important?

4. 同上，可否請您根據某一項藝術計畫，談談讓您印象深刻的一個合作經驗？您從中體驗到最大的樂趣是什麼？或是您覺得最大的困難是什麼？

Ditto, could you please tell me about a collaborative experience that impressed you the most by referring to one artistic programme? What was the most impressive or difficult part?

5. 當代藝術空間通常都會有著來自不同國家的藝術家進駐，請問根據您的經驗，受儒家思想影響的國家例如：台灣、日韓、香港新加坡等，以及非儒家文化生活圈的國家，在互動合作上，有無異同？

Most contemporary art spaces work with artists from different countries. In your experience of collaborating with artists, what are the similarities and differences between artists from countries within the Confucian culture, such as Taiwan, Japan or South Korea, and from non-Confucian-culture countries, such as European-American countries? Could you use an example to describe this?

6. 儒家思想是台灣社會普遍的文化價值觀，但是我們也同樣受到西方思想的影響甚深，根據台灣的心理學者們，台灣人大多擁有傳統/現在複合文化的特質，能夠在潛意識中，轉換或者混和兩種不同的思考模式。請問您同意嗎？如果是，可否請您舉例說明之？如果不是，也請您談談您覺得沒有影響的地方？或是，您覺得職場文化是另一種特殊的文化形式？和普遍的社會價值觀無關？

Confucianism remains a core value of Taiwanese society. However, we have also been influenced by Western cultures, especially European and American cultures. According to Taiwanese scholars, most Taiwanese people have the ability to switch or mix characters between traditional and modern orientation depending on the situation. Do you agree with this? If yes, could you use an example from your work experience to explain? If not, could you please explain why? Or do you think organisational behaviour is a specific cultural style which has less to do with

prevalent social and cultural values?

7. 部份西方學者已經將合作視為一種獨立的學科專門討論，他們認為合作的本質上本來就是相當困難、脆弱、且易失敗的。再者，西方的博物館學學者亦提出許多觀點證明無論是博物館與居民的合作、博物館與藝術家的合作，都是相當困難的。西方學者 Silverman 提出，失敗甚至是更重要的；在日本，則有允許失敗的實驗室。然而，藝術村的營運自有其業績壓力的存在，預算的運用很難讓我們能夠承擔完全的失敗。請問您覺得，根據您和藝術家合作的經驗，當合作出現極大的困難時，您如何對應讓風險降到最低？這樣的困難，或甚是我們稱之為衝突時，請問您是如何應對呢？

Some Western scholars see collaboration as an independent discipline. From their perspective, the nature of collaboration is difficult, unstable and easily disrupted. In the field of Museum Studies, a number of Western scholars provide examples to demonstrate how collaboration between museums and communities can pose a significant challenge. Silverman indicates, for example, that failure is often far more important than success in collaboration. In Japan, Imumura articulates a similar perspective by describing the art space as a "laboratory of permitted failure". However, most contemporary art spaces in Taiwan are funded by governments and are under pressure that failure can risk loss of funding. In your experience, when a collaboration is difficult, how do you deal with risk? These kinds of difficulties, which we may call conflicts, how do you negotiate them?

8. 同上，通常衝突多半被視為是負面的元素，然而，西方學者 Lynch 卻認為衝突，是一種正向的元素，創造改善的契機。根據您的實際工作經驗，請問您怎麼看待這種想法呢？可否請您舉例說明？

Most practitioners might see conflict as a negative; however, western scholar Lynch points out that conflict may be positive when it is harnessed as an opportunity to create improvement. How do you think about conflict? Could you please use an

example to explain?

9. 在台灣社會裡，和諧為本是重要的核心價值，部份台灣心理學者認為，和諧根深蒂固的價值觀讓很多組織通常害怕於改變，然而，亦有其他台灣心理學者認為，衝突和改變才是促進和諧的根本，他們是達成和諧的過程。若是和藝術家合作過程中有困難和挑戰出現，通常最困難的部份不是和藝術家合作的，而是如何向長官報告。請問根據您的經驗，如何在不傷害自己的情況下，做到促進和諧的改變呢？(staff only)

The cultural value of harmony seems deeply embedded within Taiwanese society. Some Taiwanese psychological scholars argue that deep-rooted values make some organisations wary of change, whilst other scholars argue that conflict and change are the basis of promoting true harmony and that they are an inevitable part of the process of achieving harmony. If issues arise during collaborations with artists, the most challenging part might not be about the collaboration itself, but about how to report the situation to the directors. In your experience, how does your institutional leader work with you when confronting difficulties? (Staff only)

**B. Further questions**

10. 請問您是否有和其他藝術機構進行交流的經驗呢？如果有，可否舉例說明之？(可以提交流單位或匿名)

Do you have experience of exchanging artists with other art institutions? If yes, could you give me an example? (You may or may not provide the exchange institution's name)

11. 在和其他藝術機構交流的經驗裡，請問讓您印象最深刻的是？例如：該機構的工作方式、環境、人員等？為什麼這部份令你印象深刻？

While you were collaborating with other art institutions, what aspect impressed you the most? For example, their work, their working methods; their approach to their

work? And why?

12. 當代藝術空間可以視為台灣推動當代藝術以及國際文化交流重要的一環，請問依據您的經驗，您對於藝術家與藝術村的合作模式的願景是什麼？做為其中一名成員，您希望未來可加強的有哪些？可以維持的優點又是哪些？

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces carry out an important role in promoting Taiwanese contemporary art, developing the art sector and advocating international cultural exchange. What do you expect of future collaborations between contemporary art spaces, artists and communities? As a member of staff, what part of the collaborative projects do you think requires strengthening, and what current strengths should be maintained or built upon?

## C. Directors of case studies only

13. 台灣是一個多種文化交雜的社會，包含來自東西方的觀點，雖然儒家思想依然是核心價值觀，例如：服從、盡職，但是西方的領導理論亦不斷影響台灣社會，例如：橫向溝通、跨部門合作。請問，做為一個台灣藝術機構的領導者，您的領導及工作風格是？可否請您舉例說明之？

Contemporary Taiwan is often seen as a diverse society integrating values from East and West: the field of organisational research acknowledges the importance of both the common traditional values, such as obedience and hard work, as well as Western theories of leadership, such as lateral communication and cross-department collaboration. As a director of art institutions in Taiwan, how would you describe your leadership style? How do you work with staff? Could you please use an example to explain?

14. 當代藝術空間常常需要和藝術家來回協調以達到雙方都能接受的條件。請問您的溝通原則是？面對不同國籍的藝術家，你是否會改變不同的溝通方式？

In Taiwanese contemporary art spaces, it usually requires many communications

with artists to achieve agreement. What is your principle when you communicate with artists? Do you act slightly differently when dealing with artists from different countries?

15. 台灣當代藝術空間可以視為台灣推動當代藝術以及文化交流重要的一環，請問依據您的經驗，您對於藝術家與藝術機構的合作模式的願景是什麼？做為領導者，您希望未來台灣當代藝術空間的定位是？優點和挑戰的地方又是？

Taiwanese contemporary art spaces can be seen as having important roles in promoting Taiwanese contemporary art development and international cultural exchange. In your experience, what do you expect the future of collaboration between contemporary art spaces, artists and communities to hold? As the leader of an art organisation, what is your perspective on the future position of Taiwanese contemporary art spaces? What are the advantages or challenges?

## D. Artists only

16. 您是參與交流的藝術家，在不同地方時，請問你覺得優點和挑戰是？例如：和不同藝術村互動合作的方式？

You are the exchange artist: what do you think are the opportunities or challenges when you come to different art resident sites, for example, the different ways that staff communicate?

17. 請問您曾在其他國家駐村的經驗嗎？如果有，根據您的經驗，請問您覺得台灣的藝術村與其他國家互動上最大的特點是什麼？或者是，在某一個階段或某一個人令你印象特別深刻的是？可否請舉例說明之？

Have you ever been a resident artist in other countries? If yes, in your experience, what is the most unique feature that makes Taiwanese art institutions obviously different from those of other countries? Or, what person (artist, curator, director, staff), and what event impressed you the most during your stay?

## E. Specific questions for each case study

### E-1 Bamboo Curtain Studio

18. 竹圍工作室長期致力於以藝術批判社會、文化、環境等議題，發展不同種類的藝術活動。根據您的經驗，當您和這類的藝術家進行合作時，請問您覺得和單純進行藝術創作的藝術家有何不同？您遇到的困境或正向回饋又是？

Bamboo Curtain Studio has facilitated art actions in responding to social, cultural and environmental issues for years. This kind of art action may not only involve collaboration with artists, but also involve experts, scholars, educators, students or communities. What is the difference between this kind of art action and one that collaborates only with artists? What are the opportunities or challenges?

19. 竹圍工作室總是不吝於分享各種資源以及珍貴的營運經驗。做為台灣藝術村的領頭羊之一，請問您對於未來台灣藝術村之間的合作交流有何期許？對於台灣藝文空間連線協會的聯盟型態該以何種態度或定位出發，才能促進台灣與世界接軌？(director only)

Bamboo Curtain Studio always shares resources and experiences with different art organisations. As one of the leading art institutions of Taiwan, how do you expect collaboration between different art institutes in Taiwan Art Spaces Alliance to develop in the future? How can this alliance position itself to promote international cultural exchange? (director only)

### E-2 Treasure Hill Artist Village

20. 台灣藝術村聯盟於 2014 年成立，做為聯盟的總監，請問您對於未來台灣藝術村之間的合作有何期許？這樣的聯盟型態該以何種態度或定位出發，才能促進台灣與世界接軌？(director only)

Taiwan Art Spaces Alliance was founded in 2014. As the chair of Taiwan Artist Alliance, how do you expect the collaboration between different art spaces to

develop in the future? How can this alliance position itself to promote international cultural exchange? (director only)

## F. Final question

21. 在結束之前，請問有沒有什麼部份我沒提問到而想提出的？或者，有其他人選或地方您推薦可以去聯繫拜訪的？

Before the end, is there anything you want to tell me that I haven't asked? Or, is there anyone/anything you recommend contacting or looking at?

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