

Activating the legitimacy of culture by fundraising: The use of cultural crowdfunding in Japan during the COVID-19 crisis

Aktivierung der Legitimität von Kultur durch Fundraising: Der Einsatz von
kulturellem Crowdfunding in Japan während der COVID-19-Krise

TAKAO TERUI^{A*}, KAORI TAKAHASHI^{B**}

^A King's College London, Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries

^B Rikkyo University, Center for Statistics and Information

Abstracts

This paper examines how cultural crowdfunding (CCF) was used during the COVID-19 crisis in Japan. Based on the theory of participative turn in cultural management, we find that CCF revitalises culture by bridging the gap between cultural practitioners and citizens. To examine the new dynamics of CCF in Japan, the authors studied a series of emerging CCF campaigns and examined the case of Ohara Museum of Art, comprehensively. Cultural practitioners strategically used CCF to tap into new groups of supporters and maintain cultural infrastructure that was not fully covered by public funding. This paper concludes that the current emergence of the CCF demonstrates a new form of trusting relationship between cultural practitioners and supporters, in which Japanese citizens use the CCF not only as a tool for transmitting grants, but also as a platform to express their appreciation for local culture.

In diesem Beitrag wird untersucht, wie Cultural Crowdfunding (CCF) während der COVID-19-Krise in Japan eingesetzt wurde. Auf Grundlage der Theorie der partizipativen Wende im Kulturmanagement zeigt sich, dass CCF die Kultur durch Überbrückung der Kluft zwischen Kulturakteuren und Bürgern wiederbelebt. Um die neue Dynamik von CCF in Japan zu verstehen, wurde eine Reihe von CCF-Kampagnen, darunter das *Ohara Museum of Art* untersucht. Kulturakteure setzten CCF strategisch ein, um neue Gruppen von Unterstützern zu gewinnen und die kulturelle Infrastruktur zu erhalten, die nicht vollständig durch öffentliche Mittel abgedeckt war. Der Beitrag kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die derzeitige Entstehung des CCF eine neue Form vertrauensvoller Beziehung zwischen Kulturakteuren und Unterstützern zeigt, bei der die japanischen Bürger CCF nicht nur als Instrument zur Weitergabe von Mitteln, sondern auch als Plattform zur Wertschätzung für die lokale Kultur nutzen.

Schlagworte / Keywords

Kulturfinanzierung / financing the arts, Management / management, Kommunikation / communication, Museum / museum, Kunstforschung / arts research

* Email: takao.terui@kcl.ac.uk

** Email: kartkhs@yahoo.co.jp

1. Introduction

Although economic interest may not be paramount, securing sources of funding is essential for artists and cultural associations to sustain their activities (ABBING 2002; MENGER 1999, 2001). This has become even more important since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has placed the cultural sector worldwide in unprecedented distress. The pandemic not only exposed artists' pre-existing difficulties, but also exacerbated them, including their precarious social and financial status and the uncertainty of their careers (COMUNIAN/ENGLAND 2020). Japanese artists, especially those working in art genres that rely on physical spaces (museums, theatres, and concert halls), faced financial and social hardships as the legitimacy of their activities was severely questioned during the pandemic. Critics viewed cultural activities as non-urgent and non-essential; therefore, without substantial compensation from the state, cultural practitioners were forced to stop performing (LEE et al. 2021). Against this backdrop, and with support from various civil society actors, cultural institutions and artists sought new funding models, as well as new communication tools to legitimise and sustain their activities.

This article explores the emergence and use of cultural crowdfunding (CCF) in Japan as an emerging practice intended to revitalise the cultural sector during the pandemic. Earlier research points towards the development of a crowdfunding market in Europe and the United States (U.S.) and the significance of both economic and cultural motives to use CCF (CHA 2017; DAVIDSON/POOR 2015; EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2017; HOOGEN 2020; ROUZÉ 2019; RYKKJA et al. 2020a, 2020b; RYU 2019). In Europe, crowdfunding has become popular as a result of digitalisation and intense economic pressure. Furthermore, it has had a significant impact on culture and the economy by altering the structure of the creative industry and relationships between producers and consumers (ALEXIOU et al. 2020; BURGER/KLEINERT 2021; CHIESA 2022; FLISBACK/LUND 2015; GAMBLE et al. 2017). Nevertheless, there is little previous research that empirically examines how crowdfunding in non-Western countries came into the spotlight during the pandemic. While crowdfunding was extensively employed during the financial crisis of 2008-09 in the European context (PAPADIMITRIOU 2017), CCF platforms in Japan were established after the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, gaining widespread notoriety. Since then, there have been a number of effective campaigns by cultural associations

to raise funds and build new relationships with their supporters. Nevertheless, the use of CCF in Japan has not been fully explored, given that scholars tend to focus on more traditional forms of funding, such as public subsidies or corporate sponsorship (KAWASHIMA 2012). This paper presents original research that fills this gap by describing how CCF has helped foster communication between the cultural sector and civic supporters. By challenging the understanding of CCF as a driving force of marketisation (HARVIE 2013), the authors aim to empirically articulate a more constructive and culturally-centred partnership between cultural practitioners and their funders through CCF. This paper argues that CCF's new approaches and programmes enable cultural practitioners and funders to overcome the limitations of Japanese cultural policy and advocate for the social value of arts, which is highly challenged in the current context. By examining CCF in Japan, this paper also offers comparative analysis by bridging Western and non-Western case studies.

In the following sections, we first critically examine the literature on the participative turn in cultural management/policy and show how this theoretical framework contributes to further understanding of CCF practices that emerged during the crisis of COVID-19. Second, we provide an overview of cultural policy and corporate financing for Japan's cultural sector and highlight the limitations of existing financing systems. Third, we examine how the pandemic brought unprecedented hardships to the cultural sector and how cultural practitioners responded by launching new fundraising campaigns and engaging the public through crowdfunding services. In this section, we examine the landscapes of the dominant CCF platforms in Japan, and also representative campaigns from the performing arts sector that responded tactically and quickly to the pandemic. To sketch the landscape of CCF in Japan, this section draws on significant campaigns attracting attention from diverse media (national newspapers, art journals, and online platforms), as well as substantive fundraising. We then present key findings from our case study of the Ohara Museum of Art (OMA) in Japan. By examining the communication and practices of both museum managers and general supporters, we articulate new forms of engagement and participation that contributed to the museum's survival, and its ability to thrive during the crisis.

2. Participative turn in cultural management

Citizen participation in cultural production has been widely studied as an important issue in cultural policy and arts management. Bonet and Négrier (2018) describe the importance of participation due to recent technological, social, and political trends, and theorise this new trend as the participative turn. They demonstrate the four underlying paradigms driving the participative turn, specifically, excellence, cultural democratisation, cultural democracy, and creative economy, and discuss how these paradigms push the cultural producers into socially engaged and participation-oriented cultural production. Academics apply the participative turn to highlight and describe recent trends in cultural production and arts management. For example, Arnaboldi and Lema (2021a, 2021b) discuss the participative turn in museum management by explaining how museum curators have begun to install new projects and technologies to engage audiences in the museum through an online platform.

In the Japanese context, the participative turn has been more relevant to cultural democracy than the creative economy, as co-creation and participation without financial interests have been more common practices (YOSHIZAWA 2007). Citizen participation has been brought to the forefront as a practice of art projects since the 1990s, referring to the concept of Western art contexts, such as socially engaged art. Kumakura (2015) conceptualises and spotlights co-creation (協創) between artists, participants and supporters identified in arts projects in contemporary Japan; other academics have commented that such participation is pivotal for successful community building in Japan (SASAJIMA 2013; KOIZUMI 2016). As these examples underscore, Japanese cultural producers and managers view the connection between cultural works and citizens as a key concept in the contemporary art scene.

Audience participation has become even more prominent with new technological developments. The use of online platforms, including social networking sites (SNS), has recently been highlighted as a new tool to enhance and promote communication between cultural producers and consumers. DODANUKI (2019) claims that SNS, especially Instagram, connects people, particularly young people, at a much lower marketing cost than other media. However, simply installing an SNS and creating an official account is insufficient to achieve audience engagement. As Nielsen (2017) claimed, the effective ways of storytelling are particularly significant in the digital age. Cultural managers and producers have

sought for, and employ, diverse techniques including Hash-tagging in SNS posts.

These insights, developed in the context of the participative turn, are used to outline and fully understand the new practices of participation and engagement found in the use of crowdfunding during the current crisis. As Bonet and Négrier (2018) have already emphasised, crowdfunding is an intersection of the paradigms of cultural democratisation, cultural democracy, and creative industries; therefore, the connection between crowdfunding and the participative turn is obvious. However, the existing understanding of crowdfunding in the cultural sector (CCF) tends to overlook an important aspect of CCF. Harvie (2013), for example, highlights the exploitative aspect of crowdfunding as it trades audience passion and voluntary goodwill for financial gain and consequently drives the marketisation of culture. Although these critical writings on CCF make a vital contribution to the potential dangers of crowdfunding and participation, they have not yet captured or described a more constructive and nuanced relationship between cultural producers who use CCF and audiences who participate in crowdfunding campaigns. To elaborate on this point, this article focuses on two elements: the crisis period triggered by COVID-19 and Japan, where the practice of donating is not common, and the social meaning of art is relatively fragile. However, as the following sections show, the emergence of CCF in contemporary Japan points to new forms of trust-based financial and social engagement between cultural institutions and citizens.

In addition, this article contributes to the existing discussion on the participative turn and CCF by exploring how they can be used during extraordinary crises. Since the early 2020s, pandemic-related constraints in most countries have prohibited close communication and engagement that involves sharing the same physical space. Therefore, new forms of engagement have been critical to gaining understanding and support for culture, both of which have been severely impacted during the pandemic. Against this backdrop, artists and arts managers, including those who launched CCF campaigns, developed new forms of communication and engagement with audiences. This stands in stark contrast to the widespread criticism of socially disengaged artists who failed to communicate with citizens to gain support for their activities. As a result, Japanese society has been labelled an under-donor and under-funder of the arts. Using Japan as an example, this paper explores how an effective approach could be implemented even during the novel

challenges posed by the pandemic and how the legitimacy of cultural activities was established during the pandemic.

3. Cultural policy and its crisis in Japan

To fully examine the impact of CCF as a new form of fundraising and audience engagement, it is important to understand the institutional structure of cultural policy in Japan, and its limitations. Public funding of the cultural sector in Japan has been limited in scope. Public support caused difficulty and inconvenience to artists, forcing them to seek alternative sources of funding. After World War II, public funding for arts and culture in Japan was limited at both the national and local levels. The central government championed the autonomy of culture, and its intervention in the cultural sector was minimal except for the protection of cultural heritage, and programmes nurturing upcoming artists with potentially global appeal.¹ For example, the national budget for arts and culture in Fiscal Year 2018 was a mere 0.12% of the total budget, which is much lower than the allocated budget in Western Europe and other East Asian countries (ACA 2020a). Moreover, as Kawashima (2012: 302) describes, cultural policy in Japan has been a patchwork of projects without stable strategies, divided and segmented among different institutions and government departments.

The Japan Arts Council (JAC), established in 1990 as an auxiliary to the ACA, exemplifies the skewed nature of cultural policy in Japan. JAC offered public subsidy programs for cultural institutions, including theatre and dance groups, public museums, orchestras, and traditional performance centres (SATO 1999). Although JAC plays an important role in supporting performance culture, its subsidy programme has two shortcomings that are common to public subsidy programmes in Japan. First, JAC funding is only available for covering deficits. This means that cultural organisations can only apply for funds if they launch projects that cost more than their budget; they must make up the loss before they receive the funds. Second, JAC funding is not disbursed until the proposed activities are completed. Artists and cultural organisations face great economic difficulties before and after the projects. For artists who are at the beginning of their careers and have no savings or other

1 The Address of the 1st Major Changes for the Agency for Cultural Affairs noticed the purpose of the establishment of the Agency as 'the protection of the traditional cultural properties and promotion for arts and culture' (ACA 1968).

sources of funding, the challenges are even greater. These shortcomings have been repeatedly problematised and discussed, however, a solution has yet to be established (ISHII 2009).

The COVID-19 pandemic severely damaged the Japanese economy and caused unprecedented financial losses to both individual artists and cultural associations. In 2020, the revenues of museums and galleries shrank by 54.1% and that of theatres by 71.2% (ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM 2021a). Numerous people in the arts sector lost their jobs and income. In the April 2020 Emergency Survey for the Arts Sector (n=2,905) by GEIDANKYO (a non-profit registered association representing artist organisations and their individual members), 42% of respondents answered that they had no income prospects and 42% reported earning less than half of their original incomes. In addition, one-third of respondents had no documentation to support their drop in income, and another third had obtained a job either by phone or verbal agreement (GEIDANKYO 2020).

Further, a more significant dimension in which the effects of the COVID-19 crisis became visible is the undermining of the legitimacy of art and culture in Japan. In the immediate aftermath of the pandemic, which struck Japan in February 2020, cultural institutions were advised to close without compensation and were described as ‘not necessary, not urgent’ (ASAHI SHIMBUN 2020). Several live music bars were certified as clusters and their names were mentioned in various media sources. Although in the initial phase of the pandemic response, from February to May 2020, live music bars cooperated with local governments, they were stigmatised as sources of infection and efforts to continue or reopen cultural venues were heavily criticised.²

These economic challenges led to political campaigns by artists calling for cultural policies and substantial funding from both state agencies and local communities. ACA played a leading role in providing substantial aid to the cultural sector. In July, funding totalled about JPY 66 billion (about US\$ 660 million), and in December, another JPY 37 billion (about US\$ 370 million) was provided (ACA 2020b; 2020c). Local municipalities also implemented various programmes to provide emergency assistance to local artists. However, a recent online survey found that more than 80% of artists consider public support insufficient and that ACA aid cannot fully compensate for economic losses in the

2 One of the live music bars received nastygrams and defamatory comments, such as ‘Quit and Take responsibility’ or ‘Why don’t you apologize?’ (YOMIURI 2020).

cultural sector, which amounted to 50-80% of their net income in 2019 (ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM 2021c). Artists' associations considered ACA grants as inappropriate because they could only be used for newly launched projects and not for living expenses. A further problem is that the grant application process involves complicated paperwork and may take several months between submitting the application and receipt of the subsidy. Against this backdrop, cultural practitioners in Japan began to use CCF as a new tool to acquire new funding and to build close relationships with citizens and stakeholders.

4. Emergence of CCF in Japan

A review of Japan's post-war history shows that a series of crises triggered the introduction and implementation of new systems, including CCF. The Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 was an important moment when the popularisation of crowdfunding as a channel to support new businesses and small enterprises began. All major crowdfunding services in Japan were launched at that time and proposed as a solution to the extraordinary difficulties caused by the Great Earthquake. The market size of crowdfunding has since witnessed a radical development (JAPAN CROWDFUNDING COUNCIL 2021), and the COVID-19 pandemic undoubtedly accelerated its expansion. One major crowdfunding platform experienced a 209% increase in revenue from April to June 2021, compared to the previous year (REUTERS 2020).

In Japan, Campfire, Readyfor, and Motion Gallery are three major crowdfunding platforms where campaigns related to the arts and culture have been raised (Table 1). These major platforms combine four crowdfunding categories: donation-crowdfunding, equity-crowdfunding, lending-crowdfunding, and reward-crowdfunding (SHNOER 2020), and the campaigners choose which category and returns they offer. Therefore, supporters and campaigners can opt for these services for different purposes, such as promotion of art for its own sake, or investment in creative industry for the financial returns. However, few CCF campaigns in Japan exclusively emphasise financial returns. They also tend to highlight their social and cultural significance.

Each platform has its own business model and benefits. For example, Motion Gallery is popular within commercial businesses because of its low commission fees, whereas Readyfor stands out because it provides its clients with comprehensive advice when it comes to setting goals,

planning revenues, and developing strategies for public relations. As a result of this comprehensive support, Readyfor is preferred by quasi-governmental institutions that are unfamiliar with crowdfunding and want to avoid risk despite relatively high commission fees. While the characteristics and activities of each platform are relatively identifiable, it is difficult to assess the exact scale and number of CCF activities in Japan because the term ‘art’ (アート in Japanese) is ambiguous. It is difficult or nearly impossible to determine the exact scope of art-related or non-art-related fundraising. Consequently, crowdfunding categories for ‘art’ include ‘live performance’ and ‘films’, but their definition is not systematically applied and controlled. The head of the arts and culture department of a leading crowdfunding platform explains that whether a project should be classified as an art project is decided on a case-by-case basis. Unlike Western counterparts, the legal status of crowdfunding has yet to be established in Japan so that its operation can be flexible (MOTION GALLERY 2020). Such flexibility seems appropriate because all mainstream services are from newly established venture businesses (ベンチャー) rather than bureaucratized large cooperation (大企業).

	since	Commission fee	Capital stock	Representative CCF campaigns
Ready for	March 2011	12% (basic plan) 17% (full-support plan)	1,638,840,000 JPY (approx. 1,638,840 US dollar)	Ohara Museum of Arts (chap.5)
Camp-fire	January 2011	10% (17% until January 2021)	6,781,060,000 JPY (approx. 6,781,060 US dollar)	Watari-UM Museum (Private art museum in Tokyo)
Motion Gallery	July 2011	10%	No-data	Mini-Theater Aid

Tab. 1: Comparison of the three main crowdfunding platforms in Japan

Since the outbreak of COVID-19, a number of CCF campaigns have emerged, drawing on the sense of crisis shared by artists. In April 2020, the consulting firm K-THREE conducted an online survey of

arts professionals (n=3,357) and identified four major suggestions and concerns for supporting artists: emergency financial assistance, information for current and future crisis situations, emergency assistance for their lives, and various support options for sustaining artistic activities. Based on this survey, Campfire's Art United Fund (AUF) was established in May 2020. AUF awarded 76 people (1,715 applicants) grants of about JPY 200,200 and reported on their problems and activities on their website (see also the project website <<https://camp-fire.jp/projects/view/271390>>). It is noteworthy that one of the earliest support programmes for freelancers in the arts and culture sector used crowdfunding. The crowdfunding campaign itself was a movement that highlighted and problematised the hardships of artists in Japan. Another record-breaking crowdfunding campaign was launched by representative filmmakers to support local independent cinema. They partnered with Motion Gallery and launched Mini-Theatre Aid to provide financial assistance to regional theatres. Mini-Theatre Aid successfully raised JPY 311,025,487 from 29,926 supporters, which the campaign organisers described as an 'unprecedented amount of money we had never seen before' (MINI-THEATRE AID 2020). These two campaigns exemplify the importance and influence of CCF in Japan. In the theatre industry, the National Network of Minitheaters (theatres with less than 100 seats) launched a crowdfunding campaign to restart local minitheaters in July 2020. The network succeeded in raising JPY 13,192,000 from 1,061 supporters (SHOGEKIJO NETWORK 2020).

The extraordinary success of crowdfunding even attracted new genres of art that had previously been distant from this new fundraising tool. For example, established artists of traditional Japanese dance (Nihon Buyo) launched a crowdfunding campaign and successfully raised JPY 40,000,000. The artists who launched the campaign describe live streaming based on crowdfunding as a new survival strategy because their two main sources of income, private lessons and performances, were limited during the pandemic and subsequent lockdown. Interestingly, the artists have stated that they will continue live streaming and crowdfunding as it allows them to attract new audiences and promote traditional Japanese dance (SURVIVENOMUSUBIME 2020).

Although commentators and media tend to highlight the amount of funding these campaigns successfully collected, the non-economic impacts of CCF campaigns are even more significant. Far more than a mere financial strategy, CCF was a channel for supporters and producers to affirm the social importance of their activities in Japan. For example,

Fukushima Trilogy, a theatre production depicting the local history of Fukushima and the nuclear incident in 2011, won the Kishida Kunio Drama award in 2020, one of the most prestigious theatre awards in Japan. To realise this performance, Kenichi Tani, the director of the production, launched a crowdfunding campaign in 2017 in collaboration with the domestic crowdfunding platform Campfire successfully raising JPY 1,975,000 for the two-year project. Tani explains the motivation behind the crowdfunding campaign as follows:

Honestly speaking, I do not like crowdfunding. I believe that theatre performers should make a living with admission fees. However, regarding this trilogy, I recognised its social significance, and had a clear vision of collaboration and co-creation with supporters. Therefore, I was able to confidently progress with the project (ARTS COUNCIL TOKYO 2020).

Tani's statement suggests that even before the crisis of COVID-19, artists were concerned with emphasising the social value of their productions and the desire to co-create with supporters when conducting CCF campaigns. The next section examines the case study of the OMA and shows how the use of crowdfunding evolved and was articulated based on the social meaning of art during the pandemic.

5. Data and method

In the following sections, we draw the case of OMA to examine the new form of participation and cultural promotion in Japan. OMA is an ideal case to understand the participative turn in cultural policy because it has experienced both the previous promotion by local supporters and the exploration of new supporters through the launch of a CCF campaign in 2020. By examining the experience of the OMA's CCF campaign from a comprehensive perspective, we can highlight the dynamics of a new form of participation and engagement in Japan. For this research, we used a mixed methodology: a review of policy documents, publications by key CCF platforms and campaigners, and articles in national newspapers and arts magazines; an observation of online seminars and symposia held by public institutions and artists' associations; and interviews with crowdfunding campaigners and crowdfunding platform staff. The sources we consulted include campaign websites and reports on leading CCF platforms (Readyfor, Motion Gallery, Campfire), newspaper articles from Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, Bijutsu Techo arts

magazine, online seminar series organised by the agency for Cultural Affairs and artist associations (#WeNeedCulture, Art-for-All).

In addition, we conducted online interviews with managers of OMA and the Arts and Culture Department in CCF platforms. First, we conducted online interviews with those who work for OMA and launched the crowdfunding campaign³. Second, we conducted online interviews with the managers of Readyfor, a crowdfunding company selected by OMA to provide consulting services⁴. The semi-structured interviews with these stakeholders focused on: the communication process between the CCF platform and clients, the process of launching the CCF campaign and the main obstacles, the positive and negative reactions of citizens to the CCF campaign, and the short- and long-term impacts achieved by OMA. In these interviews, both OMA managers and Readyfor directors cited and pointed out how citizens responded to the CCF campaign and how their actions demonstrated a new form of participation, which was confirmed by the written records of the CCF campaign and platforms.

6. Case study: Ohara Museum of Art

OMA was founded in 1930 as Japan's first private museum to exhibit Western paintings. It was originally funded by the businessman and philanthropist Magozaburo Ohara, who contributed to the industrialisation and modernisation of Japan by establishing many companies, including Kuraray. The museum is located in Kurashiki City's (Okayama Prefecture) Bikan Area, a landmark known for its industrial heritage and historic buildings and attracts more than 300,000 visitors each year; it has a detailed website in English, which means there were many foreign visitors (<http://www.ohara.or.jp/en/>). Its collection includes the painting *Annunciation* from El Greco, and special exhibitions featuring OMA's collection are held in Japanese museums and art galleries. The museum has played a central role in

- 3 The interview of OMA's manager was conducted for about 1 hour on 22 April, 2021. We sent the questions (e.g. the process and reaction of CCF, the reason for the success of CCF) and notification of interviews beforehand. One of the authors mainly asked the question and the other supported additional questions and adjusted the interview.
- 4 The interview with crowdfunding platformers was conducted on 10 December 2020. It was a semi-structured interview and the questions shared and prepared in advance included: the definition of CCF in each platform, relationships, and advantages/disadvantages of each platform, why and how the CCF emerged in each platform, and how they communicate with CCF supporters and campaigners.

the cultural development of Kurashiki City. The popularity of OMA is reflected in the presence of its supporting members, which is another important source of funding for the museum. In 2011, OMA obtained the status of a non-profit registered association, which allows the museum and its donors to receive tax exemptions. However, the museum cannot rely on unconditional funding from Ohara Business Group but must be independent to maintain public agency status. As a result, admission fee revenue has become a more important source of funding for the museum, accounting for 80% of total revenue. However, during the outbreak of COVID-19, all the factors that characterise the museum—its location in an area frequented by domestic tourists, its close ties with local supporters, and its reliance on visitors as its main source of funding—led to financial difficulties. Due to the lockdown and various other restrictions, OMA remained closed for 136 days in 2020. According to OMA’s business report, from April 2020 to March 2021, four special exhibitions and two residence programs were postponed, and visitorship was only 23.4% of the previous year’s records for the same period. To recoup its losses, the museum launched a crowdfunding campaign with Readyfor in October 2020. The museum’s initial goal was to raise JPY 10,000,000; this goal was achieved within five days of the campaign’s launch. The campaign successfully raised JPY 25,000,000 from 1,707 supporters. As Figure 1 shows, the museum settled both six ‘no reward plans’ and seven ‘with reward plans’, and the rates of no rewards is three times higher than that with rewards. Table 2 shows the details of the fundraising plan. Supporters had the option to choose the prize and rewards or waive the rewards.

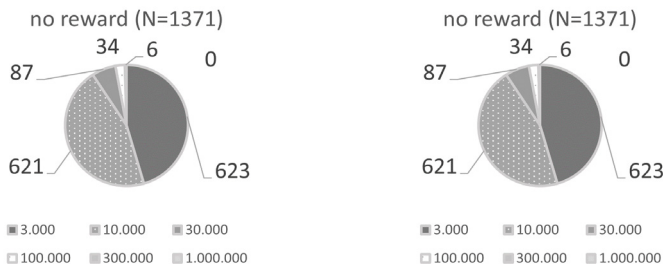


Fig. 1: *The rate of supporters for CCF of the OMA (JPY / from the website/ by bite)*

Price (JPY)	Rewards/returns for funders
10,000	VR (Virtual Reality) experience for 1 work
15,000	1 exhibition ticket and VR experience for 1 work
30,000	1 exhibition ticket and VR experience for 1 exhibition room
50,000	1 exhibition ticket and VR experience for 2 exhibition rooms
100,000	1 exhibition ticket and VR experience for 3 exhibition rooms
300,000	1 exhibition ticket, special goods and VR experience for 1 work
1,000,000	1 exhibition ticket, special goods, VR experience for 10 rooms and individual guided tour in the future

Tab. 2: *The reward option for the crowdfunding campaign of the Ohara Museum of Art*

When launching the campaign, team members in OMA had to immediately choose a crowdfunding platform. Readyfor was chosen, and the project manager explained ‘we have not even thought about other platforms because Readyfor is such an established and famous firm in the cultural sector’ (interviewee 2). According to the Readyfor interviewee, the close consultation and follow-up with clients were qualities responsible for the platform’s popularity. Although Readyfor’s commission fee is higher than other platforms, its comprehensive support has made it popular among cultural organisations whose priority is not always economic returns but cultural outcomes (CAVES 2002). Support is available in the form of suggestions for marketing on social networks, creating campaign pages, and setting goals and rewards for the project. In the case of OMA, the relationship between Ohara Group and Readyfor was described as ‘collaborative’ and ‘co-creative’. This comment is instructive in explaining stakeholder engagement theory in cultural production. While the theorists of the participative turn emphasise the importance of interaction between audiences and museums, the success of the CCF campaign also depends on mutual understanding between museums and the crowdfunding platform. In other words, the crowdfunding platform is an essential actor in shaping the CCF campaign.

After launching the campaign, the museum consistently received positive feedback from supporters. The project website shows the messages they shared. The messages make it clear what the museum means to its supporters: it is a source of pride for local residents as well as a destination for people from other regions. Managers describe this process as an art project developed through collaboration between supporters or viewers and makers, and these positive messages encouraged the museum staff. While staff highlighted the cultural and social aspects of the campaign as an important outcome, they also acted strategically to maximise the museum's financial return. Since the commission collected through crowdfunding donations was relatively high, the museum sought not to encourage its local supporters to use crowdfunding platforms; instead, it expected to attract new supporters through online crowdfunding campaigns. Such expansion is critical for museums in rural Japan. The interviewee representing the museum noted that it is easier for institutions in Japanese metropolitan areas to obtain substantial donations from large corporations. However, OMA was unable to find such donors in the region because local businesses had already participated in sponsorships and could not provide additional sources of revenue.

It is commonly noted that CCF is not just a mechanism for maximising financial investment, but rather a process for building social connections between producers and supporters. The case of OMA was no exception; campaigners described the process of crowdfunding as an art project to create social value, and the emotional support of backers was invaluable. This narrative of OMA advocating for non-economic values and rewards from their CCF campaign is consistent with common narratives of artists who tend to emphasise the intrinsic value of their cultural activities while being reluctant to explicitly talk about the economic returns and expected profits of their enterprise. At the same time, it is noteworthy that CCF allows fundraisers to discuss the calculation of economic returns and the pursuit of cultural values in their activities, whereas cultural and economic values were previously presented as dichotomous or antithetical (HESMONDHALGH/BAKER 2011).

By using CCF as a new communication channel, supporters are also given the opportunity to actively engage with cultural practitioners and products they value. The crowdfunding platform is particularly useful in Japanese society, where SNS users tend to be reluctant to express their opinions on social issues. Therefore, the private and direct connection with cultural workers through campaigners was convenient for them. In

this situation, CCF is more than just a place to send money or invest; it is also a place to show appreciation for culture. Both project leaders and crowdfunding organisers confirm this view, reporting that they experience citizen appreciation through CCF campaign communications. According to the official campaign page of CCF by OMA, the ultimate goal of the campaign was to ‘keep the door of the museum open’ (READYFOR 2020). They also stated that their mission to keep the museum open was their contribution to the local community. As shown in Figure 1, supporters were motivated to support this belief, not for financial gain or revenue, but for other aims, such as the VR (Virtual Reality) experience at the museum. Although they were motivated to keep the museum open, the supporters (who were mostly remote from the Kurashiki area) were unable to visit the museum in person. Supporters financially supported a campaign and a cultural institution that they could not directly enjoy.

It should be noted that not all interactions between producers and supporters are supportive or constructive. In the case of OMA, for example, the success of the crowdfunding campaign led to difficulties in establishing a cooperative relationship with supporters. Some were critical and sceptical of this new initiative by the museum because it deviated from idealised understandings of the museum. There were several critical comments referring to the museum as a ‘money beggar’ (interviewee 2). This shows how complicated the relationship between cultural producers and supporters is and the advantages and disadvantages of using crowdfunding to develop such relationships. The crowdfunding campaign acted as a channel to present the voices of citizens; therefore, these negative comments resonated and expanded through the communication process. Nevertheless, the interviewee clearly confirmed that the majority of feedback was positive, and museum staff were shocked by the presence of supporters who showed appreciation and connection to the museum, which would not have been recognised without the CFF campaign.

Based on the trust of supporters, OMA is a successful example of a new evolution of CCF in Japan: the shift from seeking support for new businesses and projects to sustaining existing institutions. Unlike crowdfunding campaigns for new exhibitions or events that are common for art galleries, OMA’s campaign presented protecting the museum as the central goal of crowdfunding. While it is true that the campaign provided benefits, such as VR experiences, and credits for backers, the museum director reported that backers were motivated to support the museum rather than receive any returns. Readyfor’s head of arts

and culture also commented that providing returns was not a priority because supporters were not driven by profits from returns. Recent trends in CCF in Japan show that these campaigns are completely different from other types of crowdfunding campaigns that are classified as profit-driven or return-oriented. More importantly, this objective is in stark contrast to the primary goals of other cultural funding that were dominant in Japan before the pandemic. Public cultural funding in Japan is usually designed as support for new projects and puts pressure on artists to constantly start something new. The downside of such funding programmes is that arts sectors do not receive financial support to sustain their activities over the long term. Even ACA's emergency fund in response to the COVID-19 outbreak was characterised by the same requirements. The artists' association strongly criticised the inflexibility and ineptitude of the fund, as it is completely unrealistic to launch new projects under pandemic response restrictions and blackout periods. In contrast, if we look at the most successful and influential CCF campaigns launched in the midst of the pandemic, we can immediately see that the common agenda was to preserve institutions and infrastructure (e.g. Mini-Theatre Aid for the cinema industry).

Moreover, a trusting relationship with supporters enabled CCF activists to overcome the limitations of previous forms of funding. Public funding for the cultural sector was offered by government institutions, such as ACA and JAC, however these programmes were notorious for their enormous time and effort requirements, which overwhelmed artists. The inefficiency of public funding can be attributed to the bureaucratic system of government agencies, which required overly strict application and procedural forms. Survey results for people who have received grants under emergency assistance programmes indicate that 32.3% responded that 'reading application guidelines with overly complicated terminology' is the most difficult aspect of such programmes, and 33.1% responded that it was 'filling out the application form' (ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM 2021b). It may be that even more people are giving up on applying for grants because of complicated systems and difficult paperwork. In the emergency survey conducted by ACA during fall 2020, some indicated in the free response section that they could not use the emergency support system for their art activities and that it was less flexible. It was unsatisfactory for the artists who wanted benefits more so than grants for new projects during the crisis (ACA 2020d). This is in stark contrast to the private crowdfunding initiative, where campaigns are launched to raise funds with the support and services

of platforms in exchange for an intermediary fee. Meanwhile, access to private funding for culture in Japan is also limited. Although corporate support for the arts has become a notable trend in Japan (KAWASHIMA 2012), the number of supporters and benefactors of such corporate support is limited, as medium and large companies are the main players. In the case of OMA, the museum already had existing partnerships with large corporations. Therefore, the crowdfunding campaign aimed at, and made it possible, to attract new supporters, namely individuals with relatively small budgets. Crowdfunding and corporate support are therefore complementary to fundraising for OMA.

7. Discussion and Conclusion: Practices and lessons of CCF in Japan

This paper presents original research on CCF in Japan based on both extensive research of representative cases and an in-depth case study of OMA. It demonstrates a new form of fundraising and support system for cultural associations and cultural practitioners to communicate with each other. Resonating with the scholarly debate about CCF campaigns in Europe (AGRAWAL et al. 2015; GALUSZKA/BRZOWSKA 2016; PLANELLS 2017), successful CCF in Japan is based on the trust and appreciation of citizens, so that cultural associations can acquire confidence and legitimacy for their undertakings, as well as additional sources of funding that can be used flexibly. Following the participative turn in cultural management, which emphasises the importance of participation, this paper explored new forms of audience participation to support artists in Japan. CCF campaigns serve to strengthen the bond between citizens and artists. In other words, the case study in this paper shows more diverse forms of participation that should be further explored. Our paper shows that during the COVID crisis, the non-commercial aspect of crowdfunding came to the fore as the main factor for both campaigners and supporters. Supporters of OMA and other campaigns were driven by motivations to sustain the cultural infrastructure and were committed to fundraising without financial and other forms of rewards. The presence of these supporters without financial gain and their supportive comments toward OMA indicate that CCF should be understood as a form of participation using financial tools rather than a financial scheme with cultural rhetoric.

Moreover, the rise of CCF in the 2020s should also be seen in the context of the broader history of disasters and civil society. Disasters occasionally give rise to civil communities and associations that advocate for public goods (SOLNIT 2010). In the Japanese context, the great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake that struck the western metropolitan region in 1995 triggered the debate on civil movements and the emergence of non-profit organisations driven by citizens' motives to participate in social reconstruction and support for victims of the disaster. Later, the Great Eastern Earthquake in 2011 led to the development of crowdfunding platforms, which were also actively used in the current disaster of COVID-19. This series of events suggests that disasters could be a crucial trigger to set or accelerate a participatory turnaround. The increasing number of CCF campaigns and the active engagement of citizens through them underscore the strong link between disasters and participation. Crowdfunding is one of the most highlighted and emerging channels for participation.

In conclusion, we call for further research to explore diversity in the various segments of the cultural sector. As a private museum with an established status and substantial local supporters, OMA was in an extraordinarily advantageous position when it launched the crowdfunding campaign. It would have been more difficult for other institutions or artists to attract public attention and generate understanding of their mission (interviewee 1). For instance, as OMA interviewees pointed out, it would be much more difficult for public museums with more bureaucratic control and diverse stakeholders to achieve such a rapid response. Besides, the difficulties and disadvantages caused by crowdfunding, such as substantive extra workloads, risks on their reputations, and conflicts with supporters, are serious problems for the museum sector in Japan mainly because the human resources and flexibilities are restricted. In spite of successful model cases including OMA as well as WATARI-UM and Yamatane Museum of Art, CCF in the Museum sector in Japan is still at experimental stages and faces several challenges. Thus, to fully explore the potential and impact of CCF as a new form of engagement and mediation with civil society, we need to examine the socioeconomic and cultural context in which each individual artist and institution finds itself, and what accelerates or hinders effective fundraising and audience engagement through CCF.

In addition, further research is needed to determine how the new discourse and practice that connected the cultural sector and citizens during the current, unprecedented pandemic can be sustained or changed

after the crisis is over. The history of crowdfunding in Japan shows that the previous crisis, triggered by the Great Earthquake, contributed to the introduction of new cultural policies and the popularisation of crowdfunding in Japan. The popularisation of CCF should be studied because it is a promising strategy, triggered by disasters, that can help artists use modern channels of participation and fundraising. Although our present research, drawing on selected case studies, could not fully answer these questions, this paper's case research and comprehensive overview are a starting point for such new research explorations, providing directions for further investigation and better practises of CCF, which would be beneficial to both practitioners and academics.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Dr Hye-Kyung Lee, Dr Kyoko Tominaga, Manfredi de Bernard, Karin Ling-Fung Chau and three anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on the earlier draft of this paper. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant number 20K12987.

References

- ABBING, Hans (2002): *Why are Artists Poor? The Exceptional Economy of the Arts*. Amsterdam: University Press.
- AGENCY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS (ACA) (1968): *Monthly News Letter* <www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/hakusho_nenjihokokusho/archive/pdf/r1402577_15.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ACA-AGENCY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS (2020a): *Shogaikoku niokeru Bunkaseisaku no Hikakukenknyujigyouhoukokusho* [The Report of comparative research on cultural policy abroad] <www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/tokeichosa/pdf/92178301_01.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ACA-AGENCY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS (2020b): *Emergency Comprehensive Aid Package for Cultural Art Activities* <www.bunka.go.jp/english/pr/fy2020/index.html> [20.8.2021].
- ACA-AGENCY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS (2020c): *Koronaka ni Okeru Geijutu Bunka Shien 9* [Public support for the culture under the COVID-19 pandemic] <www.bunka.go.jp/seisaku/bunka_gyosei/yosan/pdf/20201215_01.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ACA-AGENCY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS (2020d): *'BunkaGeijutsu Katsudo ni Kaka-warukatagata heno Anketo' no Chousakekka* [The survey for the people who engage in the arts and culture] <www.bunka.go.jp/koho_hodo_oshirase/hodohappyo/pdf/92738101_02.pdf> [20.8.2021].

- AGRAWAL, Ajay/CATALINI, Catalini/GOLDFARB, Avi (2015): Crowdfunding: Geography, Social Networks, and the Timing of Investment Decisions. – In: *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 24(2), 253–274 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/jems.12093>>.
- ALEXIOU, Kostas/WIGGINS, Jeniffer/PREECE, Stephen B. (2020): Crowdfunding Acts as a Funding Substitute and a Legitimizing Signal for Nonprofit Performing Arts Organizations. – In: *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 49(4), 827–848 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764020908338>>.
- ARNABOLDI, Michela/LEMA, Melisa D. (2021a): The Participatory Turn in Museums: The online Facet. – In: *International Conference on Social Media and Society (SMSociety'20)*. New York, 265–276 <<https://doi.org/10.1145/3400806.3400837>>.
- ARNABOLDI, Michela/LEMA, Melisa D. (2021b): Shaping Cultural Participation through Social Media. – In: *Financial Accountability & Management*:1–23.
- ARTS COUNCIL TOKYO (2020): Fukushima Sanbu Saku to Shikin Chotatsu Zempen (*Fukushima Trilogy* and fundraising, part 1) <<https://www.artsCouncil-tokyo.jp/ja/blog/45493/>> [20.9.2021].
- ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM (2021a): *Shingata Koronairusu Kansenshokakudai niyoru Bunkageijutukai heno Jindainadageki, sosite Saiseinimukete* [The Digest Research Report of the Emergency Survey of Arts and Culture Forum] <http://ac-forum.jp/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/forum_research2021_digest.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM (2021b): ‘Bunkageijutukatudou no Keizokusiennjigyou’ oyobi Shingata Koronairusu Kansenkakudai niyoru Eikyo nikansuru Anketochosa Bunsekikokka [The Report of the Effect of the Covid 19 for the Recipient of the Emergency aid by ACA] <http://ac-forum.jp/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/forum_research2021_digest.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ARTS AND CULTURE FORUM. (2021c): *Chousa Houkoku to Teigen: Shingata Koronairusu Kansenshokakudai niyoru Bunkageijutukai heno Jindainadageki, sosite Saiseinimukete* [The Research and Recommendations: the damage of the COVID-19 crisis on the cultural sector] <http://ac-forum.jp/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/forum_report2021.pdf> [20.8.2021].
- ASAHI, Shimbun (2020): *Gorin, Ongaku no Kachi tou Jidai Tsuji Hitonari san 'Nijuyuyouga Daijini'* [When the Values of the Olympics and Music are Challenged] (15.10.2020).
- BONET, Lluís B./NÉGRÉRIER, Emmanuel (2018): The Participative Turn in Cultural Policy: Paradigms, Models, Contexts. – In: *Poetics* 66, 64–73 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2018.02.006>>.
- BURGER, Tobias/KLEINERT, Simon (2021): Crowdfunding Cultural and Commercial Entrepreneurs: An Empirical Study on Motivation in Distinct Backer Communities. – In: *Small Business Economics* 57, 667–683 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11187-020-00419-8>>.
- CAVES, Richard E (2002): *Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce*. Harvard University Press.
- CHA, Juyoung (2017): Crowdfunding for Video Games: Factors that Influence the Success of and Capital Pledged for Campaigns. – In: *International Journal on Media Management* 19(3), 240–259 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2017.1331236>>.
- CHIESA, Chiesa D. (2022): The Artists’ Critique on Crowdfunding and Online Gift-Giving. – In: *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 52(1), 20–36 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2021.1997848>>.

- DAVIDSON, Roel/POOR, Nathaniel (2015): The Barriers Facing Artists' Use of Crowdfunding Platforms: Personality, Emotional Labor, and Going to the Well One too Many Times. – In: *New Media & Society* 17(2), 289–307 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/2F1461444814558916>>.
- COMUNIAN, Roberta/ENGLAND, Lauren (2020): Creative and Cultural Work without Filters: COVID-19 and Exposed Precarity in the Creative Economy. – In: *Cultural Trends* 29(2), 112–128 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2020.1770577>>.
- DODANUKI, Shinichiro (2019): *Moribijutukan no SNS Maketingu Senryaku:Sheasuru Bijutu* [SNS Marketing Strategies of Mori Art Museum]. Shoeisha.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2017): *Crowdfunding: Reshaping the crowd's engagement in culture*.
- FLISBACK, Marita/LUND, Anna (2015): Artists' Autonomy and Professionalization in a New Cultural Policy Landscape. – In: *Professions & Professionalism* 5(2), 1–16 <<https://doi.org/10.7577/pp.867>>.
- GALUSZKA, Patryk/BRZOZOWSKA, Blanka (2016): Early Career Artists and the Exchange of Gifts on a Crowdfunding Platform. – In: *CONTINUM: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 30(6), 744–753 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2016.1231790>>.
- GAMBLE, Jordan R./BRENNAN, Michael/MCADAM, Rodney (2017): A Rewarding Experience? Exploring How Crowdfunding is Affecting Music Industry Business Models. – In: *Journal of Business Research* 70, 25–36 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2016.07.009>>.
- GEIDANKYO (2020): *Kinkyu chousa:Shingata Koronairusu Kansenkakudaiboushi niyoru Furiransu nitaisuru Koutekisien nikansuru Jittaichousa*, (The Short Report of Emergency Survey) <www.geidankyo.or.jp/img/news/200419kinkyu_research_report.pdf> [25.8.2021].
- HARVIE, Jen (2013): *Fair Play: Art, Performance and Neoliberalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HESMONDHALGH, David/BAKER, Sarah (2011): *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- HOOGEN, Quirijin Iv (2020): Values in Crowdfunding in the Netherlands. – In: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 26(1), 109–127 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2018.1433666>>.
- ISHII, Ikuko (2009): *The Question about Public Support for Arts and Culture. Questions and Response in The Diet* <www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_shitsumon.nsf/html/shitsumon/a171179.htm> [20.8.2021].
- JAPAN CROWDFUNDING COUNCIL (2021): *Report on the Crowdfunding market* <<http://safe-crowdfunding.jp/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/CrowdFunding-market-report-20200619.pdf>> [20.8.2021].
- KAWASHIMA, Nobuko (2012): Corporate Support for the Arts in Japan: beyond Emulation of the Western Models. – In: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 18(3), 295–307 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2011.651132>>.
- K-THREE INC. (2020): *Shingata Koronairusu niyoru Geijutubunkakatudou heno Eikyo nikansuru Anketokekka* [The Research Report of the Effect for the Art and Cultural Activities by the COVID-19] <www.k-three.org/post/20200415> [25.8.2021].
- KUMAKURA, Sumiko/The Art Project Research Group (2015): *An Overview of Art Projects in Japan: A Society That Co-creates with Art*. Tokyo: Arts Council Tokyo.

- KOIZUMI, Motohiro (2016): Creativity in a Shrinking Society: A Case Study of the Water and Land Niigata Art Festival. – In: *Cities* 56, 141–147 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.10.002>>.
- LEE, Hye-Kyung/LING-FUNG CHAU, Karin/TERUI, Takao (2021): The COVID-19 Crisis and ‘Critical Juncture’ in Cultural Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Cultural Policy Responses in South Korea, Japan and China. – In: *International Journal of Cultural Policy* <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2021.1938561>>.
- MENGER, Pierre M. (1999): Artistic Labor Markets and Careers. – In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 25, 541–574 <<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.25.1.541>>.
- MENGER, Pierre M (2001): Artists as Workers: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges. – In: *Poetics* 28, 241–254 <[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X\(01\)80002-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(01)80002-4)>.
- MINI-THEATER AID (2020): *Concluding Statement on the Mini-Theater Aid Crowdfunding campaign* <<https://minitheater-aid.org/pdf/report2.pdf>> [20.8.2021].
- MOTION GALLERY (2019): *How Tax on the Crowdfunding Revenues should be Paid? Instructions about the Taxation Rules and VAT Calculation* <https://motion-gallery.net/blog/tips_%EF%BC%93> [10.1.2022].
- NIELSEN Jane K. (2017): Museum Communication and Storytelling: Articulating Understandings within the Museum Structure. – In: *Museum Management and Curatorship* 32(5), 1–16 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2017.1284019>>.
- PAPADIMITRIOU, Lydia (2017): Transitions in the Periphery: Funding Film Production in Greece since the Financial Crisis. – In: *International Journal on Media Management* 19(2), 164–181 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2017.1298111>>.
- PLANELLAS, Antonio José (2017): Video Games and the Crowdfunding Ideology: From the Gamer-Buyer to the Prosumer-Investor. – In: *Journal of Consumer Culture* 17(3), 620–638 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540515611200>>.
- READYFOR (2020): *Without Public Exhibition, it could not be Ohara: Consider the Support for Protecting the Place to Come across with Art Works* <<https://readyfor.jp/projects/ohara>> [20.8.2021].
- REUTERS (2020): *Japan’s Crowdfunding Firms Report Surge in Business during the pandemic*.
- ROUZÉ, Vincent (Ed.) (2019): *Cultural Crowdfunding: Platform Capitalism, Labour and Globalisation*. University of Westminster Press.
- RYKKJA, Anders/HUNIM, Ziaul H./BONET, Lluís (2020a): Varieties of Cultural Crowdfunding: The Relationship between Cultural Production Types and Platform Choice. – In: *Baltic Journal of Management* 15(2), 261–280 <<https://doi.org/10.1108/BJM-03-2019-0091>>.
- RYKKJA, Anders/MAEHLE, Natalia/MUNIM, Ziaul H./SHNEOR, Rotem (2020b): Crowdfunding in the Cultural Industries. – In: Shneor, Rotem/Zhao, Liang/Flåten, Bjørn-Tore, *Advances in Crowdfunding*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 423–440.
- RYU, S. (2019): *Beauty of Crowdfunding: Blooming Creativity and Innovation in the Digital Era*. Routledge.
- SASAJAMA, Hideaki (2013): From Red Light District to Art District: Creative City Projects in Yokohama’s Kogane-Cho Neighborhood. – In: *Cities* 33, 77–85 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2012.07.011>>.

- SATO, Ikuya (1999): *Gendaiengeki no Fuirudowaku: Geijutuseisan no Bunkashakaigaku* [The Fieldwork in the Contemporary Theatres: The Sociology of the Culture of Artistic Production]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- SHOGEKIJYO, Network (2020): *Cultural Capitals with the Locals: Calling for the support to 'reopen' nationwide mini-theatres* <<https://readyfor.jp/projects/shogekijyo-network>> [20.9.2021].
- SOLNIT, Rebecca (2010): *A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities That Arise in Disaster*. New York: Penguin Books.
- SURVIVENOMUSUBIME (2020): *How the Arts and culture can expand their returns? Vol 4: The Corporation of Nihon Buyo* <<https://survivenomusubime.jp/volo4/>> [20.8.2021].
- YOMIURI, Shimbun (2020): *Raibu no Kando Itunohika* [The excitement of the live performance, someday] (Osaka evening 20.5.2020).
- YOSHIZAWA, Yaho, (2007): Bunkaseisaku to Koukyousei: Osakashi to Ato NPO no Kyodo wo Jireini [Cultural Policy and Publicness: The Case of the Collaboration of Osaka City and Art NPOs.]. – In: *Shaskaigaku Hyoron* 58(2), 170–187 <<https://doi.org/10.4057/jsr.58.170>>.