

KUNSTEN.NU:

A digital media platform for engaging audiences in visual arts

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Kunsten.nu – a digital media platform for engaging audiences in visual arts

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Abstract: This case study explores *kunsten.nu*, a Danish language digital platform dedicated to disseminating news, reviews, and debate about contemporary visual arts in ways that make visual arts accessible and approachable to a broader public. The platform has existed as *kunsten.nu* since 2008 with support from, among others, the Danish Arts Foundation. Advertisements have also long played a key role in the site's business model. Both sources of funding are currently drying out, however. As a niche, digital born cultural platform, the case thus speaks into some of the broader transformations of the current cultural media and communication landscape, prompted by digitalization. It spotlights cultural policy issues, such as the boundaries between Danish cultural and media policy. The case study is based on digital ethnography and qualitative interviews with the creator and CEO of *kunsten.nu*.

Keywords: digital culture, digital cultural journalism, digital cultural participation, media policy, visual arts criticism

Introduction: what, when, where, how, and why

What: This case study explores kunstn.nu, a Danish language digital website and cultural platform dedicated to disseminating news, reviews, and debate about contemporary visual arts in ways that promote cultural discussion and increase the visibility of Danish visual arts, encouraging citizens participation in arts.

When: The platform has existed as kunstn.nu since 2008 with support from, among others, the Danish Arts Foundation. Advertisements also play a key role in the site's business model.

Where: As a digital platform kunstn.nu, in principle, has a global reach, but as the written language is Danish and the platform has a particular cultural focus on contemporary visual arts in Denmark, the main audience is a Danish speaking public with interest in visual arts. The site has editorial offices in the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen, and in the second largest Danish city, Aarhus, as it aims to reach beyond the capital.

How: The case study is based on digital ethnography, document analysis, and qualitative interviews with the creator and CEO of the website, Jakob Falk Borup, a trained artist himself.

Why: [Kunstn.nu](https://kunstn.nu) is chosen as case in view of its explicit digital component, addressing the INVENT-project's research interests in digital media, digital culture, and digital cultural participation, at focus especially in WP5 on Culture is digital/boundless. As a niche, digital born cultural medium, the case not only speaks to some of the broader transformations of the current cultural media and communication landscape prompted by digitalization. The platform also has an explicit aim of "strengthening a lively debate where everyone can be equipped to enter into dialogue about and with the visual arts,"¹ i.e., ambitions of engaging the publics in culture, more specifically visual arts. Finally, the case spotlights several cultural policy issues, including the role of public funding for new digital media initiatives in the cultural domain and the challenges of the boundaries drawn between cultural policy and media policy in the Danish context.

Methodology

Theoretically, the case study is based on extant literature about Nordic cultural policy, media policy, and digital cultural policy (Sokka & Johannisson, 2022; Valtysson, 2022) as well as trends in Nordic cultural journalism, criticism, and communication (Kristensen et al., 2021; Kristensen & Riegert, 2017; Syvertsen et al., 2014).

Empirically it is based on a mixed methods approach involving digital ethnography (Pink et al., 2012), observing kunstn.nu and associated links regularly in September and November 2022, and stabilizing relevant content via micro archiving of screenshots and pdf-filing (Laursen, Brügger & Sandvik, 2017); document analysis of information about public funding to kunstn.nu from the Danish Arts Foundation, retrieved from the foundation's searchable website in November 2022;² and a semi-structured interview with an exclusive informant

¹ <https://kunstn.nu/om/kunstn-nu/> (last accessed September 9, 2022)

² A preliminary search was conducted September 6, 2022, and final search November 10, 2022 at [https://www.kunst.dk/for-ansoegere/tildelinger?tx_lftilskudsbase_general%5Baction%5D=list&tx_lftilskudsbase_general%5Bcontroller%](https://www.kunst.dk/for-ansoegere/tildelinger?tx_lftilskudsbase_general%5Baction%5D=list&tx_lftilskudsbase_general%5Bcontroller%5D=ansoegere)

(Bruun, 2016), the creator and CEO of kunstn.nu, artist Jan Falk Borup.³ This interview was supplemented by semi-embedded industry texts (Caldwell, 2008) in the shape of interviews with Jan Falk Borup, published at kunstn.nu since 2008.

Cultural policy context

Denmark adheres to the Nordic cultural policy model based on the social democratic welfare state. This approach is characterized by the state having “a comprehensive social responsibility for the welfare and well-being of citizens and residents” (Pedersen & Kuhnle, 2017, 220). The public’s access to and participation in culture are seen as key parts of this welfare and well-being ideology (Sokka & Johannisson, 2022). Accordingly, Denmark emphasizes an egalitarian and universal approach and provides substantial support to the arts and a broad cultural sector to make arts, culture, and media accessible to all (e.g., Duelund 2003; Duelund, Valtysson & Bohlbro 2012; Mangset et al. 2008).

Denmark is characterized by high public expenditure on culture per capita and by citizens’ high cultural participation (Rius-Ulldemolins et al., 2019). According to Eurostat, Denmark in 2020 ranked fourth in Europe in terms of public (Government) expenditure on recreation, culture, and religion, with 1,7% of the GDP dedicated to such purposes.⁴ Danes’ high cultural consumption is linked to digital media technologies (Epinion and Pluss Leadership, 2012, 13, 17).

The Ministry of Culture is the main body responsible for providing an overall framework for Danish cultural policy; agencies are charged with the administrative implementation in several cultural areas; and councils, committees, etc., distribute funds at arm’s length (Duelund, Valtysson & Bohlbro, 2012). Among the latter is the Danish Arts Foundation, the largest Danish arts foundation, allocating about 500 million Danish kroner (67 million euros) to approximately 6.000 artists and projects a year, from a pool of 12.500 applications.⁵ The foundation has more than 60 funding schemes, subsidizing “the production and promotion of visual arts, film, literature, music, performing arts, architecture, crafts, and design – and all that transcends the borders of these art forms.”⁶ [Kunstn.nu](http://kunstn.nu) is among the projects that have, over the years, received funding either for the platform or for visual arts communication initiatives associated with the platform (see below for a more detailed analysis).

In Denmark, as in the other Nordic countries, media policy is part of cultural policy. The literature speaks of the Nordic Media Welfare Model (Syvertsen et al., 2014), alluding to media being partly publicly funded to ensure a diverse media landscape based on public service ideals and funded at arm’s length to warrant autonomy in day-to-day practice. Among the (many) requirements for being considered for editorial production support in Denmark, i.e. subsidies for the production of journalistic content, printed news media, and text-based online news media must cover political, societal, and cultural themes (see §3,7 of the Danish

[5D=Grants&cHash=c0b80aca4d7e67cb68bab1489f0e6676](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-5D=Grants&cHash=c0b80aca4d7e67cb68bab1489f0e6676). The following search criteria were used: Area = all, Year = all, search term = ‘kunstn.nu’. This produced a sample of 55 hits from 2010 to November 2022.

³ The interview was conducted November 3, 2022, at the facilities of kunstn.nu in Copenhagen. Present at the interview was also head of communications and digital strategy, Bjarke Calvin, who had started his position at kunstn.nu November 1, 2022.

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Government_expenditure_on_recreation,_culture_and_religion (last retrieved November 10, 2022).

⁵ <https://www.kunst.dk/english/about-us> (last retrieved October 31, 2022)

⁶ <https://www.kunst.dk/english/about-us> (last retrieved October 31, 2022).

Executive Order of Media Support, BEK 480).⁷ Providing information and news about arts and culture is thus one fundamental obligation for news media, and journalists from both public and commercial media share a strong professional commitment to arts and culture (Ahva et al., 2016; Hovden & Kristensen, 2021). As *kunsten.nu* mainly focuses on artistic and cultural issues and not on political and societal issues in the broader sense, at least as interpreted by the Danish Executive Order of Media Support, the site is not eligible for such production support. This raises important questions about the boundaries drawn in Danish cultural policy between public support for the arts and public support for the media.

As a niche, digital born cultural medium providing news, interviews, and reviews about contemporary visual arts, *kunsten.nu* also speaks into some of the broader transformations of the current cultural communication and dissemination circuit in view of digitalization and platformization. First, national news media, e.g., omnibus newspapers, devote attention to an ever-broadening palette of cultural domains and have shifted their focus from the arts, e.g., the visual arts, to popular culture (Kristensen, 2010; Purhonen et al., 2019). Second, digital born venues for, e.g., amateur arts and cultural criticism as well as niche cultural media spread across platforms (Jaakkola, 2022; Kristensen et al., 2021). Third, key public and societal values of the social democratic welfare state's cultural and media policy are challenged "when *culture becomes platformised*" (Valtysson, 2022, 796), as such values are not necessarily shared by the mainly economic drivers of platform owners (ibid.). On the one hand, *kunsten.nu* has successfully tapped into these transformations, being sustainable as a Danish language digital cultural niche medium that engages publics in the visual arts at a time of extreme global competition and rapid change. On the other hand, the site must rethink its funding structure to also stay sustainable in the future.

What are the phenomena and questions for analysis?

This case study focuses on three main themes; 1) the cultural practices of the digital site, *kunsten.nu*, i.e., what does the site (aim to) offer citizens/users; 2) the efforts of cultural engagement of the site, i.e., how are citizens invited to participate and engage; 3) the business model of *kunsten.nu*, including the role of public funding for the start-up of the platform and the need for alternative funding to stay sustainable as a digital niche medium for public engagement in the visual arts. This has led to the overall questions:

- What is *kunsten.nu*? How and why was the platform established?
- How has the platform engaged the public, and has this strategy been successful? If so, how; if not, why?
- What has the role of public funding been for the platform's sustainability?

Case description and analysis

Background

Kunsten.nu was established in fall of 2008 by artist Jan Falk Borup due to his keen interest in connecting the arts and the public. As part of his art training, he first initiated the website *Aarhus.nu* in 2004 – a digital site communicating about visual arts around Aarhus, the second largest Danish city, located in the Western part of the country. In 2008, *aarhus.nu* was integrated in *kunsten.nu* – a national digital news medium and forum for debate about visual

⁷ <https://www.retsinformation.dk/eli/lt/2017/480> (last retrieved November 10, 2022).

arts with editorial offices in both Aarhus and Copenhagen (Jakobsen, 2008). The launch coincided with quite drastic reductions among cultural journalists and critics with a specialty in visual arts at Danish newspapers, providing the platform with a unique opportunity to fill a void for visual arts reporting and criticism: "...it was quite important to me that it should not be an academic magazine (...) my interest has always been to create a connection with the public" (interview with Jan Falk Borup).

To this day, the platform's goal is, as phrased on its website, "to strengthen a lively debate, where everyone can be prepared to engage in dialogue about and with the visual arts. We follow art where it is located and have therefore established an editorial office in Copenhagen as well as in Aarhus. Visual art deserves to be seen, heard, and talked about. We make sure it happens."⁸ The digital news medium thus has clear ambitions of engaging citizens in the visual arts via information and debate.

The organizational team of *kunsten.nu* includes CEO and artist Jan Falk Borup; editor-in-chief Ole Bak Jakobsen, who also produces content for the site and is a performing artist; editorial assistant Christian Salling, who has a MA in art history and works as a cultural journalist, critic, and lecturer;⁹ and Bjarke Calvin, who recently joined the team as a communications and digital strategist. In addition, numerous journalists and critics are associated with the site, providing articles and reviews on a freelance basis. In that sense, the professional point of departure of the team is training and expertise in the visual arts rather than journalism.

Cultural practices – visual arts in society

The main venue of *kunsten.nu* is the website, which is divided into two main sections: 1) a journal with news and debate about visual arts (for more details, see below), and 2) an art guide with searchable and region-based information about current exhibitions, image series, and recommendations, thus providing visual experiences, service information, and guidance to audiences in their engagement with the visual arts.

The journal website conveys visual arts via main cultural journalistic genres (Jaakkola, 2021; Kristensen, 2010), such as previews, reviews, and recommendations, news and features, background stories, portraits, and interviews with artists (e.g., "Artist of the week"). The site has a clear visual identity, aligning with the aim of aesthetically conveying the visual arts (Anker, 2016). In that sense, the website resembles a digital version of a non-academic arts magazine.

The site also runs themed article series on topics such as "Young artist voices", "Greenlandic art", "Art and Gender", "Climate art", "Net art" and "Arts in society – society in the arts", of which several reflect the ambition of connecting the visual arts, broader societal issues or agendas, and the public. The theme "Arts in society – society in the arts" from 2021 serves as an interesting case in point because it was motivated by engaging "the outside world and its opportunities to act critically and create change in society", emphasizing the aim of illuminating the potential societal value and transformative power of arts and culture.

⁸ <https://kunsten.nu/om/kunsten-nu/>, last retrieved Oct. 31, 2022 (translated by author)

⁹ <https://kunsten.nu/om/redaktion/> (last retrieved November 22, 2022).

As part of this themed series, *kunsten.nu*, for example, published an interview article with the museum director of *KØN - Gender Museum Denmark*, Julie Røkkjær Birch, about how cultural institutions can take a stand on societal issues and contribute to qualifying public debate (see Danish case study 1).¹⁰ Another article in the series engaged with the art space CAMP/Center for Art on Migration Politics, which physically took place at the Trampoline House, a cultural and arts community centre for immigrants and asylum seekers (see Danish case study 2).¹¹ CAMP at the Trampoline House created an art space for dialogue with and between the users of the Trampoline House about their lived lives and experiences as immigrants and refugees. This exemplifies how *kunsten.nu* disseminates and conveys visual arts as well as engages in the visual arts' societal and emancipatory potential.

Kunsten.nu also has a cross-media presence. It offers a newsletter and a podcast ("Mellemrum"/ "Gap"), and it has a Facebook page and a presence on Twitter and Instagram. Furthermore, *kunsten.nu* produces a bi-monthly printed art guide, *Art Guide*, adapted to the Eastern and Western parts of Denmark and distributed via cultural institutions and venues.

Finally, *kunsten.nu* has engaged in numerous project collaborations with external partners from the cultural sector to disseminate and debate visual arts. Key initiatives include public events such as Art Week,¹² which involves museums, galleries, arts festivals, etc., intending to engage and bridge artists and citizens in visual arts but in an offline setting. These activities are co-funded by public and private funders and institutions and involve exhibitions, performances, concerts, debates, art tours, and spaces for artists and citizens to meet and for artists to share knowledge and network.¹³

Timeline

2004	As a visual arts student, Jan Falk Borup (trained at Middlesex University in London and Jutland Art Academy in Aarhus), initiates <i>aarhus.nu</i> , an arts communication project focusing on visual art in the Aarhus-area
2008	<i>Aarhus.nu</i> becomes <i>kunsten.nu</i> , expanding its geographical scope from Aarhus to the capital, Copenhagen
2012	Art Weekend Aarhus is established
2013	Art week Cph is established
2016	<i>kunsten.nu</i> relaunches its visual identity to become more magazine-like, include more features and thus make the visual arts more visible and inspire publics
2017	Jan Falk Borup is honored by the Danish Royal Academy of Fine Arts for his efforts in creating "a high-quality art dissemination medium" (Serritzlew, 2017)
2022	Art Week takes place in Aarhus, Malmö (Sweden) and Copenhagen (merging Art Weekend Aarhus and Art Week Cph)

Sources: Anker, 2016; Serritzlew, 2017; <https://artweek.nu/en/about-art-week/>; <https://artweekend.dk/2022/03/02/art-weekend-aarhus-gaar-sammen-med-art-week/>, interview with Jan Falk Borup.

¹⁰ <https://kunsten.nu/journal/julie-rokkjaer-birch-museerne-er-forpligtet-til-saette-fokus-paa-aktuelle-problestillinger/> (last retrieved November 20, 2022).

¹¹ <https://kunsten.nu/journal/kuratorerne-bag-camp-vi-tror-paa-at-kunst-og-kuratering-kan-medvirke-til-at-skabe-social-og-politisk-transformation/> (last retrieved November 20, 2022).

¹² Art Weekend Aarhus was initiated in 2012 and Art Week Cph in 2013. In 2022, the two merged to Art Week (<https://artweekend.dk/2022/03/02/art-weekend-aarhus-gaar-sammen-med-art-week/>) (last retrieved November 20, 2022)

¹³ <https://artweek.nu/en/about-art-week/> (last retrieved November 20, 2022).

Audience and audience engagement

The digital site (as well as the onsite events) has two primary audiences; 1) arts professionals (artists, cultural institutions, etc.), who may use the site to stay informed among peers, and 2) citizens with an interest in and curiosity for the visual arts, i.e., “those who visit museums and galleries” (interview with Jan Falk Borup; see also Anker, 2016). The latter group is of most interest to this case study.

Audience metrics offered at *kunsten.nu* indicates that the website has 50.000 unique users per month, geographically spread across the country; 1.3 million page views per year; and the weekly newsletter is circulated to 14.000 citizens. At the time of writing (November 2022), *kunsten.nu* has more than 26.000 followers on Facebook.¹⁴ The Danish population counts 5.9 million people.

Kunsten.nu has only limited information about the composition of their readers, however (interview with Jan Falk Borup), and, as will be detailed in the next section, the site has reached a point where a rethinking of its business model is needed. Coinciding with this case study (November 2022), *kunsten.nu* has thus initiated an audience survey, distributed via, among other channels, *kunsten.nu* and Facebook with the aim of continuing “to deliver relevant content to you about the Danish art scene. We have therefore drawn up a questionnaire in the hope of becoming a little smarter about your use of and future wishes for *kunsten.nu*.”¹⁵

When it comes to citizen engagement on the website, initiatives are few, however. “We are quite old-fashioned.”, the CEO acknowledges, meaning that they mainly mass communicate to their niche audiences (interview with Jan Falk Borup). One explanation is their audience perceptions: they see both their professional and citizen audiences as anticipating a certain professional standard that does not necessarily align with bottom-up engagement and co-creation initiatives (interview with Jan Falk Borup). Thus, even though the ambition is not to be an academic magazine, the site remains faithful to an expertise-driven approach when communicating the visual arts, also at a time when the news industry more generally invests in and experiments with user engagement and bottom-up initiatives to attract and maintain audiences.

Kunsten.nu and covid-19

The readership of *kunsten.nu* increased during the covid-pandemic: As cultural institutions and exhibitions closed, the site experienced an increasing demand from reader about what was happening on the Danish arts scene. Instead of reporting from and reviewing arts exhibitions, *kunsten.nu* provided interviews with artists, e.g., about their digital initiatives (interview with Jan Falk Borup).

At the same time, the Art Week initiatives have been successful in engaging the broader public, according to the organizers – also more so than the digital platform, and the team is currently trying to see how the positive experiences from the festivals in terms of public engagement and conveying the depth and insight about visual arts can be transformed to the

¹⁴ 26.527 of November 3, 2022.

¹⁵ <https://kunsten.nu/journal/brugerundersogelse-hjaelp-kunsten-nu-til-at-blive-endnu-bedre/> (accessed November 19, 2022)

digital platform (interview with Jan Falk Borup). There is also awareness that the site needs a proactive approach and includes, e.g., audience data/metrics in their future planning. However, staying true to the original motivation of the site is key above all to the CEO, i.e., serving as an intermediary between visual arts, artists and institutions, and the public. “The conversation is important...” he explains (interview with Jan Falk Borup).

Business model and funding

The business model of *kunsten.nu* combines an advertising-based approach (Chan-Olmsted & Wang, 2018) with direct public subsidies from the Danish Arts Foundation. As the content is offered to audiences for free, the site does not include subscriptions or a paywall.

The first grant to *kunsten.nu*, listed in the archive of the Danish Arts Foundation, of 250.000 DK KR (33.000 €), was distributed in 2010 and dedicated to “The media portal KUNSTEN.NU, www.kunsten.nu”. The interview with Jan Falk Borup confirms that public funding was crucial in this initial phase.

Since then, there has been a shift in the balance between advertisement and public funding. While public funding is still a factor, ads have become the main component in the business model. Today the platform is funded 90% by advertisements, approximately 1.5 million DK KR (200.000 €) per year, according to Jan Falk Borup, while funding from the Arts Foundation was 200.000 DK KR in 2022 and will be 250.000 DK KR in 2023, according to the funding archive.

There are several reasons for this shift from public funding to an advertising-based model. First, the site was initially built on the ambition of financial “sustainability in the long run” (interview with Jan Falk Borup): “There must be long ability in it, it must be likely that it can survive for some time because I have seen many cultural media getting a bag of money, use them and then close down because there is no real business plan”. Depending on public funding was thus never a main strategy. The core of the business plan was instead for the site to be advertisement based but with a tight curation of the types of advertisement displayed to audiences so that ads match the visual arts profile of the website and the information about visual arts sought by its visitors.

In practice, this means that mainly Danish museums advertise on the site for ongoing exhibitions. Audiences may, according to Jan Falk Borup, “just see it as much as information, as seeing it as advertising”, and museums may see it as a way of supporting a digital news medium that serves their institutional interests and public obligations as a – rare – cultural intermediary propagating visual arts to a broad(er) public.

*Funding from the Danish Arts Foundation for *kunsten.nu* 2010-2022*

When using “*kunsten.nu*” as search term on the Danish Arts Foundation’s searchable, open access web-archive of projects that have received funding over the years, 55 grants appear from 2010 to November 2022, amounting to approximately 4.2 million DK KR (560.000 €). 35 grants, most of them smaller in size, relate to the onsite activities, Cph Art week/Aarhus Art weekend/Art Week, and 20 to the activities on the website *kunsten.nu*. Among the latter are larger grants for the daily operational costs and content production, amounting to about 2.8 million DK KR in total. The grants for these website activities are distributed by different subcommittees of the Danish Arts Foundation, e.g., the subcommittee for project support for visual arts, the subcommittee for music, and the subcommittee for project magazine support. While the data available from the web-archive may not provide the basis of an exhaustive mapping, it does offer an overall picture of the activities initiated by *kunsten.nu* and supported by the Danish Arts Foundation.

In that sense, the team behind the platform has been successful in turning it into an increasingly advertising-based venture, basically using an old media business model of, as phrased by Villi and Picard (2019, 122), “creating mass audiences by keeping content prices low and then selling the audiences to advertisers who wish to reach them”. These close ties, of course, potentially blur the boundaries of journalism/criticism and PR/advertisement (e.g., Verboord & Janssen, 2015). According to the CEO, the site does not experience pressure from advertisers in terms of, e.g., a push for particular editorial content.

Second, the public support from the Danish Arts Foundation has decreased over time and transformed from support for the daily running cost of the platform to support for content production – more concretely, fees for freelance journalists and critics producing articles and content for the site (interview with Jan Falk Borup). This accords with the Arts Foundation’s goal of prioritizing new initiatives rather than long-running/durational projects. This was anticipated by the site’s inventor and one of the main reasons for developing a business plan that would make the site financially sustainable in the long run without depending on public funding.

Currently, the site does, however, experience decreasing income from advertisers, as is the case in the news industry more generally, pushed by digitalization and platformization, which has dramatically altered the role, values, and revenues of traditional cultural intermediaries such as (digital) news media (Valtysson, 2022, 790). “We have succeeded in creating something *despite of*; we have delayed the processes [of dramatically decreasing in advertising revenues] that other media has experienced; [but] we can feel that our business model is being challenged” (interview with Jan Falk Borup). For the same reason, *kunsten.nu* is presently considering additional or new funding models, e.g., introducing a paywall for some types of content. Due to the site’s starting point – the ideological drive of conveying the visual arts to a broad public for free – the CEO, however, finds it difficult to implement such measures and thereby limit public access to the site and its archive (interview with Jan Falk Borup).

Concluding reflections on challenges, achievements and impacts of emancipatory practices

Kunsten.nu is built on an inherent paradox: It started from an ideological ambition of increasing the visibility of the visual arts, encouraging citizens participation in arts, i.e., serving as a cultural intermediary, not for purposes of cultural distinction but to foster public engagement in and democratize the visual arts, in line with the overall cultural policy values of the social democratic welfare state. At the same time, *kunsten.nu* was, from the outset, thought of as an, in the long run, viable endeavor on market terms. Consequently, the site currently finds itself in an ambiguous place because the public values and ambitions driving the site do not necessarily fit the increasingly corporate interests and economic values and demands of the contemporary media landscape and platform society (Dijck, Poell & Waal, 2018).

Kunsten.nu is thus an interesting and illustrative case in the context of cultural policy for at least two related reasons – the first concerns the long-term sustainability of niche cultural communication initiatives that may fulfill important gaps in the cultural intermediary

landscape but may also, with time, have difficulties surviving because of a dramatically changed media landscape; the other – relatedly – concerns the interplay of cultural policy and media policy.

Sustainability: As a digital art news site, *kunsten.nu*, has, on the one hand, benefitted from public funding from the Danish Arts Foundation, as such funding was vital in the start-up phase. On the other hand, from the outset, there was a clear strategy for long-term sustainability without reliance on public subsidies. The site has shown to be viable, even during digital disruptions that have circumvented the traditional advertising-based business model of the media industries. The key question is, however, if this will also be the case in the years to come, as advertisement revenues are decreasing, and likewise is the public funding the site can attract. This links to the boundaries of cultural policy and media policy.

Cultural policy and media policy: The goal of the Danish Arts Foundation is, first and foremost, to support the development of innovative, creative ideas and high-quality art. In practice, this means that much funding is allocated to supporting *artists* for creative production and cultural *institutions*, e.g., museums, for cultural professional communication and dissemination but less so to supporting cultural media – print or digital – playing an important intermediary role of bridging cultural audiences and artistic and cultural production, including the exhibitions of cultural institutions: “They support the content, the art productions, but when it comes to dissemination, they think that must be the task of the media. But then they must ensure equal conditions for all media, and then media support must be rethought. Niche media must get another platform, also financially. Everything should not be state financed, but the idea that everything must be self-financed in a small language area like Danish [is a challenge]” (interview with Jan Falk Borup). This suggests a need for rethinking the boundaries drawn between public funding for cultural production and public financing of the media. In Denmark, media policy is part of cultural policy, but nonetheless, they are treated as more or less disparate policy areas. The need for a more holistic approach is only emphasized by the pressure from global platforms that are today powerful disseminators and curators of culture (Valtysson, 2022), though not subject to national policy measures.

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