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Incredible Edible Todmorden: Impacts on Community Building, Education, and Local Culture. A Case for the Operationalization of Sustainability

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes how Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), a community-led project, operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on community building and the impacts it had on education and local culture. The research is informed by a framework encompassing Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, as well as notions of sustainability, discourse, and culture. The paper puts forth the argument that the discursive operationalization of sustainability, framed as a process of directed change, can produce important effects in community building, education, and local culture at a local level and suggests that the application of the framework may also yield results in the study of other sectors.

Introduction

The emergence of permaculture and urban farming projects is contextualized within the realities of post-industrial decay, the effects of the 2008 economic crisis, and the threats posed by climate change. Taking this into account, the analysis of urban farming and permaculture projects can focus on assessing the improvement in food security and overall living conditions due to economic renewals and shifts in consumption cycles brought about by these projects. These, however, are not the only positive impacts. In fact, as the case of Todmorden, a small post-industrial town in North West England, shows, community-led

urban farming and permaculture projects can also serve as means for a broader reworking of the locality, having an effect on community building, education and local culture.

The objective of this research was to analyze how Todmorden's community-led project, called Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on the bringing together of the community and the impacts it had on education and local culture. This was done, first, through the analysis of documents belonging to IET in order to identify the ways in which sustainability discourse has been used and, second, through the revision of an evaluation report on the impacts of IET to determine the effects the project has had in Todmorden.

The research is informed by Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, which proposes that places are symbolically constructed by its inhabitants, and so, they become a reflection of them, creating a link between place and identity. The conceptual framework also encompasses the definitions for sustainability, sustainability-led discourse, and culture through which the case was analyzed. These notions can help understand why sustainability projects that target local needs can also double as means for community building and as means to promote local culture and education.

The conceptual framework is followed by an overview of Todmorden and Incredible Edible, as well as permaculture and urban farming. These background sections are then followed by the case analysis, namely the analysis of the impacts IET has had in terms of community building, education and the promotion of local culture through the use of a sustainability-led discourse. The paper concludes by stating that the *mise en action* of a sustainability-led discourse through permaculture and urban farming or similar projects can produce positive effects on the areas chosen for this study and suggests that the framework explored here can be applied to encompass a wider range of human practices and structures.

Methodology

The analysis was carried out in two main parts. The first to determine the ways in which sustainability discourse has been employed by IET and the second to analyze the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. This is followed by a discussion that examines the conjunctions between the two parts in order to show how, through a sustainability-led discourse, IET has impacted the locality in terms of community-building, education, and the promotion of local culture.

The first part consisted in applying discourse analysis to a sample of four documents published by IET in their website[1] and a TEDTalk given by Pam Warhurst, co-founder of the project, at the TEDSalon in May, 2012, all of which are enlisted below. The documents were selected taking into account the amount of content (many documents in the site are very short), and the nature of the content (many documents address

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[1]   All four documents are available at Incredible Edible Todmoren: https://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk

very specific events that are not useful for this research). The selection also contemplated having different kinds of documents to gain a better perspective on their use of discourse.

D1. "Incredible Edible pamphlet. INCREDIBLE: HOW ONE TOWN PROVED CHANGE IS POSSIBLE" posted May 23, 2011.

D2. "How we can eat our landscapes" TEDTalk by Pam Warhurst, May 2012.

D3. "IET Newsletter November 2014"

D4. "Incredible North. Growing health, wealth and happiness for all" posted May 27, 2016

D5. "Annual Report and Financial Statements for the period 27th October 2015 to 30th September 2016" posted November 19, 2016

The objective was to identify the ways in which IET includes notions of sustainability within their discourse: directly or indirectly, on a scale of importance given to sustainability in the accomplishment of their objectives, and the registers and discursive devices they employ to reference sustainability.

These three categories were designed to identify the inclusion of sustainability in the documents, each with its set of classifications. The logic for these categories was drawn from Dryzek's (2005) elements for the analysis of discourses (basic entities recognized or constructed; assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives, key metaphors and other rhetorical devices). These, however, were not applied as such but rather modified since the aim was to identify precisely how the term sustainability is articulated within IET's general discourse, not to analyze an environmentalist discourse per se. Therefore, the categories stand thus:

1. Appearance of the term in the discourse
a. Direct mentions (DM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are directly employed.
b. Indirect mentions (IM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are not directly used but elements of its definition or application are employed.
c. No mentions (NM): neither the direct term nor elements of its definition or application are employed.

2. Scale of importance
a. High (H): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered a key element in the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are tied to sustainability.
b. Medium (M): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered relevant but not crucial to the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are not exclusively tied to sustainability.
c. Low (L): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is not considered relevant in the accomplishment of the project's objectives.

3. Discursive devices

This category considers the use of rhetorical language and discursive devices to describe the overall construction of the documents.

The second part consisted in reviewing a document titled "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report", a report commissioned by IET. The research was conducted by Dr. Adrian Morley (Manchester Metropolitan University), Dr. Alan Farrier (University of Central Lancashire), and Professor Mark Dooris (University of Central Lancashire), and the final report published in July 2017. The data contained in this document is highly valuable given that the research was carried out *in situ*, using a mixed-method approach that included, among others: community surveys, volunteer surveys, semi-structured one-to-one interviews, and focus croups. The data presented in the report was used to assess the social, economic, and environmental impacts IET has had in Todmorden in terms of community, learning, and business (the project's three spheres of action), which falls within the scope of what this paper set out to study.

1. Sustainability, Discourse, Culture & Place: A Conceptual Framework

There is ample discussion on the meaning of sustainability and culture as well as the relationship between both terms, all of which is framed within a particular discourse. This section presents the conceptual framework that has guided the research, namely the definitions of sustainability and culture that have been used, what is meant by sustainability-led discourse, and Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity.

1.1 Sustainability

Two of the main issues when it comes to defining sustainability are ambiguity and instrumentalization. Ever since the definition produced by the 1987 Brundtland Report of sustainable development as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," (WCED, 1987: 43) the term has been instrumentalized by numerous actors to fit their needs and purposes (Johnston et al, 2007; Isar, 2017; De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and misused to the point where it is "almost devoid of meaning" (Hambleton, 2014:16). Moreover, it has tied the notion of sustainability almost inextricably to that of development, which in itself is problematic given that it, too, is polysemic (Isar, 2017) and subject to vested interests.

Johnston et al (2007) suggest using the four TNS[2] System Conditions coined by Karl-Henrik Robèrt (Robèrt et al, 2002 in Johnston et al, 2007: 62) as guiding principles in defining sustainability:

> In the sustainable society, nature is not subject to systematically increasing...
> 1. ... concentrations of substances extracted from the Earth's crust

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[2]   Short for "The Natural Step Framework"

2. ... concentrations of substances produced by society[]

3. ... degradation by physical means and[]

4. people are not subject to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs

According to them, this is a definition that includes both the biosphere and human societies and it can be subject to operationalization and governance through precautionary ethics, meaning that the co-existence between humans and the natural world, so often problematic, must be defined and guided by "a new understanding of what is 'right' and what is demonstrably 'wrong' with respect to policy, technology and economic instruments brought to bear on the environment." (Johnston et al, 2007) This series of principles, they argue, draw on the Brundtland Report's original definition providing scientific backing to the notion of sustainability so that it can be the one to guide development (or any other issue for that matter) and not the other way around.

This is backed by Dessein et al (2015) who argue that the disassociation of sustainability from development suggests that the former could be a term with "a more reaching set of objectives and values, one that can support de-growth and no growth agendas as well as growth, one that might have social equity and justice not economic prosperity as its goal." (Dessein et al, 2015: 23) This does not mean that economic factors must be left aside but it does imply that sustainability surpasses the economic and, therefore, is harder to co-opt by certain connotations of the term development, bringing us back to the TNS System Conditions and its ethical concerns.

1.2 Sustainability-led discourse

Now, in spite of the efforts above to define sustainability, it is important to note that the entire discussion on the meaning of the concept is framed within discourse (Hugé et al, 2013). The very concept of discourse is also subject to a wide array of conceptualizations; however, given that space is limited, it is not possible to dive into a full discussion on the matter, so I will frame these concepts as they are understood and employed in the upcoming analysis.

According to Hugé et al (2013), "[d]iscourses are structured ways of representation that evoke particular understandings and may subsequently enable particular types of actions to be envisaged." (p.188) They also draw on Hajer's (1995) definition: "discourse is (...) a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities." (p.188) Both of these definitions are relevant precisely because they highlight the link between what is being discussed, in this case sustainability, and, very importantly, the actions that derive from such content; in their words, the social practices. Of particular relevance to this paper is the argument that it is possible, through discourse analysis, to expose the manner "in which responses to []sustainability challenges are reflected in ideas about the []respective responsibilities of government and citizens"[] (Hugé et al, 2013: 189).

Within the multiplicity of meanings attached to sustainability, its meta-discourse (Hugé et al, 2013) there are

different sub-discourses that emerge. Hugé et al (2013:190) propose a synthesized typology of three sustainability[3] discourses:

> 1. Sustainability as the pragmatic integration of development and environmental goals
>
> 2. Sustainability as limits
>
> 3. Sustainability as a process of directed change.

It is the third one that applies to this case, as it will be shown in the analysis. This sub-discourse understands sustainability as a process of change where conventional notions and practices are challenged; it refutes the "business as usual" approach by emphasizing the need for human lifestyles and practices to change, including the socio-economic structure (Hugé et al, 2013). "Sustainable development requires social transformation processes or 'transitions' (Rotmans et al. 2001) that can be realised [sic] through new types of learning and management practices (networking, interactive governance)." (Hugé et al, 2013:192).

The intersection of the TNS System Conditions and the sub-discourse of sustainability as a process of directed change can offer a definition of sustainability as a process of transformation of lifestyles and practices that leads away from the degradation of nature and the increasing concentration of extracted resources from the Earth and of substances produced by society, and where people are not subjected to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs.

1.3 Culture

As with sustainability, or perhaps even more so, culture is a concept that has been worked on extensively from different fields of study. The concept as it is used in this paper refers to culture as a way of life, much in the manner that Raymond Williams (2011) defined it:

> The analysis of culture (...) is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis (...) will also include analysis of elements in the way of life (...): the organisation [sic] of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate.

Certainly, this does not reduce the validity of other definitions nor other elements associated with culture, such as arts and heritage (UNESCO, 1982, UNESCO, 2005); it simply seeks to outline a wider understanding of the concept. This definition of culture as a way of life was chosen because it can be more closely linked to sustainability. In their critique to the 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity regarding the relationship between cultural diversity and sustainable development, De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) argue that a reductionist view of culture that does not contemplate it also as a way of life has limited potential for transformative action. This is related to the same issue discussed above regarding the instrumentalization of sustainability in the sense that, in discussions regarding the relationship between sustainable development and culture, the focus on culture tends to be on the cultural industry (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015; Isar,

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[3]   The authors use the terms sustainable development and sustainability interchangeably.

2017) which makes it subject to utilitarian conceptions (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and prey to sectorial interests.

By understanding culture as a way of life and sustainability as a process of directed change, where conventional practices are challenged and human lifestyles are encouraged to change, then both the conceptual and the practical link between the two becomes evident. The shift towards sustainability requires a shift in our ways of life, our culture. A shift that can be integrated into the values and structures of each group (or which can highlight those values and structures already prone to foster sustainability) and, therefore, operated in ways that will make sense for them. As De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) propose: "sustainable development can be seen as transformative (…) not [as] a universal blueprint, but rooted in cultural contexts" (p. 203). This is the effect that will be analyzed with regards to IET and the promotion of local culture.

1.4 Notion of place and place-based identity

Both the notions of place and place-based identity as are understood and applied in this paper stem from the work of Robin Hambleton (2014). He defines place as "somewhere somebody cares about" (Hambleton, 2014: 83) encompassing several ideas, the first of which is that people assign meaning to places. For many people, this meaning is loaded with "a sense of attachment to their city and/or their 'home area', in some cases a strong sense of attachment, and it often forms part of their identity." (Hambleton, 2014: 84) This is what Hambleton calls place-based identity.

This identity is constructed on the basis that the place a person lives in, greatly shapes the way they see and relate to the world. In other words, places are important because they are constructed by people (Castello, 2010 in Hambleton, 2014:82) in the sense that they are more than simple geographical spaces; they reflect the communities that inhabit them. "The place could not be separated from people who make places and invest meanings in them." (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015: 710)

Moreover, Hambleton stresses the importance that leadership has in generating change within the framework of what he calls New Civic Leadership, a model that shifts towards the inclusion of other sectors besides the state in decision-making processes, such as civil society, and where a local sense of identity is key to the creation of solutions (Hambleton, 2014). These place-based leaders are "those exercising decision-making power [who] have a concern for the communities living in a particular place" (Hambleton, 2014:109) and who operate in the public, private, and community/voluntary sectors at different geographical levels. Thus, community leaders under the place perspective are those members of the community interested in contributing to their localities in a wide variety of activities; they are independent from government and voluntarily engaged (Hambleton, 2014). It is my contention that the community leadership embodied by Incredible Edible fits into this model, given that the project was born out of the direct involvement of citizens with their place and who, in turn, promoted the inclusion of their fellow citizens in the transformation. The birth of Incredible Edible cannot be separated from Todmorden, and can therefore be studied as place-based.

Finally, a lot of research has been done regarding the need to integrate the urban and natural spheres, from Green Theory and ecocentrism (Barry, 2014; Eckersley, 2013) to resilience (Wilkinson, 2012) and biophilic cities (Beatley, 2011). Hambleton (2014) follows these lines and calls for such an integration when studying place since it can be positively reflected in place-based loyalty, understood as the emotional attachment and commitment to a locality. The latter is relevant because "place-based loyalty and commitment can provide a particularly important contribution to the achievement of the environmental objectives of local governance" (Hambleton, 2014: 72). This means that there is a strong connection between the attachment to one's place and the way environmental issues are approached, which, in turn, might suggest that a strong sense of place-based loyalty and place-based identity can also be linked to culture and notions of sustainability.

2. Introducing the Incredible Edible Town of Todmorden

Located about 27km north of Manchester in the Upper Calderdale Valley in West Yorkshire, Todmorden is a small English town with a population of approximately 15,500 people and an area of 51.7 km2 (Office for National Statistics, 2011); in other words, 0.02% of England's population and 0.05% of its area. In terms of economic activity, in 2011, the majority of the 7,310 economically active people worked in education (927 people); human health and social work activities (1063 people); wholesale, retail trade and motor vehicle repair (975 people); manufacturing (1048 people); and construction (636 people). Only 51 worked in the agriculture, forestry, and finishing sector (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

Historically, Todmorden lived off a textile industry that has virtually disappeared in the post-industrial world, leaving a lot of underutilized land and positioning the town in the top 10 most deprived communities in the North West of England (Thompson, 2012). The junction of land availability and deprivation was the perfect scenario for the creation of Incredible Edible Todmorden, a project started by Pam Warhurst, Mary Clear and Estelle Brown.

It all began in 2007 with the guerrilla planting of herbs, fruit trees and vegetable plants in any crevice or piece of land they could find (Thompson, 2012) with the purpose of catching people's attention and getting them involved in their local food growth project. Pam Warhust and her team called this sort of actions "propaganda planting", in the sense that it encouraged "storytelling about what was happening and what might be possible. [It was] a twin approach of direct action and communicating a vision and purpose" (Thompson, 2012). This vision and purpose was that of seeking a safer, greener and kinder future for the next generations (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

They expressly avoided involving the local authorities at first because the aim of the project was to get citizens involved in their own communities without the pressures and commitments associated with politics and bureaucracy. Inclusiveness and community involvement are the main reasons why Incredible Edible started working with food. "Our project is all about finding the lowest common denominator, which is food, and then speaking in a language that everyone can understand," Pam Warhurst said in an interview published by *Independent* (Moorhead, 2009). They are not interested in growing food- that is the excuse,

the vehicle. The real objective is growing as a resilient community. A community of kind people, who model kindness, and who collaborate and share resources (M. Clear, phone interview, July 30, 2019).

So, through food, they began to knit the community closer together. Their model is based on "three spinning plates": community, learning, and business. The community plate contemplates growing food in public spaces that people can take for free (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017), changing "how we live our everyday lives together" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); the learning plate includes offering training and informal education "both in school and out" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); and through the business plate "IET aspires to strengthen the local economy, creating a clear 'brand' that can be adopted by local businesses." (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017: 8). A place needs all three plates "spinning" together in order to thrive (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

Today, there are numerous, herb, vegetable and fruit patches around the town –in public parks, schools, in front of the police station, outside city hall, and even in the local graveyard- where people can freely take whatever they need. There are also foraging, farming, and cooking courses, and what they call "vegetable tourism", people from all over the world that come to Todmorden to see what IET has done (Warhurst, 2012).

Its success has led them to expand, setting up a limited company (Incredible Edible Ltd.), an Incredible Edible Farm, and Incredible Edible Network to support other groups, an AquaGarden that functions as an educational resource, and Incredible North, an initiative to reach other areas in the north of England (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017).

2.1 The Role of Permaculture and Urban Farming

Although Incredible Edible was built upon its founders' decision to simply act (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014), its underlying ideas are part of a broader movement that is taking hold in many places, that of permaculture and urban farming.

The term permaculture was coined in the 1970s by Mollison and Holmgren, who joined the words "permanent" and "agriculture" (Pèzres, 2010) to create a system that could benefit all life forms, especially human beings, by providing "a sustainable and secure place for living things on this earth (Mollison, 1988 in Hathaway, 2015). In practice, permaculture is applied to the process through which humans create habitats that mimic the natural world, both in patterns and relationships (Hathaway, 2015). It fuels sustainability in the sense that its focus is on the relationships between the elements that make up an ecosystem and the way they work together as a whole.

In the agronomy sector, permaculture is evident in the design of forest gardens where trees, shrubs and other plants are mixed in such a way that they mimic the natural order found in a forest. This allows for better resource management seeing as every living creature has its purpose, thus reducing water usage, optimizing the role of sunlight, and rendering the use of harmful pesticides unnecessary. It is important to state, however, that even if permaculture is mostly known for its application in fields like agroecology, as seen with

forest gardens, it can be applied anywhere human inventiveness is employed (Hathaway, 2015). The term has evolved to signify a culture in and of itself, where even urban environments can be designed to function as ecologically as possible. Applied to Incredible Edible, permaculture can be seen in the way every productive element in the town (farms, dairies, vegetable patches, shops) can be part of the food production chain; everything works as part of a whole that benefits the entire community. It is also evident in the way space is used. By planting fruits and vegetables in unused, empty places the community is benefiting not only from the access to produce but also from better-looking public spaces. In this sense, permaculture can be applied in almost every case where the different elements in a town, city or garden combine to form a wholesome and functioning system.

The other movement present in Todmorden and closely related to permaculture is urban farming. The term urban farming or urban agriculture is defined as "the growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry in and around cities" (Urban Agriculture Committee of the CFSC, 2003 in Tornaghi, 2014); in other words, it is the transference of the farming system to the urban context. Currently, with the rising concerns regarding population growth and climate change, urban farming represents a sustainable, community-oriented solution to the problem of food supply in cities, seeing as transportation needs and costs are low, the use heavy machinery is avoided, and citizen involvement in the farming projects contributes to the improvement of community relations. The latter translates to less pollution, the optimization of resources, and the strengthening of social ties as opposed to the more traditional models of industrial agriculture and mass consumption.

3. Analysis

The data for each of the four analyzed documents and the TEDTalk was collected and catalogued in a table (see Table 1). Each classification is illustrated by an extract from the text. Space constraints do not allow for the tables to be included here, but a recapitulation of the most relevant findings is presented below. Afterwards, the findings for the second part of the analysis will be presented, followed by a discussion.

3.1 Sustainability-led discourse: findings

Overall, the analysis shows consistency throughout the documents and the video. Regarding Category 1, Appearance of the term, the great majority of mentions[4], are indirect (IM) with phrasing such as "ensuring a secure future", "securing a better legacy" in D1; "building resilience", "responding creatively (...) to what Rio demanded", "new way of living" in D2; "a kinder form of prosperity" in D4; "protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill" in D5. On the other hand, direct mentions included "Pam could see that ideas like (...) sustainability sounded more like academic concepts than something people could engage with in their everyday lives." in D1; "building on this sustainable success"

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[4]   Extracts have been edited for brevity and grammatical uniformity. Not every extract was included given space constraints.

and "creating a sustainable future for all" in D4. This extract from D1 sheds light as to why indirect mentions predominate: as it will be seen further along, IET prefers to avoid technical or "academic concepts", favoring colloquial language or circumventions, so as not to push people away and

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
DM (DIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
IM (INDIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
NM (NO MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 2: Scale of importance	**Relevant instances**
H (HIGH)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
M (MEDIUM)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
L (LOW)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
SPECIFIC KIND OF RHETORICAL FIGURES AND DISCURSIVE DEVICES	
EXAMPLES TAKEN FROM THE TEXT	
EXAMPLES TAKEN FROM THE TEXT	
EXAMPLES TAKEN FROM THE TEXT	

TABLE 1. DOCUMENT CATEGORIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION
Source: Michelle Brener M.

be consistent in their inclusiveness.

The extracts shown above share notions of needing a better future, change (doing things differently or finding new ways of doing things), and locality (protecting and supporting that which is local), all of them constants throughout the discourse as will be seen shortly. D3 had no mentions, either direct or indirect, of sustainability; this can be explained due to the fact that it is a newsletter which focused on specific events that had taken place during the months it covered.

The data for Category 2, Scale of importance, shows an important link between the project's objectives and sustainability, even if the term was not always directly addressed. In D1, classified as High: "But this isn't just about self-sufficiency. What is being achieved is far bigger. Through the shared language of food, the people of a small market town (...) are engaging in the biggest challenge facing the human race: how to ensure a secure future for the planet", "The simple, shared language of food is uniting the community in its efforts to create a kinder, greener world in and around their town", "It's about finding better ways to live that create opportunities for the future and avoid harm to our environment." In D2, classified as High: "If we want to inspire the farmers of tomorrow, then please let us say to every school, create a sense of purpose around the importance to the environment, local food and soils." In D3, classified as Medium: "It calls on each and every one of us, in times of crisis, and here they are discussing the global environmental crisis, to stand up and be counted (...) That, in or [sic] own, and many varied ways, is what IE is all about." In D4, classified as High: "Incredible North goes way beyond growing and eating locally produced food (although that's really

important to us). It's also about creating a sustainable future for everyone". And in D5, classified as High: "Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill."

As it can be observed, the extracts show that sustainability is a key element in IET's objectives; according to the documents, the purpose of IET and their network is to use what they call the language of food or the story of food to work towards a future that takes into account social and environmental wellbeing. Again, the writing circumvents around the direct word but the link is apparent enough.

As for Category 3, Discursive devices and rhetorical language, the data shows a consistent use of simplified and colloquial language: "stop passing the buck and waiting for someone else to save the world" and "And it's a story of having a lot of fun in the process" in D1; "Now, none of this is rocket science", "We've got a real show there, we've got some action theater" in D2; and "As they put it 'go down to the forum'" and "Well knock me down with a feather" in D3. This is consistent with their informal approach (the same that avoids "academic concepts"), seeing as what they want is to involve entire communities and, by employing this type of language, they make sure its appeal is universal. As Pam Warhurst says in her TEDTalk: "We are not daunted by the sophisticated arguments."

Furthermore, there are several allusions to victimhood, powerlessness and to overcoming them through food growing, which as has been said, is the vehicle to get people interested to work towards a sustainable future. "Could growing food be the catalyst to stop us thinking like disempowered victims and start taking responsibility for our own futures?" (D1), "We are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that's incredible." (D2), "The sense of not being powerless starts with that first step." (D3), and ""We're starting to believe in ourselves again and in our capacity to shape an alternative, kinder future." (D4). These allusions can be related to Todmorden's state of deprivation and the role IET has played in fighting it as well as how projects like this can help lift the hopelessness brought about climate change and environmental issues.

On a similar note, words like "unloved", "disused" (D4), and "clone" (D1) are used to describe the land and town, which are at the same time opposed by "kindness", "richness", "thriving· and "magic". In D1: "Incredible Edible can help keep independent local shops and markets open and thriving, creating a distinctive town rather than a clone town". In D2: " (...) to build a different and a kinder future" In D4 "encouraging ordinary individuals to transform disused plots into rich sources of healthy food." In D5: " (...) "between all of this and magic we are able to achieve what we want", ""We have shopkeepers, café owners (...) Weavers of magic", "Kindness will carry us through any difficulties", and "Kindness keeps us going, kindness has been shown to us in buckets."

The data from all five documents show that IET has constructed their discourse with sustainability at its center. This is not done directly but rather through the use of terms and formulations that allude to sustainability but that can be perceived as less technical yet more appealing to Todmorden residents. By opposing bleakness to richness, and powerlessness and victimhood to empowerment, IET presents its sustainability-led initiative as an answer to Todmorden's issues in which everybody is encouraged to contribute. This strengthens attachment to place and community building.

3.2 IET's impact on community building, education, and the promotion of local culture: findings

The second part of the analysis is based on the revision of "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report" (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017). The data collected in this report was quite useful to assess the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. The focus of this section will be the findings regarding community building, education and the promotion of local culture.

In terms of community, Morley, Farrier & Dooris (2017) report that "IET made an immediate and visible impact on the use of space in Todmorden" (p.20). These spaces include the old Health Center, the police and trains stations, a care home, schools, and outdoor spaces like the now-called Pollination Street. This focus on public space has "begun to change people's perception of their locality and relationship to their local environment, creating a greater sense of ownership and positivity" (p. 20). The data from the community surveys also suggest that IET has infused residents with a sense of pride (including pride to belong to IET) and a new sense of community, developing connections within the community that might not have taken place otherwise; for example, when the town flooded in 2012 and 2015 and people came together to provide assistance to others, actions where IET had influence (p. 22). Furthermore, "the notion that IET had brought people together for the shared purpose of improving the local community permeated both the one-to-one interviews and focus groups." (p.21) There has also been a perceived reduction in vandalism, on which one survey respondent commented that it might not be attributable entirely to IET but it could be attributed to this sense of ownership of place that has permeated in the community (p.22).

As for education, the authors report that IET has had an apparently stronger impact on young children, who have developed an interest in growing and gardening as well as on the provenance of food, nature and the environment (p. 26). Intergenerational work has also helped strengthen the efforts by encouraging parents and children to learn together about food growing and cooking (p.28) and the AquaGarden and Incredible Farm have contributed importantly as centers of didactic and informal training, respectively (p. 29). For instance, the AquaGarden has received children from local schools, from reception to year six, for lessons that had been woven into the curriculum (p. 29).

The impact on local culture can be seen in an enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and awareness attributable to the changes brought about by IET culture (p.22), with a survey respondent highlighting that

Todmorden has differentiated itself from other northern towns (p.22), and another stating that the awareness of the value of buying locally-sourced food was already culturally present in Todmorden but that IET made people even more aware (p.25). The data in the report also indicates IET's approach has "resonated with Todmorden's residents, reflecting its particular history and culture, and galvanising [sic] deep and sustained community action in the town" (p. 69).

Finally, even though the views on IET's impact in the community have been overwhelmingly positive (p. 63), the report shows that the project has faced some challenges. These are basically articulated in dissenting views from some members of the community, especially older and long-term residents. Some have shown a degree of resistance to change; some have questioned IET's underlying motivations, in particular after the project began to gain massive media coverage due to the high degree of exposure and because the organization could not always keep up with what was being reported (p. 41). There have also been tensions with stallholders from the local market who have felt threatened by IET's offer of free food, either via propaganda gardening or during planned events, or who perceive that IET is not bringing much trade to the market during the visitor tours (p.42).

Fear of gentrification is also an important issue discussed in the report. Some residents have expressed concern regarding Todmorden's increased desirability, to which IET has contributed, considering as well the town's low housing prices compared with Manchester and Leeds (p. 3, 42). However, there is no real evidence of gentrification as of yet, these are merely perceptions, and, in the event that evidence was found, it could not be attributed entirely to IET as there are several other factors that would need to be taken into account.

4. Discussion

The analysis shows, first, that IET has constructed its discourse around sustainability understood in terms of the sub-discourse described by Hugé et al (2013), as a process of change that requires a shift in conventional notions and practices, and where human lifestyles can be transformed by new ways of doing things. The basic premise of IET rests on securing a better, greener and kinder future by taking responsibility and acting to change a discouraging reality. The articulation of terms like kindness and green also points towards the idea that sustainability needs to conjoin both the human and the natural spheres (TNS System Conditions).

Furthermore, the use of colloquial language and the avoidance of technical terms suggest that the discourse, and therefore the operationalization of sustainability, aims at being inclusive and of universal appeal. This, plus the allusions to victimhood and powerlessness, seems to point towards Todmorden's population. By alluding to Todmorden itself and presenting a possibility of overall improvement in social and environmental terms, IET is putting in motion Hambleton's (2014) notion of place-based identity and loyalty. The latter is also supported by the fact that IET built on Todmorden's particularities, to its distinctiveness as a place.

Perhaps the strongest link between IET's sustainability-led discourse and community building, education and the promotion of local culture can be found in the argument that, for IET, growing food (through permaculture and urban farming) is a discursive vehicle to get people to come together as a community. Morley, Farrier & Dooris's report (2017) suggests that IET has had an overall positive impact in Todmorden. With respect to community building, the data shows that, among those interviewed, there is an increased sense of ownership and pride regarding Todmorden and IET as well as a sense of shared purpose. If seen through Hambleton's notion of place (2014), the latter indicates that these positive conceptions of the town, this rallying together of people with their town, reflects the way its inhabitants relate to each other as well.

The signs of cohesion seen with community building are transferred into education and local culture. IET's incursion into formal and informal education, as seen by the participation of school children and adults in the different activities and lessons, speaks to the impact the project has had and can have in this sector. Through teaching food growth and cooking, IET is also imparting their vision of sustainability, potentially influencing the development of young people and effecting change in the general population. Finally, if IET has played a role in bringing the community together and is making incursions in education and learning, then it is also having an impact on the town's way of life. The enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and heightened awareness regarding practices that were already in place in Todmorden, as was reported by survey respondents and interviewees, suggests, then, that the organization has also had an effect on the promotion of local culture.

4. Conclusions

This research has shown that IET's use of a sustainability-led discourse articulated around the need to secure a "better, greener, and kinder" future and put into action through their permaculture and urban farming projects, has had a positive impact on community building, education, and local culture in Todmorden. This stresses the argument that sustainability operates as a process of directed change that encompasses human lifestyles, practices, and structures aimed at ensuring an ethical co-existence between humans and between them and the natural world, which, in the end, is the underlying principle of IET's discourse. The focus here was on community building, education, and local culture but this framework can definitely be applied to study other areas and sectors.

Further research *in situ* is, of course, necessary to collect more data to add to this line of inquiry, as is necessary to conduct research on other localities where similar projects have been carried out, both within the Incredible Edible network and elsewhere. However, this paper presents an initial approach as to the range of effects sustainability projects can have on localities and their potential to devise solutions to social and environmental issues at a time when outlooks for the future seem to be increasingly challenging.

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Diversité des modèles de management dans le champ CCI[5] : proposition de classification

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ABSTRACT

Le champ de la culture et des industries créatives est composé de multiples secteurs d'activité pouvant présenter des différences parfois sensibles qui se répercutent dans les modes de gestion. Pourtant, les différences entre secteurs d'activité n'expliquent pas à elles seules la diversité des modèles de management observables dans le champ CCI.

L'analyse présentée ici part du constat que tout acteur culturel (i.e. unité agissante, individu ou organisation) a des enjeux par rapport à l'intervention publique et par rapport aux marchés. Cinq variables managériales permettent d'expliquer comment ces deux facteurs, transverses au champ CCI, structurent des situations-types: ressources financières et moyens de réduction des couts; rapport acteur culturel / autorités publiques; formes juridiques et organisationnelles; croissance/diversification; réputation.

Keywords:

Acteurs culturels, enjeux, intervention publique, marchés, modèle de management

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[5]   Nous reprenons ici le sigle anglais de Culture and Creative Industries le plus souvent utilisé dans la littérature internationale. Les exemples cités ici proviennent de cette base de données.

Dans une démarche mêlant approche théorique et observation empirique (échantillon de158 acteurs culturels dans 20 pays d'Europe) sept modèles de management sont ainsi caractérisés: l'Institutionnel, le Conventionné, le Fragile, l'Indépendant, le Suiveur, l'Entreprise financiarisée, le Leader

Introduction

La culture et les industries créatives ou CCI ne forment pas un champ unifié mais un agrégat de secteurs d'activités, nombreux et variés, formant un ensemble hétérogène. Or le management culturel en tant que corpus de savoir explicatif et normatif, a toujours peiné à couvrir l'ensemble de la culture essuyant ainsi de nombreuses critiques. Les choses n'ont pas fondamentalement changé avec la vision des industries créatives introduite à partir de 1998, attisant encore la sempiternelle question des secteurs à inclure dans le périmètre[6].

La notion de champ, originellement définie par Bourdieu (1992), a servi la consolidation d'un corpus managérial en contribuant à donner un cadre concret aux pratiques liées à la culture. Partant de l'affirmation que "celui qui est pris dans un champ est pris dans un jeu" (Bourdieu, 2015, p. 319), l'analyse de la culture et des industries créatives trouve une assise concrète et interdisciplinaire en s'intéressant à l'agir. En effet, dans un jeu, les acteurs-joueurs deviennent des « unités agissantes » (Montbrial, 2006) prises dans des interactions formant un ensemble complexe car présentant une cohérence systémique (Morin, 2005 ; Crozier & Friedberg, 1980).

Ces acteurs-joueurs du champ CCI que nous appelons des acteurs culturels (notés AC) sont aussi bien des individus (artistes, artisans d'art, journalistes, enseignants en freelance…) que des organisations formalisées. Toute la panoplie des formes juridiques existantes se retrouve ainsi dans le CCI: personne juridique individuelle, organisation de droit public, organisation de droit privé à but non lucratif, organisation de droit privé lucratif et commercial.

L'analyse du champ a montré comment les interactions sont à l'œuvre, par exemple dans les mondes artistiques (Becker, 1988) et comment il fallait considérer que tout AC développait une logique d'action à partir d'objectifs, de ressources et de marge de manœuvre placé dans une dynamique stratégique (Menger, 2014; Friedberg, 1997; D'Angelo, Friedberg & Urfalino, 1989).

Le champ CCI présente une large palette de secteurs différenciés mais la dimension sectorielle, n'explique pas à elle seule les spécificités managériales que l'on peut observer dans le champ CCI. Ainsi, pour Davis et Scase (2001) existent, indépendamment des secteurs d'activités, quatre modèles d'organisation et de fonctionnement (bureaucratie culturelle, charisme traditionnel, bureaucratie commerciale, organisation en réseau). Faisant également abstraction des secteurs, Jones, Lorenzen et Sapsed (2015) s'intéressent aux

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[6]   On constate ainsi des variations importantes sur les secteurs pris en compte par l'UE (étude KEA de 2006), le DCMS britannique (2016), le rapport Santagata pour l'Italie (2009), le Conseil de l'Europe dans ses monographies (EricArts, 2019) ou l'étude EY pour le CISAC en 2014

dynamiques de changement dans le CCI, faisant ressortir quatre modèles[7] selon la vitesse et l'intensité d'évolution concomitante du contenu immatériel (*semiotic code*) et du contenant matériel (*material base*).

La recherche d'explications des différences non sectorielles dans le CCI peut donc être fructueuse et enrichir le management culturel. C'est dans cet esprit que nous avons cherché à rendre compte de la diversité des situations managériales observables dans le champ CCI. En posant conceptuellement que tout AC (unité agissante stratégique) était impacté, indépendamment de son secteur d'activité par deux facteurs transversaux, les marchés (MM) et l'intervention publique (IP), nous avons engagé en 2015 une étude empirique[8] pour mieux caractériser la diversité des situations managériales dans le champ CCI (D'Angelo, 2018).

Pour expliciter cette démarche et ses résultats, nous détaillerons dans une première partie les bases du raisonnement qui s'articule autour du concept de situation dans le champ. Une situation est caractérisée par cinq variables explicitées dans la seconde partie. Dans la troisième partie sera présentée la méthode ayant prévalu dans l'étude empirique. Enfin, la dernière partie détaillera les sept modèles qui ressortent par cette approche.

1. Cadre théorique

Le postulat sur lequel repose la construction de ces modèles est que l'intervention publique (IP) et les marchés (MM) jouent transversalement à tout le champ CCI et ses différents secteurs d'activité. En fonction des diverses combinaisons possibles entre MM et IP, se structurent des situations-types, caractérisables par un certain nombre de variables. C'est pourquoi il convient de voir d'abord quelles sont les fondements de l'hypothèse que MM et IP sont transverses au champ CCI.

1.1 Hypothèses de la modélisation

Avant de "trier" les situations dans lesquelles peuvent se trouver les AC, il convient de voir en quoi ceux-ci se ressemblent et en quoi ils diffèrent. Dans un second temps, on examinera comment regrouper les AC sur des similitudes, des situations-types, et les modéliser. Pour cela, l'interrogation de départ a porté sur les enjeux qui traversent tout le champ CCI, concernent tous les AC quelque soient leur secteur d'activité, et non leurs enjeux spécifiquement liés à la production d leurs outputs.

1.11 Enjeux sectoriels

Pour illustrer ces enjeux prenons trois exemples: le Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), l'association PATACC à Harlow (près Londres) et l'agence d'architecture RPBW.

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[7]   *Preserve, Ideate,Transform, Recreate.*
[8]   En utilisant la base de données de l'association Idée Europe qui comporte des informations sur 310 AC en Europe.

Pour le Rijksmuseum, ce qui est en jeu c'est d'être capable de conserver ses collections d'œuvres (maitrise des techniques muséographiques) mais aussi pouvoir animer le lieu ouvert aux publics en offrant une scénographie attractive ainsi que des expositions temporaires, des services périphériques (boutique, cafétéria etc.).

Pour PATACC qui anime le *Black History Month*, évènement culturel qui se tient dans la ville nouvelle de Harlow, il s'agit pour l'association de bénévoles de promouvoir la "culture noire". Elle doit être capable d'organiser des conférences, des spectacles, des ateliers de cuisines et des expositions, dans des lieux fermés comme dans l'espace public.

L'agence d'architecture RPBW doit quant à elle être capable de concevoir un bâtiment fonctionnellement et esthétiquement, en réponse aux attentes du client[9] puis de superviser la construction.

La comparaison des trois cas montre que chaque AC utilise des ressources spécifiques, techniques, humaines et créatives, nécessaires à la production de ses outputs. Musée, association culturelle ou agence d'architecture s'activent dans des locaux adaptés avec des outils techniques adaptés (par exemple la 3D pour les architectes) avec des conservateurs qualifiés ou des bénévoles ayant appris des savoir-faire.

1.12 Enjeux transverses aux secteurs et au champ CCI

La question ici est de savoir ce qui est en jeu pour nos trois AC, indépendamment de leur secteur d'activité. Autrement dit, de quelles ressources ont-t-ils besoin, qu'ils soient musée, association d'animation d'un évènement culturel ou agence d'architecture? Les ressources qui leur permettent d'acquérir les techniques, savoir-faire, compétences et contenus créatifs pour produire leurs outputs respectifs sont d'abord financières. Elles proviennent notamment de leurs ventes (billets aux visiteurs, locations et gérances de boutique et restaurant, ventes des prestations architecturales aux clients), de subventions de fonctionnement et d'investissement versées par des AP, de cotisations des membres de l'association, de licence et droits d'auteur, de dons...

Nos trois exemples montrent toutefois que la capacité d'un AC est aussi impactée par des ressources qui ne sont pas financières mais découlent de dispositions liées à l'intervention publique:

o   Être reconnu comme organisation publique avec une mission d'intérêt général (offrant un bien commun),

o   Être reconnu comme organisme pouvant exercer librement une activité exprimant des convictions sociétales et culturelles y compris dans l'espace public, avec le droit de recevoir des dons et d'employer des bénévoles pour accomplir des tâches sans contrat de travail,

o   Avoir un travail protégé en tant qu'auteur d'une œuvre architecturale,

o   Bénéficier d'un mécanisme fiscal ou d'une mise à disposition de locaux.

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[9]   Souvent dans le cadre d'un concours.

1.2 Définition de situations-types à partir des logiques publiques et marchandes

Pour définir les situation-types nous nous servons de deux schémas. Dans le schéma 1 nous avons voulu représenter la transversalité de MM et IP, à partir desquelles se structurent des situations-types dans le champ. Celles-ci regroupent des AC au profil similaire et pareillement impactés par les effets conjoints de MM et IP. La logique publique est sous-jacente à la chose publique, basée sur l'intervention d'une autorité publique (AP) définissant l'intérêt général et régulant le jeu. La logique marchande est quant à elle sous-jacente aux échanges s'effectuant en contexte de compétition (Weber, 1973, p. 110).

Un AC est impacté par MM et IP qui constituent des forces stables de son environnement (c'est ainsi du moins qu'ils apparaissent dans les pays où opèrent les AC étudiés). Conséquemment, MM et IP représentent des enjeux pour l'AC, en fonction de leurs effets mais aussi en fonction de la manière dont l'AC joue ou pense pouvoir jouer dans cette situation, autrement dit selon sa stratégie.

Le schéma 1 représente ces deux logiques par deux flèches de sens contraire. Il nous indique également que se "cristallisent" en quelque sorte des situations-types dans le champ, positions formées à certains points de rencontre des deux logiques avec celle de l'AC. Les sept situations-types identifiées et définies dans le champ constituent donc chacune une combinaison des effets de MM et IP sur les AC et les stratégies de ces AC en fonction des enjeux perçus (Simon, 1998).

Le schéma 2 prend en compte les formes de l'intervention publique et les trois marchés pertinents pour le CCI:

i. Les quatre formes de l'intervention publique sont: l'intégration dans la sphère publique, le soutien direct (principalement subventions, dotations, locaux, promotion), le soutien indirect (principalement par la fiscalité et l'action sur la demande), la régulation/réglementation (Chang, 2012; D'Angelo, 2013),

ii. Les trois marchés à distinguer sont: celui qui se définit autour des produits et services, celui qui se définit autour des dons et le marché qui se définit autour des apports en capital. Les mécanismes et les règles qui s'établissent pour chacun d'eux sont liés aux rapports concrets d'échanges et aux arrangements entre les acteurs-joueurs (Simon, 1991) qui interagissent dans ces espaces: ajustement des prix, taux d'intérêt, volumes d'achats et de ventes, influence, etc.

FAIBLE   **FORT**

MM *Logique liée aux échanges en contextes concurrentiels* Mécanismes de Marchés

INSTITUTIONNEL
A

CONVENTIONNÉ
B

FRAGILE
C

INDÉPENDANT
D

SUIVEUR
E

FIRME FINANCIARISÉE
F

LEADER
G

Intervention publique *Logique liée à l'intérêt général et à la régulation* **IP**

FORT   **FAIBLE**

.
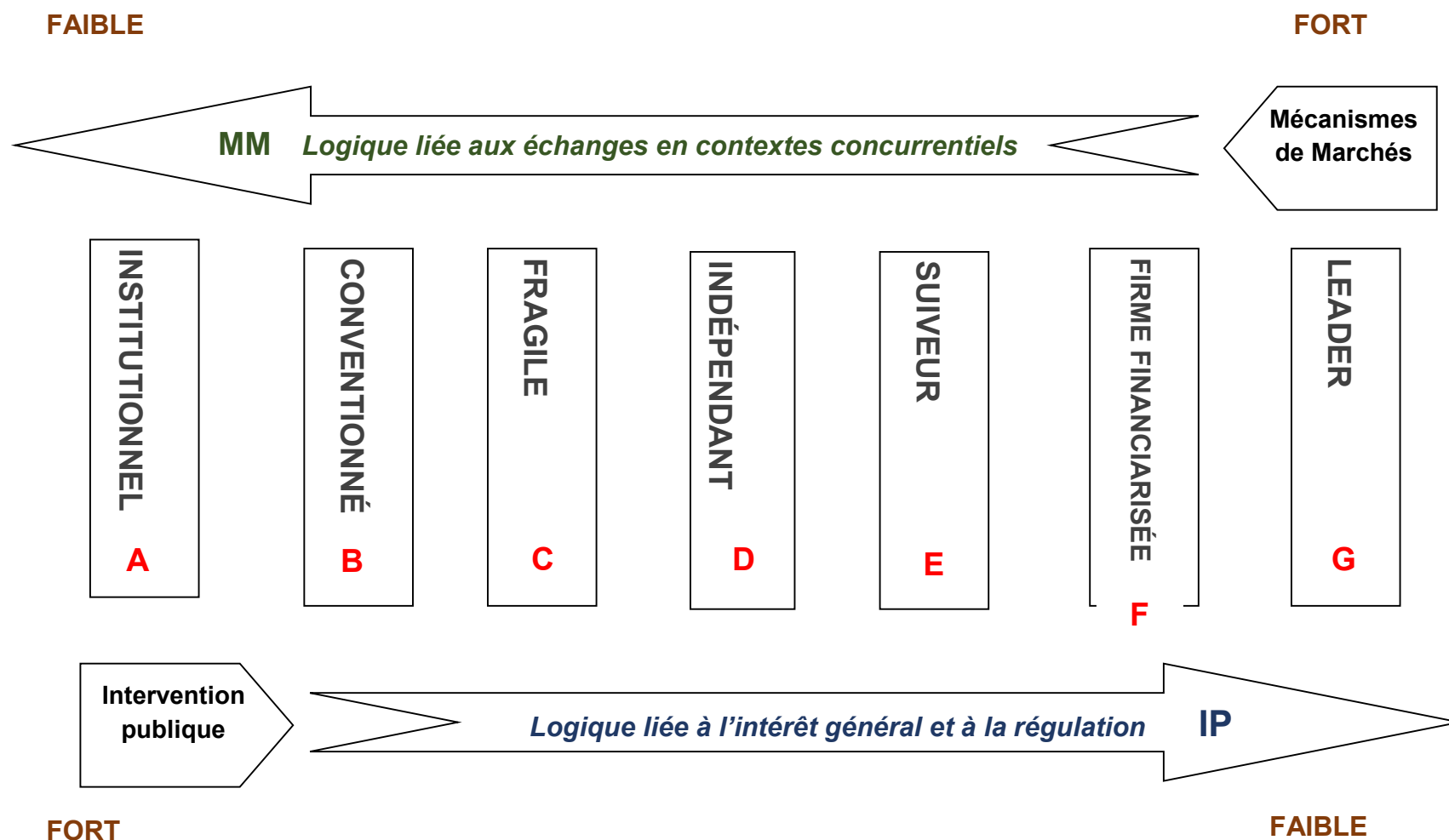
SCHEMA 1– LA STRUCTURATION DE SITUATIONS TYPES DANS LE CHAMP, EN FONCTION DES DEUX

LOGIQUES, PUBLIQUE ET MARCHANDE

Source : Mario d'Angelo
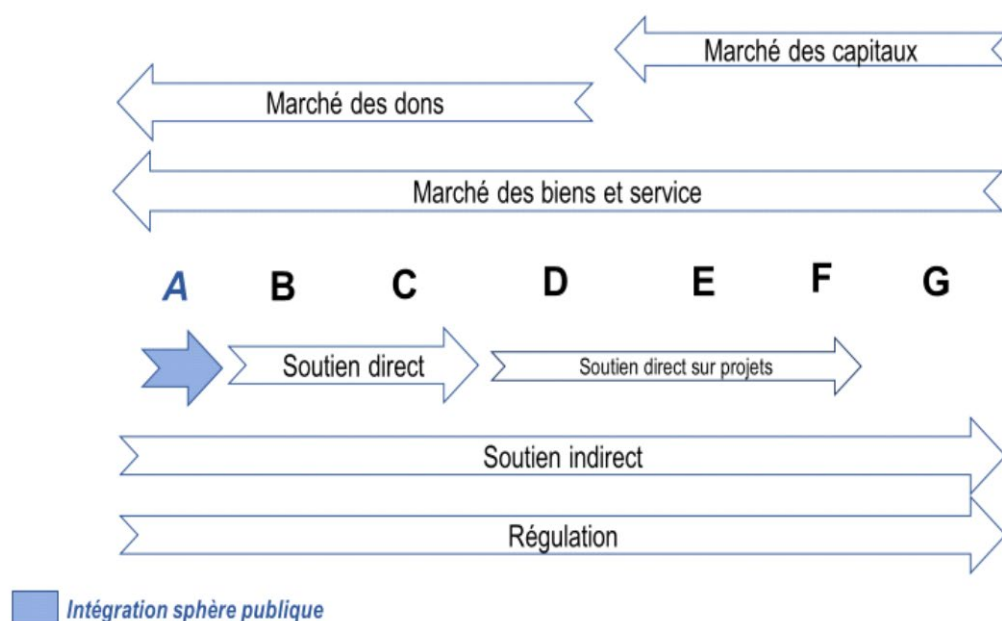
SCHEMA 2 – ENJEUX DES TROIS MARCHES ET DES QUATRE FORMES D'INTERVENTION PUBLIQUE
Source : Mario d'Angelo

Le schéma 2 montre par exemple que le marché des capitaux et celui des dons ne concernent pas toutes les situations contrairement aux recettes des ventes de produits et services qui concernent tous les AC. Néanmoins pour certains la part des ventes sera plus faible en raison du soutien public. Les marchés contribuent donc à structurer le champ en fonction de l'absence ou non d'enjeux (par rapport aux capitaux ou aux dons) ou selon l'intensité/ampleur de leurs effets (les ressources commerciales).

Par rapport à IP, le schéma 2 montre que l'intervention de soutien direct exprimant une reconnaissance d'intérêt général assortie notamment de subventions et de mises à disposition de locaux, ne concerne fortement que trois situations (A, B et C) tandis qu'en D, E et F le soutien direct ne porte que sur des projets. En revanche, dans les sept situations-types, les AC sont impactés par le soutien indirect et par la régulation lesquels représentent donc des enjeux pour tout le champ. Les situations types A, B, C, D se caractérisent ainsi par une prédominance des enjeux publics. Pour A, B et C autour du soutien direct et pour D autour du soutien indirect. Pour les situations types E, F et G ce sont au contraire les enjeux des marchés de biens et services et des capitaux qui prévalent. C'est pourquoi les dénominations de Suiveur, Firme financiarisée et Leader ont été retenues en référence à la terminologie de la stratégie d'entreprise.

2. Variables et modèles de management

Un canevas de cinq variables managériales a été construit afin de pouvoir différencier des situations de management. On relève ainsi comment un AC dans une situation combine ses stratégies avec l'intervention publique et les marchés. Exemple: si une chorégraphe crée une compagnie de danse contemporaine, le statut de cette organisation est choisi en anticipant sur la capacité de vendre les spectacles notamment en

fonction de choix esthétiques et, conséquemment, des types de publics pouvant être intéressés, du renom possible dont dispose déjà la chorégraphe ou que la compagnie devra se forger. S'y ajoutent les fonds dont la compagnie dispose au départ et les soutiens possibles d'une ou plusieurs collectivités publiques ainsi que de sponsors et donateurs… Autrement dit, les choix et les anticipations renvoient à la capacité stratégique de l'AC.

2.1 Ressources financières et moyens de réductions des couts des AC

Cette variable est construite, d'une part à partir des ressources financières dont disposent les AC et qui proviennent des marchés et/ou des AP[10] et, d'autre part, des dispositions qui pouvant permettre aux AC de réduire les coûts de production de leurs outputs. Celles-ci sont principalement d'ordre fiscal (crédits d'impôts, réductions de taxes…) ou des moyens matériels mis à disposition (locaux, du patrimoine culturel bâti public)[11].

Cette variable évalue donc l'importance (variables) d'effets positifs sur l'EBITDA des AC ainsi que le degré de dépendances aux financements publics et/ou aux financements par les marchés

2.2 Rapport entre l'AC et l'autorité publique (AP)

Cette variable renvoie au degré de dépendance et d'autonomie de l'AC par rapport à l'AP: y a-t-il intégration de l'AC dans la sphère publique (s'inscrivant alors dans une ligne hiérarchique au sein d'une unique AP) ou supervision publique? Ou rapport contractuel (avec quelle pérennité?) ou des rapports séquentiels (en particulier autour de projets)?

Les rapports AC/AP sont-ils directs et individualisés (par exemple le Centre photographique de Jyväskylä en Finlande avec la ville) ou sont-ce des rapports indirects: l'AP traite avec un groupe d'AC (ayant, par exemple, une même problématique) représenté ou pas par un organisme constitué. Ici est aussi observé si ce groupe d'AC développe des actions d'advocacy et/ou de lobbying.

Les liens AC/AP expriment aussi l'enjeu que l'AC peut représenter pour une ou plusieurs AP (identité culturelle, image positive, réputation externe du territoire, stimulation artistique et créative au sein de la population, innovations…).

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[10] Y compris les fonds annexes relevant des décisions des AP mais affectés directement (les loteries en Belgique, Finlande, Italie) ou les redevances radio-télévisions publiques.

[11] Parfois des dépôts d'objets ou d'œuvres dans des collections muséales.

2.3 Formes juridiques et organisationnelles de l'AC

Cette variable est construite sur une double composante en partant des questions suivantes: l'AC exerce-t-il en nom propre ou comme organisation ayant la personnalité morale? Celle-ci est-elle publique ou privée? À but lucratif ou non lucratif? La forme juridique renvoie à la forme organisationnelle présentant un large spectre: individu exerçant en freelance (musicien, metteur en scène, curateur…) commerçant (galeriste, libraire…) l'association formée de bénévoles, établissement public avec filiales commerciales (comme le British Museum) très grande organisation diversifiée avec une construction juridique transnationale autour d'un holding financier détenant le capital de groupes eux-mêmes à la tête d'un ensemble de filiales et de participations dans plusieurs pays.

On le voit, la structure juridique et organisationnelle renvoie à la question de la gouvernance et du contrôle des organisations en particulier par rapport à la propriété du capital (coopératives, entreprises à actionnaires multiples…) ou l'absence de propriété (association sans but lucratif…).

Cette variable prend également en compte les partenariats public/privé avec des formes très variables. On en citera deux:

- la concession (ou équivalent) comme pour le château de Fehérvárcsurgó, propriété de l'État hongrois, que la fondation Joseph Karolyi a restauré et qu'elle gère,

- les apports mutuels de partenaires publics et privés donnant lieu à la création d'un AC comme pour le musée Polin à Varsovie: terrain de la ville, bâtiment construit avec les fonds de l'État, objets et œuvres offerts par de nombreux particuliers à travers le monde via l'Institut d'histoire juive de Pologne qui a également la gestion déléguée du musée.

2.4 Croissance et diversification de l'AC

La croissance est mesurable: en chiffre d'affaires, en nombre d'employés ou de bénévoles, en progression de parts de marché, en présence sur des marchés territoriaux etc. La diversification est quant à elle évaluable au terme d'un processus qui amène l'AC, à partir d'un métier d'origine en lien avec un marché qu'il maitrise, à acquérir de nouvelles ressources et compétences pour développer une nouvelle offre avec un nouveau marché (Ansoff, 1992). Dans le CCI cependant, le produit ou service ayant une double composante, les stratégies de diversification portent aussi sur les contenus[12].

La croissance renvoie à un contexte de marché tandis que la diversification révèle une capacité organisationnelle et financière de l'AC de sortir du métier et du marché d'origine. Sur le long terme, ces deux variables sont interdépendantes. Elles font ressortir les AC pouvant rester en croissance dans un contexte qui ne l'est pas, avec de nouvelles activités qui les ont amenés sur des marchés porteurs ou des marchés n'ayant les mêmes cycles (un festival d'été par rapport à un théâtre de saison).

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[12] C'est par exemple un éditeur spécialisé en littérature qui élargit son offre sur les manuels scolaires. Cette stratégie de diversification peut se traduire soit par le rachat d'un autre éditeur spécialisé en livres scolaires (croissance externe) soit par la création d'un département au sein l'organisation existante (croissance interne).

Pour l'AC qui veut réussir une amélioration de ses performances sur le long terme, s'impose une réduction de sa dépendance aux durées de vie des produits et services qu'il délivre liés à une unique activité mais à se diversifier.

Les AC capables d'avoir de fortes croissances couplées à de fortes diversifications, sont des entreprises commerciales en contexte concurrentiel potentiellement sujettes à des mouvements de concentration organisationnelle et financière selon le modèle des conglomérats (Fitzerald, 2015). Ces AC sont donc exposés aux comportements d'investisseurs et aux opérations de rachats ou fusions (Coutinat & Sagot-Duvauroux, 2003). Tous les AC constitués en entreprises commerciales ne s'inscrivent cependant pas dans cette seule rationalité financière. En vérité, la question financière n'est jamais loin: qu'elles soient internes ou externes, croissance et diversification doivent être financées. Des AC comme les startups avec des perspectives de croissance liées aux innovations entrent bien évidemment dans ce cas de figure et procèdent à des levées de fonds parfois spectaculaires lorsqu'elles sont en passe de devenir des licornes.

2.5 Réputation de l'AC

Elle renvoie à la notoriété, à la visibilité et à la reconnaissance de l'AC[13], que celui-ci soit créateur, auteur, interprète, lieu, évènement… La réputation inclut les marques (Chanel ou Van Cleef & Arpels dans l'échantillon), ou des quasi-marques comme des titres de presse et de magazines, des collections (dans l'édition livre), des labels (phonogrammes, vidéogrammes)... avec un travail d'identité visuelle, de présence sur des espaces de promotion et d'e-présence…

Les entreprises marchandes considèrent la gestion du "capital-marque comme un élément essentiel dans la continuité du rapport au marché du fait de la confiance que consommateurs et publics portent à la marque, par-delà les changements de propriété de l'entreprise qui détient la marque.

Par la réputation on s'intéresse aussi à la capacité de médiatisation c'est-à-dire de mobilisation de relais et de réseaux dans les médias; cela passe aussi par les moyens promotionnels et de création d'événements.

La réputation est évaluable par rapport à des territoires, des groupes (cercles, milieux). Ainsi dans un genre comme le free jazz, une niche dans l'univers musical, mais de fait de sa forte internationalisation rend possible que des artistes aient une notoriété mondiale. La question de la réputation envoie nécessairement aux genres et aux styles, du fait de leur importance dans les contenus culturels et créatifs et donc à considérer la position d'une genre: émergence, déclin...

3. Vérification empirique et raisonnement inductif

L'analyse de la diversité du champ CCI a été adossée à une démarche empirique qui a permis la vérification des hypothèses de départ. Cette démarche est qualitative et se fonde sur un raisonnement par induction en s'appuyant sur un échantillon. Ce dernier comporte 158 acteurs culturels et prend en compte la dimension territoriale qui impacte autant les formes et les contenus des interventions publiques que le fonctionnement et

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[13]   La reconnaissance symbolique passe par des récompenses, distinctions, titres honorifiques etc.

les apports des marchés. Le choix de limiter cette analyse à vingt pays d'Europe a été guidé par le fait que ceux-ci présentent des similarités entre leurs mécanismes d'interventions publiques et qu'en outre les institutions européennes fondent notamment une harmonisation des marchés et un noyau commun de régulation/réglementation.

3.11 Analyse qualitative s'appuyant sur un échantillon d'AC

Nous avons cherché à constituer un échantillon permettant de disposer de suffisamment de cas pour rendre compte de la diversité des secteurs d'activités mais aussi de la diversité liée aux différents pays (avec leurs niveaux politico-territoriaux, État/région/commune), enfin, de disposer de suffisamment de cas dans chaque modèle de management comme l'exprime le tableau 1.

Pays	Modèle A	Modèle B	Modèle C	Modèle D	Modèle E	Modèle F	Modèle G	Total
Allemagne	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	15
Autriche	2	2	1	1	1	1	-	8
Belgique	2	3	-	2	1	1	-	9
Bulgarie	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
Danemark	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3
Espagne	2	2	4	1	-	1	-	10
Estonie	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
Finlande	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	4
France	2	1	5	4	3	4	6	
Grèce	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	5
Hongrie	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	4
Italie	4	5	1	1	1	1	2	15
Luxembourg	-		-	-	1	1	1	3
Pays-Bas	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	5
Pologne	2	1	1	1	-	-	1	6
Portugal	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
Roumanie	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	5
Royaume-Uni	1	5	2	1	-	2	2	13
Suède	2	1	1	-	2	-	-	6
Suisse	2	1	3	1	-	1	-	8
USA	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	3
Total	32	29	27	21	13	18	17	**158**

TABLEAU 1 - REPARTITION DE L'ECHANTILLON PAR PAYS ET PAR SITUATION-TYPE
Source : Mario d'Angelo

3.2 Raisonnement inductif

Pour vérifier les modèles nous nous sommes appuyés sur un examen qualitatif des AC de l'échantillon. Ce traitement des données collectées sur 158 AC présents dans vingt pays d'Europe vise une démonstration s'appuyant sur des exemples suffisamment nombreux pour que chaque modèle renvoie à des AC présents dans plusieurs pays mais aussi que des AC de plusieurs secteurs soient représentés dans chaque modèle. Le fondement étant de faire ressortir des caractéristiques communes et des différences marquantes entre les AC puis de les regrouper en situation-types. Une situation-type regroupe des AC présentant plus de similitudes que de différences sur les cinq variables utilisées.

Cette méthode idéale-typique s'appuie sur un mode de raisonnement par induction qui permet de faire des allers-retours permanents entre la population de l'échantillon et une situation-type, modélisée, en s'interrogeant jusqu'à quel point chaque modèle se vérifie. Cette question du "jusqu'à quel point" le modèle type se vérifie revient à définir les variantes acceptables par rapport au centre d'un modèle sans que ces variantes ne remettent en cause l'homogénéité du modèle. Notre traitement présente encore une difficulté supplémentaire du fait que les AC se situent dans vingt pays. Chacun d'eux présentent des spécificités en matière d'intervention publique. Nous pouvons cependant considérer que cette territorialité est prise en compte dans la variable "Rapport AC/AP".

La question "jusqu'à quel point un modèle reste-t-il vrai?". pose finalement la question des frontières entre les modèles : à partir de quelles différences un AC devient-il suffisamment différent d'un autre pour ne plus s'inscrire dans le même modèle que cet autre? L'étude y a répondu en confrontant, au cas par cas, les 158 AC.

4. Sept modèles de management

L'application des cinq variables précédemment décrites a permis de caractériser sept modèles de management.

4.1 L'Institutionnel (modèle A)

L'AC est une organisation avec une mission d'intérêt général. Il est hiérarchiquement lié à une AP; s'il a le plus souvent la personnalité morale distincte, il arrive qu'il soit un établissement géré en régie directe. Dans tous les cas, l'AP procure les ressources financières et matérielles essentielles à l'AC de même qu'il détermine les investissements à réaliser pour l'AC. Cette position privilégiée de l'AC dans une politique culturelle procure à ce dernier une légitimité et une pérennité dont il tire aussi en partie sa réputation. Celle-ci dépend des objectifs de l'AP en termes de rayonnement ainsi que de la taille de l'AP. ainsi une bibliothèque nationale (d'un État) jouira certainement d'une réputation supérieure à celle d'une bibliothèque municipale, mais il est probable que la réputation d'une bibliothèque municipale de grande ville sera supérieure à celle d'une petite ville.

Centré sur sa mission de service public, l'AC a une diversification limitée (le plus souvent concentrique).

On trouve dans ce modèle aussi bien des musées et des monuments historiques que des théâtres ou des télévisions publiques voire des salles de cinéma (municipalisées). En revanche, rarement des AC produisant ou commercialisant des produits manufacturés des industries culturels s'inscrivent dans le modèle institutionnel.

4.2 Le Conventionné (modèle B)

Bien que soutenu directement par une AP (souvent par plusieurs AP) l'AC dans ce modèle est une organisation juridiquement autonome de la sphère publique avec un statut d'organisation à but non lucratif. Le soutien public direct lui est indispensable et, le plus souvent, il lui est acquis à travers un montage particulier associant plusieurs AP. Ce contrat offre une grande pérennité à l'AC qui remplit une mission d'intérêt général. Historiquement, ce modèle s'est développé dans l'Europe libérale et particulièrement le Royaume-Uni où le principe de non-intervention directe dans les arts a favorisé ce modèle encore renforcé avec le système des QUANGOS comme le Conseil des arts[14]. Il n'est pas étonnant qu'à la fin des années 1980 dans beaucoup de pays, sous l'égide de gouvernements néo-libéraux, les réformes ont transféré des AC de l'Institutionnel vers le Conventionné[15].

Dans le modèle B, l'AC doit, davantage qu'en A, compter sur ses recettes propres lesquelles comprennent également les dons. Sa réputation doit donc être portée au plus haut en s'appuyant sur de "l'événementialisation" capable de produire une médiatisation fructueuse. Dans ce modèle, la plupart des AC se situent dans les arts du spectacl ou sont des lieux physiques d'art et de culture.

Si fondamentalement les AC de ce modèle ne peuvent aller bien au-delà d'une diversification concentrique, celle-ci est cependant plus poussée qu'en A.

4.3 Le Fragile (modèle C)

L'AC peut être une organisation ou un individu (par exemple des artistes en début de carrière mais aussi des artistes n'ayant pas percé et exerçant parfois des jobs alimentaires complémentaires). Les AC qui sont des organisations sont presque toujours nées d'initiative de terrain (*bottom up*). Beaucoup d'AC de ce modèle ont des visées militantes que ce soit pour porter la culture auprès de populations défavorisées ou pour des causes à l'international comme celle que défend par exemple ACTED (développement durable à composante culturelle dans les zones post-conflits). Plus anciennement on trouve des exemples de militantisme en rupture profonde avec la société comme ce fut le cas avec la création de centres culturels alternatifs en Allemagne dans les années 1970, qui ont souvent commencé par des squats[16].

Dans le modèle C, on trouve également des AC ayant des visées entrepreneuriales : Ce sont des organisations formées autour d'artistes qui se sont d'abord centrés sur la création voire l'expérimentation

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[14]   Le National Theatre de Londres est un bon exemple de Conventionné avec une complète autonomie de gestion, recevant une subvention annuelle de l'Arts Council of England pour son fonctionnement et pour l'entretien du bâtiment qui lui a été transféré.
[15]   Dans l'échantillon ce sont notamment: Scala de Milan, Rijskmuseum, Riksteatern de Suède.
[16]   Dans notre échantillon: Brotfabrik à Francfort-sur-le-Main et ufaFabrik à Berlin-Tempelhof.

dans des styles et des genres qui touchent difficilement le grand public. Ils ont donc peu de marché porteur. Leur projet peut se monter sur un statut associatif autorisant le bénévolat et le soutien direct public. Tel est aussi le cas des organisations de pratiques culturelles collectives en amateurs dont les plus anciennes remontent au 19ème siècle. Elles se sont maintenues dans une fragilité relative, avec des hauts et des bas selon les conjonctures politiques. Leur force a été de s'être organisées à grande échelle sur un modèle fédératif mais depuis deux décennies, beaucoup semblent s'essouffler en raison de pratiques qui ont fortement changé.

La fragilité est liée à plusieurs facteurs mais le plus important est celui du soutien public direct qui reste aléatoire, au contraire du modèle B. L'attitude des AP est fluctuante soit que des raisons générales sont invoquées pour baisser les dépenses publiques soit que l'alternance politique se traduit par des changements de priorités.

Au cours des deux décennies écoulées, les collectifs d'artistes des friches industrielles et en faisant des lieux mutualisés intéressent des AP locales qui y voient une attractivité nouvelle[17]. Ils sont aussi vus comme de nouveaux entrepreneurs dans les arts. Ils misent sur des synergies et sur leur capacité à présenter une offre diversifiée avec peu de moyens et donc peu de subventions : expositions temporaires d'artistes plasticiens, spectacles créés par les compagnies de danse, de théâtre ou les groupes de musique, galeries, radios associatives, artistes circassiens, artistes de rue, etc.

L'effet de groupe permet aux AC installés sur un site d'atteindre un niveau de visibilité, difficilement atteignable individuellement. Bien que la fragilité structurelle demeure pour la plupart des résidents, elle s'en trouve néanmoins atténuée. Ces lieux font néanmoins entrer les AC dans des cercles plus vertueux. La mutualisation permet de produire et, pour certains, d'expérimenter et d'innover dans un cadre où la proximité entre résidents peut favoriser des échanges entre eux.

4.4 L'Indépendant (modèle D)

L'AC n'est pas toujours une organisation. Il peut être un individu (auteur, artiste, artisan d'art, designer, décorateur d'intérieur…) dont la réputation est bien établie et qui exerce en son nom propre. Lorsque l'AC est une organisation, il provient presque toujours d'une initiative extérieure aux AP. À la différence des modèles E, F et G, l'AC est sans but lucratif et bénéficie d'une reconnaissance d'utilité publique.

Le choix de l'appellation Indépendant souligne que dans le modèle D, le besoin de soutien direct (subventions, locaux) est secondaire voire ponctuel. En revanche, l'AC est un bénéficiaire des soutiens publics indirects, en particulier des incitations fiscales aux dons et au mécénat ainsi que des dispositifs de protection des droits de la propriété intellectuelle.

Dans l'échantillon de l'étude, les AC de type Indépendant sont présents dans des activités culturelles très variées, que ce soit en tant que créateurs individuels reconnus, organismes d'enseignement spécialisé, sociétés de gestion collective des droits de la propriété intellectuelle mais aussi fondations de droit privé

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[17] L'échantillon de l'étude comporte trois lieux réutilisés par des collectifs d'AC Fragile: Halle 14 à Leipzig, Incubateur d'art Juranyi à Budapest et Fabrica de Pensule à Cluj-Napoca (Roumanie).

émanant d'entreprises ou de particuliers[18] sans oublier les monuments et sites historiques en gestion privée. Enfin on y trouve des musées ou des festivals dont les contenus touchent un large public comme Autoworld à Bruxelles ou le Paléo festival de Nyon.

La pérennité dans l'indépendance repose sur des ressources qui découlent de la convergence de reconnaissances, notamment, publiques, médiatiques, artistiques, sociales et professionnelles. Celles-ci contribuent à placer l'AC en-dehors des jeux de concurrence commerciale (mais pas de toute compétition). Ce faisant, la précellence visée par l'Indépendant lui garantit une valeur qui se fixe dans le symbolique tout en l'autorisant à en retirer une valeur marchande. Pour une artiste plasticienne, par exemple, ce sera à travers sa cote; pour un designer, à travers le prix de vente d'un objet signé de lui; pour une actrice, le cachet et les royalties versés par la production du film dans lequel elle tient un premier rôle, ou encore pour l'auteur/e d'un roman, le pourcentage de droit d'auteur sur son livre.

Croissance et diversification ne sont pas centrales dans le modèle D, qu'il s'agisse d'un AC individu ou d'une organisation. Là encore on trouvera plutôt de la diversification concentrique. Dans certains cas, on assiste à dune diversification plus grande, en particulier des sites patrimoniaux et historiques privés comme l'abbaye de Fontfroide où la valorisation du lieu amène à élargir l'éventail des offres non seulement aux spectacles et expositions mais aux "produits du terroir" (vin, miel), nobles et cohérents avec l'histoire du lieu.

4.5 Le Suiveur (modèle E)

C'est un modèle où l'AC est une entreprise du secteur marchand à but non lucratif (en nom propre ou sous forme de société de capitaux). Le ou les entrepreneurs sont généralement les propriétaires et dirigeants, la pérennisation de l'entreprise étant assurée par transmission familiale.

Comme l'indique l'appellation ce modèle concerne les AC non leaders sur leurs marchés; lorsqu'ils le sont, c'est sur un marché local ou sur une niche. Étant peu diversifiées et peu internationalisées certains AC ont pu être innovants à leur lancement (par exemple dans l'industrie du disque). D'autres ont repris des modèles existants de combinaisons technologies/contenus/demande. La faiblesse de leur croissance s'explique principalement par deux raisons jouant concomitamment:

i. peu ou pas de diversification en-dehors du métier d'origine,

ii. un EBITDA qui autorise peu de croissance externe et ne permet de faire que peu appel aux marchés de capitaux, les marchés boursiers leur étant fermés.

Néanmoins, il importe de souligner que dans le modèle Suiveur, des considérations autres que purement économiques peuvent entrer dans le calcul de l'entrepreneur culturel: garder la maîtrise de son entreprise ou bien rester sur un métier par passion quitte à ne pas croître ou à ne pas présenter un niveau attractif de rentabilité des capitaux.

Ce modèle comporte principalement dans des entreprises des filières d'industries de produits manufacturés culturel (éditeurs livre et presse, libraires, producteur de films ou de contenus audiovisuels, salles de cinémas

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[18]   Leur dotation leur assure une pérennité mais ne les empêche pas de coopérer sur des projets avec des organismes publics.

n'appartenant pas aux grands réseaux…). Le modèle recouvre donc des entreprises commerciales vulnérables mais qui perdurent parce que les AP ont mis en place des dispositifs de soutien indirect et, de plus en plus, des dispositifs de soutien direct sur projet (par exemple la production cinématographique et audiovisuelle).

4.6 L'Entreprise financiarisée (modèle F)

L'AC est une entreprise commerciale de droit privé qui croît et se diversifie, notamment par croissance externe qu'elle est capable de soutenir grâce à un bon niveau d'EBITDA lui permettant de recourir à des prêts et è de nouveaux investisseurs. Il en résulte également une gouvernance différente du modèle E marquée la présence d'investisseurs comme parties prenantes distinctes des entrepreneurs initiaux.

L'AC utilise son EBITDA pour financer la croissance externe. On trouve dans ce modèle de financiarisation des entreprises de la nouvelle économie (startups, licornes) de création récente en phase de lancement ou de croissance sur une offre innovante (le plus souvent numérique) et un marché nouveau, présentant de ce fait une attractivité pour des investisseurs tout en bénéficiant de dispositifs de soutien public indirect.

Le modèle F est aussi celui d'entreprises marchandes qui se constituées autour de personnalités créatives : architecte, couturier, chef cuisinier... Leur croissance qui est allée de pair avec leurs performances EBITDA, repose sur une diversification tant horizontale que verticale. Dans les groupes constitués à partir de restaurants gastronomiques dirigés par des chefs étoilés, l'hôtellerie haut de gamme est une diversification fréquemment pratiquée. Elle devient une offre complémentaire à celle du restaurant auquel elle est peut être couplée sur le même lieu. Il s'agit pourtant d'un métier différent qui nécessite d'autres compétences ainsi que des investissements conséquents et donc des besoins de financement élevés. En revanche, une activité de formation aux métiers de la cuisine et du restaurant gastronomique, autre axe de diversification possible, se fait sur les compétences et savoir-faire du métier d'origine mais requiert aussi des investissements spécifiques importants. C'est le cas de l'Institut Paul Bocuse (qui forme également aux métiers de l'hôtellerie). Lorsque cet Institut a été créé en 1990, le marché était encore peu concurrentiel et le chef Lyonnais déjà au sommet de sa réputation mondiale, ce qui a facilité le lancement de cette nouvelle offre du groupe.

4.7 Le Leader (modèle G)

Dans ce modèle, l'AC est une organisation du secteur marchand lucratif structuré sous forme de groupe avec maison-mère et filiales. Ce groupe peut être détenu par un conglomérat. Mais dans ce cas, c'est le groupe-filiale de conglomérat qui est l'unité agissante pertinente dans le champ (et non le conglomérat lui-même). Il est en effet formé autour d'une "activité stratégique" au sein du conglomérat, exprime une cohérence et une logique d'action par rapport à des enjeux de croissance et diversification, bref un ensemble homogène de stratégies produits/marchés. C'est à ce niveau que l'on retrouve les stratégies en matière de contenus comme (contrats avec les auteurs, artistes, créatifs, etc.). Ce niveau a ainsi en charge les marques et le développement de leur notoriété. Les groupes-filiales constituent des AC dont les actions sont bien identifiables dans le champ CIC.

Dans la stratégie d'un groupe sont évidemment intégrées les contraintes que représente le niveau congloméral avec ses objectifs et ses enjeux spécifiques, notamment financiers. Les deux niveaux, conglomérat et groupe-filiale, ne sont pas disjoints: des fonctions et instances de coordination existent dans les processus de décision qui associent les différents décideurs sein du groupe et du conglomérat. Les comités stratégiques ont certes souvent un effet centralisateur mais, par ailleurs, ils respectent un principe d'autonomie de chaque entité. Ce principe résulte de l'enjeu commercial (marchés des produits et services) et a pour conséquence de laisser des responsabilités de décisions substantielles à chaque organisation formellement constituée par activité stratégique et par filiale territoriale.

L'AC est en position de leader sur un ou plusieurs marchés territoriaux. Il n'est pas nécessairement transnational comme le montre les exemples de Feltrinelli (filiale du conglomérat EFFE en Italie ou Hachette filiale de Lagardère en France).

La question de la réputation se pose ici pour les marques et les quasi-marques que sont les titres de presse, les collections dans l'industrie du livre, parfois une personnalité créative associée à une marque comme Lagerfeld dans le cas de Chanel.

L'AC s'inscrit dans une logique de capitalisation financière étant en forte capacité de diversification par croissance externe. Le processus de concentration lié à des opérations de prises de participations, rachats, fusions, fusions absorptions s'appuie sur l'autofinancement et la capacité d'endettement. Cela semble toujours le cas dans la nouvelle économie comme l'illustre notamment Google-Alphabet avec YouTube. On peut à juste titre parler de financiarisation de ces opérations dans la mesure où elles se font avec une présence accrue des acteurs de la finance (banques, fonds, agences etc.) car elles sont des opérations capitalistiques dans lesquelles la logique des investisseurs (autour de l'objectif d'obtention d'un ROI élevé) est de plus en plus présente (Bouquillion, 2008). Plus l'AC veut renforcer sa croissance/diversification, plus ses besoins financiers s'accroissent et plus sa capacité financière devient l'élément important à évaluer.

Conclusion

Quelques réflexions finales s'imposent sur la portée de dette approche: le complément qu'elle apporte, d'une part à la compréhension d'ensemble du champ CCI et, d'autre part, dans l'élaboration de modèles d'affaires.

Le champ CCI est un construit qui présente une hétérogénéité sectorielle. Celle-ci se répercute notamment au le plan managérial et nécessite des clarifications importantes. Par notre expérience personnelle nous avons pu constater combien il était fréquent que subsiste chez les apprenants une vision parcellaire du champ CCI, un manque de compréhension de sa diversité managériale (trop souvent brossée à gros traits) et corolairement la difficulté de saisir certaines caractéristiques profondes transversales au champ.

Les sept modèles de management que nous identifions ici renvoient à des situations-types dans le champ CCI. Celles-ci ne résultent pas des seuls effets conjoints de es marchés (MM) et de l'intervention publique (IP) mais forment une combinaison IP-MM-CS. CS étant la capacité stratégique d'une acteur culturel (AC) c'est-à-dire l'utilisation des ressources et marge de manœuvre de l'AC et la construction de certains avantages comparatifs.

Si l'on accepte avec Mintzberg (1995) que toute stratégie est è la fois position et perspective, on introduit de surcroit dans cette modélisation une dimension dynamique qui fait apparaître des trajectoires d'AC, des passages d'un modèle vers un autre. En nous plongeant dans l'histoire des AC ces mouvements ressortent parfois sur le court terme (Spotify dans la nouvelle économie passant rapidement de Firme financiarisée à Leader) mais plus souvent dans le long terme voire le temps long (en un siècle la Scala de Milan passe de Suiveur à Conventionné puis à Institutionnel pour retourner à Conventionné).

Les variables interdépendantes que nous avons utilisées pour modéliser chacune des situations-types, c'est-à-dire pour en donner un système d'explication donne un éclairage concret de la diversité du champ CCI. Eclairage concret car ces modèles ne sont pas que théoriques; ils se vérifient dans la réalité, ce qu'a bien montré la partie empirique de notre démonstration.

Enfin, il convient de souligner que cette modélisation n'est pas contradictoire avec la démarche de construction de modèles d'affaires telle qu'elle se pratique habituellement (voir par exemple Antonagli et al, 2019) en précisant la dimension non sectorielle de la création de valeur par l'acteur culturel.

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Promoting cultural diversity, cultural equality and cultural sustainability through art centers- a case study of WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts

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ABSTRACT

This research is aimed to investigate the venues and influences of how arts centers can help promote culture diversity, equality and sustainability in cities. By analyzingthe newly established WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts in Taiwan, it is my goal to bring out the objectives of practical approaches, of how arts center embedded cultural diversity and cultural equality through its design, organization and governance system, to connect city governance with cultural policy. In addition, relating to cultural policy and city governance by cross-examine interaction between them, this research endeavors to conceptualize the meanings and significance behind those changes in a city. Last, in turns of cultural sustainability, it will be our main goal to recognize the link which leads cultural diversity and equality to cultural sustainability development of the city.

Key word: cultural diversity, cultural equality, culture sustainability, city governance, arts center

1.The History and presence of WWY arts center

On October 13th, 2018, The National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts Wei Wu Ying (short for WWY arts center) was open in the Fongshan district of Kaohsiung city, the second largest city located in southern Taiwan. The birth of the WWY arts center signified three meanings: 1. The old, deserted and isolated military space of Kaohsiung city being reconstructed and rebuilt into a place for world-class performing arts with concepts of liberty, humanity and aesthetic values; 2. The completion of a well-balanced cultural facility map of Taiwan, with one international arts center in each of the north, middle and south administrative district of Taiwan[19]; 3. The synchronization of art/culture development with the quality of urban life, transforming Kaohsiung city into the next new chapter.

The history of WeiWuYing as a heavy-guarded military base

WeiWuYing (literally means the weapon-guarded tent), before its graceful transformation into a metropolitan park and national arts center, was a military base heavily guarded and prohibited of access. At the end of the Ching Dynasty (1612-1912), it was labeled on the map of Taiwan as a place guarded by three hundred soldiers, which showed the importance of its military function; and later during the Japanese Occupation (1895-1945) , it was used as storage facility for military supplies and training place for soldiers which was called "The Storage of Fongshan"[20]. By 1945, when the Taiwanese (The Republic of China) government gained the sovereign reign in Taiwan, WeiWuYing was still used as military training center and supply storage space. It was not until 1979, when the Ministry of National Defense decided to release WeiWuYing from its military duty due to its location in the heart of increasingly growing metropolitan area, the WeiWuYing military base was discharged of its military personnel and facilities, and from then on became an empty and deserted place.

The transition of WeiWuYing

The usage of WeiWuYing after its discharge from the military duty, considering its vast space and forest, drew attentions in many aspects of the city development. In 1981, the central government reached an agreement with the Kaohsiung city government, on which the Kaosiung city government will receive budgets form the Ministry of Defense to lead the future development of WeiWuYing. In 1986, while the Ministry of Defense proposed turning WeiWuYing into a commercial/residential community with capacity of housing 24,000 people[21], the Mayor Su Nan-Cheng of Kaohsiung city at that time suggested a university town instead[22]. Then in 1992, the Ministry of Defense proposed another plan of building WeiWuYing into a military dependents'

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[19] There are three international performing art facilities under the Ministry of Culture, which are the National Concert and Theater Hall in Taipei, The National Taichung Theater, and the National Kaohsiung Center for the arts WeiWuYing.
[20] Fongshan District Second Household Registration Office, Kaohsiung City, https://fongshan2-house.kcg.gov.tw, (access on 2019/07/22).
[21] The Central News Agency, "The green evolution to push down the wall of WeiWuYing",
https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201810120192.aspx, (access 2017/07/23).
[22] Shu-Te Home Economics & Commercial High School, "The Jungle of the City, WeiWuYing",
http://www.shute.kh.edu.tw/~shute103/page/311-2/b1.htm, (access 2017/07/23).

residential community, which caused opposition from many parties in the city and substitute plans like world commercial center, shopping center or metropolitan park[23]. The complication of WeiWuYing political structure and the diverse opinions of its future caused the attention of the "WeiWuYing Association for Advancement Metropolitan Park[24]", which later on initiated several proposals and lobbying[25], and eventually led to the "Establishment of WeiWuYing University or Park " public hearing in March 1992[26]. After the public hearing and many years of debates and coordination between different parties, the City Committee of the Ministry of the Interior approved the project "Metropolitan Park" of city development in January 2003, which contains building of a metropolitan park, culture facilities and a commercial district[27]. With the confirmation of the transformation plan from both central and municipal government, the new identity and destiny of WeiWuYing was finally set for the future.

The presence of WeiWuYing as a graceful center for the arts and culture

When the WeiWuYing development project was confirmed in 2003, it happened to fit into the "New Culture Development" project proposed by the Ministry of Culture as part of the central government "Ten New Construction" plans at that time. This project was to establish an international arts and culture center for each of the north, middle and south district, with objective of both balancing the national and regional cultural development (Fang, 2003: 126-127). The establishment of the WWY arts center, with its occupancy of 9.9 hectares of land, is the single biggest construction plan for an art/culture center in the past thirty years in Taiwan. In the process of building the WWY arts center, the Council for Cultural Affairs, the Executive Yuan (the former of Ministry of Culture), being the direct authority of WWY arts center at that time, set up the "WeiWuYing Center for the Arts Preparation Bureau" to be in charge of the hardware side of the constructions, as well as starting a plan, called "The Project for the Development of Southern Performing Art", which contains initiations of workshops, masterclasses, performing art groups, and appreciations for art/culture, in order to complete the software part of the arts center[28].

The construction of WWY arts center was completed in 2017 after 11 years of building and preparation, with a floor area of 3.3 hectares sitting on a 9.9 hectares lot, it is the largest single-roof complex theater, and also the only national arts center with international-standard facility in the southern district of Taiwan, containing 6 various performing spaces[29]. The WWY arts center becomes one of the three sub-organizations under the National Performing Art Center in 2018, and with its grand opening celebration on 13th October 2018, it has

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[23] The News Lens, "Transition of WeiWuYing from military center to cultural center, in 15 years through three presidency", https://www.thenewslens.com/article/106045 , (access 2017/07/23).
[24] "WeiWuYing Association for Advancement Metropolitan Park", an association formed in 1992 by Dr. Tzen Guai-Hai, with the goals to promote more green land for the Kaohsiung city. The association includes members from all professionals like doctors, architects, ecological environment enthusiasts, politicians, and students.
[25] The Central News Agency, "The green evolution to push down the wall of WeiWuYing", https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201810120192.aspx, (access 2017/07/23).
[26] Shu-Te Home Economics & Commercial High School, "The Jungle of the City, WeiWuYing", http://www.shute.kh.edu.tw/~shute103/page/311-2/b1.htm, (access 2017/07/23).
[27] Shu-Te Home Economics & Commercial High School, "The Jungle of the City, WeiWuYing", http://www.shute.kh.edu.tw/~shute103/page/311-2/b1.htm, (access 2017/07/23).
[28] The Formosarace/Construction Plan for the WeiWuYing National Center for the Arts of Ministry of Culture, https://formosarace.blogspot.com/2015/11/blog-post_20.html, (access on 2019/07/23).
[29] WeiWuying National Center for the Arts/About/Venues, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/architecture?lang=en, (access on 2019/07/23).

transformed itself into a graceful arts center with a brand-new identity, turning the art and culture development in southern Taiwan to a new page.

2. Relating WeiWuYing arts center to cultural policy and city governance

With the drastic political and democratic changes of Kaohsiung in 1998, there has been major improvements in culture, living quality and environmental development due to influences from the implementation of cultural policies and changes of city management from conceptual to practical level (Lu, 2018: 140-141). These improvements had motivated the city governance to put culture considerations as its center, instead of political and economic interests (Lu, 2018: 252). Among changes of city governance, we can see that the concepts of cultural diversity, cultural sustainability, cultural identity and creative cultural management being used as strategic guidance to help cultural policies being carried out through city development. As the transformation of WeiWuYing being both major cultural project from of the Ministry of Culture and the city urban development department, it is nature to say that the WWY arts center is the perfect example of the collaboration between cultural policy and city governance.

Relating WWY arts center to cultural policy

The cultural policies in Taiwan after the abolishment of martial law in 1987 has changed gradually from centralized and dictating to more liberal and diverse. Among those changes, there are emphasis more on issues like the local history/culture, community, revitalization of urban spaces and local cultural facilities regarding local and reginal development. With focus on these cultural aspects in mind, the implementation of cultural policy into the living space of a city is achieved by drawing recognition of local identities and participation of the people into the transformation of old public space, while the government help coordinate relating agents or departments to complete the re-usage of the space in urbanization. (Lu, 2018: 251-252). Besides improving the hardware and software of city spaces, activities like art festivals, art/cultural performances, and public art installations also play important roles on promoting the cultural appreciation and recognition of the city. In short, to achieve the ultimate goals of cultural policies to improve the living quality and environment of people in the city, it is of unparalleled importance that the cultural policies are carried out with the participation and recognition from both the local communities and the city governance.

The WWY arts center and its relation to cultural policies signified two aspects of meaning. The first aspect is the formation of civic recognition and public participation regarding policies on public spaces. As during the process of transformations of the WeiWuYing, there are many opinions being expressed by the locals, such as more demand for green land and cultural activities. Then the formation of the local professional people called "WeiWuYing Association for Advancement Metropolitan Park" proposed "The Green Revolution of the South" plan[30], which eventually initiated the establishment of the WeiWuYing Metropolitan Park through public

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[30] The Central News Agency, "The green evolution to push down the wall of WeiWuYing", https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201810120192.aspx, (access 2017/07/25).

hearing, and for the first time set an example of the local community being the major actor for connecting the cultural policy with local city governance. The second aspect of meaning is the shift of power in the public space from central government to the local community. WeiWuYing served as the military base for several political reigns, from the Chinese Ching Dynasty, through Japanese government till modern democratic Taiwanese government over 100 years; and even till modern day during discussions and process of its transformation after releasing from long-term military duty, there were still political suggestions of remaining its original function economically or militarily by turning it into commercial area or military residential community. However, with the endeavors from the local community and with promotion of cultural concepts in policies and city governance, WeiWuYing had turned into a place signifying opposite meaning of military, an open, liberal and daily-culture place, with authority of the space given to the people and strengthened by the recognition of cultural right for the local residents.

Relating WWY arts center to city governance

From the 1990s, the concept of "governance" had gradually disseminated to the private sector outside the government department. Kooiman observed "governance" from a traditional political point of view, with focus rather on the internal changes instead of external one, and noticed its turn from the public sphere to the private sector. This turn signified the definition of "governance" shifting from governmental approaches to interaction and conversation between different organizations, and is taking places from nations to private sectors, which means "governance" is now in between States, markets and civic societies (Kooiman, 2003: 5). This coincides to the idea of which longing for a set of new order and new governance in a globalizing universal world, the existence of governance does not reply to government anymore; instead, governance apply to any systematic set of rules, with concrete objectives and approval in its forms (Rosenau, 1992: 4-8).

Bearing the trend of governance and its constant changes since 1990, the transformation and the establishment of WWY arts center corresponded to such trend and signified three internal changes of the city governance in Kaohsiung. The first one is the need of governance for public spaces from within, instead of being governed from outside. This change is inspired by the cultural identity and public values given to the WWY arts center, and by the external and internal design incorporated with cultural elements from the city and. The second change is the new definition of city governance given by the WWY arts center, which is a management system with awareness to public values and recognition, and with open and flexible approaches to foster diverse cultural activities of daily life and the equal access to such diversity. The third change is the shift of authority power from the municipal to the public in city governance. As described in the article of New York Times titled, "In Taiwan, an Invitation to a Living Room for Culture", the WWY arts center is as private and as public to every citizen of the city. And with this new openness and intimacy with public spaces, the authority or the ownership of public space had shifted from the government to the citizen of the city due to the formation of public awareness, which also changed the dynamics of city governance from single central focus to a diverse combination of cultural, economic and civic considerations.

With the new implementation of several cultural aspects and public values into the cultural policy, and the internal changes of governance influencing management system vertically and horizontally, WWY arts center presents not only new culture public spaces, but also the collaboration between cultural policy and city governance, as well as new cultural approaches applying to public sphere. The following section will discuss how cultural diversity and cultural equality being embedded as the new cultural approaches into city governance in managing public spaces.

3.Cultural diversity, cultural equality and governance

Culture diversity has become the key concern of the modern civilization at the turn of the century. In the UNESCO 2005 Convention on "The Protection and Promotion of The Diversity of Cultural Expressions", it affirms that cultural diversity defines the fundamental characteristic of humanity, enriches the human capacities, enhances varies human values, and plays a key role in sustainable development for communities, people, and nations; it also emphasizes the recognition of equal dignity of and respect of all cultures as protection and promotion of cultural diversity, and that people should have fundamental right to participate and enjoy both cultural and economic aspects of such development, as well as equal access to diversified range of cultural expressions (UNESCO 2015). From above, we can see cultural equality is part of the realization of protecting and promoting cultural diversity. The followings discussions will focus on the meanings of cultural diversity and cultural equality in the public sphere, as well as their social and political implementation in governance.

Culture diversity and relating discourses

Culture diversity has its own footprints long riven into the history of humanity and civilization. However, the needs for considering culture diversity in the public sphere was not until the late 1970s, when there's the emergence of recognition of identities based on gender, race, language, ethnic background, history and sexual orientation, which continued to challenge the legitimacy of constitutional democracies (Havel, 1995). Such emergence also gave rise to what is called, the "new global civilization", a civilization which covers the variety of cultures, of people, of religious worlds and of historical tradition and understands itself as a multicultural and multipolar one (Havel, 1995). Indeed, the need to acknowledge culture diversity as the essence of modern civilization and of a harmonized society is of unparalleled importance for every nation nowadays. And putting cultural diversity into practice by connecting cultural diversity with effective approaches in governance, is vital to maintain the social cohesion and a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, people and nations. This recognition also corresponds with the firm believes of UNESCO that cultural diversity needs to flourish within a framework of democracy, tolerance, social justice and mutual respect between peoples and cultures, for peace and security at the local, national and international level. And to ensure such flourishing of cultural diversity, it needs to incorporate within a strategic framework in national and international policies, and to reaffirm the sovereign rights of States to adopt measures and policies to protect and promote the expression of cultural diversity within their territory (UNESCO 2015).

Being aware of the importance of cultural diversity and before connecting it with governance, we need to observe few political discourses or democratic approaches concerning multiculturalism. While some multicultural theorist proposed the practices of coexistence of varies cultural movements, such as identity/difference movement, cultural rights and multicultural citizenship movement, and struggles for recognition should be in the same temporal and political space, other scholar like Seyla Benhabid criticized such approaches being premature normativism, by giving all-too-quick reification of given group identities, resulting in a failure to interrogate the true meaning of cultural identities and hasty policy recommendations that run the risk of freezing existing group differences(Benhabid, 2002: ix).

Instead, Benhabid proposed a deliberative democratic model, which allows legal pluralism and institutional power-sharing through regional and local parliaments, supporting a view that cultures are constituted through contested practices (Benhabid, 2002: ix). And in terms of maintaining purity or distinctiveness of cultures, democratic theorists support the recognition of culture identities/difference movement to be for democratic inclusion, greater social and political justice and cultural fluidity, while Benhabid criticized such movement to be irreconcilable with both democratic and epistemological considerations of cultures and is neglecting the internal complexity and essential contestability of cultures. In alternative, she proposed an approach with expansion of democratic inclusion and equality over preservation of cultural distinctiveness, and with extension of democratic dialogue by denouncing the exclusivity and hierarchy of existing cultural movements (Benhabid, 2002: ix). She also believes that democratic equality and deliberate practices are compatible with new cultural experimentation and legal institution that accommodate cultural pluralism (Benhabid, 2002: ix).

Cultural diversity and equality in governance

Whether it's multiculturalist approaches of coexistence of varies cultural movements, or the deliberative democratic models of cultures constituted through contested practices, we can't deny that cultural diversity is one of the key concepts concerning every social and political governance from regional, national to international level. And being the social and democratic reflection of cultural diversity, cultural equality acts as the fundamental human right and the path to fully culture access and culture expressions. Despite the social and political nature of cultural diversity and cultural equality, we will focus more on the aspects concerning the practical approaches of implementing cultural diversity in a governance system.

By referring governance as a set of norms, standards and social groups which shapes ways of both formal and informal thinking and ways of acting, instead of a governance institutions with sets of formal organizations and procedures established in and followed through specified legal practices(Healey 2004:92), we want to explore new modes of governance which takes culture creative innovations as its center, and focuses more on the value of aesthetic and spiritual qualities of urban life than the external and economic aspect of material life. Here I will analyze how cultural diversity embedded with practical approaches through governance in three dimensions, which are actors, arenas, setting and interactive practices using the analytical scheme of "Dimensions of Governance" adapted by Healey (Healey 2004:93). With these three dimensions highly visible to our daily life, we can examine how culture diversity is experienced and encountered through actions in daily

life. In the dimension of actors, we want to identify the roles, strategies and interests of cultural diversity; in the dimension of arenas, we want to define both tangible and intangible institutional site of cultural diversity promotion; and last in the dimension of settings and interactive practices, we want to specify the communication and networking innovations used in the governance system, and how they help culture diversity reach out to a wider community.

4. Promoting cultural diversity and equality through an art center: its practical approaches and meanings

As the official website of the WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts introduces itself "Center for the Arts, Arts for the people", it is clear that this art center emphasizes its main purpose to serve the art of the people. Located in the southern part of Taiwan, the city of Kaohsiung used to be an industrial city and the second largest industrial port, full of worker and immigrants from different origins with diverse culture and lifestyles. However, lacking cultural development and resources from the central government had been a longtime criticism of the city governance, and the city Kaohsiung even had a title of "the culture dessert", a sarcastic remark on its lacking culture activities. Therefore, when building the WWY arts center, as part of the city and the national major culture establishment to overcome these cultural shortcomings, its goal was to initiate more vibrant culture activities produced and provided from the local and for the local, with emphasis putting the cultural diversity and equality as the key concepts of the management , ensuring different groups of the local people of have equal access to the cultural resources, and their voices are being heard and expressed.

The concepts of cultural diversity and equality for the WWY arts center can be seen in these three aspects, which are space transformation and redesigning, artistic program design, and reaching out projects. In these three aspects, we will explore how practical approaches are being applied through innovative and creative programs design and organization management, showing the effort and ambition to make the WWY arts center not only a showcase for the fine arts but also a cultural space that is evolving with people's everyday life and enriches the city's cultural content. The meanings of putting cultural diversity and equality as the central ideas of an art center can be presented in many different levels, such as from local to international, municipal to national, community to government. The following paragraphs will present practical approaches of how cultural diversity and equality are being realized in these three aspects, also the meanings and the influences reflecting on these changes regarding city cultural life and cultural governance.

Space transformation and design

The culture diversity is expressed through the WWY arts center by its space transformation and design. Located on the north-east corner of the WeiWuYing natural ecological metropolitan park, the WWY arts center occupied 9.9 hectare of the 47- hectare WWY metropolitan park, which is the biggest metropolitan park in Taiwan. The park opened in 2010, comprising 6 different zones with featuring on nature/ecology,

health/leisure, and arts/culture, and had become the biggest nature metropolitan park situated in the busy area of the city. This park had brought what the residents of Kaohsiung longing for a long time, a large green space signifying improvement of pollution from the city's industrial past, and had become the pride of the city Kaohsiung, therefore earning titles such as the "Green lung" and the "Dream of Green" of Kaohsiung[31]. Being the latest addition to the metropolitan park, it is no doubt that WWY arts center is the main attraction and the representation of the arts/culture aspect of the park. Taking all above into account, the architect Fracine Houben of the WWY arts center incorporated many elements of the diverse nature of the environment, as well as the industrial and historical heritage of the city into the design of the architecture. The style of the architecture took inspiration from the surroundings with well-preserved green vegetation, creating large floating canopies signifying the local banyan tree crowns gliding to the ground, with beautiful curves blending with the nature, allowing free space access from all directions[32]. The exterior and the roof, by paying culture tribute to the city's root as a sea-port city, is a collaboration with the local ship-making industry, and with its wavy structure which withholds the humidity and salinity from the sea, it adapts to the local subtropical weather and environment[33].

From all above, we can see the WWY arts center help promote cultural diversity by taking cultural diversity as its fundamental inspirations from the beginning, with inclusion of diverse culture elements, such as city's history, natural environment, lifestyles and culture habits. The outer display of the architecture, as well as the inner significance of space usage and itsrelating lifestyle, are both presentation of the city's culture diversity, by transforming an art center into a public friendly space of easy-access art experiences, with familiar footprints from the local culture elements.

If putting cultural diversity as the key actor helps the WWY arts center achieve the ultimate goals of every culture policy, which are to improve citizens lifestyle and living quality by enriching their culture expressions and creations, then making effort to carry out the idea of cultural equality will be the venues to put policy into governance, as to ensure every citizen has the equal opportunity to access such culture diversity and resources. The concept of cultural equality is realized through the outdoor space design of the WWY arts center. There are six venues of the WWY arts center, which are the Banyan Plaza, Opera House, Concert Hall, Playhouse, Recital Hall and the Outdoor Theater. Both the Banyan Plaza and the Outdoor Theater are in the open space, created to bring people closer to the art, by making it easily accessible even when people are just passing by or engaging other activities in the park. The Outdoor Theater is located on the south side of the building, opening to the neighboring WeiWuYing Metropolitan Park, with curved lines stretching from the ground to the roof, embracing the natural environment. The Outdoor Theater's structure design with its similarity to an amphitheater, allows audiences to enjoy more diverse performances and acoustics with breeze from all directions, and to watch the beautiful landscape and sunset from the park at the same time[34]. The

[31] Wei Wu Ying Metropolitan Park/ Dreamland Park Zone,
https://pwbgis.kcg.gov.tw/weiwuying/weiwuying/login/Publish/upFiles/201292418113.jpg, (2019/7/22).
[32] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/About/About Weiwuying, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/about?lang=en, (2019/7/23).
[33] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/About/Architecture, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/about?lang=en, (2019/7/23).
[34] National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts WeiWuYing/About/Venues/Outdoor Theater, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/venues/Recital%20Hall?lang=en&mode=image, (2019/07/24).

Outdoor Theater signifies a more easy-access and public art experiences which are essential to the cultural equality. The other open space, the Banyan plaza, took inspiration from the banyan trees in the park and was designed to resemble tress trunks in the shaded open space, and is a plaza that connect all the pathways to fiver theaters. With its free-floating routes, it allows people to walk to five theaters from all kinds of direction with no restriction, symbolizing a more equal and yet free cultural access for the people[35]. A project called "The Public Piano" was initiated on March 2019, as a grand piano was placed in the center of the plaza, allowing the public to use it freely, meaning that anyone can play the piano or listen to the music. This project is a realization of the key concept of the WWY arts center, which is being the art center for everyone, and its mission to put cultural equality into practice. "The Public Piano" project is challenging to the traditional thinking linking to the piano, such as classical, fine performing art, highly educated profession and expensive tickets, by changing all that into free cultural access, free concerts, and most of important all, the possibility to create your own stage and the right to access free music anytime[36].

In the aspect of space transformation and design, promoting cultural diversity means to include the important local culture elements in the design and incorporate them with practical functions or facilities. Therefore, people can identify those cultural elements and relate to their own experiences when accessing the space or using the facility of the art center. The meanings of such approach signify an innovative management and governance thinking, which focus on the people rather than the art, the user's side rather than the managing side, and emphasis to connect the art production with the local cultural and natural surroundings. If cultural diversity enriches the expression and content of cultural life, then promoting cultural equality means to protect such diversity and to ensure everyone having equal access to it. However, there are still many obstacles between the local people and prevailing of the cultural equality, such as political reasons, cultural habits and long-term prejudice. These obstacles derived from the long-time uneven resources between the northern capital city Taipei and the southern industrial sea-port city Kaohsiung from the central government, in terms of city budget and culture resources. In addition, with majority of the original residents being laboring workers and immigrants, the residents of Kaohsiung are not used to participate in culture activities. However, with the political environmental change and the implantation of culture governance and establishment since 1998, the situation is gradually improving, including the WWY arts signifying even cultural resources to the southern city and the demonstration of the cultural cooperation between the local and the central government.

This also explains why the Concert hall, the Banyan Plaza and the Outdoor Theater are designed intentionally to break those obstacles with cultural equality as it's center concept, with purpose to make people feel more comfortable, more welcome without restriction, and not to be judged by their social status or culture tastes. Promoting cultural equality through space transformation and design is just a small part of the practical examples from city cultural governance. However, it projects the meanings of the significant change of cultural policies and city governance, which are the turning from vertical to linear thinking, government to users, hardware to software, and short-term economical result to long-term cultural influences.

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[35] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/About/Venues/Banyan Plaza, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/venues?lang=en, (2019/07/24).

[36] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/About/Latest News, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/news/5ca055474bb45800063f5425, (2019/07/24).

The Artistic program and the Reaching out Projects

The Concept of cultural diversity and cultural equality can also be seen through artistic program and reaching out project. There are 8 categories of the artistic program, which are Music, Theater, Dance, Family, WeiWuYing showtime, Circus & Jiggling, Concert hall select and 2019 WeiWuYing Circus Platform. Traditionally, music, theater and dance are the three main categories of performing art, and it is mostly common to see productions or programs in these three categories in art centers. As we can see, the artistic program of WWY arts center includes not only these three categories but also some other different and interesting venues, such as circus & jiggling and WeiWuYing showtime, which are rarely seen in conventional art centers[37]. The cultural diversity is reflected though the artistic programs in the following aspects, cross-border artistic production, production origins and emergence of different venues of performing arts. First, in the cross-border artistic production, there are performances which combine with the new medias, such as "Kiss and Goodbye" multimedia music theater for kids, "The Snowman" & "We're going on a Bear Hunt" music concert with animation films and "The Eternal Straight Line" dance theater with collaboration between the multidisciplinary choreographer Jeff Hsieh and technological art studio Ultra Combo[38]. Also there are performances with collaborations of the cross-cultural/cross-national productions, such as the Musical "TARU", a Korean musical with reproduction of Chinese lines, the "Amoeba" by Diabolo Dance Theater, a combination of Chinese jiggling diabolo performance and Broadway musical, and the "Monkey Show" with characters from traditional Thailand and Chinese literature presented in Chinese opera style. Second, in turns of production origins, there are performances challenging to combine different forms of artistic expressions, such as Taiwanese opera with Chinese poetry in "Wild Swans footprints on mud of snow of Su Dong-Po", a comedy musical from classic Chinese literature novel with hip-pop music in "The Journey to the west", and a show combined with acrobatics, theater, dance in "La Verità" from Compagnia Finzi Pasca[39]. There are also performances of diverse literature origins, such as theatric productions of Taiwanese opera, Hakka opera, Chinese opera, or of diverse local culture, such as dance production of the international well-known Cloud Gate and Kaohsiung City Ballet, concert of Taiwan Air Force and Army Band, and a musical of local Hakka culture performed by the Kaohsiung Municipal Junior Meinong Junior High School[40]. Last, in the aspect of emergence of different venues, there are productions which were original designed to perform in specific places, such as circus shows in the theme parks, jiggling in festivals or carnivals, Taiwanese operas and puppet shows in temple celebrations events, jazz in a jazz bar and comedy show in a club, are now all brought to the WWY arts center as the regular programs, mostly seen in Weiwuying Showtime, Circus & Jiggling and the 2019 Weiwuying Circus Platforms these three categories, s well as commonly distributed through Music, Theater, Dance, Family categories[41]. By endeavor to bring such diverse performances fitting in an arts center, it shows the determination to make easy access for culture and art expressions of all forms and classes, and to make sure they are being seen and introduced to the public. This is a practical example of

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[37] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/Programs, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/programs?lang=en, (2019/0727).
[38] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/Programs, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/programs?lang=en, (2019/0727).
[39] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/Programs, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/programs?lang=en, (2019/0727).
[40] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/Programs, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/programs?lang=en, (2019/0727).
[41] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/Programs/Weiwuying showtime, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/programs?catalog=5c9310b4c74fa700062263c6&lang=en, (2019/7/29).

how city culture governance help promote cultural diversity and equality by bring people's daily culture activities together to a public space, such as WWY arts center.

While the cultural diversity can be seen expressed through variety of performances, the cultural equality is realized through the reaching out projects under "Learning & Participation" programs. In those programs, we can see the idea and the concept of cultural equality being transformed into practical approaches, which are performances of both educational and recreational functions, with purpose to be make arts part of people's daily lives and activities. Those practical approaches under the "Learning & Participation" programs can be categorized as following: public participation, workshops, collaboration between arts and other sectors, and the educational projects. In the public participation category, there are mostly activities requiring public interactions instead of one-way performance. These activities include "Reading corner" a book-reading gathering in the terrace, "Eyes and Ears" introductory program of the art center for the disabled, "Art Dialogue and Cross-Generation Conversation" events of discussion about art and performances from different age-group of people, the various "2019 Weiwuying Circus Platform" activities for the public and the kids in the outdoor spaces[42], and the "2019 Weiwuying Wonderland" featuring all kinds of daily activities such as yoga, watching movie, drawing and listening to music in the Banyan Plaza[43].

In the workshop category, there are programs designed especially for teenagers, featuring art-related themes like theater learning, me culture and art, or social-related themes like me and the society, my views of Taiwan on the international stage, and my travel in Taiwan, etc. In the collaboration between arts and other sectors category, is a project encouraging private companies' participations in arts and seeking sponsorship to support word-class performances, in addition to educational and reaching out programs. Last, in the educational category, there are programs such as aesthetic educational programs for the elementary, junior high and high school students, theater-art experiencing programs which invite students to the shows by giving them relating lectures afterwards, and open night-tour of the concert hall/opera house/theater back stages with educational introductions. With connecting all the common grounds of these four categories, the meaning of promoting cultural equality through reaching out projects is putting public participation as the center of the purpose by making culture activities educational, recreational and social interactive.

5. Conclusion: Contributing cultural diversity to cultural sustainability through arts center

As the world becomes increasingly urbanized, and societies keep changing with new cultural dimensions, cities are facing challenges from good-quality housing, increasing needs for green public spaces to ensuring infrastructures and services to billions of people. Among these challenges in a global situation, culture is for

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[42] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/ Learning & Participation/Participation for all, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/learning?catalog=5c130c72924fb30006bd699e&lang=en, (2019/7/29).
[43] WeiWuYing National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts/ Learning & Participation/2019 Weiwuying Wonderland, https://www.npac-weiwuying.org/learning?catalog=5c130c72924fb30006bd699e&lang=en, (2019/7/29).

certain the key resource for sustainable urban development (UNESCO 2016). History shows that culture is the heart of urban development, for the reasons that culture makes cities vibrant, creative and attractive living spaces, and forms coherent social complex, allowing collective body of citizens to identify themselves, to understand the importance of traditions for their lives, and to connect with the world through the traces of history, while enjoying beauty, harmony and artistic endeavors offered by the city (UNESCO 2016). However, how to identify the role of culture in urban development and implement it with policy-making and management strategies requires innovative thinking and creative approaches.

Among these innovative thinking and creative approaches, culture diversity plays a center role for sustainable development in cities, which includes environmental sustainability, peaceful societies, and culture inclusion. To achieve these three aspects of sustainable cities, it means to strengthen the link between communities, vibrant cultural lives and quality urban environments, through enhancement of participatory of culture governance, respect of cultural diversity and the promotion of culture/gender equality (UNESCO 2017). While culture diversity contributes to and enriches both the natural and social environment of the cities, the management of cultural diversity in urban environment can sometimes either overcome social fissures, or risk worsening them (UNESCO 2016). With inequalities between neighborhood and districts, culture diversity can take forms as racism, discrimination and xenophobia. Therefore, it is the complexation and complication between cultural diversity and society that gives us reason to engage in a more creative and innovative operation of policy-making and governance. In order to improve these irreconcilables of social and cultural differences, cities need to be designed for social interaction and cohesion, and to create spaces which recognize existing social fragmentation, polarization and inequality and serve to transform these inequality into diverse cultural expressions integrated into our daily life, under promoting respects and understanding of diversity in societies .

In addition to cultural diversity, the notions of cultures are of equal values and people are allowed to believe in the worth of their own culture, including the beliefs and values it embodies (Barry, 2001: 264-271) gives us fundamental ground of culture equality. Taking these notions into consideration, we can identify the role of culture equality in relation to sustainable urban development as social inclusion in public spaces, which enhances fundamental freedoms and strengthen participation system of governance for cultural diversity. Public spaces such as street, park, monuments, plaza and cultural institutions, etc., play important role in social inclusive process and should be of accessible to all members of the community. It is only through social inclusion and open access in public spaces, that cultural equality can become the means to connect people with their tangible and intangible heritage and to safeguard the civic right of fully experiencing different aspects of the cultural diversity of the city.

WWY arts center being a cultural public space, has fully expressed cultural diversity through its design from exterior such as architecture, spaces distribution and functions, to interior such as program content, community outreach and nature environment. As its original intention to serve as cultural places for everyone, the ideas of cultural equality and diversity are naturally projected when cultural activities are happening everywhere at all time at the WWY arts center. As the artistic and executive director CHIEN described,

cultural sustainability is best demonstrated in the phenomenon of all kinds of cultural and daily-life activities simultaneously coexisting in the WWY arts center, which also signify both the beginning and the process of sustainability development of the city (Interview with CHIEN).

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Appendix

Interview

Mr. CHIEN Wen-Pin,

the Executive and Artistic Director of the National Kaohsiung Center for the Arts Weiwuying (short as "WWY arts center" in the following interview)

2019/07/29

1.   What are the main concepts considered when you were arranging the artistic programs?

Chien: WWY is an art center for the people, so that's our main concept. We want to do something that other art center haven't achieved. There are many spaces in the art center intentionally designed to be "blank". So we try to encourage artists to make something out of it and or to make it part of their artistic creation.

2.   What's the self-production program proportion in the annual programs?

Chien: It's about 30% to 40%

3. What were the initiation or motive that made "Circus" becoming one of the main themes of artistic programs?

CHIEN: We were inspired by an uprising new trend called "New Circus" in France in recent years. There is also a Centre National Des Arts Du Circus (CNAC) in France, to promote the education and artistic/technical innovation of circus art. As I said we wanted to try things that were not done before, so the WWY arts center wanted to introduce such trend and concepts to Taiwan. The "New Circus" in nowadays is not about spectacle of animal shows and of human body limitation, but rather a performance of diverse artistic original creation combining theater, music, dance and body movement. The "New Circus" also includes "New Magic", which help draws lots of families and kids to the art center. Therefore, it is a sector we value a lot.

4. What do you think of the differences between WWY arts center and other performing art centers in Taiwan? What's the center image or presentation of WWY arts center?

CHIEN: WWY arts center was created as a civic arts space after the rotation of governmental political party in Taiwan. Unlike the National Theater and Concert Hall in Taipei as the "Palace for the Arts", it is designed to be an "Culture Living Room", a place without gates and with public spaces open for 24 hours. As the founder and artistic director of the world-known "Cloud Gate" dance company Lin Hwai-Min once said, "Arts should not be a standing pose with feet together, but rather with two foots apart", meaning arts should be approached with a rather casual attitude instead of seriousness. WWY arts center is a place for exchanging of living experiences and collision of arts and life. Therefor the non-artistic sector is of equal importance as artistic sector for the WWY arts center. We also hope to achieve the goals of being a civic and living spaces for the public by setting a lower tickets prices for most performances.

5. What are the connections between the WWY arts center and the local culture, and the city? And how do you fortify these connections?

CHIEN: In terms of the city and the local culture connections, we have worked with the Culture Bureau of Kaohsiung City Government since 2016 and participated in the "Kaohsiung Spring Arts Festival" and the "Kaohsiung Fun Arts Summer Festival" for youngster every July. However, WWY arts center is not an art/culture center served only to the city of Kaosiung. It's aimed to serve the vast audiences and the people of the southern Taiwan area (south of Taichung city). The initiative program of WWY arts center "Taiwan Dance Platform", is an example of how we dedicated to the cultural affair of southern Taiwan area, by match-making the exchanging artists program between Chia-Yi Performing Arts Center and the artists from European choreographer on-line platform "Aerowaves" in 2018.

6. What's the relationship between the WWY arts center and the Ministry of Culture?

CHIEN: The WWY arts center is part of the National Performing Arts Center, which is an independent Administrative Corporation taking supervision from the Ministry of Culture rather than under its governance. The WWY arts center's budget comes from the Ministry of Culture, with 15% of self-funding.

7. What are the key concepts for the diversity of program? What are the primary goals the WWY arts center

would like to promote?

CHIEN: The "Weiwuying showtime" is designed to be the platform of promoting diversity of the programs, by bringing shows of specific venues with leisure atmosphere such as jazz, comedy, Chinese talk show and bar music into concert hall or theater hall. These shows are usually one-hour long without intermission, and with low prices as well. Our primary goal is to diminish the fear and distance people feel about performing art.

8. How is the "cultural equality" being presented at the WWY arts center?

CHIEN: The "2019 Weiwuying Wonderland" Project is aiming to promote cultural equality. It consists of various activities such as yoga, drawing, movies, napping, electrical-music party and so forth, held in the afternoon at the Banyan Plaza. These activities are designed to make culture and arts closer to the daily life, and to make people feel easier to participate and to access arts.

9. What are the contributions and influences of the WWY arts center towards the city's sustainable culture development?

CHIEN: I think the contributions and the influences are the implementation of arts into people's daily lives, such as all kinds of daily activities being easily spotted at every corner of the arts center, whether it's folk dancing for the old people, hip-pop dancing for the young people, or walking dogs and birds from the neighboring residents. The fact that there are all kinds of cultural and artistic activities simultaneously coexist in the arts center, whether they are in the outdoor space or the indoor facilities, signify both the beginning and the process of "cultural sustainability" development in the city.

10. What are the challenges you faced since becoming the director of the WWY arts center? And what are the goals for the future?

CHIEN: I think I will combine these two questions into one answer, which is hoping the central government to collaborate all the non-popular culture performing art industries and build them into a complete chain of arts industry, providing platforms for performing arts to exchange, collaborate and grow.

Critical thinking and cultural heritage preservation education: A matter of meaning-making and social identity

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ABSTRACT

In 2010, after 13 years working as a cultural heritage manager in Brazil, I felt something was going wrong in the field. Certified professionals and managers seemed unprepared to undertaking conservation works and managing teams as they should be after doing a training course. To investigate in depth what was going on with the preservation education, I decided to engage in academic research, at first, to analyse and evaluate aspects of the teaching, planning and assessment cycle of the preservation system in cities considered World Heritage sites in Brazil. However, my investigation led me to a rich autoethnographic journey through humanizing pedagogy, discovering the importance of critical theory, meaning-centered education, critical pedagogy, and transformative learning as a base to preservation education. I also identified complexities of working in the cultural heritage field in countries "discovered" by Europeans, characterised by an education system rooted in and underpinned by a history of Western colonization

Keywords:

Critical theory, Preservation education, Meaning-making, Transformative learning

Introduction

This paper is an outcome of an academic journey. This is a story of a science-minded technician educated within a positivist system, and her decision to engage in an enriching and painstaking process of self-discovery, reflection and awareness of how her experiences and chosen paths shaped her as a person and a professional.

The voices in my mind cried out ever louder, screaming that something was wrong in the field of heritage conservation management and training. In 2010, I decided to engage in an academic investigation because I was battling through personal and professional crises triggered by the inability to find answers and solutions to local cultural heritage preservation problems in Brazil.

When I started asking questions to myself and to participants in the field about the impact of political, social and cultural contexts on preservation education, I identified discrepancies between the data obtained from official documents – gathered by archival research and documents analysis - and qualitative data obtained from interviews during fieldworks. What was concerning was: the conflicting data had been reported by the same agents, people who are responsible to write and report issues. Written documents reported that the training was going well, with a good amount of emitted certificates to professionals working in different areas of preservation. In-person, the same agents have told me that the reality was quite different, with the training performance impacted by context-related factors. This led me to realise that if I wanted to identify the root causes of the problems facing training centres in Brazil, my research needed to evolve beyond a simple cause-effect study. Hence, I had instead to dive into an in-depth investigation about the cultural preservation and education systems if I wanted to gain a rich, contextual and emergent understanding of the culture of Brazilian training programs.

Given the complexity and multi-dimensional character of the investigation problem, I conceptualized my research in phases, starting with an exploratory approach within a post-positivist paradigm, moving after to an interpretive-constructivist perspective, and ultimately drawing on critical constructivism and interpretivism as referents (Taylor et al, 2012).

The evolution of this investigation elicited sensitive and essential discussions of sedimented ideologies, public policy issues, my own personal ideas about cultural preservation education, and politics grounded in the cultural legacies of colonialism.

The importance of digging the field up

My intention in conducting this study was to help to improve the cultural heritage management and training in Brazil. At the end of my study, I include some guidelines for the utilisation of education methodologies on cultural heritage preservation education and management to aid teaching performance. Professionally, my main goal is to suggest new standards to design courses - not just for students but also to traditional-minded teachers, managers and professionals – based on a transformative approach to education embedded on

critical pedagogy, meaning-centred education, transformative learning theory and learning of competencies. I believe that learning about these theories is important for helping professionals to construct a better tomorrow for themselves.

Personally, my experience as a researcher was not just eight years of academic and professional journeying, but also involved personal transformation. By giving voice to previously silenced and oppressed people, and by trying to answer previously unexamined questions about education and cultural preservation issues, this investigation led me to inquire into organisational functioning and relationships between individuals and institutions. My objective in writing my thesis shifted from mere description and explanation to telling the history of how my professional understanding was transformed, and how research as transformative learning helped me reconceptualise traditional cultural preservation education practices in Brazil. I devoted my attention to some of the most sensitive issues of cultural preservation education in Brazil, hoping to be able to offer some strategies for reconceptualising training curricula in order of reconciling local preservation standards and the needs of local inhabitants.

Finally, this investigation is the first critical autoethnographic study of cultural heritage education in Brazil. It is an original contribution to the field of preservation education in Latin America as there is no critical qualitative analysis made about vocational educational training in cultural preservation in this region. It is also the first study using educational methodologies for assessing cultural preservation education. In fact, preservation education is a recent concept created to involve cultural heritage researchers, lecturers, practitioners and training-center managers in understanding the issues related to cultural heritage preservation. By using transformative learning, meaning-making centered approach, critical pedagogy and competency-based learning as tools to a new teaching/learning approach for cultural preservation, this study has an international relevance as it can contribute to the body of knowledge on pertinence, capacity building, resource feasibility and educational quality of preservation education.

The questions in my mind

As I mentioned before, after over 13 years working as a cultural heritage manager in Brazil, I felt something was going wrong in the field. Certified professionals and managers seemed unprepared to undertaking conservation works and managing teams as they should be after doing a training course. In my view, this was affecting the work quality. I had my suspicions but was not sure why this was happening. To investigate in depth what was going on with the preservation education in Brazil, I decided to engage in academic research, conducting an exploratory study.

At first, my goal was just to analyse and evaluate aspects of the teaching, planning and assessment cycle of the preservation system by observing ongoing projects developed and implemented by training programs in cities considered World Heritage sites in Brazil. I am in the field for over 20 years now and my feeling is still the same when I started my study in 2010: in my view, it seems that the training centres are not supplying sufficient technical knowledge to the workforce and technicians. And if they are, why certified professionals seemed not performing well in the field. Is there something I can do to improve this situation?

After I conducted my fieldworks (2011-2012), I noticed that under my first chosen research approach - exploratory research within a post-positivist paradigm - my investigation into some of the root causes of the problems led me away from what was happening in the field. The officially reported documents showed that training centres were performing well. Apparently, the official documents were reporting just a small part of the reality, displaying what politicians and sponsors want to "see". The data I found seemed superficial and incomplete, highlighting just positive outcomes mainly related to the quantitative data about invested resources versus the number of issued certificates.

My feeling was that the "truth" about what was affecting the performance of training centres in Brazil was being hidden for some reasons that I did not understand at that time. Then I realised that rather than pursuing a single cause-effect study, my research had to become an in-depth investigation into the preservation education system, in order to yield rich, contextual and emergent understandings of the training culture in Brazil. My investigation hence changed focus from the official reported 'truths' to investigating the human factor behind why conservation training programs seem to be failing to adequately prepare the workforce for cultural preservation work. This decision led me to refocus my study on identifying context-specific factors influencing the quality of educational outcomes and experiences at conservation training centers in Brazil and possible strategies for improving conservation training centers' curricula and performance within their harsh socioeconomic contexts.

For this reason, from 2013 new questions had emerged regarding the interrelationship between the cultural preservation education system and social issues:

- Are there context-specific factors that influence the quality of the educational experience and outcomes at conservation training centres in Brazil?
- How do participants experience the educational procedures of conservation training centres and their impact on local communities?
- What strategies can be taken to improve conservation training centres' curricula and performance within the harsh socioeconomic realities of their contexts?
- How do I, as a cultural heritage preservation professional and cultural insider, experience training for preservation and conservation and how can I assist to improve the current situation?

An emergent multi-paradigmatic research methodology

In order to address my new research questions, I drew upon my own memories and participants' experiences, which resulted in an autoethnographic journey. I analysed what was happening in the field of preservation education in Brazil, trying to make sense of the narratives and documents, and systematically working out the theoretical concept in relation to the data during the course of the research.

After the methodological overhaul I made in 2013, I adopted grounded theory as a method of qualitative inquiry in which the data generation and analysis simultaneously inform and shape each other through an iterative process. This approach helped me not only to uncover relevant conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions. I sought to reach a fully contextualised and emergent understanding of my target context. I had to engage in a personal overhaul as well. I now identified myself as a 'naturalistic' researcher (Erlandson et al, 1993). This approach stems from the assumption that all subjects in a context are bound together in a complex web of unique interrelationships. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) From this point onward, in order to understand what was going on in the field with mind and heart fully open, I had to dive into a personal transformation, abandoning my own lifelong enculturation into the scientific method within I had been 'shaped'. Over the following years of investigation (2013-2018), I gradually was able to link the constructivist paradigm and critical theory, becoming a critical constructivist researcher. I adopted different paradigms and approaches along with this investigation and, finally, I embraced a critical-constructivist perspective. As critical-constructivism is a form of social constructivism that emphasises the social and political consequences of emphasises knowledge, this paradigm assisted me in thinking about engaging teachers, students and institutions in Brazil critically and imaginatively when making social decisions, and allowing scope for discussion on the ethical dilemmas and issues that permeate contemporary Brazilian society.
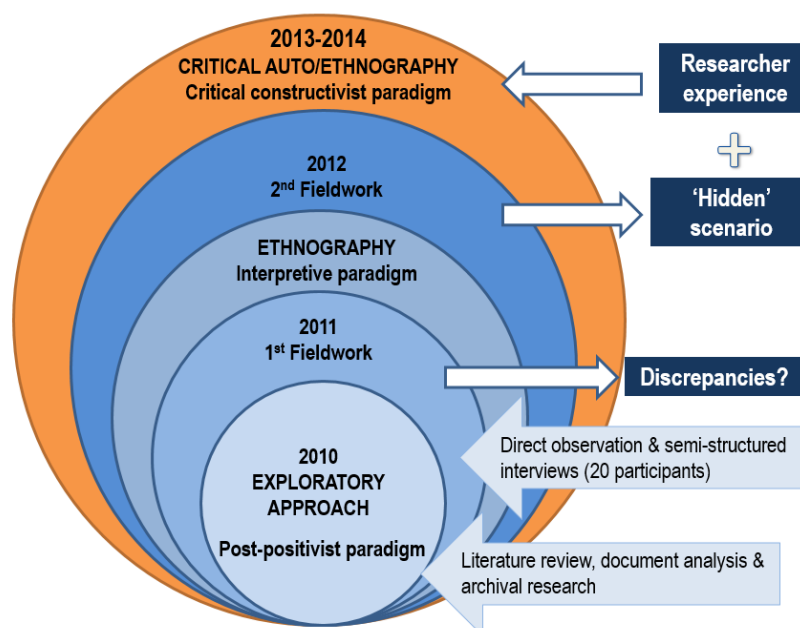
FIGURE 1. EMERGENT MULTI-PARADIGMATIC RESEARCH METHODOLOGY. Source: Karla Penna, 2014

The emerging findings of my autoethnographic journey led me down the path of self-inquiry and examining the cultural heritage system that I used to be an integral part of. As I was concerned primarily with generating context-based understanding, I joint a social constructivist epistemological perspective (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) to the study as this approach would enable me to build rich local understandings of life-world experiences of the communities they serve.

By combining critical-social and social constructivist theories, I endorsed reflexive inquiry and searched to understand the behavior and cognitive processes of research subjects social, cultural, historical and political frameworks. As a result of an emergent multi-paradigmatic approach (Taylor et al, 2012), the text of my thesis took different forms, including personal narratives, testimonies from my participants, original graphics, and my rich pictures and drawings. Finally, I wrote my 'heroine's journey', inspired on Joseph Campbell (1968) work, exploring topics, including, among others, autobiography, applied ethnography, critical narrative inquiry, and transformative learning.

This innovative character of my research design allowed to embrace narratives by Fanon (1968; 2008), Memmi (1974), Said (1968), and Bhabha (1994) about the colonial heritage as well as by Paulo Freire (1976; 1996; 1998; 2001; 2003) - my main inspiration, Ira Shor (1987; 1992), Henry Giroux (1993; 1997; 2006), and Joe Kincheloe (2008) about pedagogy for freedom, critical consciousness and civic courage. I have also found inspiration in the work of Walter Mignolo (2005); Rosevics (2017) and Ramon Grosfoguel (2008) about coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking, both of whom adopt an approach to their narrative that focuses not on the victimization of colonized peoples but rather on the need of these peoples to build a new future for themselves.

Ethical issues

My study included the participation of students, lecturers, training center managers, local community members and cultural heritage practitioners involved in the preservation training centres that were the study's focus. I had a highly important ethical issue that was to protect my participants' privacy. People involved in the cultural heritage training were afraid to talk fearing punishment. Assured of anonymity and confidentiality, they gave me permission to write about their claims and to quote their thoughts and ideas to help me co-construct a story. As a researcher and evaluator, I interacted with all participants in a manner respecting their dignity, integrity and privacy, to a degree that exceeded standard measures of protection because there were very real risks for some of the stakeholders involved. Although the greater geographic region of the study is cited, the names of the training centres in the thesis have been changed to protect the participants. Participants' anonymity has been maintained throughout the research and in subsequent publications. Interviewees were fully informed of the study's confidentiality and potential risks were discussed, and that they had the right to withdraw their participation at any time without prejudice. Interviews were audio-recorded only if participants gave their consent. Interviewees were provided with full information about how the recordings would be used. Individual interviews were de-identified. Information relating to participants' personal identity was accessible only to myself and my supervisors. Interviews and related materials, in digital or transcribed form, would be kept in locked storage held by myself. All data relating to this study would be retained for a period of five years after the completion of the research, and would be destroyed by incineration or shredding thereafter. Research data files would be maintained electronically on password-protected devices which would be re-formatted and destroyed five years after the conclusion of the research.

What did I find? An overview

Throughout my study, it was surprising to see how the questions and problems raised by the participants about preservation education coincided with my own preoccupations. All of us, from our experience working in Brazil, brought to surface issues associated with the political, legal, educational and sociocultural scenario of the region, issues that deeply impact the performance of the training centres. The emerged big picture was desolating!

In summary, politicians decide what is to be preserved, how and when, according to political or economic interests. Managers are puppets of the politicians. Technicians and professionals fear to report bad results of the training because they do not want to lose the scarce resources directed to their programs. The academy produces studies that are not useful in the field because researchers are disconnected to the real context in which the professionals and students are immersed. The population has no courage or feel powerless to interfere in this process.
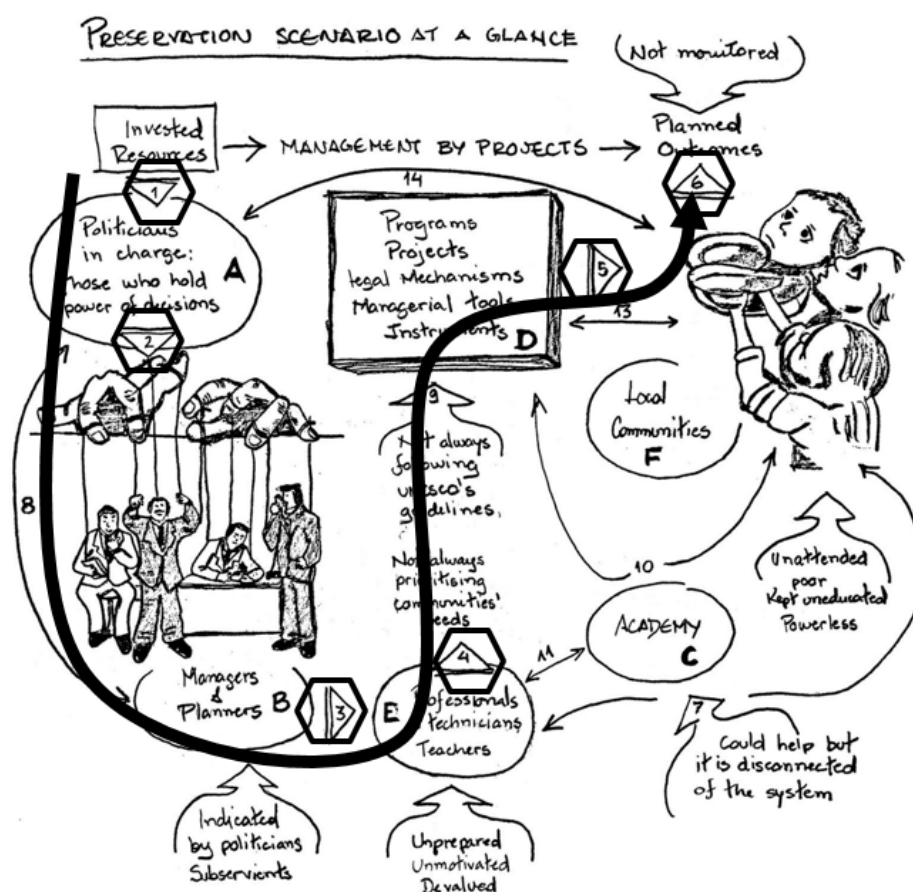
FIGURE 2. CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION SCENARIO IN 2018. Source: Karla Penna, 2018

According to my participants and my experience in the field, what we witness in the field are just symptoms resulted of very complex structural issues.

The structural problems include the ten issues listed below:

The expansion of the concept of cultural heritage

It is expected that preservation professionals can identify local issues; use a holistic approach; critically analyze and solve local problems; and plan, develop, implement, and manage strategic solutions best for most of the context-related stakeholders. Achieving such a level of understanding demands lifelong training, while the centres have had limited time and scope to act. If the centres tried to include all the dimensions of cultural heritage, it would be impossible for any single human being to absorb all the necessary knowledge in such a brief time as two years or even ten years.
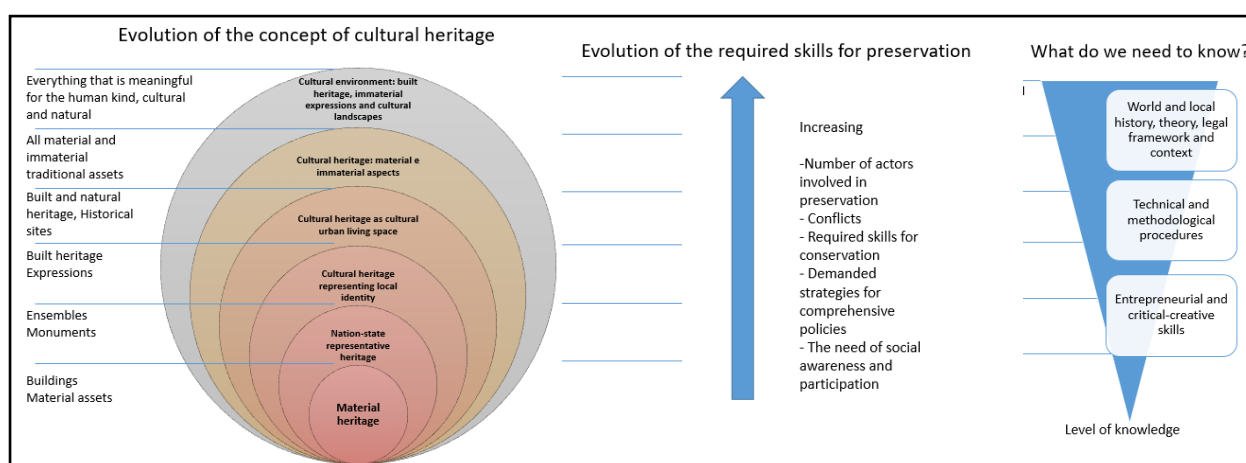
FIGURE 3. EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.
Source: Karla Penna, 2015

The education system as a mirror of the Brazilian society

Educational problems in Brazil reflect the contradictory nature of its society, where the unequal distribution of wealth generates poverty, hunger, endemic unemployment, and no prospect of change. This affects education in the training centres as, within this context of poverty and oppression, students feel unable to criticize the system, completely cowed by their political impotence and social vulnerability, or perhaps intimidated by the dominant class into silence.

The education system as a mirror of its historical roots

Brazilian education has its roots in colonialism. It was designed to mirror the education system of Portugal, the colonial motherland, with curricula designed to civilize the mestizos–the native Indians. The dominant aim of this education was the assimilation of local people to the cultural beliefs, values and language of the colonizers, with local knowledge and traditional practices suppressed. The current educational system is still holding the roots of oppressions and the culture of silence.

Involvement of students' family in school and educational centres

While social problems are challenges to be solved by governments, my participants and I observed that many parents do not believe their children's education is affected by the examples set by them as role models. Rather, they place the onus of their children's education entirely on the education system. We also observed that over time, the Brazilian government tend to blame teachers for the quality of education delivered at the training centres and fails to see the impact of politics on preservation initiatives, problem been solved by implementing quick remedies in the form of inefficient policies with little to no effect.

Physical infrastructure and methodology in public education

Two factors that limit the successful delivery of education were repeatedly discussed among us. First, the physical conditions of some training centres are deplorable turning the centres into an unfavorable learning environment. Second, teaching methodologies have heavily relied on outdated teaching methods such as pop quizzes, entire lessons written on the whiteboard, and overly theoretical lessons without class participation create a disconnection between students and their teachers and their wider community.

Education as a cultural problem: The lack of social participation

The poor quality of education at training centres is also, in part, a cultural problem. As mentioned before, by and large, members of society are not sufficiently involved, or often, are not educated enough to question and criticize the education system. Like public schools, vocational training centres suffer from the absence of school boards and school councils, which promote transparency and social engagement in the school system. This social exclusion may be in part a consequence of the Government's inability to create participatory opportunities but I also feel inclined to believe that part of the reason is that people want to stay in their comfort zone as victims, remaining in their role of victim and do not want to take on the politically important role of social agent.

Legal framework guiding cultural heritage preservation

The strict implementation of international standards is almost unachievable in developing countries with their pressing socioeconomic issues. Rigid, inflexible laws and, in many cases, decontextualized policies and legislation, are necessary to meet the UNESCO and ICOMOS ideals of preservation of World Heritage Sites.

FIGURE 4. WEIGHT OF THE LAW. Source: Karla Penna, 2016

The Bidding Law and corruption

In Brazil, some mechanisms have been put in place to combat corruption in the public system. Historical restoration, for example, is governed by bidding regulations which make it practically impossible to situate training in the construction work due to the short time frame the successful bidder had set for completion of the work. Moreover, when working with restoration and conservation projects, I have witnessed the use of unscrupulous procedures by contractors. Only a few of the construction companies have the required profile to engage in restoration works and the CEOs of these companies usually come to an agreement to divide up the conservation projects among themselves, maintaining a *cartel.*

Political and administrative discontinuity

Frequent political changes within the Government impact on preservation management. New leaders tend to abandon existing projects and create new ones–in the same area, with the same goal–for achieving, in theory, better desired outcomes. As part of the preservation system and being administratively and financially dependent on the government, training centres are exposed to this discontinuity.

Certifying versus qualifying students

There is a common perception among conservation professionals that conservation training programs may not be providing the quality training required for conservation work. Instead, training centres appeared to be certifying students at the end of courses even if the students did not demonstrate sufficient knowledge and skills. The purpose of this practice seems to be generate positive quantitative results due to political pressure to demonstrate the effectiveness and capability of the political group in power. The resulting problem was that graduates were not adequately equipped with the skills for securing employment in construction work.

Critical thinking and cultural heritage preservation education: A matter of meaning-making and social identity

One of the answers I found during the investigation proceeds from the question of asking how this study's participants experience the educational procedures of the conservation training centres. Together, my participants and I uncovered the limitations of the education system in the broader context of Brazilian social practices. They helped me reach the conclusion that the primary function of a new, critical and contextualised curriculum would be to unpack the dominant ideology framing Brazil's education system (Mignolo, 2007). The question I ask myself is how to dismantle a strong and old tradition of knowledge transmission, which requires students to submit themselves to studying long texts, expository classes and tests in order to be trained to respect authority (Freire & Shor, 1987, p. 23). Freire suggested that this fight needs to start by "utilising an active method of education, a method of dialogue" that invites critical thinking, thus modifying the content of educational programs (Freire, 1996, p. 52).

According to the participants' account of their experience, the vocational training centres currently deliver a traditional education, where courses emphasise technical training rather than developing a critical view of reality. In their perception, and now in my perception, the traditional education seems to prevent students from being able to critically analyse their socio-political environment. Consequently, students remain excluded from their own sociocultural context, unmotivated in the classroom, and unassertive when facing the daily struggles of their life.

I have learned that critical pedagogy can be a useful tool to engage students in a new participative, motivated scenario. Critical pedagogy is a philosophy of education and social movement that combines education with critical theory (Freire, 2003). First described by Paulo Freire in his book 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (2003), it aims to help students develop consciousness of their role in social awareness of authoritarian tendencies, and ability to take constructive action. It includes consideration of the relationship between teaching and learning, and posits a continuous process of learning, reflecting, evaluating of traditional schooling, and if necessary, unlearning, relearning, and reconceptualising educational methodologies and their impact on students' lives. Critical pedagogy aims to help students develop awareness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies, connect knowledge to power, and develop the ability to take constructive action (Giroux, 2006). Kincheloe (2004) stated that critical pedagogy may help educators to

 "…reshape their lives, become better scholars and social activists, realise their cognitive potential, re-create democratic spaces in an electronically mediated global world, and build and become members of communities of solidarity that work to create better modes of education and a more peaceful, equitable, and ecologically sustainable world." (p. 64)

In education, critically conscious teachers and students build personal and social meanings from life experiences. Themes, texts and issues are studied in a context related to the students' everyday lives. With critical consciousness, students are able to actively resist oppressive power structures, see society as being fundamentally divided in relations of unequal power, and are able to analyse the social dimensions and historical contexts of events. (Burbules & Berk, 1999)

Another experience shared by my participants pertains to motivation. I observed that the standard curriculum in Brazil seems to approach student motivation as if it were an external factor in education. Additionally, I learned by talking to teachers about their classroom experience that current forms of testing and imposition of discipline and punishment engender a motivation based on rewards that is generally superficial and momentaneous. For the participants and me, motivation ought to be intrinsic to the act of learning, stemming from the students' own realisation of what knowledge represents and means to them in their real lives (Freire & Shor, 1987, p.15).

I understand that the challenge for us, heritage educators, is to replace the traditional approach with a different one aimed at developing key social competencies, such as social and civic consciousness, cultural awareness and entrepreneurship. I have learned that preservation education curricula can adopt the method of active learning in realistic situations, as recommended by Lakerveld & Gussen (2009, pp 18-19). These authors believe that there are standards that can be used to contextualise new curricula. For instance, students can learn to respect local values and practices in meaningful contexts that educators create so that students can experience the relevance and meaning of the competencies to be acquired in a natural way. The adoption of a multidisciplinary approach can also turn the experience in the classroom into a more holistic and integrative experience through the inclusion of themes such as integrated governance, stakeholder and community involvement, long-term planning, and sustainability monitoring and evaluation (Hargreaves, 2008). I would like to highlight here that by sustainability I am not talking about education about sustainability but education *for* sustainability. Teachers can offer experiences where students deal with real issues afflicting our world today such as waste disposal and climate change.

Another point I perceived was that some participants wished to change the current teaching and learning scenario. They viewed learning as a process whereby students construct knowledge in interaction with other students and with their environment, rather than as a process of absorbing pre-arranged knowledge transmitted to students. I share the same perception. I believe that by fostering co-operative, interactive learning, educators can help learners to develop and construct their own knowledge, and make optimal use of other peoples' competencies in their learning itinerary (Lakerveld & Gussen, 2009). In the 1980s, Paulo Freire tried to implement this social constructivist approach in some schools in Brazil. However, as this approach was educating people to give voice to their opinions, it was not well accepted by the military government, and Freire was jailed and exiled.

Teachers and craftspeople also reported that they felt overburdened with long hours of teaching, high student numbers, over-bureaucratic administrative tasks, and political pressure. Additionally, with low salaries and virtually non-existent political or social recognition, teachers became unmotivated. They confided in me that if at least the time in the classroom was pleasant, it would compensate for the difficulties of working in an unrewarding education system. The worrisome flaws in the education system demand a new approach which can only be delivered by teachers. It is essential that the motivation to teach and to learn be symbiotic, and that there is a continuous process of exchanging experiences whereby knowledge is constructed and not

simply transmitted via ready-made formulas handed down through the generations, which involve teachers and students in a tedious process of teaching and learning. In this regard, I see that changing the traditional scenario requires an open approach involving dialogue between learners and educators about needs, goals, choices, and expectations. By encouraging discovery learning, teachers can turn the learning process into an experience of active discovery, as opposed to receptive learning. This means not only that course content is made more meaningful and accessible, but also that the way of acquiring knowledge and competences is more than a process of being provided information (Lakerveld & Gussen, 2009).

By listening to the participants' experiences, I came to understand there is much political pressure in Brazil to teach in the traditional paradigm. There are two reasons for resistance to change. Firstly, the traditional method is a familiar practice that continues to work in the view of the establishment, and there is hope that it will bring progress, even if at the end of courses we know it has not prepared students to face the challenges of a world of information overload and constant change. Secondly, if teachers distance themselves from the *status quo*, they may be labeled 'rebellious' or 'anarchic' (since the military dictatorship these labels in Brazil are synonymous with chaos), and the teachers will be subject to punishment or even termination. Therefore, most of the participants feel powerless to change the situation.

I have learned that there are ways to fight the system by transforming students' minds in the classroom through changing the teaching methodology to one grounded in transformative learning theory. Applying this theory would create a learning environment that encourages students to think how the world can be more just, peaceful, diverse and sustainable (Mezirow, 1991; Taylor, 2013). Teachers cannot change the course content, but if each theme in the course is presented with opportunities for transformative learning, I believe that the result would be expansion of students' consciousness, and transformation of their worldview and specific capabilities of 'being'. Transformative learning can be facilitated through processes consciously directed by the individual learner at accessing the symbolic contents of unconscious underlying assumptions and at critical analysis (Elias, 1997). If both educators and students familiarize themselves with certain transformative learning processes, cultural heritage preservation education would reach another level of connection between classrooms and local realities.

Taylor (2013) describes five qualities of transformative learning, or five ways of knowing. Firstly, to help students more fully understand their worldview, especially values, ideals, emotions, premises, and frames of reference residing in the subconscious, cultural-self knowing can be cultivated in the classroom with the aim of connecting students to the collective unconscious, where habits of mind, cultural/individual identity, and social interaction and actions reside. The second quality posited by Taylor, relational knowing, can help students to understand and appreciate the value of reconnecting with the natural world and with culturally different learners' and teachers' ways of knowing, being, and valuing in the world. The third quality, critical knowing, is a valuable approach to understanding how economic and organizational power has historically structured sociocultural reality, especially, class, race, gender, and the conventional scientific worldview, and thus governs (i.e., controls, restricts, limits, and distorts) identities and relationships with the natural world and with culturally different others. Fourthly, visionary and ethical knowing is important for it allows students to

envision through idealization, imagination, and dialogue with culturally different others what a better world this could be. Finally, the quality of agency knowing is indispensable to helping students to realize that contributing to making the world a better place is feasible, desirable, and necessary, and that everyone has the capacity and commitment to do so.

By studying the transformative learning approach and by going through a personal transformation myself, I have learned that transformation is dependent on the individual's construction of knowledge. This knowledge has to be viable, accessible, and has to fit in with the pre-existing knowledge, values, and lifeworld of an individual for it to make a difference. Learning from a constructivist point of view was an active process that fully involved me as an individual unlike the passive knowledge transfer envisioned by the behaviourist's approaches I grew up with. Transformative education is by definition firmly grounded in the critical constructivist paradigm which puts the onus of learning–in this case, transformation–in the hands of the learner. "If Mezirow was right and changes in our attitudes and values are the result of transformative learning, then this means that transformative learning is dependent on our capability for critical self-reflection" (Taylor, 2009, p. 358). Consequently, transformative educators, seeking to transform themselves, can become facilitators of constructive learning, offering a wide range of learning opportunities in the classroom that allow students to transform themselves (von Glasersfeld, 1989).

I believe that the critical thinking and transformative learning approaches to preservation education have the potential to greatly enhance heritage preservation training programs, due to its emphasis on the factors that impact on preservation work: active theoretical and practical knowledge construction, professional integrity through attention to values, development of resilience, and a holistic awareness of social and cultural contexts. In other words, making meaning of the reality that surrounds them helps to make meaning of what they learn. (Taylor, 2013) This lead students to identify themselves with their culture, strengthen their sense of belong to their societies, encouraging them to become not just a professional but social agents who can construct a better future for themselves. The use of competency-based learning situated in real situations may cultivate, in students, reflective thinking on their own needs, approach, progress, results, and motivations; students can develop learning strategies in the process of learning to learn (Lakerveld & Gussen, 2009). By nurturing personally constructed learning, learning can be conceived as a process of constructing students' own personal competencies. Knowledge, strategies, and information are meaningful only if they become an integral part of one's body of knowledge and competencies. In heritage education, this implies that our students need to be able to identify with contexts, people, interests, and situations that constitute the domains of cultural conservation and preservation.

Conclusion

My autoethnographic journey ended up linking the personal to pedagogical theory, centering attention on relationships between teachers and students, mirroring qualities of a humanizing pedagogy that I discovered and embraced, and which redefined and recreated my always evolving teacher-learner self. This academic journey culminated in the need to 'renovate' myself as a transformative educator, in the identification of complexities of working in the cultural heritage field in countries "discovered" by Europeans, and in the

discussion of the characteristics of an education system rooted in and underpinned by a history of Western colonisation.

The study took on the interdisciplinary character of cultural studies, seeking to understand social relationships and cultural practices through critical analysis. In this context, an understanding of contexts and phenomena through the meanings local people ascribe to them was essential to further development of reliable preservation initiatives. The new approach and new paradigm chosen by me at the beginning of the second phase suited my purpose of engaging in a deeper examination of the Brazilian context, as I sought to reveal aspects of training practices that might otherwise go unnoticed by practitioners and that might help them understand and reflect on their practices.

I am aware that my colleagues are closed to change, but one thing that I have learnt in twenty years working with all type of stakeholders is to manage egos! I am aware that working within the current Brazilian context is discouraging, but I feel the hope is still there, and that I can rescue my colleagues from inside the system by working alongside. I believe that new learning theories will enable the centres to provide holistic and more contextualised learning environments. Helping to construct this new training environment and overcoming the setbacks is my professional and personal goal in this new stage of my life.

I hope that my effort in analysing the preservation education in Brazil can contribute to improve heritage preservation, cultural policies and cultural management processes in many other countries. By offering an in-depth view of cultural preservation training issues, educators, managers and professionals may be able to design new educational frameworks for vocational education and training taken into consideration the local context-related factors affecting the education performance. In this way, my research results would be relevant to preservation education programs and conservation efforts throughout and, possibly, beyond Brazil, in Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries in Africa and Latin America with backgrounds similar to Brazil.

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Values for the future: pursuing cognitive sustainability in cultural heritage management

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the relationship between culture and society in the urban environment. The first section introduces the magmatic social and urban changes of our time, characterized by the fading of social boundaries and the emergence of new political claims arising from cultural instances; the second section focuses on the idiosyncrasies between such magmatic changes and the cultural offer, still anchored to rigid heritage preservation, never meeting new forms of cultural expression. This stern dichotomy needs to be questioned by a paradigm shift, which is dealt with in the third section: cross-sector partnership contribute to the fading of infructuous segmentation, while vertical integration hybridises genres and cultural forms; public support emerges from uncritical replication, favouring the diffusion of culture on multiple social layers. The map of culture is eventually redesigned, and new creative encounters are made by challenging the use of the space in the urban scenario.

1. Ce siècle est fait pour tout confondre! On marche vers le chaos[44]

In *The Red and the Black* by Stendhal a young, ambitious countryman enters the complicated social ecosystem of the city in the delicate, magmatic time of post-revolutionary Paris. While the novel's most obvious layer of interpretation is that of a b*ildungsroman*, the story of Julien Sorel also underlies the loss of innocence of a century, the dramatic, violent paradigm shift which occurred with the French Revolution, and the sense of dismay of people who lived it.

A less violent, yet similarly radical, change is occurring in our time. The postmodern, globalised world tore down the conceptual categories which humans used to identify society, politics, economics with. Playing with metaphors, it could be said that culture in the XXI century pretty much resembles Julien Sorel, living with anguish the unsettlement of his time: "this century is turning everything upside down". Culture, in other words, is *experiencing* the change of our century, rather than *taking part to* it: it lags behind, lacking interpretative intuition, creative inputs, meaningful visions.

A practical example could serve as a starting point. From 2002 to 2004, when the historical building of *Teatro alla Scala* was subject to restoration, the theatre displaced its activity in the Bicocca neighbourhood, and performances were held in the newly constructed Arcimboldi theatre. Borrowing terms from industrial economics, the partnership with Arcimboldi could have been a good opportunity for the theatre to expand the scale of its production, perhaps addressing new consumers whose cultural itineraries were not necessarily anchored to the centralised cultural offer of Milan; and yet, the distance from the historical centre was felt almost as an exile by the *La Scala* administration, and the ephemeral contact with a reality different from the conventional one was soon forgotten.

Innumerable are the examples of cultural institutions whose approach to the urban dynamics resembles the old opera theatre's. And yet, the changes occurring within the city and in the social fabric need to be accounted for in order for cultural management to be sustainable over time.

Social classes are fading, turning into a fertile multitude (Virno, 2001)[45], whose characteristics are those of a diversified plurality. This multitude, which inhabits the city in disordered, creative and unpredictable ways, is neither defined by its belonging to obsolete social categories, nor by its economic status, but rather by its identity claims: an identity which redefines our notion of belonging and probably represents the most radical change in the political and social paradigm of our times[46]. This is, mainly, because the identity such claims refer to is a cultural one.

The relevance of cultural instances underlying these movements is mirrored by the rising of identity-based political movements such as identity politics[47] and politics of recognition[48]. This multitude, and the multitude of

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[44] This century is turning everything upside down! We're marching towards chaos. Stendhal (2000), *Le rouge et le noir,* Paris, Folio (1st ed 1830).

[45] Virno, P. (2001), *Grammatica della moltitudine: per una analisi delle forme di vita contemporanee*, Roma: DeriveApprodi.

[46] The identity claims the paper refers to are those of the multi-cultural plurality that is the "multitude", and are not to be intended as the cultural instances underlying nationalist movements or radicalised fringes of politics, whose use of culture is rather oriented towards a distortive adoption of culture.

[47] Calhoun, C. (1995), *The politics of identity and recognition*, in Calhoun, C., *Critical Social Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell.

cultures which represent it, is the most recent development of a long historical process: encompassing geographical limits, combining and merging different cultures which challenge the spatial limits of Nations, they are the ultimate frontier of our postmodern, globalised world.

It is time to draw the overlapping maps of Nations and States, in order for decision-makers to acknowledge the weakness of borders as markers for identity. In the past the missing coincidence has been considered the source for invasion (the Anschluss was justified with the unfounded idea that all the German-speaking people were German by definition); in our years this would be useful for us to appraise the sophisticated complexity of our society whose main feature is the multicultural orientation. Maybe States are not yet useless, but in the recent years the giants of the economy (not by chance active in the "internet of things" or simply in the digital dimension) start to enjoy a patrimony and a flow of revenues which has become much higher than those of many Countries. In such a delicate framework culture proves crucial due to its critical and evolutionary nature: it is able to craft identities, provide a more flexible understanding of such mutable scenario, and shape more valid definitions than those established by the economic and political rules of the past century.

Not all factors in such a complex paradigm are aligned, however: cultural and urban variables are lagging behind. Primarily the city, the most representative ecosystem of the XXI century, still fails to grasp the fluidity of the multiple identities inhabiting its physical structure: a fracture is being operated between time (the historical evolution of society and its identity) and space (the way spatial dynamics respond or react to such changes).

The way we picture (and, in most cases, structure) the city today, in facts, still responds to the manufacturing paradigm developed during the industrial revolution: the productive centre, refurbished with services, is opposed to a periphery[49] which marginalised the working classes and relegated them to the outer, poorer fringes of the city, and which, today, attempts at marginalising minorities of any kind.

This anachronistic urban composition is being questioned by the cultural instances mentioned above. The liquidity of society and the hybridisation of cultures are pressing the structure of the city, provoking an idiosyncrasy between living and dwelling (Sennett, 2018): urban design and even regeneration policies prove ineffective and feeble face to the powerful driving forces of culture.

Secondarily, culture itself, and in particular its organisational and institutional form, is identified today with structures and entities, be them private or public, rather than with projects and itineraries. Such rigidity does not account for the emergence of new unlabelled forms of cultural expression and of cultural encounters in the urban grid. A double standard emerges, then: one for the institutional layer and the second for the creative and informal one, causing the cultural system to lag behind, and the new forms of expression to find harsh barriers to entry within the institutional domain.

Culture, then, is the second missing actor in this scheme: although cultural instances shape identities, define politics and merge frontiers at the social and, somehow, informal level, the way culture is structured and

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[48] Taylor, C. (1992), *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[49]The etymology itself of the term refers to a space conceived to bring resources towards the centre (from ancient Greek *perì+fèrein*).

regulated at an organisational and policy level is far from matching these massive social changes, mainly due to the resistance many cultural professionals and institutions oppose to any options of change, and therefore keeping the cultural discourse under a crystal (sometimes lead) bowl, denying it the only unique feature that generates cultural value: the ability to catch, often to anticipate the spirit of time.

2. Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle[50]

After having arrived in Paris our freshman social climber, Julien, meets the noble Count Altamira, who addresses him with a sibylline statement: *Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle*[51]. If we pictured Count Altamira as a metaphoric judge in the tribunal of the Spirit of Time, culture in the XXI century would probably be reproached, just like Julien Sorel, not to have understood its time.

It has been pointed out in the previous section how the characteristics of culture and its deployment in the social fabric are not met by a sound cultural policy and an apt organisation of the cultural offer. A hiatus exists in facts between the structures of cultural production and the informal processes of cultural creation and learning which occur in everyday life. The issue is, if possible, even more controversial than that, and could be articulated in several dichotomies which illustrate the distance between culture, its time, and the society it is supposed to mirror and represent.

The centre-periphery dichotomy which affects the structure of contemporary cities in spite of the new social pressures[52] is likewise mirrored in the spatial organisation of the cultural offer: this is true, primarily, for cultural institutions such as museums and theatres, whose position is an isolated one, located within a musealised historic centre, inspiring awe and reverence rather than eliciting curiosity and creativity; the urban map of culture is, in facts, a manufacturing one, and the fruition of cultural heritage and cultural goods is anchored to the XIX century paradigm. This has contributed to a neat separation between the everyday urban itineraries of people, on the one hand, and culture, relegated to an ivory tower, on the other. The prevailing message of cultural places is a neat rejection of whoever does not yet belong to the club.

Secondarily, this paradigm is reflected in the one of the so-called creative industries, whose production mechanisms are linked to the generation of intellectual property and to the exploitation of cultural capital. Such mechanisms, by overlapping to and substituting those of manufacturing capitalism, have not reduced inequalities as was optimistically foreseen by some (since cultural capital, differently from the physical one, is non-excludable).[53] The creative city (Florida, 2002) is in facts an exclusive city, where cultural capitalism generates benefits and externalities which rarely reach the outer fringes of the city (Scott, 2007).

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[50] *«You haven't understood your times »*, Stendhal, *op. cit.*

[51] Stendhal, *Le rouge et le noir*, Paris : Folio Classique, 2000 (1st ed. 1830).

[52] David Harvey has extensively described this tension; he borrowed the conception of "right to the city" by Henri Lefebvre and expanded it by identifying in the urban population, rather than in a specific class, the primary revolutionary subject of our times. For an exhaustive account, see Harvey, D. (2012), *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*, New York: Verso, and Harvey, D. (2016), *Il capitalismo contro il diritto alla città*, Verona: Ombre Corte (1st ed. 2012)

[53] Namely M. Hardt and T. Negri. For a more complete account on the critical theories on cultural-cognitive capitalism see Keucheyan, R. (2010), *Emisphère Gauche. Une cartographie des nouvelles pensées critiques*, Paris : La Découverte.

The supposedly uncontroversial generation of economic benefits from knowledge exploitation and cultural capital is, in facts, deeply embedded in a political and economic ecosystem in which the creative city develops, often shaped by the neoliberal paradigm regaining popularity from the 1980s. Such generation of wealth, regulated by unwise policy design, has exasperated the concentric divisions of the city and the difference between the structures of culture and its informal production processes. As exhaustively observed by D'Ovidio (2016),

> creative and cultural operators often do not recognize themselves in the policies proposed in their name, alternative and avant-garde culture are still emarginated, the production and promotion of culture is no more open than before and a large segment of creative labour is suffering a precarious and insecure situation.[54]

This leads directly to a second dichotomy, still related to a hierarchic articulation of the city, which, in its turn, has generated a hierarchic articulation of culture: the supposed highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture are still mostly produced and practiced in separate spaces. From both the production and consumption sides this has crucial corollaries: the offer is rigidly and oddly segmented, replicating modes and genres which are still anchored to tastes and cultural instances of long-disappeared classes, and do not account for the many hybridisations which are propaedeutic to artistic and cultural innovation; such changes, occurring both in the semiotic codes and the material base of creative production (Jones, Lorenzen, Sapsed, 2015), are hindered by the prescriptive separation between the "high" and "low" layers. The challenges to such a rigid paradigm are often unsystematic and bottom-up, and fail to reach the policy discourse on culture – as a consequence, they often do not engender an actual process of innovation.

On the consumption side, such a segmentation lies on the common place that cultural taste coincides with demographic indicators such as age, income, job, often abused in uncritical and mechanical audience studies. Not only the aforementioned liquidity of social boundaries denies the efficacy of such indicators in describing the complex motivations behind cultural consumption; these textbook-kind audience studies assume that cultural consumers are sort of monomaniac entities driven by a social status whose symptoms are age, income and education. Actually, these analyses totally ignore the high proportion of old, affluent and formally educated people who simply refuse culture in both its roles of social assessment and shared enjoyment source. Socio-demographic variables are not at all motivations for cultural consumption.

When opening a YouTube video of, say, Beethoven's 9th Symphony, II movement, many of the comments below the video are of the following sort: "Clockwork Orange brought me here"[55]; education and, more specifically, exposure to any form of arts and culture depends in most cases by unpredictable motivations and unsought inspiration. The patterns of learning are far from being a hieratic ascension to Mount Parnassus: they pretty much resemble the map of a medieval city, unstructured, fluid, mixed, and as such, inspirational.

The distinction between highbrow and lowbrow is mirrored by a further dichotomous classification in the cultural and creative domain: a dynamic, fluid form of cultural production, from cinema to pop music, runs

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[54] D'Ovidio, M. (2016), *The creative city does not exist. Critical essays on the creative and cultural economy of cities*, Milano: Ledizioni
[55] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5favl2Qtx0

parallel to the rigid diktats of heritage management, whose firmness is not so much responsive to a concern for heritage's physical preservation as it is a symptom of a missing strategy in the short as well as in the long term. In other words, creativity and heritage seldom meet on the urban arena of the contemporary city.

The notion of heritage, asserted with the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972[56], was of crucial importance for the acknowledgment of the immortal cultural value of many artefacts and buildings to mankind, while providing solid ground for the identity claims of many populations worldwide (which, as said before, is a pivotal factor in contemporary politics); this notion however also had the effect of crystallising a sort of dualism between cultural production and the mere maintenance of heritage, both tangible and intangible; this is particularly evident, for instance, not just in policies concerning tangible heritage, such as ancient buildings, but also in the case of intangible heritage preservation, such as opera or classical music.

Tangible heritage, in facts, is subject to an extremely stern regulation concerning its uses; ancient theatres, temples and other buildings of this sort see their physical capital preserved almost with obsessive jealousy (and not without a sort of apocalyptic obsession), and very few are the occasions in which the scope of these sites' activities goes beyond the mere contemplation on behalf of astonished, or better confused, tourists. Considerations over the carrying capacity and the physical maintenance of historical buildings, though fundamental in setting the boundaries of a sustainable adaptive reuse, often adopt a zero tolerance approach towards the vertical integration of built heritage as an input for the production of cultural goods such as live performances (Trimarchi, 2004); from a cultural perspective, the risk of this risk-averse strategy is to reduce the accumulation of joint cultural stock on behalf of consumers.

From an economic perspective, the opportunity cost of giving up a possible cross subsidisation of heritage with other cultural activities is relevantly high; moreover, *limited enjoyment of built heritage could reduce visitors' willingness-to-pay and make the need for public or private financial support stronger*[57].

Especially in civil law countries (Bonini Baraldi, 2014), the adoption of NPM practices in the public sector and, consequently, cultural heritage management, were supposed to bridge the efficiency of the business world and public management by fostering efficiency, inducing effectiveness, reducing public spending and speed up bureaucratic procedures; it only resulted in confused hybrid forms of, after all, still publicly managed institutions, with ineffective reforms succeeding one another in an endless chain of doubled bureaucratic efforts. Bizantine regulations end up strangling creative action.

This is not only the case of heritage buildings, subject to the rigid rule of preservation, lacking whatsoever strategic view for their uses and proper management, often to the detriment of financial sustainability. It is also the case of intangible heritage, and especially of most performing arts: from multifunctional public spaces, central to the social life of the city, theatres turned into improbable temples of beauty, their intangible heritage being firmly, irreducibly reproduced without ever appealing to other expressive mediums or without interacting with the outer spatial reality of its urban environment.

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[56] For the evolution and development of UNESCO definitions on culture and cultural heritage, see Pereira Roders, A., and van Oers, R. (2011), *Editorial: bridging cultural heritage and sustainable development*, Journal of Heritage Management and Sustainable Development, 1:1.
[57] Trimarchi, M. (2004), *Regulation, integration and sustainability*, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 10:5

It is not by chance that, in the Italian criteria for public funding, social-oriented goals and educational activities are not accounted for when evaluating the eligibility of theatres for the assignment of funds; in their place stands the qualitative peer-based evaluation of supposedly qualified experts, which ends up favouring a vicious circle of uncritical heritage replication – such heritage being easier to assess in conventionally qualitative terms (Sabatini, Trimarchi, 2019).

Tastes and itineraries have changed, the business model of most performing arts institutions has not; other media, from TV shows to Netflix series, have appropriated the semantics of theatre, providing a response to the same immortal cultural instances, but through innovative forms of production and delivery channels; theatres, blaming the uneducated youngest generation for habits which theatre administrators do not understand, quietly await for the pavlovian response of their ever-decreasing audience to a cultural offer which is unlikely to arouse any interest *per se*, if it is not matched with clever visions for the future, innovative contaminations from other forms of creativity, smart partnerships and a better and more equal diffusion in the urban fabric.

The most dramatic aspect of the separation between heritage and the creative, dynamic sphere of cultural production (which can be roughly identified with the creative industries) lies in a progressive decrease of the cultural stock generated by heritage, and of the cultural value attached to it: such a cultural value, only partly quantifiable through economic indicators (Throsby, 2001), is not sustained by further inputs which ensure the proper maintenance of the cultural capital which the physical building embodies; a fracture is generated between the physical preservation of the building, and the preservation of its original value, of its value for the present generation and for the future one – which is at risk.

While, then, most institutions are facing everyday issues of financial sustainability and struggling against time in the battle for physical maintenance of heritage sites, unaware of the changes occurring in their direct proximity, a fundamental aspect of the sustainability framework is unaccounted for: the cognitive dimension.

From the Bruntland perspective sustainability is reached by meeting "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"[58]. In the cultural realm this view can be perhaps adjusted in more dauntless, farsighted terms, as cultural sustainable development shall deliver a cultural heritage to future generations in *an improved state*[59]. Culture is not simply a renewable resource: it is cumulative, and has an infinite carrying capacity. Its sustainability as a renewable resource is however threatened by the uncertainty of transmission caused by its misuse (Bertacchini, Bravo, Marrelli, Santagata, 2012).

In cultural production the many dimensions of sustainability intertwine tightly: intergenerational equity, intragenerational equity, but also issues of identity and recognition, the production of cultural value and the increase of cultural stock; neither of these matters is neutral, and the way culture is managed and organised in the city strongly affects its beneficial externalities and the effects it produces, their features, scale, and the

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[58] Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future, 1987.
[59] Marx, K., in Wall, D. (2014), *The Commons in History: Culture, Conflict and Ecology,* Boston: The MIT Press.

way they are distributed among society. Such complexity needs to be tackled from a non conventional perspective.

Today, the primary feature of culture is separation: a separation which culture operates between social classes, between spaces of inclusion and exclusion, popular and high culture, centre and periphery – and, worse, knowledge centres and cognitive peripheries. The Borgesian multitude of our times calls for diversity instead of separation, hybridisation instead of segmentation, unpredictable creative paths instead of divine artistic initiation. The modern multitude's quest for recognition and sharing calls for a culture which mirrors and personalises, arises questions rather than providing answers: a modern Janus whose inheritance from the past is not mere contemplation of an idealised antiquity, but a milestone for building the future and inspiring new creative responses to the solicitations of the changing world.

3. «Rappelez-vous le grand principe de votre siècle[60]»

Julien, our personified metaphor of culture, has come to the end of his journey. His unscrupulous social climbing is not perhaps the most suitable prescription for a policy which should aspire at conveying the cultural value of heritage by tearing down the urban and social barriers to entry which characterise the organisation of culture today. And yet, there is a lot to learn from Stendhal's hero about the delicate art of mediation and compromise - and the risks it implies. In the case of culture, a zero-tolerance approach towards the changes of a supposedly barbarised society is, at the best, reckless; at the worst, suicidal.

Before being crystallised into protocols of production and fruition, culture was made for and by the instances and encounters of societies; a sustainable use of heritage and production of culture, intended as the transmission of its real cultural value, passes through a new mutual recognition between culture and society, a reconciliation with new modes of living the urban space and new ways of experiencing culture. Rethinking policies and actions for culture is a preliminary step towards such a sustainability.

Context and adhocracy, the two pillars of local administration, make it difficult to draw a taxonomy of policy actions and best practices which may serve the purposes of an infinite diversity of local specificities. It is neither impossible nor useless, however, to draw some guidelines which could orient cultural policy in the complexity of the contemporary environment.

Both public action and institutional initiatives can lead to a more sustainable relationship between culture and society, operating at different, interconnected level: cross-sector partnerships challenge cultural enclosure while providing creativity and culture with new inputs from different sectors, while vertical integration between cultural heritage and other forms of cultural production enriches its cultural value and strengthens autonomy on the financial side thanks to cross-subsidisation; the structure of public funding, at its turn, should aim at enabling such an autonomy: public funding ensures the survival of institutions unable to dialogue with partners as well as their main stakeholders, the citizens, while it should provide incentives for developing financially sound and socially sustainable cultural projects; a smarter use of the space, both of theatre within the city and

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[60] "*Remember the main rule of our century*", Stendhal, *op. cit.*

within the theatre itself is necessary: all of these aspects are dealt with in detail below. Cognitive sustainability, the effective transmission of the cultural value of heritage, can be reached though flexible interactions rather than stern physical preservation.

The fact that culture is written in the singular form accounts for its universal value to mankind, but leaves out the infinite plurality of cultural forms and expressions. Mediation and mutual exchanges occur at a subterranean level between cultures, but very few cultural institutions develop an effective network within and outside their respective sphere; cross-sector partnerships are fairly common among the NGOs as a powerful tool to tackle complex issues (Selsky, Parker, 2005); it is curious to notice how cultural institutions are, on the contrary, often isolated or, at best, rigidly sectorial in their partnerships. This network enclosure limits the reach of cultural activities within the city and hinders a potential cross-fertilisation between the different cultural sectors.

Opera di Roma, for instance, has recently begun to associate its name with fashion: its *La Traviata*, a massive blockbuster featuring costumes by Valentino, has earned more than 1,2 million euros in ticket presales only in 2016[61], and it's been brought onstage every year since then; the recent Philip Glass soirée has put onstage the costumes by Dior's superstar Maria Grazia Chiuri. The enhanced visibility of the theatre to the eyes of a diversified audience is generated by a new creative product which combines high-quality elements from different cultural domains.

The networking issue is strictly related to that of vertical integration between different cultural activities – namely that of built heritage in the production of live performances; the rigid control over the type of activities to be performed in a Greek theatre, rather than being an effective enabler of preservation, is sometimes a too stern *a priori* rejection of a form of entertainment which still hasn't entered the domain of legitimacy. This issue is well illustrated in Trimarchi, 2004:

> *a few years ago the Greek-Roman Theatre in Taormina, Sicily, was denied for an acoustic concert of some rock band but given for the presentation of a new Formula One car (which was placed very close to the ancient columns). In the same way, the American rock singer Bruce Springsteen was denied the opportunity to perform in an acoustic concert at the Arena di Verona, due to explicit prohibition on the part of the Heritage Superintendent in Veneto.*

If properly managed and protected from possible misuses, the vertical integration of cultural heritage is, on the contrary, a powerful driver of growth for both the economic and the cultural value of heritage (Trimarchi, 2004); this is but one among the many missing opportunities concerning a proper, though supposedly unconventional, use of heritage: the exposure of a still unaware audience to a cultural artefacts which they might have not experienced if it wasn't for the performance. The non-impact of this missing exposure is worsened in the absence of the potential financial benefits deriving from the proper use of heritage.

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[61] https://st.ilsole24ore.com/art/moda/2016-05-20/valentino-firma-traviata-roma-il-teatro-dell-opera-piu-grande-incasso-sempre-ancor-prima-debutto-164451.shtml?uuid=ADYwSIM

Vertical integration does not simply generate consumption of mixed cultural stock: it can sometimes challenge creativity and elicit new forms of artistic production. This is the case when the barriers between highbrow and lowbrow are questioned, and heritage institutions either embrace new forms of expression, or new creative modes are generated by a different use of the space on behalf of such institutions themselves, once displaced in venues not commonly associated with culture or with "highbrow" culture.

Partnerships and vertical integrations are, in addition, a driver of cross-subsidisation of cultural activities, determinant in enabling the (at least partial) financial autonomy of cultural heritage institutions. The cultural value of such sites and activities is an eminently valid justification for public support and funding, and it has too often been a lifebelt against inefficiency and the inability to interact with their complex surrounding environment. Especially among established institutions, the dimensions of performance evaluation usually range between economic and social indicators, while the "environmental sustainability" or societal dimension is hardly ever accounted for (Hadida, 2015).

Similarly, and especially in the Italian experience, public support places a nominal emphasis on such dimension while often discarding matters such as education, social inclusion, cross-sectorial activities; these are not based on immediate economic results bur rather on the long-term strategy of demand building.

Such a strategy cannot waive a policy shift concerning the use of the urban space as well as of the theatrical one: the wider diffusion of a diversified cultural offer is not simply a matter of equity within the present generation (as in Throsby's definition of cultural sustainable development[62]), but also provide us with opportunities for different forms of culture to merge and to produce new cultural stock which bridges heritage and creativity. The physical displacement of the cultural offer could be a powerful driver of change by exogenous demand, meeting new audiences and tastes, and of change in the semiotic code of a form of art through the merging with other expressive media (Jones, Lorenzen, Sapsed, 2015).

Reversely, the combination of venues commonly associated with the "high" culture challenges culture's conventional use of the space, producing unpredictable short-circuits between places, people, culture. It is the case, for example, of the world music festival held at the Opéra de Lyon every year, holding popular and alternative music concerts on its terrace.

Moreover, according to Bandura's social cognitive theory of sustainable behaviour (1986), the motivation and types of actions taken by individuals depend on their empathy towards sustainability. The idea of empathy is particularly relevant in the cultural domain: sustainable policy design begins with the awareness that people would rather partake to and support activities to which they feel an emotional proximity. In Bologna, a crowdfunding campaign contributed to the restoration of the historical arches climbing the surrounding hills up to the Sanctuary of S. Luca; people were given the possibility to contribute to the restoration by 'adopting' a portion of the arches in exchange for a special mention by the local administration and constant information on the progression of the works.

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[62] Throsby, D. (1995), *Culture, economics and sustainability*, Journal of Cultural Economics, 19:3, pp. 199-206.

The relevance of public support is matched to a rising interest on behalf of communities in contributing directly to the maintenance and sustainability of what they perceive as a common good. Innovation in management generates new forms of heritage expression, bridging creativity and tradition. This is an unprecedented shift: preservation is exchanged now with transmission, defining a new modality of preservation through innovation: a sustainable paradigm of collective responsibility towards a shared culture. This could have, in the future, significant implications not only in heritage management, but in cultural economics as a whole: a line is drawn for good between willingness-to-pay and willingness-to-*contribute*.

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Evaluating the impact of the More Museums public notice in creating new museums in small Brazilian municipalities: a difference in differences analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study evaluates the impact of the More Museums public notice, an initiative aimed at promoting the creation of new museums, part of the Museum, Memory and Citizenship Program, which constitutes the National Museum Policy. We sought to analyze the impact of this notice on the creation of museums in Brazil. Based on a difference in differences approach, the evidence reveals the policy's lack of effectiveness. Finally, initiatives to create museums in municipalities seems more linked to factors that are exogenous to this policy, such as municipal population, the municipality's level of development, tourist activities and other regional factors.

Initial Considerations

A museum's *raison d'être* has varied throughout the past decades and, until today, is widely debated. Museum directors, curators and political stakeholders usually have different views on the importance of creating a museum. When the first museums were created, their function was related to cultural integration and defining national culture (Martín-Barbero, 1997). Gray (2010) stated that most of the contemporary literature relates these institutions' function to social, cultural and political change.

According to the journal of the Brazilian National Museum Register (*Cadastro Nacional de Museus* – CNM), Museums in Numbers (*Museus em Números*), which has an updated database of all the museums in the country, Brazil had over 3,500 museums in 2015, making it the Latin American country with the most museums (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2015). Mexico comes right behind, with approximately 1,299 museums. However, compared to developed countries, and considering Brazil's population, this figure is relatively low. For example, in 2015, Brazil only had 1.8 museums per 100,000 inhabitants, compared to 11 in the United States, 8 in Germany, and 3.6 in Spain, for the same period (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2015).

Taking this into consideration, is it possible to stimulate the creation of new museums? If so, could this be led by public policies? What are the available instruments and their potential reach? The foundations for implementing these policies, their cost-benefit relation and their impact need further investigation. These are some of the key questions when promoting the creation of new museums and, at the same time, their decentralization throughout the country. Thus, the present paper proposes to study the said questions.

The objective of the present paper is to evaluate the impact of the More Museums (*Mais Museus*) public notice, an instrument which was adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Museums (*Instituto Brasileiro de Museus* – Ibram) to promote the creation of museums in municipalities with no museums and up to 50,000 inhabitants.

The More Museums public notice as an instrument of the Brazilian National Museum Policy

As a response to demands from the Brazilian museum sector, one of the programs created in the 2000-2003 Pluriannual Plan (*Plano Plurianual* – PPA) was Museum, Memory and Citizenship, with the goal of revitalizing museums and fostering their sustainability, thus, consolidating a public policy for this sector (Tolentino, 2007). This new system created conditions to regularly apply resources from the National Culture Support Program (*Programa Nacional de Apoio à Cultura*) and constituted a network of partnerships to promote tax incentive laws and budgets for states and municipalities, to integrate federal entities and the civil society involved in museology.

The Museum, Memory and Citizenship program was criticized for having been conceived to solely support federal museums, thus eroding the integration between sub-federal entities as well as the PPA's objective to promote partnerships between federal, state and municipal governments and the civil society to enable program execution. Therefore, by restricting the benefits of this policy to federal museums, the Program

inhibits the construction of a network of partnerships between the federal entities that is necessary to promote and value the cultural heritage presented in museums. The definition of a national public policy for the museology sector is essential to enable a regular application of resources foreseen by the PPA and those from fiscal incentives (Tolentino, 2007).

The Ministry of Culture released the National Museum Policy (*Política Nacional de Museus* – PNM) on May 16, 2003, during the International Museum Day celebrations. According to Tolentino (2007), this was a response to criticisms against the Museum, Memory and Citizenship program. The new document had an item pertaining to the construction of a network of partnerships, which stated that the creation and implementation of the PNM should include federal, state and municipal entities as well as private sector entities related to culture research and organized civil society entities (Ministério da Cultura, 2003).

The PNM is composed of one general objective, seven guiding principles and seven program areas. Each area also comprises four or five subitems, which are essentially goals the PNM aims to achieve. The general objective of the PNM is to promote the value, preservation and fruition of Brazil's cultural heritage, with the end goal of fostering social inclusion and active citizenship, through the development and revitalization of existing museum institutions and the promotion of new processes for the production and institutionalization of the memories constituting the social, ethnic and cultural diversity in the country (Ministério da Cultura, 2003).

According to Torres (2015), the State, when planning and implementing public policies, has a series of instruments that function as positive or negative incentives. In the case of cultural policies, the most common instruments are laws, regulations and fiscal instruments, used according to the State's ends.

According to Rubim (2007), Lula's 2003-2006 administration adopted and encouraged public notices to foster culture, including through state companies, such as Petrobras. Thus, the Ministry of Culture and its autonomous entities created public notices and awards in the field of museology to democratize and decentralize the sector's public resources.

For Ibram (2011), the disparity in museum dispersion throughout Brazil is a challenge for public policies. Museums are unequally distributed throughout Brazil's regions (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2011). Data from 2011 shows that the Southeast and South regions concentrated approximately 70% of all Brazilian museums. Additionally, out of 5,564 Brazilian municipalities, 4,390 (78.90%) had no museums. Out of the 1,174 municipalities which had museums, only 68 had six or more different institutions, which reveals the strong asymmetry in museum distribution throughout the Brazilian territory. The introduction of the cited publication mentioned that Brazil has yet to overcome the Treaty of Tordesillas. Except for the South region, there is still a high concentration of museums in the wealthier regions, in the municipalities with over 100,000 inhabitants located in the coastline. This shows a need to broaden cultural public policies in strategic roles and the right to memory as a structuring area (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2011).

In this sense, the More Museums notice was an initiative created to change this situation – since the notice is inserted in the Museum, Memory and Citizenship program integrated in the PNM actions. The public notice, created in 2007, included actions to promote the creation of new museums in the country. We would like to emphasize that the instrument itself was not directly aimed towards building new museums but rather provide support measures that contribute indirectly towards this goal.

In 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010, the notice was operated by the National Institute for Historic and Artistic Heritage (*Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* – Iphan), through its Department of Museums and Cultural Centers. When the Ibram – an autonomous entity linked to the Ministry of Culture – was created in January 2009, it became responsible for implementing public policies to improve services of the museum sector (República Federativa do Brasil, 2009). When this agency was created – and succeeded Iphan in its rights, duties and obligations pertaining to federal museums – the public notices for 2011, 2012 and 2013 were managed by the new institute.

Operated through a public partnership, the conditions to receive the benefits as well as the partners able to participate in the public notice have varied slightly throughout the years. Generally, cities with up to 50,000 inhabitants that did not have museums were eligible to benefit from the program. Legal entities under public law (except those related to the Ministry of Culture) and non-profit private legal entities interested in providing financial support to create museums could also participate in the notice.

The partnership between these legal entities could include acquiring equipment and furniture, creating projects for construction and services, installing and setting up exhibitions, renovating property, creating muselogical or museographic projects, and real estate improvement. Therefore, despite the official objective for the notice being the creation of museums where there are none, this instrument in fact only partially offered what is necessary for the effective creation of a museum.

The justification for the government's promotion of new museums is related to these institutions' function in society as well as compliance with legal requirements. Huyssen (as cited in Santos, 2004) pointed out that, unlike the traditional conception of a museum as a space for preservation of elite culture and official history, today these institutions are conceived as democratic spaces, more open to the means of mass communication and the general public, so its function in the world has become related to its role of social change.

The benefits of creating new museums are associated to the economic and social development of cities. The importance of museums for the economy is cited by Fabbri (2011), who stated these institutions are responsible for the movement of financial resources and direct and indirect employment. Additionally, museums can be responsible for increasing public mobilization and boosting tourism.

Plaza and Haarich (2015) commented on the "Guggenheim effect" and stated that, even though sometimes the influence of the new museum on Bilbao's development has been exaggerated, this new institution was

essential, especially for the development of tourism and for the creative and service industries. In Brazil, having as few as one museum in a small or medium-sized city can be the main factor behind stimulating touristic activity in the municipality (Fabbri, 2011), for example the Imperial Museum in Petrópolis and the Inhotim Institute in Brumadinho.

In the legal field, cultural rights are an integral part of human rights foreseen in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966. In Brazil, cultural rights are sparsely stated throughout the Federal Constitution of 1988. Article 215 foresees that the State should guarantee everyone's full exercise of cultural rights and access to sources of national culture, as well as supporting and promoting the value and diffusion of cultural manifestations. Article 3 specifies that the Federal Republic of Brazil's fundamental objective is to reduce social and regional inequalities (República Federativa do Brasil, 1988). Moreover, universal access to art and culture is the firth objective in the National Culture Plan (República Federativa do Brasil, 2010).

According to Ollaik (2012), in cultural politics, democratizing access opportunities is providing access to cultural goods and services, including museums. The author emphasizes the theoretical and practical relevance of the different instruments used by the State to democratize citizens' access to the goods it offers. In this sense, creating new museums also democratizes the population's access to cultural assets.

Woronkowicz (2013) reported that most of the current literature relates the benefits of the creation of new institutions to the social and economic development of communities. However, according to this author, few studies identify, for example, the demand that leads to the construction of a new cultural institution or how to measure its impact on a community.

In Brazil, Santos (2004) emphasizes the importance of museums for society; however, the author emphasizes that there are few studies linking activities conducted by museums and changes in society. Additionally, more research is needed to help us better understand the pattern of growth in museums and which elements influence their multiplication, especially pertaining to the historic and cultural development of each region.

However, there are no studies on the specific theme of evaluating public policies that induce the creation of new museums, maybe because public policies related to culture is still a marginal theme in the political process, according to the British Council Report, Culture Matters (Howson & Dubber, 2014). Another factor to explain the scarcity of research is the lack of a consolidated database in the general cultural sphere, which may hinder quantitative analyses, as concluded by the final report of the European Statistical System Network on Culture (ESSnet, 2012).

This public notice was not evaluated in the years it was published, nor after the last notice in 2013. Considering that one of the objectives of the PNM, through the More Museums public notice, was to decentralize the creation of new museum institutions in the country (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2011), it is

relevant to systematize data regarding the location of new museums created in Brazil to evaluate the impact, even if indirect, of this public instrument in reaching the PNM's goals.

Evaluating public policies

According to Silva (1999), systematically evaluating and monitoring public policy implementation is fundamental to the institutional decision process, since it produces essential information to improve government actions in different phases of their cycle. Programs are analyzed regarding their effective impact, impact deficits, or unwanted collateral effects. This analysis enables decision making for future programs and actions. If the objectives of the program are reached, the political cycle can be suspended, closed, or a new cycle can begin.

Cohen and Franco (1999) argued that monitoring and evaluating government programs are essential tools for good management practices. Monitoring is an internal management activity that occurs during the execution and operation period. Evaluation allows the manager to follow-up and review the actions when necessary. The review may occur before or during the implementation of a public policy, after a stage or project, or even when the policy is finalized. Moreover, Rezende and Jannuzzi (2008) stated that the goal of the evaluation is to determine to what degree the policy reached its goals and to what degree the main issue was reduced.

A key step of the evaluation process, according to Cohen and Franco (1999), is to divide the general objective into subsets of specific objectives, which in turn comprise goals, which will be measured through indicators. Variations in the values, verified in the units of analysis, allow us to quantify this process. Thus, as Rezende and Jannuzzi (2008) point out, the development of a monitoring and evaluation mechanism requires an information, data and research system that provides data on the degree of policy implementation, since they subsidize the public planning activities and formulation of public policies, as well as allowing monitoring by the government and civil society.

The literature points to different criteria to classify these evaluations, for instance, nature of occurrence, nature, precedence of the evaluators, and modality or aspect of the program subjected to the evaluation. The last criterion can be classified into formal/conceptual evaluation, process evaluation, or result/impact evaluation (Cotta, 1998; Costa & Castanhar, 2003).

The goal of the impact evaluation is to verify to what degree the policy was able to reach its objectives. The effects of the policy are evaluated after its implementation, to verify whether there were any changes in the problem situation that motivated its formulation. In this sense, the impact evaluation analyzes whether a program reached its objectives and, if it did, what was the magnitude of the effect (Cotta, 1998; Carvalho, 2003).

One of the techniques to evaluate impact is the difference in differences analysis (Foguel, 2012; Ramos, 2009). Foguel (2012) states that this method is based on a double subtraction calculation: one is the difference of averages in the result variable for the periods before and after the program, for the treatment and the control group, and the other is the difference of the first difference calculated for these two groups. The main hypothesis for this analysis is that the temporal trajectory of the result variable for the control group represents what would happen to the treatment group if they had had no intervention. Angrist and Krueger (as cited in Ramos, 2009) explain that this technique uses data in a panel for each group and reinforce the need to choose comparable variables that respond to counterfactual statements.

This analysis is more advanced than "naïve" methods, which only compare the treatment group to the control group after the intervention, or only compare the treatment group pre and post-intervention. This analysis enables us to control the influence of non-observable characteristics that do not change over time (Foguel, 2012). There characteristics are marked as control variables.

To analyze the natural experiment, one must determine the control group, which represents the category that was not affected by the public policy, and the treatment group, which was able to be affected by the event. Ideally both groups should have similar characteristics. Regarding the composition of the control group, Foguel (2012) stated that finding a group of individuals that adequately represent the non-treatment situation, that is, a group that works as a good counterfactual for the treatment group is the central challenge in evaluating public policies. Thus, simple participation or not in the program is not enough to differentiate both groups.

Method

1. Research variables and hypotheses

To evaluate the impact of the More Museums public notice using a difference in differences analysis, we needed to define the years that would represent the pre-program (t_0) and post-program (t_1) periods and the treatment (T_1) and control (T_0) groups.

We chose the year 2009 as the period prior (t_0) to the More Museums notice and 2015 as the posterior period (t_1). The year 2009 was chosen due to methodological changes in the operationalization of the CNM as of that year. The notice had its first edition in 2007, but the results were published only in 2008, so that in 2009 the effects of the notice may not yet have been apparent, considering the time necessary to build a new museum. The year 2015 was chosen because our research for this paper started in 2016.

The treatment group (T_1) was composed of all the municipalities that, according to the notice, could receive benefits from More Museums, that is, municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants in 2009 and that did not have any museums in 2015.

The control group (T_0) was defined by municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants in 2009 that did have at least one museum in 2015. To reduce self-selection bias, we opted for municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants because the notice only allowed municipalities with at most this number of inhabitants to participate. Our choice was based on the hypothesis that municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants share more common characteristics than the general group of Brazilian municipalities.

It is worth mentioning that the country's territorial organization shows great differences between regions (Santos, 2008). This diversity may be a flaw in selecting the control group, since some of these differences could affect the result variable for which we wish to measure the policy's impact (Foguel, 2012).

In 2009, out of 5,562 Brazilian municipalities, 4,972 (89.40%) had up to 50,000 inhabitants. Out of those, 4,090 (82.26%) did not have museums in 2015 and were selected as the treatment group; 882 (17.73%) did have museums in 2015 and were thus chosen as the control group.

The impact analysis for the More Museums notice consisted, firstly, of an analysis between the number of museums (dependent variable) and treatment (independent variable) for the treatment (T_1) and control (T_0) groups, in the periods before (t_0) and after (t_1) the More Museums notice. Thus, Y_1 represents the number of museums in the treated municipalities and Y_0 the number of museums in the control group.

We can estimate the mean effect of treatment on the treatment group. The impact of change can be assessed with the following equation:

(1)
$$ATT = E\{Y_1/T = 1, t=1\} - E\{Y_0/T = 0, t=1\} - [E\{Y_1/T = 1, t=0\} - E\{Y_0/T = 0, t=0\}]$$

Where:
ATT is the impact of the policy on the dependent variable;
$E\{Y_1/T = 1, t=1\}$ is the mean of the dependent variable for the municipalities treated in the post-notice year (2015);
$\{Y_1/T = 1, t=0\}$ is the dependent variable for the municipalities treated in the pre-notice year (2009);
$E\{Y_0/T = 0, t=1\}$ is the mean of the dependent variable for the municipalities in the control group for the year after the notice (2015);
$E\{Y_0/T = 0, t=0\}$ is the mean of the dependent variable for the municipalities in the control group for the year prior to the notice (2009).

2. Control variables and hypotheses

In an attempt to avoid other factors producing an estimation bias on the policy's impact, and to approximate to a pure effect measure, we included control variables we assumed were related to the creation of new museums. Thus, we inserted the control variables Population, Brazilian state, Municipal Human Development Index (MHDI), Tourism, and Coastline. Our hypothesis was that these variables could capture some of the effects on the likelihood of museum creation regarding unexplained aspects of the model's variables.

Considering the lack of consolidated data on aspects related to culture with municipalities as the unit of analysis, we were unable to insert additional control variables. The fact that this research uses small municipalities as a unit of analysis hinders the insertion of new variables, since much of the data is unavailable for all Brazilian municipalities.

The Population and Brazilian state variables were included based on the assumption that cities with a larger population (Santos, 2004; Woronkowicz et al, 2012) located in Southern and Southwestern states (Santos, 2004) would tend to create more museums. Both variables capture the effect of unobserved characteristics related to the state in which a municipality is located.

A study by Woronkowicz et al. (2012) concluded that higher levels of education and income explain why some cities build more cultural institutes than others. Thus, we chose the MHDI because of its proximity to the Human Development Index (HDI), which is recognized as one of the most holistic development indexes (Torres, Ferreira & Dini, 2003). The MHDI was created in a partnership between United Nations Development Programme - Brazil (PNUD), the Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea) and the João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP), which adapted the Global HDI methodology to calculate the MHDI. It is the geometric mean of municipal indices for income, education and longevity, with equal weight (PNUD, IPEA & FJP, 2014).

We selected the variable Tourism because we assumed that the municipalities with highest tourism flow were more likely to have more museums. Thus, the role of this variable in the model is to control the effect of tourism on museum creation. We used the Municipal Categorization of Touristic Regions from the Map of Brazilian Tourism, which is an instrument created by the Ministry of Tourism to identify the economic performance of this sector in municipalities included in the Map of Brazilian Tourism. The economic performance of tourism in each Brazilian municipality was measured from average data on flow and accommodation. The Ministry of Tourism grouped the results into five different categories. Category A includes municipalities with the highest economic performance of tourism, that is, with highest tourism flow and most employment and accommodation establishments. Category E includes municipalities that do not have a significant tourism flow, nor jobs or formal accommodation establishments (Ministério do Turismo, 2017).

We included the Coastline variable because we assumed that Brazilian coastal cities would have more museums than inland cities, since Brazilian urbanization started in the coast (Santos, 2008). This variable's

function is to control the effect of coastal location on the model. This index's flaw is that it was not able to measure cities that are close to the coast but are not located exactly at the coastline.

This second part of the impact analysis for the More Museums notice consisted in inserting the control variables, through an Ordinary Least Squares linear regression for data on the panel with fixed effects on the municipalities. By using a regression, we can isolate the effects of the control variables from the pure effect of the More Museums notice. Using this method assumes that the effects of the control variables influencing the dependent variable are constant through time. The equation describing this situation is shown below:

(2)

$$Y_{ist} = \alpha + \theta_i + \gamma t_i + \beta T_i + \delta X_{it} + u_{it}$$

Where:

α is the intercept;

θ_i is the specific fixed effect for municipality i;

γ is the coefficient measuring the dummy variable time;

β is the impact of the public policy on the dependent variable;

T is a dummy variable identifying whether the municipality is in the treatment group;

δ is the vector of coefficients associated to the independent variables;

X_{it} is the matrix of independent variables for each municipality i, in time t;

u_{it} is the error.

3. Database

Data were collected from official Brazilian government agencies and our unit of analysis was every Brazilian municipality with up to 50,000 inhabitants. We collected the following data for each municipality: number of museums between 2009 and 2015, Brazilian state, estimated population between 2009 and 2015, MHDI for 2000 and 2010, tourism category for the municipality in 2015, and coastline, according to Table 1.

Variable	Description	Source	Observed years
Museum	Number of museums per municipality	National Museum Register	2009 and 2015
Treatment	Dummy variable indicating whether the municipality belongs to the control or treatment group	National Museum Register	2009 and 2015
Temporal	Dummy variable indicating whether the period is pre or post-policy	-	2009 and 2015
Population	Estimated total resident population	*Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* – IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and	2009 and 2015

			Statistics)
State	27 dummy variables indicating which Brazilian state the municipality is in	IBGE	2009 and 2015
MHDI	Municipal Human Development Index	*Atlas do Desenvolvimento Humano no Brasil* (Atlas of Human Development in Brazil)	2000 and 2010
Tourism	Five dummy variable indicating which category of touristic flow, number of jobs and accommodation establishments in the municipality (A, B, C, D, E)	Ministry of Tourism	2016
Coastline	Dummy variable indicating whether the municipality is located in the Brazilian coastline	*Geógrafos*	-

TABLE 1. VARIABLES USED IN THE MODEL, DESCRIPTION, DATA SOURCE AND OBSERVED YEARS.

Source: Produced by the authors.

We obtained information about the number and location, in 2009 and 2015, of the Brazilian museums from the CNM (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus, 2015). Information regarding population for 2009 and 2015 was obtained from the IBGE website (2015), from the section on Populational Estimates for Brazilian Municipalities. Both had annual population estimates for Brazilian municipalities for the 1st of July.

The variable MHDI was extracted from the Atlas of Human Development in Brazil (PNUD, IPEA & FJP, 2014) from the Atlas of Human Development in Municipalities section. Considering there was no MHDI for 2009 and 2015, we created new variables from the existing data estimates. Estimations were based on a linear combination from the years available for each variable, calculated by the subtraction of the most recent year by the oldest year, and divided by the sum of time for both these periods. Then, we multiplied the angular coefficient by the number resulting from the difference between the year for the oldest data and the year of the new desired variable. This result was added to the oldest year to create variables MHDI 2009 and MHDI 2015.

We adopted five categories of the Map of Brazilian Tourism in its Categories of Municipal Touristic Regions (Ministério do Turismo, 2017). The Coastline variable was extracted from *Geógrafos* (2017), which lists the municipalities in the Brazilian coastline.

Results

To evaluate the impact of the More Museums notice, we analyzed the results using four different linear regression models. Model 1 had only one variable related to treatment, so it only identified differences between the treatment and control groups. Model 2 also had information on temporal effects. Model 3, besides the previous variables, also introduced population and state effects. Model 4 included all control variables, so we inserted variables that were assumed to be relevant for the increase in the number of museums in Brazilian municipalities. Results from all four models are shown in Table 2.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Treatment effect	-0.356***	-1.330***	-1.186***	-1.139***
Population (thousands)			0.01***	0.005***
MHDI				0.907***
Tourism A				2.669***
Tourism B				0.848***
Tourism C				0.327***
Tourism D				0.060***
Tourism E				0.002
Coastline				-0.154***
Temporal effect		Yes	Yes	Yes
State effect			Yes	Yes
F	918.504***	2946.012***	249.962***	251.524***
R^2	0.085	0.372	0.414	0.470
adjusted R^2	0.084	0.372	0.412	0.469

TABLE 2. REGRESSION RESULTS FOR THE GROWTH IN NUMBER OF MUSEUMS FOR MUNICIPALITIES WITH UP TO 50,000 INHABITANTS.
Source: Produced by the authors.
Note: Significance for $p < 0.10$ = *, $p < 0.05$ = ** and $p < 0.01$ = *.**

The effect of treatment was negative and statistically significant for all four tested models. We would like to emphasize that the first two models are "naive" and are not meant to explain the phenomenon, only test a quasi-experimental hypothesis. However, models 3 and 4, which are more robust since they include the control variables, also showed negative results.

For all the presented models, the treatment group had a smaller museum growth rate than the control group, which seems to indicate the instrument had low impact. Thus, based on our hypotheses and the proposed research model, we cannot conclude that the More Museums notice has reached its objective of creating museums in municipalities of up to 50,000 inhabitants that had no museums. The results show that the incentive policy was not enough to expand museum supply, since other social and economic factors combined are essential for this type of policy to produce an effect.

It seems that aspects related to the control variables from models 3 and 4 are most associated to the creation of new museums in municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants. The temporal effect was positive and statistically significant in three of the tested models. A growth in the number of institutions throughout a period of six years was an expected phenomenon. We should say, however, that this growth happened for both groups, corroborating the results that showed the neutrality of the instrument.

Similarly, when we controlled the regional and population effects through variables Population and Brazilian state, the treatment effect remained negative. These statistically significant results showed a direct relation between population and the creation of new museums. There was also a statistically significant direct relation between new museums and the MHDI and Tourism flow variables. Thus, results seem to indicate that tourism and human development are important in creating new museums in municipalities of up to 50,000 inhabitants. However, the Coastline variable had negative results, suggesting that municipalities on the coastline did not

build more museums, in accordance with our initial assumption that location would affect the creation of museums.

The More Museums public notice seems innocuous in its purpose of creating museums, since treatment showed statistically significant negative effects for all four tested models. The small variations in treatment effect for models 2, 3 and 4 accentuate that these results are robust.

Conclusions

This study aimed to evaluate whether the More Museums public notice has contributed to the creation of new museums in municipalities of up to 50,000 inhabitants that had not museums.

The data showed that the control and treatment groups both had an increase in the number of museums between 2009 and 2015. However, treatment showed a negative effect in all four tested models, suggesting low impact of the policy. Additionally, the small variation in the effect for three of the models indicates that the variables included in this study adequately controlled unobservable effects.

Although the policy's impact was low, we would like to emphasize that not implementing it could result in even fewer new museums in small municipalities. The low impact could be related to the flaws in the More Museums notice or to multiple external factors. Regarding the weaknesses of the instrument, it is worth noting that the public notice only supported measures that indirectly contributed to the creation of new museums. Therefore, due to the high costs involved in building a museum, the incentive may not have been enough. To build a museum, resources from other entities would also be necessary, for example from city hall and non-profit private legal entities.

Considering the costs of museum implementation, we suggest that for new editions of the public notice the funds destined for partnerships are higher than in previous years. However, in times of downsizing and coping with fiscal difficulties, this seems unlikely in the short term.

Another factor which should be evaluated is the demand in small municipalities for the creation of new museums. When the creation of new museums is promoted, this neglects other possible actions that could be more relevant for the municipality, such as improving and modernizing a preexisting museum.

According to Woronkowicz (2013), in the last decade the United States had a great expansion in the creation of cultural institutions that surpassed, for example, the construction of health centers. The author reports that the motivation to build these new institutions was to bring in a larger audience and therefore private donations. However, for most cases this did not work out as planned. Wynn (2017) commented on the American museum boom and argued that museums are institutions that not only need high initial investments, but also

continuous maintenance funds, since they are non-profit institutions. According to this author, in the United States, many museums are unable to afford maintenance after construction.

Brazilian museums go through the same issue of shortage in maintenance resources. Valiati (2014) observed that the restricted availability of public resources is a chronic threat, despite the efforts throughout this decade to structure an investment system for the museum sector. Moreover, alternative sources for funding (stores, restaurants, coffee shops and bookstores) are insufficient to cover the costs of museum activities. The case of the public museums is even more critical since, according to Art. 56 of Federal Law 4.320/1964, all public revenue must observe the principle of treasury single account, at whatever level – federal, state or municipal – and any fragmentation for special accounts are prohibited.

Thus, before promoting the creation of new institutions, one must evaluate the possibilities of future sustainability. Woronkowicz (2013) argues that, despite ample studies on the positive impact of art on the development of communities, there is still no consensus in the literature about how to measure this impact, despite policy creators continuing to use this argument to build new institutions.

Woronkowicz (2013) also recommends that the real need of building a new institution must be considered, since this decision could be motivated by interests other than public welfare. The author uses as an example the possibility of a philanthropist's interest in building an institution to perpetuate their family name and gain social capital. In the case of Brazil, one should be aware of the possibility of politicians using new museums as self-promotion, with no regard for demand or availability of funds to maintain the institution.

Note, however, that the Brazilian situation is very different from the United States – in 2015 Brazil had approximately 3,500 museums and the United States had over 35,000 –, so this paper should in no way be be construed as recommending stopping the creation of new museums in Brazil. However, as Woronkowicz (2013) alerted, when the demand for a cultural sector is not properly analyzed, organizations may build institutions that are unsustainable. Thus, ignoring characteristics that help define a demand for culture in a community could have dire consequences for said institutions.

Considering that one of the most obvious uses of evaluation is to use information produced for the improvement of the program's design (Barros & Lima, 2012), we suggest studies are conducted prior to new public notices to improve the design of subsequent programs with similar objectives as More Museums.

Some public notices have added a requirement that adds extra points or bonuses to reach expected results. The public notice Nbr. 02, from SEC/Ministry of Culture – the Award for the Incentive of Literary Publications – , granted extra points to candidates presenting a letter from a publishing company interested in the literary work. Thus, the notice privileged work with higher chances of getting published. On the other hand, some notices use a different strategy, they encourage those less likely to receive support through other means. The Internship and Cultural Diffusion notice, also from the Ministry of Culture, occasionally awarded extra points for some states in the North and Northeast regions of Brazil.

One suggestion is to include extra points for reaching the results expected by a pubic policy. Two strategies would be possible in this scenario. The first is to award extra points to municipalities with the highest "vocation" to create museums, since results showed that the public notice by itself is not able to incentivize the creation of new museums. A second possibility is to concede bonuses to municipalities showing a lower likelihood of building museums without support from public funding. Extra points would be awarded to municipalities located in certain Brazilian states with lowest MHDI and lowest tourism flow, considering the results suggest these factors are important for the creation of museums in municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants.

Another necessary study would be to previously identify whether there is a demand for new museums in the municipalities and whether, after being built, these institutions would be self-sustainable. However, Brazil lacks studies with data on how demand for new museums is created, such as Woronkowicz et al. (2012), who identified the demographic and economic factors determining demand for the construction of new cultural institutions in the United States.

The current study concluded, based on the modelled data, that an increase in the number of museums in municipalities with up to 50,000 inhabitants between 2009 and 2015 is not related to the More Museums public notice. In reality, the increase seems related to the control variables, observed models 3 and 4, such as Population, MHDI and Tourism, since these results were positive and statistically significant. Thus, further studies are needed to better comprehend which factors structure the demand for museums in Brazilian municipalities.

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Giving a value to community mission and artistic brand: a new museum tale from the hill of Esquilino

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ABSTRACT

We illustrate the case of Palazzo Merulana, a new museum in Rome located in the central district of Esquilino. The paper derives from an evaluation analysis carried out after one year from the museum opening, that tries to capture quantitative indicators and qualitative aspects in the multidimensional spaces of values and impacts pursued (environmental, cultural, social and community-based). Economic and financial values are also important, because the restructuration of the historical building was made under a Public-Private Partnership scheme and Palazzo Merulana is a private nonprofit institution that does not benefit of public subsidies. The case study seems interesting from several points of view: for the methodology utilized, for the results obtained, for the location in a city where cultural supply linked to heritage is huge and highly competitive, and finally for an evaluation exercise that refers to the start-up phase of a new museum.

Keywords:

Evaluation

Start-up of a new museum

Nonprofit cultural organization

Rome

1. Introduction

Palazzo Merulana is a new museum in the historic center of Rome, promoted and realized by a private Foundation (*Fondazione Elena e Claudio Cerasi*) and managed by a private nonprofit organization, CoopCulture. The museum opened in May 2018. The original historical building, property of the Municipality of Rome, was heavily ruined and abandoned for decades. In the context of the Italian law concerning Public-Private Partnership (PPP) for infrastructures the Municipality transferred ownership rights to the Foundation for a period of ninety years in exchange of an investment for the restoration of the building and its use as a museum facility without any charge for the public finance. The permanent exposition hosted in Palazzo Merulana is based on the private art collection of the *Fondazione Elena e Claudio Cerasi*. The core of the collection, previously not accessible for the public, is constituted by outstanding artworks of Italian, and in particular Roman, artists of the 20th century. We will describe the nature of the new cultural institution, the strategies and missions pursued, and the results of an evaluation analysis carried out after one year from opening in the form of a Sustainability Report (Palazzo Merulana, 2019).

We think that the illustration of this case study is interesting from several points of view. First, it is at all not common that a museum undertakes an evaluation only after one year of life. So, evidences deriving from Palazzo Merulana reflect a rare case of a documented start-up phase for a new museum. Second, the new institution has a totally private nonprofit nature and does not benefit from public transfers. So, evaluation is related to a new enterprise in the cultural sector (Innerhofer, Pechlaner & Borin, 2018).

Finally, the evaluation process implemented for Palazzo Merulana recognizes the multiple dimension of values and the various nature of impacts that cultural heritage can deliver, with an approach coherent with the methodologies proposed by the "Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe" Report (CHCfE Consortium, 2015). We will present and discuss evaluations related to a multidimensional set of values: environmental, cultural, social and economic.

2. Framework and methodology

The Palazzo Merulana evaluation project has been strongly wanted and supported by its managing organization, Coopculture. The strategy of Palazzo Merulana tries to combine two objectives that are sometimes considered as alternative: a community and social mission linked to the territory (the district of Esquilino, one of the seven hills of the ancient city) and the achievement of an artistic brand reputation not limited by local boundaries (Greffe, Krebs & Pflieger, 2017). Community-committed museums are unusual in big metropolitan areas: in our case of study the building of a culture-based and education-based networking with local stakeholders, allowing them to bring in the museum their projects and diversity of approaches also through a mechanism of co-production, has characterized the district of Esquilino as a central point of reference.

At the same time, Rome is a city where the supply of cultural services related to heritage is one of the most important when confronted with European and global benchmarks. Official statistics count 124 museums and cultural sites in the city, with a huge flow of 27 million visits in 2017 (ISTAT, 2019). The great drivers of this demand originate from international and domestic tourism and show an inertial concentration on a few number of global "superstar" attractors (Noonan & Rizzo, 2017; Frey, 1998). It is worth noting however that the long-tail paradigm (Caves, 2000) leaves room in the case of Rome at consolidated segments of museums and cultural sites that could be defined of medium and medium-large dimension from the attendance point of view. Beside five global attractors with more than one million yearly visits (in three cases more than five million) there are in Rome twelve museums and cultural sites between one hundred thousand and one million visits and nine between fifty and one hundred thousand. In these segments, and in particular in museums of modern and contemporary arts (three institutions), the share of touristic and international attendance is lower as confronted with global superstars and specialized policies for attraction are put in place through the instruments of product differentiation and production/promotion of specific cultural activities.

At the end, this means that competition between museums and cultural sites is very hard in Rome, where cultural supply is abundant not only for the international and domestic touristic mass of visitors, but also for the more sophisticated and educated segments of residents and travelers. In our case study the strategy of Palazzo Merulana for achieving reputation in a space filled with consolidated institutions is based on programs that promote streams of modern and contemporary artistic productions and activities having roots in the city of Rome and/or aesthetic/cultural relations with the permanent collection.

The evaluation work, underlying the publication of the Sustainability Report, was organized within a methodology that approaches the value generated by a museum through four main dimensions: environmental, cultural, social and economic. These areas are the same suggested by the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (CHCfE, 2015) Report and by the international guidelines of GRI (Global Reporting Initiative; "our mission is to empower decisions that create social, environmental and economic benefits for everyone"). The Global Sustainability Standards Board experts have developed the general guidelines and have gradually detailed their analysis up to the level of the material elements, more precisely up to the identification of the influencing factors or those that can substantially influence the assessments of the stakeholders.

The reference period for the evaluation exercise has been the first year of activity of the new museum (May 2018 up to May 2019). The work has been realized by a mixed team of internal resources and external consultants, with the involvement of four independent high-level advisors.

It is important to underline that the international standards are not always suitable; indeed, they don't allow to measure and to describe in the appropriate way the effects of the heritage valorization actions on people, on community, on their way of life, and last but not least, on the environment in which the community lives. To overcome those limits the study has been enriched by the realization of a Focus group that involved the local stakeholders who have been co-producers of the Palazzo Merulana cultural activities. Through the Focus

group it has been possible not only to evaluate the impact on the local community of the new museum, but also to verify the potential demands, useful for planning the future new cultural activities. Finally, the study has provided a visitor poll, aimed at a better understanding of the Palazzo Merulana public in term of profiling, level of satisfaction and behaviors.

Therefore, the results of the whole project are based on three main sources: internal data; Focus group among the cultural associations and independent subjects involved as co-producers and stakeholders of Palazzo Merulana; visitor poll.

3. Environmental dimension

The building in which Palazzo Merulana stands has a long and articulated history. Built in the mid-19th century by the Vatican State to house religious congregations, in 1924 it was purchased by the Municipality of Rome and turned into the headquarters of the local Health Office. At the beginning of 1960s the municipal administration decided to modernize the architectural fabric and began the demolition of the complex. The demolition, already arrived at an advanced level, was blocked by the intervention of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage, motivated with the cultural value of the building. After this (unbelievable) conflict between local and national administrations, any project of reconstruction followed and the half-disrupted building was abandoned. A critical and permanent urban empty space remained in the center of the city, called confidentially by the Romans "the decayed tooth" to underline the shape of the ruins of the palace (Figures one and two)

FIGURE 1. PALAZZO MERULANA IN 1930
Source: Ministry of Cultural Heritage archive

FIGURE 2. PALAZZO MERULANA IN 2012
Source: Private archive

Forty years after (in the 2000) the Municipality of Rome proposed a call for the recovery of the remains of the property through a Project Finance initiative. This choice was motivated with two arguments: the first was to activate a process of recovery of the building, which had infamously been characterized as a hub of degradation and illegality for the district, the second was to cope with the lack of public funds for a restoration project that was not considered as a priority for the municipal administration.

Only one proposal was submitted, that of the *Società Appalti e Costruzioni*, an historic Roman company operating in the sectors of civil construction and large industrial and infrastructural projects, but also the company of the Cerasi Family, that was searching a location for his art collection.

It took over fourteen years to overcome the bureaucratic and legal obstacles and other four years of reconstruction works to complete the project and restitute to the district and to the entire city a new space for culture (Figure three).

FIGURE 3. PALAZZO MERULANA AFTER RESTORATION
Source: Palazzo Merulana archive

The investment for the restoration required a total expenditure of more than €5 million. The total area recovered is 1,800 square meters divided into: 3 floors of exhibition spaces for a total of 700 square meters, a floor for executive offices, a multifunctional space for events, shows and conferences of about 300 square meters as well as a terace of other 300 square meters. The remaining 500 square meters are for commercial use.

Today Palazzo Merulana can be considered a best practice for the application of the Italian legal rules for PPP finalized to investments in infrastructures. The project allowed the recovery of a degraded urban area and its transformation in a public good characterized by cultural vocation and aimed at enhancing the cultural variety of the territory.

4. Cultural dimension

For the management of the new museum hosted in the recovered building the Elena and Claudio Cerasi Foundation contracted CoopCulture, a leading Italian enterprise in the sector of museum and other cultural services with a nonprofit (co-operative) corporate structure. The project risks of Palazzo Merulana are shared

between the Foundation and the managing organization during the start-up phase (three years), while they will be entirely charged on CoopCulture after the end of the start-up.

Cerasi Foundation and CoopCulture decided a strategy with two main objectives: the cultural valorization of the permanent collection and the promotion of community cultural productions and activities, which in Palazzo Merulana find a space of expression and presentation to audience. Palazzo Merulana aims at establishing as a hub representative of the cultural supply that characterizes the territorial district of its location and also, in a wider range, of the entire city of Rome. This cultural variety, as well as the representativeness of different forms of expression from community and territory, is in line with what was expressed in the 2001 Faro Convention, through the definition of a heritage community concept: "a set of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage, and who want, as part of a public action, to support them and pass them on to future generations".

In its first year of life Palazzo Merulana has counted an attendance of over 53,000 units, of which more than 22,000 for the visit to the Cerasi Collection, more than 17,000 for the visit to temporary exhibitions and over 13,000 as audience of the other cultural activities (in Figure four the detail of attendance and a benchmark with comparable Italian museums).

FIGURE 4. VISITS OF PALAZZO MERULANA DURING THE FIRST YEAR
Source: Palazzo Merulana Sustainability Report (Palazzo Merulana, 2019)

In a national benchmark with some museums similar by size or type of artistic collection, the results of the first year show a performance in line with others institutions already positioned and consolidated in the cultural and

creative markets. In the Roman landscape, there is a clear objective of Palazzo Merulana of positioning itself within the mentioned segment of medium dimension museum institutions.

4.1. *Merulana Culture Hub*

Merulana Culture Hub is an experimental project of audience engagement promoted by Palazzo Merulana, whose main asset is the collaboration with the cultural operators of the territory. Palazzo Merulana wants to make itself available to associations, operators, enterprises and cultural institutes of the Esquilino district in order to design together a program of events that is the result of interaction and networking with cultural and creative entities of the territory.

During the first year two public calls were promoted, carried out every six months, aimed at giving space to projects of cultural and artistic expression proposed by territorial subjects in the program of Palazzo Merulana. The aim is to foster dialogue in the field of cultural production and, at the same time, to question how operators can work together to break down barriers, to channel energies on common goals and to imagine a cultural system aligned to the potential that the city of Rome can express.

The proposals presented were all evaluated. Those immediately feasible, economically sustainable, and in line with the cultural policy of the Palace, entered in the program of events of Palazzo Merulana, with a financial scheme that allowed also the possibility of co-financing. The Merulana Culture Hub's calls have received the participation of more than 400 subjects, presenting 246 projects. A big share of these proposals has been part of the two cultural programs, the summer and winter program, of Palazzo Merulana, which saw 115 events with an attendance of more than 30,700 units.

The result of the Culture Hub, and of the co-design of the cultural program in collaboration with the territorial partners, was a calendar of initiatives and events divided in six thematic clusters:

- *EXHIBITIONS,* designed to involve different targets and stimulate cultural demand even of the "non-public". In one year Palazzo Merulana hosted and/or produced or co-produced 96 exhibitions with about 17,570 participants;

- *FOOD EVENTS,* a production stream linked to food and wine initiatives. Sixteen were the events carried out, for a participation of about 1,650 people;

- *CINEMA,* during the summer Palazzo Merulana has been turned into an arena where films belonging to the independent circuits have been screened. Twenty-three films were screened for a total of 683 participants;

- *EDUCATIONAL* activities designed not only for an audience of young and very young, to whom a particular attention has been dedicated, but also actions of audience engagement aimed at strengthening the positioning of Palazzo Merulana as a place for understanding culture. The proposed activities joined the number of 139, involving 620 participants;

- *MEETINGS,* a rich offer of lectures, book presentations, and events with the presence of personalities of the Italian artistic/cultural sector were hosted or organized, to reflect together on current issues and dialogue between cultures. Forty-seven events were carried out, with 3,940 participants;

- *COMMUNITY,* a full proposal of concerts, performances, talks, workshops, conferences in the name of multidisciplinary approaches, to stimulate a new cultural demand and push, through cultural enjoyment, reflection on relevant social issues. Fifty events were held involving 6,280 people.

As already mentioned, the cultural program of Palazzo Merulana was only possible thanks to the involvement of the different cultural subjects operating in the territory. In particular, 72 partners were involved, 51 of which belonged to the category of associations and institutions, while 21 were individual operators. See Figure five for a more detailed partner description.
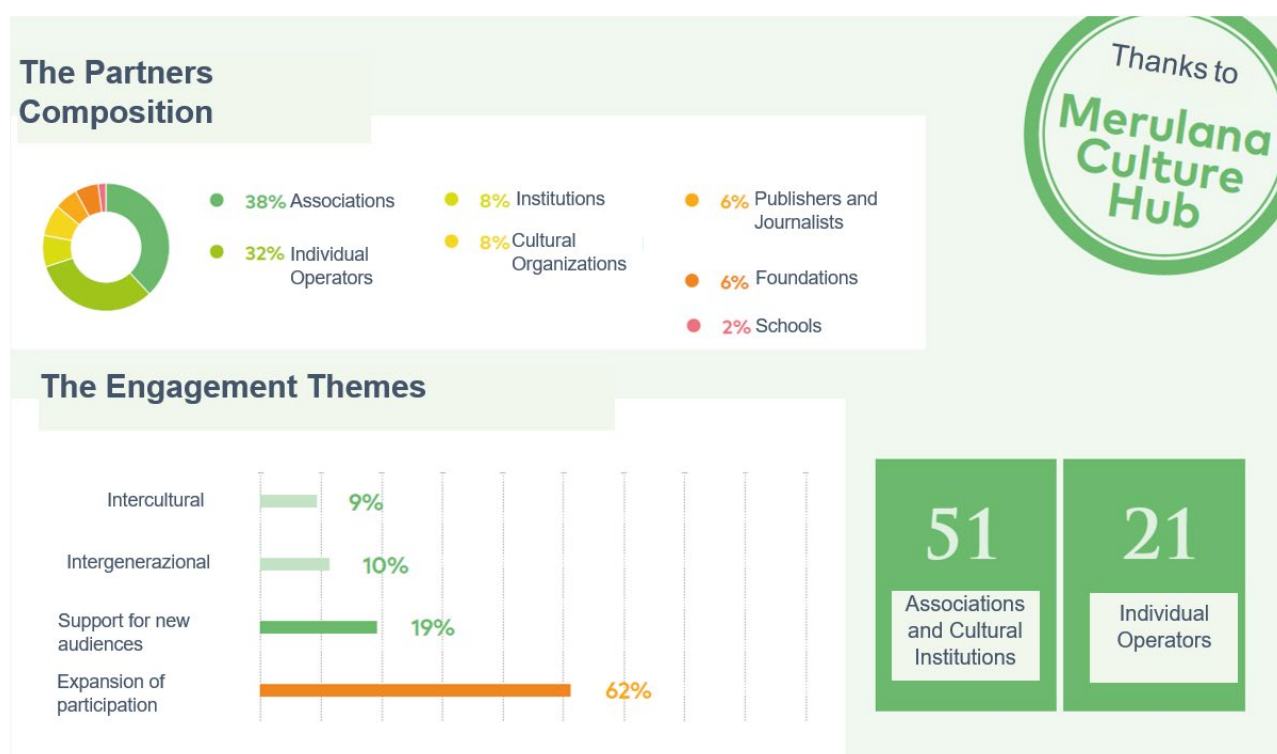
FIGURE 5. PALAZZO MERULANA'S PARTNERS

Source: Palazzo Merulana Sustainability Report (Palazzo Merulana, 2019)

4.2. The public of Palazzo Merulana

In order to improve information about visitors and to identify weaknesses of the current supply or necessary audience development activities on specific targets, questionnaires were administered in April and May 2019 to a sample of more than 1,000 visitors.

The visitor identikit in Palazzo Merulana is (Figure six): resident in Rome (78 per cent) or in Italy (94 per cent), age more than 45 years (60 per cent), woman (61 per cent), high level of education (74 per cent tertiary or more). She is generally on her first visit to Palazzo Merulana, in which she goes either with the partner, with friends or alone. The visitor arrives at the site interested by a current exhibition (54 per cent), by the permanent collection (18 per cent) or she enters intrigued by the presence of the museums bar and bookshop, visible from the street (14 per cent). The 12 per cent of visitors are resident in Esquilino and the 92

per cent recognize Palazzo Merulana as an element of revitalization of the district. The level of satisfaction for the visit experience is high or very high (the lowest level emerges in the audioguide service) and the great majority of people interviewed declares her/his willingness to come back for new events.

For a benchmark we can use the *Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna*, the National museum of Italian arts in 19th and 20th centuries. The profile of Palazzo Merulana visitors is roughly similar, for example prevalence of female and high education. Two main slight differences are observable: in Palazzo Merulana we have higher shares of Italian and in particular Roman visitors (about 63 per cent in Galleria Nazionale) and higher average age (Ligozzi & Mastandrea, 2008). Both these differences could be influenced by the significant share of Palazzo Merulana local visitors arriving from Esquilino.
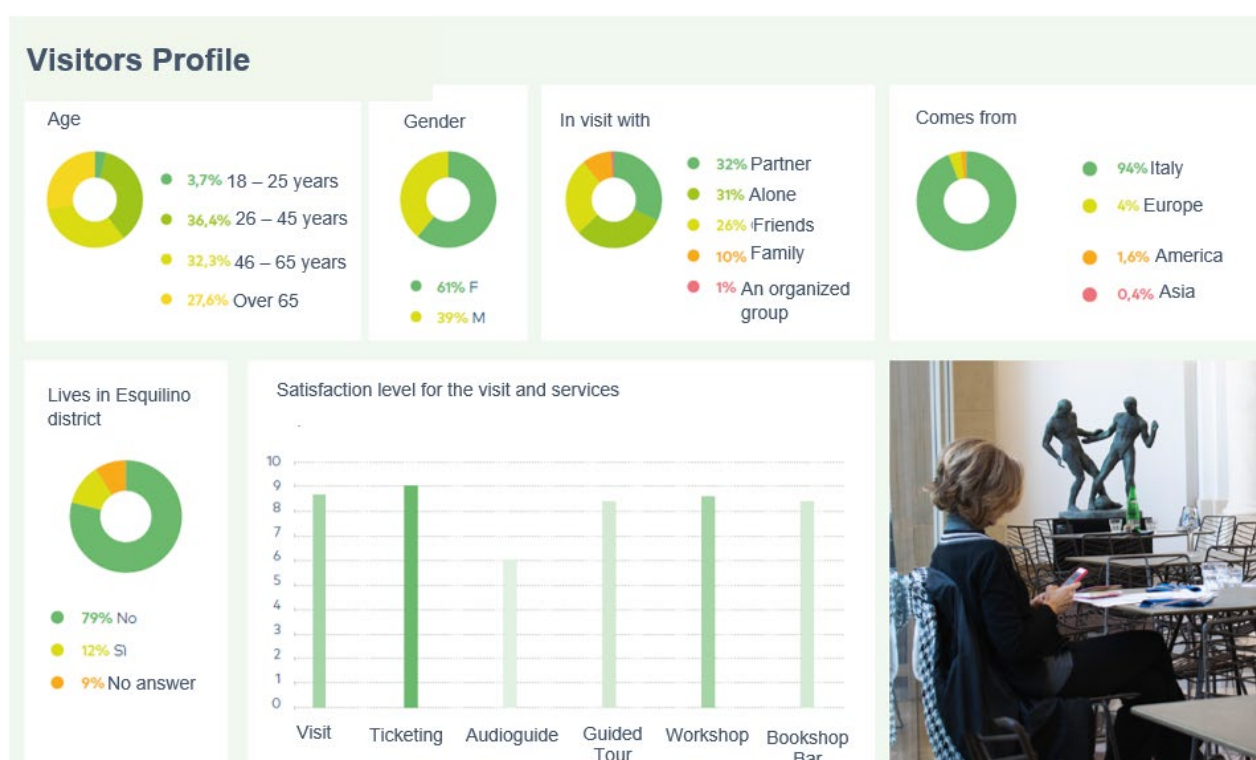
FIGURE 6. PALAZZO MERULANA'S VISITORS IDENTIKIT

Source: Palazzo Merulana Sustainability Report (Palazzo Merulana, 2019)

5. Social and community dimension

The Esquilino district has an area of 3.1 square km whose borders are delimited by the International Railway Station of Roma Termini to the east, and by the basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore to the northwest and of San Giovanni to the southwest. The district has always fulfilled the functions of "city gate", and this has characterized Esquilino as one of the most multi-ethnic territories in the city (Fioretti, 2016). Since the Second World War, however, there has been an incessant process of urban and social decay that has profoundly changed the quality of life.

Currently the population of Esquilino stands at 35,670 inhabitants with an average density of 11,000 inhabitants per square kilometer, showing one of the higher density in the city of Rome. The demographic ageing index (residents over 65 – residents aged 0-14 years) is among the more accentuated in the city.

Compared to the big picture, however, Esquilino is provided with a great cultural vibrancy. In the district there are 148 cultural production centers, of which 30 per cent associations, 24 per cent educational institutions, 19 per cent exhibition spaces, 18 per cent shops, 6 per cent entertainment venues, 3 per cent other cultural entities (Cossetta & Cappelletti, 2013). It is precisely to enhance this wealth and social vibrancy and to interact with the potential community stakeholders in the district that the Merulana Culture Hub project was created.

5.1. Focus group

In order to verify the externalities produced by the opening of Palazzo Merulana and by the activities carried out within its social and territorial context, a focus group was organized involving some (nine) of the main stakeholders who contributed to the development of the first year's cultural program.

The Focus group's survey technique was chosen because it is a qualitative data collection system that is based on the information that emerges from a group's discussion on a subject that is intended to be investigated in depth. The final goal of the research is to detect the needs and better understand the wishes and point of views of the participants in order to make choices more attentive and congruent to the demands and expectations.

The Focus group investigated four thematic aspects of Palazzo Merulana: the individual perception of space by the participants; the meaning for the neighborhood and the city; the added value of intervention and collaboration; the opportunities for collaboration.

The first phase of work delineated the perception of the participants through a cloud of words from which the stakeholders associated meanings related to the attributes assigned to Palazzo Merulana. Each member choses three keywords to tell the story of the space. The words used most frequently were linked to light, brightness and its beauty in general. The aesthetic aspect emerges strongly and affects the perception of the place helping to trace the predominant characteristics of a first impact. Other spatial aspects are highlighted as: greatness, fluorescence, airiness, with a presence also of emptiness and therefore of open space to work on. There is no shortage of words used to tell the characteristics of the place, the cultural aspects, the artistic vocation, the recognition of being in a place of prestige.

To describe the interaction aspects that emerged from relationships with the staff of the Palazzo, it were used words such as: brilliant, smart, organized. One of the recurring aspects underlined is the relational one, that allows combining words such as welcoming, dialogue, geographical proximity but also a place of proximity. Among the emotions associated with Palazzo Merulana is the joy that represents an emotion that makes its way into us when something exceeds expectations. An emotion that preserves the dimension of discovery.

It is recognized an important role at Palazzo Merulana to create opportunities, perspectives, visions. This enhances the effort made in this first year to open up to the future, to be perceived as a space of possibility in continuous development.

Among the aspects investigated during the Focus group, one to which special attention has been paid is the regeneration intervention of Palazzo Merulana, in particular if and how after the opening the perception of the neighborhood has changed. From the different contributions emerges a multidimensional perspective of the intervention on Palazzo Merulana. For some it is a motivation to come to the area, the creation of a point of cultural interest, a beautiful setting to meet art, a new place to support the neighborhood.

Some point out that the neighborhood had no contemporary art museums and a museum is always a place that improves a neighborhood. Surely, the perception has improved in a positive way, it could be a best practice for realizing similar interventions in the city. It is pointed out that even the restoration of the property has changed the appearance of a significant stretch of Via Merulana.

Different aspects emerged that connote the vocation of the space, seen as a real cultural hub that can be a reference point for the territory, that can involve associations, that the schools must know and attend, an extra possibility for the young to give and receive. Among the collected reflections, there is a need for the ever-increasing integration and involvement of individual citizens and residents. A multi-ethnic population characterizes the district, so many work must be done for greater involvement of "new citizens" in activities. In the district there is no lack of audience development activities towards who do not frequent the places of culture: some of the stakeholders have in their institutional mission this goal, and certainly Palazzo Merulana can contribute actively to work on paths of widening, diversifying and growing of relationships with different types of communities.

Finally, with regard to the aspect of activating a collaborative network in order to achieve change through the participation and involvement of partners and stakeholders, participants to the Focus group recognize as a value: the strengthening of the communication, the joint disclosure of the cultural events, the possibility of carrying out activities in a prestigious place.

For some it was also the opportunity to diversify their audience, to use different locations, to be able to count on an organization; as someone of participants says "it is a beautiful frame and provides a good perception of the context and return of image". In addition, the work done in synergy that enhances the activities carried out and the work on the net is also recognized.

The main strength is represented by the very existence of the Palazzo Merulana with its "multifunctional" nature, which is characterized by being considered an inclusive space welcoming everyone. Over time one aspect that has been most appreciated is that Palazzo Merulana is out of political logic and this allows a certain degree of freedom, of openness to the civil society and to civic feelings.

Among the strengths that are recognized by the participants, in addition to the beauty of the place and its prestige, there are: the professionality of the staff engaged in the Palazzo; the importance attributed to collaborations and meetings with other realities; the work in synergy; the ease of having the location available; the ability to interact with the works of the collection; the support in communication.

The signals provided by the Focus group send a positive message for the first year evaluation of Palazzo Merulana, that is defined by the participants as: *a place that was missing, necessary*!

5.2. Virtual Community

Palazzo Merulana has developed innovative systems, skills and technologies to promote accessibility, to improve the relationship with the public, to enrich the enjoyment with respect for diversity and promote initiatives to fuel participation. With this objective in mind, a virtual community was activated through Facebook and Instagram channels, in which all visitors, but mainly residents, could take on the role of narrators of the experience lived, in the perspective of a citizen that behaves increasingly as a *new cultural inhabitant*, that is, a responsible and aware citizen who interprets culture as a common good.

Today Palazzo Merulana can count a virtual community of about 13,500 followers, 11,500 on Facebook and 2,000 on Instagram, whose profile is in line with that of the physical Palazzo Merulana visitor - it is 70 per cent woman, 83 per cent Roman – but with a younger average age (see figure seven).
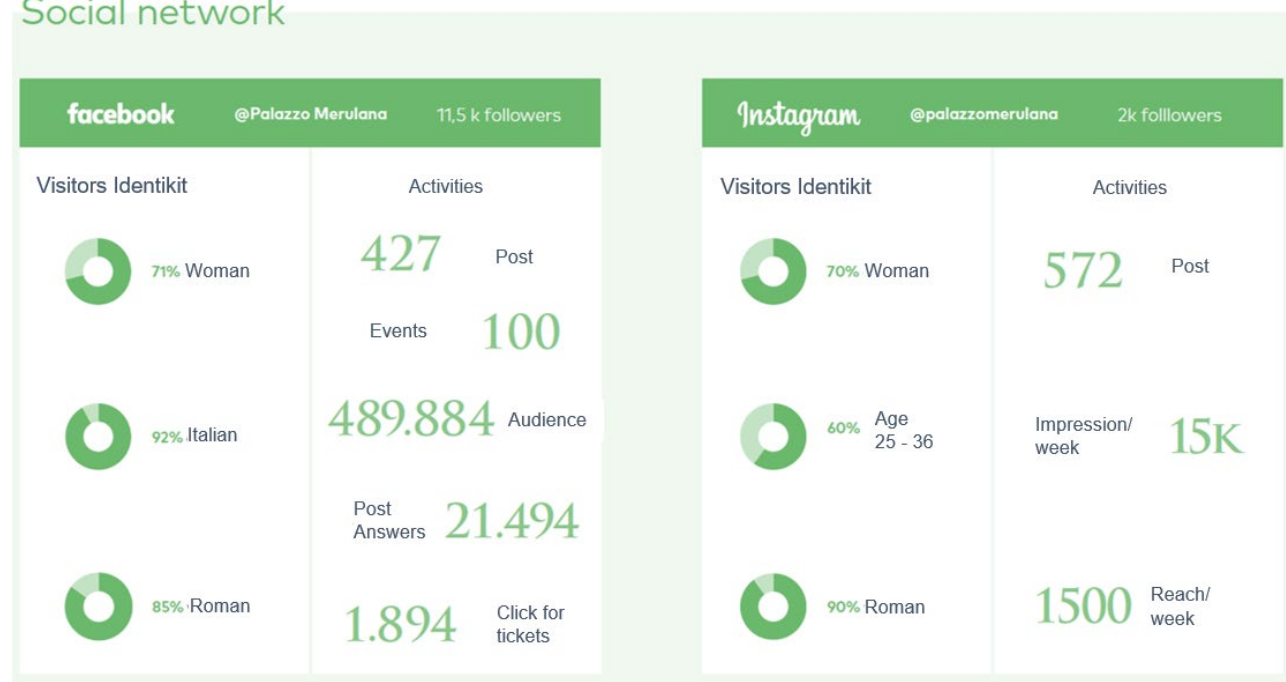

FIGURE 7. PALAZZO MERULANA'S VIRTUAL COMMUNITY
Source: Palazzo Merulana Sustainability Report (Palazzo Merulana, 2019)

5.3. Organizational strategies for commercial services, value chains, employment

The ground floor of Palazzo Merulana is an open space with free entry, where a part of the permanent collection is exhibited (sculptures). It is divided into three functional areas:

- *WELCOME*: the physical and multimedia space of reception and orientation to experiential paths inside and outside the museum. Here, also thanks to the use of new technologies, it is possible to inquire about what the museum and the territory are able to offer.
- *BOOKSHOP:* the bookshop has paid special attention to the choice of suppliers, with the presence of small regional publishing houses and craft productions from regional artisans.
- *BAR*: most of the bar's food and wine products are linked to small producers in Rome and Lazio, who find a showcase in Palazzo Merulana for the promotion of their excellences.

The workforce of Palazzo Merulana is constituted by 44 employees, 59 per cent of which with a part-time contract and 39 per cent with temporary contracts. The workforce is high-skilled (61 per cent with tertiary education) with a prevalence of women (64 per cent) and young (25 per cent in the 20-30 age class). The new jobs generated are 16, with the remaining workforce already employed by CoopCulture and transferred to the museum.

6. Economic dimension

The case of Palazzo Merulana can be considered, as already suggested, a best practice in the application of the Italian PPP law for infrastructures, although the extremely long period spent from the public call and the opening of the works (fourteen years!) is a very bad news for any potential private investor and signals important bureaucracy-related and legal-related risks existing in Italy. Looking at the actual final result - the opening of a new museum facility completely private-financed within an urban regeneration project - it can probably be seen as an interesting benchmark case also at the European level.

It is very hard to assess if the initial investment costs afforded by Cerasi Foundation for the restoration of the historical building (nearly €5 million) will produce a positive and satisfactory rate of return during the ninety years period available for the exploitation of property rights. Revenues from the use of the commercial spaces obtained with the project did not start until now because the restoration of this part of the building is already on-going and in any case a share of these revenues must be devoted through time at maintenance costs.

At the actual state of our knowledge and of existing data we are inclined to suggest that the willingness to finance PPP projects for pure museum facilities by part of market companies and operators derives with a not marginal component from not strictly economic motivations, that can span from social responsibility to the desire of exhibit private owned art collections. Another Italian case that seems confirm this hypothesis is the Punta della Dogana project realized in Venice by the Pinault Foundation in the same legal framework of Palazzo Merulana (but with a concession of property rights for only thirty years and investment costs of incommensurable higher volume).

If we limit the analysis to the economic and financial sustainability dimensions of the operational management of a new private nonprofit museum, the start-up of Palazzo Merulana can give some interesting insights. In its first year of life Palazzo Merulana generated a total economic value (revenues) of €471,070 with this distribution (Figure eight): 30 per cent from ticketing; 23 per cent from hosting cultural events, both produced

or co-produced by the Palazzo or entirely financed by other subjects; 19 per cent from bookshop receipts; 4 per cent from educational activities; 22 per cent from food and beverage.

From the side of costs the most relevant critical element during the first year emerged in food and beverage activities. Excluding these activities, revenues covered costs at the 65 per cent level. Including food and beverage, the first year cost coverage by revenues reaches 53 per cent. It is worth noting that these coverage ratios (also the lower one) are abundantly higher than those existing in any Italian public museum (Valentino, 2016).

Financial revenues do not represent the full economic value generated by a museum for the community and for the social system. Museum activities and services are merit goods, with a social value higher than that implied in the cost of the entrance fee. Museum visits produce increase of knowledge, growth of human capital, strengthening of the community and identity values, and also make possible the intergenerational transmission, directly and indirectly, of heritage. In order to estimate the economic value of museums a price parameter must be applied, that takes into account the global merit value (social value) of museums existence. As we know from welfare economics and cost-benefit analysis this parameter is a shadow price, that in the case of museum visits, applying the simplest between existing methodologies, can be estimated in Italy at 18 euros (Leon & Valentino, 1986; Scandizzo & Maiolo, 2006). So, with a Palazzo Merulana ticket price of 10 euros, each visit produces a social additional value of 8 euros.

It is also necessary to take into account the financing flows generated by partners and stakeholders with which Palazzo Merulana co-produce cultural events and activities (more than 100 thousand euros in the first year of start-up; Palazzo Merulana, 2019). If we estimate the economic value of the visits to Palazzo Merulana summing the financial revenues from tickets with the difference between the social shadow price and the ticket price, and if the value generated by the above mentioned co-financing is taken into account, the economic sustainability of Palazzo Merulana from the social point of view was achieved from the first year of opening.
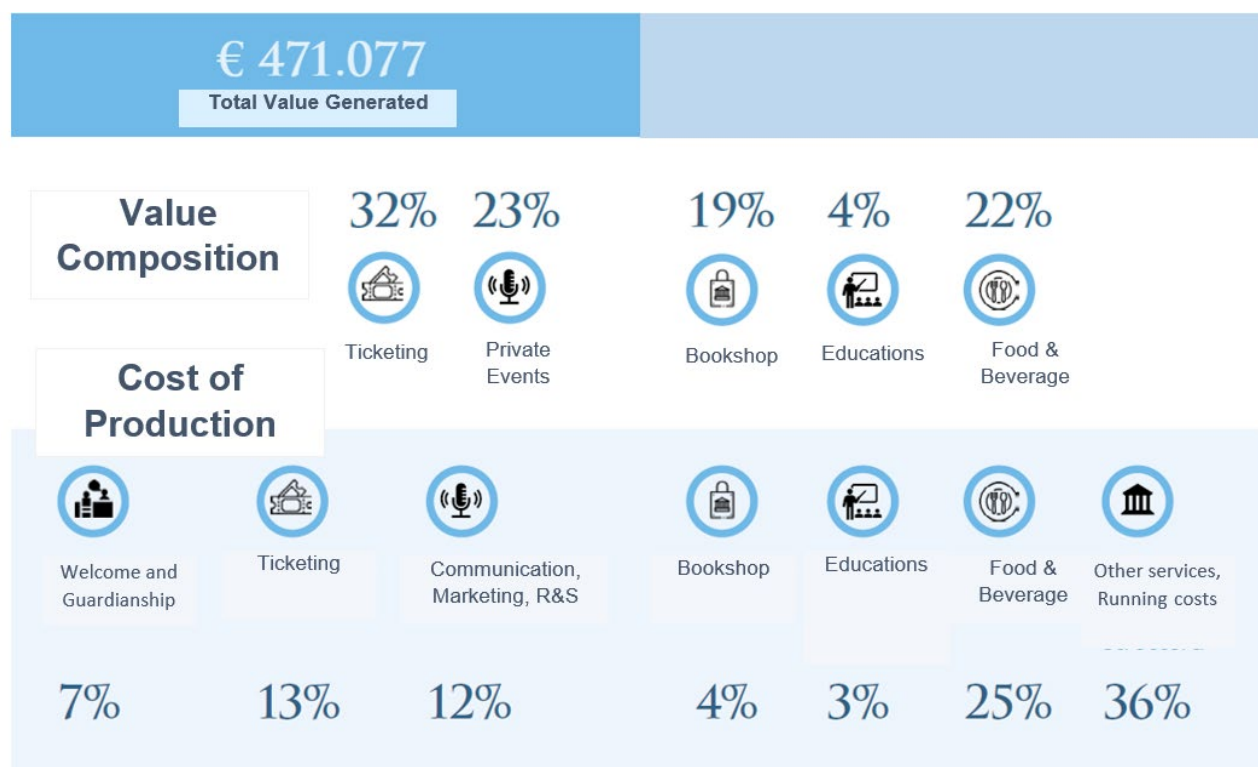
FIGURE 8. VALUE DISTRIBUTION

Source: Palazzo Merulana Sustainability Report

However, from the financial point of view the sustainability of palazzo Merulana was not achieved after one year, and this is a crucial issue for a private nonprofit entity. Excluding catering, the 35 per cent of operating costs remain to be covered, and moreover the material and intangible investments different from restoration undergone for the start-up of the new Palazzo Merulana (€400,000 during the first year, one million planned over the entire three years start-up phase).

The Sustainability Report describes scenarios that achieve a balanced budget, with and without the amortizing of investment costs, in a time frame of 4/5 years. The contemplated hypotheses (that naturally becomes the strategic objectives of Palazzo Merulana as an enterprise) imply:

- an increase of attendance flows toward the median level of the Roman medium segment museums (between 50 and 100 thousand tickets);
- the expansion of the other activities;
- the solution of the food criticism with the stabilization of a positive contribution from this core business factor;
- the control of costs increase in the path that bring an expansion of activity levels toward the budget breaking point.

7. Conclusion

The mechanism of Public-Private Partnership is widely used for general urban regeneration projects and for a large class of economic infrastructures. It is less common for projects concerning the construction and

operation of infrastructures entirely dedicated to cultural functions, like museums. In this paper we have presented a case of PPP that combines urban regeneration objectives and the opening of a museum without any charge for public finance, both in the investment and in the operational phases.

The central subjects of the tale are a private Foundation that financed the restoration of an historical building and its art collection – that brings important cultural values for the history of the arts during the 20th century in the city of Rome - now accessible for the public. There are many examples of an increasing role in Europe for private collections and Foundations, in particular in modern and contemporary arts. But the evidences described in this paper seems sufficient for arguing that the case here proposed shows differences with the behavioral and organizational models of the "great" corporate Foundations.

Palazzo Merulana has been conceived not only as a prestigious building for the location and valorization of an important art collection, but also as a dynamic institution with the mission of producing new creative activities and, through them, a sustainable financial equilibrium and cultural, social and community values for the city of Rome. In this perspective, the private Foundation owner of the permanent collection and of the property rights on the building received by the public administration decided to share the management and the risks of the project with CoopCulture, an industrial partner specialized in museum and cultural services.

An interesting fall-out of this strategic decision is a management model of the new museum oriented toward experimentation and innovative attitudes, if confronted with traditional and consolidated managerial practices in the Italian cultural heritage sector. A consistent signal of innovation is the realization, after one year from opening, of a public Sustainability Report that contains a multidimensional evaluation of the activities produced and in-depth studies and materials that allow an analysis of the impact of the start-up of Palazzo Merulana from different points of view – environmental, cultural, social, economic and financial.

The Report testify an important commitment to accountability and, at the same time, has the nature of a self-evaluation exercise aimed at understanding the points of strength and weakness emerged during the first year of life of the museum. Our paper describes the essential elements of the Report, tries to collocate the experience of Palazzo Merulana in the landscape of the articulated cultural system of the city of Rome, proposes some interpretation about the strategies pursued and the results obtained during a start-up phase that is already on-going.

In our interpretation the innovative core of the Palazzo Merulana cultural strategy is the experiment of an integration between a museum model based on artistic brand (starting from the importance of the hosted permanent collection and the quality of proposed exhibitions) and a museum model based on the empowerment of cultural vibrancy existing in the local community of the district of Esquilino and, in general, in the city of Rome. The reported results about the networking and co-producing activities of Palazzo Merulana with a large number of local stakeholders and cultural partners are impressive.

The evaluation exercise deliver also some critical point, and in particular a path toward a balanced financial position that need more time and specific organizational adjustments. However, the tale of this new museum

from the Esquilino hill is only at the beginning and, looking at the evidences contained in this paper, we guess that the tale will continue and that it is possible to look with a sufficient degree of confidence at a positive conclusion of the start-up phase.

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Learning from the youth. The challenges of interdisciplinary, inter-institutional collaboration

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ABSTRACT

If our contemporary society needs innovative solutions, we argue that we need to learn from our youth. This paper presents the most prevailing issues that arose during the collaborative digital art project designed to connect our youth with big, mainstream cultural institution, and to augment the outreach of the project. By using the research through design approach and surveys with participants, we analyse the implications introduced by inter-institutional and interdisciplinary collaboration. We claim that such collaborations are rich, but expensive and risky. Still, they are powerful mechanisms for learning new concepts, developing creative and critical thinking, and above all social capital acquisition.

Introduction

The EU and Swedish research agenda often calls for cooperation and interdisciplinary research between institutions, giving special importance to the use of scientific results and methods outside of academia. This paper exemplifies this kind of cooperation, and is based on the collaborative art project made between art institutions and academics - Opera House in Gothenburg and The Swedish School of Library and Information Science (TSLIS) Borås. Such a diverse, collaborative endeavor can result in new findings in the research itself - in this case, the capacity of collaborative digital storytelling to engage users and to affect their bridging social capital, as well as can offer new ideas on the design and practices of doing such research - in this case, the complexity of designing the process across disciplines and institutions.

Firstly, this paper describes the complex nature of this project, in terms of the diversity of partners and participants, lists experienced challenges, and the implications for preparation of these kinds of projects in the future. Then, it offers a brief analysis of participants' feedback, to conclude by detailing the insights that the project itself has generated.

Solidarity and Collaboration

Thinking and believing that that solidarity, "remains a central dimension of cultural, institutional and interactional life in contemporary societies" (Alexander, 2014) one must agree with Kymlicka (2015) that today's social theory has tried to make solidarity disappear. In such a postmodern world, arriving to the opportunity to cooperate across disciplines (science and culture), create cross-institutional networks (universities and large institutions), in order to explore solidarity and collaborative efforts against narcissistic individualism or a disciplinary cage, is almost impossible to realize. Even though local government(s) would largely profit from successful interdisciplinary and inter institutional solidarity and collaboration, it is a well known fact that so many well-meaning attempts fail to deliver palpable results (Brown et al., 2015).

Meet the Ministry collaborative art project hosted by the Gothenburg's Opera House Dance company was made with the goal to create the knowledge about the reach out and engagement of young audience (16-19 years, generation Z born between 1996 - 2010, Black et al., 2017) with the contemporary dance process. The door of the big cultural institution has opened, inviting young people to collaborate with the dancers casted for Ministry of Unresolved Feelings show. Thorough exploration of contemporary dance choreography creation, delivered in a series of 12 workshops with professional dancers, 17 participants are also invited to engage in digital storytelling in order to share their impressions about the whole process. If the core idea of the Meet the Ministry project was to understand how generation Z think and operate, shouldn't we provide them with their everyday communication channel - the digital communication? According to recent studies generation Z are first true digital natives (Prensky, 2001) who never lived in an unconnected world and therefore show greater familiarity and use of digital technology then previous generations (Cole et al., 2015) . They are grown up with the social media and interact with friends and family through digital channels, much more than other generations ((Dreon et al., 2011; Kick et al., 2015). So why not to look at the whole process through scientific

lenses and see if this project could be a potential solution for social innovation that could maybe reclaim the conversation with our youngest (Turkle, 2015)? Aiming to use digital storytelling as a tool for learning and outreach (Dreon et al., 2011) in collaboration with Göthenburgo, a local NGO that works with giving young people voice through digital storytelling, a series of 6 digital workshops were organised.

The ambitious idea to raise the bar of the project by introducing another layer of communication, a digital one, and to follow the whole process thinking of the new forms of social innovation, happened as a result of the creative synergy and ideas spontaneously unleashed after a few meetings. The Opera House's Dance Company and TSLIS have joined in a solidarity effort, to collaborate and learn from that collaboration, putting aside traditional financial interests daring to look over the walls of the disciplinary cage. Finally, the project that was envisioned as an offline participatory collaboration became the digital collaborative art too.

The Research Through Design

As Franker and Racine argue (2010) there is not only one common definition of design. Therefore, in this paper, design is considered an activity for planning and implementing new actions, which might include deliverables as a byproduct of the process (drawings, models, plans, or events). Having in mind that this collaborative art project resides in the areas of inclusive design, which is focused on the different design problems that could exclude users of different backgrounds or abilities (Keates and Clarkson, 2003), the method used in this research is the applied research through design. This research category is unique for several reasons: it is derived from and valuable for practice, while much of the subject matter has been derived from the social sciences, business, and marketing. Research through design is especially suitable for this project, since the emphasis is on the research objective of creating knowledge, not on the project solution.

In the Meet the Ministry project the methodological process is inspired by a human-centered, Scandinavian participatory approach where design researchers collaborate with the people who are being served by design as co-creators in the process (Sanders, 2008). Other human-centered research areas that fit into the model used include "design and emotion" that investigates people's emotional interactions with products, and "experience design" that focuses on the relationship between people and their experiences with products, services, events, and environments (Moggridge, 2007).

During a series of meetings between the Meet the Ministry project participants and TSLIS digital humanities researcher, the goals of the project are defined, as well as the necessary steps to arrive at the best possible results. The goals and steps of the research through design method read as follows (Table 1).

Goals	How to	Steps
Learn from the participants	Create the process in which we can learn from the young participants, creating knowledge	Workshops - young participants meet the dancers and the dance art form - offline collaboration Workshops - young participants explore their participation through digital storytelling - online collaboration Gather and analyse their feedback
Give the participants equal power to decide on the process	Leave the process open so it can be re-designed or changed according to the participants' needs	Flat power design - sending a clear message to all participants that everybody has the equal power to decide what do we do Create processes for gathering feedback
Give the participants voice	Find ways to communicate with young participants and hear what the young participants have to say	Personal communication Workshop communication Mails Digital storytelling
Adapt to the participants' needs	Learn from the participants' feedback and reiterate the process design	Design questions Gather replies Give feedback Adapt to the need - reiterate the design
Support participants' work	Provide the tools and materials that will support better communication	Personal communication Workshop communication Mails Digital storytelling
Analyse the whole process	Document the process and analyse results	Gathering offline material Gathering online material Periodical process analysis Surveys and data analysis

TABLE 1. GOALS AND STEPS OF THE DESIGN PROCESS

In praxis, each workshop with the participants was followed by an evaluation meeting where all parties would discuss the results of the workshop and future moves. The future activities ranged from writing mails to participants, asking them to express their interest in specific content, designing the next activity based on their feedback, or by planning the content of the next workshop. Workshops were usually 3 hour sessions where the young participants had the chance to:

- work with the dancers (warming up, improvisation, music, expressing their feelings through dance phrases),
- meet the rehearsal director,
- talk to people from the costume and wig department,
- see how the choreographer works with the dancers,
- create a digital outreach strategy,

- do interviews with members of the Dance Company,
- send their unresolved feelings that could be used as inspirational phrases for the dance choreography,
- meet mentors for digital storytelling,
- make short movies about the process and their feelings,
- etc.

Finally, we can say that the design process was a series of ongoing iterations, comprising continuous analysis, feedback, and the designing of the next workshops. In the next section we present the young participants and the results in terms of digital collaborative art.

The young participants and their digital story

But who are the people we are learning from? How much do we really know about young people between 16 and 19 years old, who are our partners in the mission?

The young participants of this project have been referred to as digital natives, millennials, echo boomers (Karakas et al., 2015), and are often characterized as having high digital literacy, multitasking skills, and quick working. Even though many scientific publications are analysing this interesting question, it seems that we still do not know much. The only certain argument we have is that they are heavy users of smartphones, going online daily, with 24% of them reporting being online constantly (Flora, 2018). After Turkle published (2011) a quite disturbing book arguing that we are losing the fabric that makes us human - the ability and interest to understand each other - many publications followed arguing that smartphones have ruined the life of millennials. According to that body of research millennials are not sleeping well, when learn they lack concentration, engagement and socialization (Karakas et al., 2015). Still, according to recent publication younger millennials, or generations Z, seem not to be ruined at all (Flora, 2018).

The proliferation of new media and wearable devices happened so fast introducing great confusion in the life of parents and schooling system. Therefore we must focus on how millennials use their devices, and in which context they do or not do particular things. Knowing that research result might play an important role in our everyday lives since mainstream media tends to write about the research results in a superficial way, we must be careful, thorough in our research, and double checking before we accept or debunk an idea. For example, the scary idea that our youngest are becoming dependent on video gaming stirred many discussions about so called *digital cocaine* (Huddleston, 2016), until it became completely debunked by Sherman and her colleagues (Sherman et al., 2016).

In such a tentative climate, not really knowing who our youngest partners are, or how they like to do things, it was quite difficult to design the interactive process that could resonate with their needs. To start, we have looked at 17 letters from which we could learn more about their motivation to join the project, and ran a survey to get to know them better. Here is what we found out.

They all live in different parts of Gothenburg, but they frequently visit the city center. The majority of them are native Swedish language speakers, and they are mostly interested in sports, performing arts, music, and reading. It is interesting to note that young participants are not interested in TV at all, while only one person expressed interest in computer games. When asked to explain their motivation for participating to Meet the Ministry project, they use the following expressions: "inspiration", "learning more about the dance", "personal development through creation", "be in the Opera House more often", "meeting other people", "leaving my personal shell", etc. Finally, a majority of them, do not have any expectations to create something "beautiful", "cool", or maybe learn more about themselves and the others.

"I expect all of us to get to know each other and ourselves in depth. I expect to learn more about dance and that I will personally become more comfortable using my body for express feelings. I expect that we will create something amazing together, although I currently have no idea what this will be. I hope and believe in being surprised and it is noticeable that this is precisely the purpose. No frames have been set, nothing is wrong, but everything can be right. The setting of the dancers (our participation) and the responsible ones are positive, hopeful and open. Therefore, this can not be anything but amazing."

In order to understand up to what extent *meeting the all-physical art process expressed through all-digital collaborative art production project* could positively affect the bridging of social capital, a survey is created. Young participants answered a series of questions that addressed their daily activities, and perception of their role in the community before the start of the Meet the Ministry project. The questions were designed in line with Williams' bridging social capital scale (Williams, 2006). Based on 12 answers (out of 17) one can argue that those who answered the survey are in majority, outgoing people who like to cooperate with other people and are quite interested in what other people think or do. Furthermore, they expressed belief that the cooperation with the others brings new contacts and gives a feeling of being better connected to the outer world. It is clear that while explicitly saying they do not expect much, on an implicit level they have come to the Opera House expecting amazing experiences. This fact puts additional burden on the whole project, as well as on us who are designing according to participants' needs.

The plan

Once the idea for establishing a digital channel for collaborative creation of young participants was accepted, the question of realisation became central. In order to help us to learn from them, we have asked the young participants to tell us what they need in order to reach out to their peers who are not part of this project. To do that, a hands-on workshop with members of TSLIS is organised. The result of this workshop was a creation of the Digital outreach strategy, a list of actions and artifacts necessary for "telling our story". In Table 2 the Digital outreach strategy content is listed.

Type	Content	Video	Audio	Text	Quantity	Length
web series	- trailer - costume - Rehearsal Director - Choreography/er - improvisation - dance workshop	x	x		5-6	2-4 or 5 min
close-ups	participants story on - why/how come I am in this project? - what did I get from it? - how we should do this in the future?	x	x		each participant	2 min
interviews	some participants will do an interview with the dancers, from a different point of view. they will record the interview and type the text	x		x		
unresolved feelings	unresolved feelings are gathered in the mail	x	x	x		
spontaneous reactions	posting spontaneous reactions after each workshop with #motministeriet	x	x	x		#instagram
webpage on Opera.se	follow up of the process published on the website	x	x	x		

TABLE 2. DIGITAL OUTREACH STRATEGY DEVELOPED BY THE YOUNG PARTICIPANTS

The Digital outreach strategy (Table 2) clearly points out that the content will be shared on different channels and in different formats. Most of the time, the digital material will be in video and audio format, and in some cases the text will follow too. Aiming to satisfy all goals from the Table 1, specifically to adapt to young participants' needs, external professionals that work with digital storytelling are engaged to organise a series of digital storytelling workshops and help young participants shape their voices.

The usual, everyday Dance Company practice involves recording a lot of audio, video material from the rehearsals. The same equipment was used in this project to record the material planned in the Table 2. All recorded material from the Meet the Ministry workshops with the dancers was a working material of digital storytelling workshops, where young participants learned how to work with video storytelling.

The execution

Having in mind the ubiquitous nature of new media technology in the 21st century, it is unnecessary to mention that the young participants were and are frequent users of it. However, once the idea to augment the outreach of the Meet the Ministry project was introduced by going digital - offering young participants to engage in the all-digital collaborative art project through which they would communicate and share their feelings about the project collaboration - the earth of collaboration started to shake.

For TLSIS members that is a natural way of thinking and daily operating, while for other departments of the Opera House that represents completely the other domain and another set of issues. Questions poured. *Why*

we are going digital? Who is going to create it? Who is the owner of this? Where it will be stored, published? Who will approve publishing of the specific material? Shouldn't the whole digital communication be released and approved by institutional PR and Marketing department? How will that affect the dancers' public profiles? What about GDPR?

Due to the perception of the amazing power that digital information has, and speed by which it is shared, the ownership and power question came back on the main stage of this project. Even though one of the crucial ideas of the project is to collaborate in the atmosphere of the flat power distribution, give voice and power to the young participants (Table 1), it was impossible to easily clear the road of traditional disciplinary approaches. The visual representation, visual communication, legal rights, PR and Marketing, of each cultural production institution is an important part of the job, and it is never left unattended. Here too, once the young participants of the Meet the Ministry project were to produce the digital material, store it, work with local digital artist to direct it, and disseminate it, it seemed as the traditional power structure felt jeopardized and threatened.

The long, continuous swaying of the power pendulum almost jeopardized the existence of this project. While one Opera House department (Dance Company) did everything to crush the walls wanting to escape the disciplinary, institutional cage, the other department (Marketing) would strongly hold traditional power by blocking everything digital without their direct approval. The project was on hold.

After many months of tough negotiation, between the Project Manager of the Meet the Ministry project and the power structures in the Opera House, young participants finally got the chance to express their ideas about how they would like to communicate their impressions about the project. As aforementioned, they have easily come up with the digital communication strategy for outreach (Table 2). Even though the collaboration on digital storytelling was somehow underdeveloped and slowed down, in comparison with the strong, professional development achieved in the dancing workshops, once the digital storytelling production started, the project immediately got a new life and energy. It was clear that the young participants felt at ease when it came to expressing and using digital communication channels.

Finally, by the end of the project the majority of material planned in the Digital outreach strategy (see Table 2) was successfully created except the young participants' close-ups, and their spontaneous reactions on instagram.

Analysis

When the all-physical art production institution meets the academic institution that is focused on all-digital art and collaboration, once they start inter-institutional, interdisciplinary collaboration supported by digital technology, the traditional cliché of a creative genius working in solitude and poverty is completely changed. Not only that, but the creative process happens in a hive of ideas and people, this kind of collaboration also shifts boundaries of power, position, and identities between the collaborative participants and the knowledge

domains (Shields and Spillane, 2018). Shifting traditional discipline boundaries and hierarchical power structures opens space for new collaborative structures and new ideas, but simultaneously and unexpectedly creates a powerful clash of two worlds.

Within the Meet the Ministry project, the Opera House Dance Company department and The Swedish School of Library and Information Science (TSLIS) jointly stepped into the unknown to open the discussion and unleash creativity of reciprocal relationships between educators and students, artists and viewers, researchers and practitioners. However tempting, interesting and desirable such a collaboration could be, it is quite difficult to create the processes that will engage many people across different departments within the collaborating institutions. To be able to embrace the unknown, step over institutional and disciplinary borders, and invite exchange, one should be immersed in the project idea creation from the early start, or at least well informed. Unfortunately, such collaborations not only happen rarely, but they also operate with quite a limited budget. All that being said, during the project preparation phase the following challenges are identified: Time, Management, Language, Power and ownership, fears and trust.

Time

Interdisciplinary research and collaboration projects often require additional resources, more time, infrastructure, and more effort (Briazu, 2017). The realization of this project is nested in one of the most developed countries in the world, Sweden, so finding additional resources, like infrastructure and equipment, was not difficult to achieve. Still, having in mind that this collaborative effort happened as a result of bottom-up interdisciplinary and inter-institutional solidarity, without any additional budget, time became one of the most valuable resources.

It is hard to imagine how much time is needed to design the open process for collaboration, collaborative art creation that will serve as open process for knowledge creation. The design of the frameworks for creative art practice, research, and learning, requires lots of time, bravery, and creativity. There are so many unknowns in only one equation, and a lot of time is needed to get the result. In the following text some of the time consuming aspects are listed.

Management

As the art sector is changing, borders between "high" art and "low, entertaining" art are blurring (Mandel, 2016), there is more need for collaborative art projects, crowdsourced art etc., cultural managers are expected to connect different worlds. Obviously that in recent years the role of cultural managers covers much wider and more complex working spectrum (Mandel, 2016). They are to connect different disciplines to create new synergies between the educational, economical and social sector, develop new and flexible ways for arts production, they are to talk to new audiences beyond the highly educated "white" elite, connect all-physical worlds with all-digital, and manage inter-institutional cooperations. To put it simply, they should bridge many gaps to become *masters of interspaces* (Föhl et al., 2016).

Management of art always means dealing with uncertainties. To become a good master of interspaces and to deliver in such a project of extremely high uncertainty and ongoing experimentation, one needs all the support they can get. Starting with strategic support that should arrive from the highest institutional management by giving special importance to projects of this kind, through ensuring enough of time to listen to the participants' feedback and effectively adapt to the need, and finally, by supporting the project and manager role through cooperation with all departments of the hosting institution.

Unfortunately, in this project there was not a lot of understanding of the importance and complexity of the project, and the necessary support - strategic, time, and interdepartmental support - lacked. In such a climate, it is not surprising to arrive to a situation where the manager is under enormous pressure created in between high professional expectations and lack of maneuvering space and tools. Today's cultural management is less about raising the effectiveness of an art institution, but it is more about delivering a visible influence on cultural life, policy and social changes. If not treated with such perception and importance, a complex project of this kind does not have much chance to thrive.

Language of collaboration

To begin with, the core idea of this project is the integrative communication over different boundaries, and knowledge creation. Therefore, it has been agreed to provide as many inputs as we can during the whole process. Still, when two strong, powerful institutions join the collaborative effort, their traditional disciplinary cages actually clash (Foucault, 1977). Contrary to Borgdorff's argument (2011) that during the interdisciplinary research collaboration working methods of separate disciplines remain intact, the experiences from this project show that the walls between the disciplines are porous. For example, during the meetings in which the interaction design process was created, it was quite common that people from one discipline wanted to penetrate into the other disciplines in order to either understand the meaning, or to contribute, by changing or re-designing the events specified by the discipline. Thus, many discussions comprised of balancing the language of collaboration.

The *interaction space* for the Dance Company members is traditionally an all-physical space such as the rehearsal room or the stage, whereas for the members of the research team of TSLIS that is the all-digital space delivered through user interfaces. For the young participants of this project the *space* can be a place where they have their bodies, while mentally and emotionally engaged somewhere else (Turkle, 2011). If *user interface* would pop-up in the conversation introduced by TSLIS team members, then translating it to the members of the Dance Company was required so everybody on-board would be sure of the topic discussed. *Expressing feelings*, which is the main topic of this specific dance choreography, Dance Company is to communicate through body movements, while for TSLIS it is expression through different digital forms (text, picture, video, audio).

Due to their interdisciplinary nature, and the mutual need to go deeper in exploration of boundaries shift, many meetings would start with long discussions about the local disciplinary language. On top of it, during the workshops with the young participants some unexpectedly deep, personal topics emerged, creating a great

unease among the workshop professionals. Really, what should one do once a deep personal problem is revealed? It was obvious that in order to arrive to a successful solution, all participants need to create, balance, and master the *language of collaboration*.

There is no need to emphasize that young participants, whose participation was central to this project idea, needed the language that is disciplinary frigid, or in other words, free of disciplinary burden. Finally, it is fair to mention that this project was hosted by the Dance Company which is an international ensemble based in Gothenburg, and that most (but not all!) of the young participants have Swedish as their mother tongue. Therefore even English vs. Swedish conversation and discussions played significant role.

Power and ownership

Having this project hosted by traditional, highly professional, and before all, off-line "high" art institution (Mandel, 2016), it is not difficult to understand that digital storytelling, social media, and in general, digital communication raises many difficult questions. To start, it questions the traditional notion of communication with the outer world. Traditionally, "high" art institutions communicate with the world outside their disciplinary walls through one department. Before digital media, the emergence of the role of such a department would be to guard high quality of released material, and create a good communication strategy. Thus making them a powerful owners of the information.

New technologies were always introducing changes to social and cultural reorganization, and that creates anxiety (Baym, 2015). Therefore the emergence of the web, interactive and social media, imposed great pressure on traditional values and practices of "high" art. Social media shifted power towards the audience, empowering individuals through the distributed messaging via their mass-communication networks (Castells, 2009), traditional institutions found themselves in a void. But if digital information is power, and traditional institution has the ownership of it, how are we to collaborate across institutions and disciplines in order to (1) augment outreach of the project by engaging the youth, by (2) giving young participants voice, power, and freedom to express as our youth used to?

If we are to successfully communicate with them, hear their voices, the traditional distribution of power and the notion of ownership must be radically changed. Our youth belongs to the new generation, generation Y, that compared to other generations, changed the way they communicate (Bolton et al, 2013) which at the same time influenced a change in their core values. Some of these core values are (1) fast, spontaneous communication, (2) interaction with family and friends through social media. The projects that can not overcome traditional power distribution where the information is controlled by power structures, or experience difficulties embracing these values as their core values, can not claim to be addressed towards open, bidirectional communication with our youth.

Fears and trust

Since one faces many conflicting situations that come with interdisciplinary collaborations (Briazu, 2017) it is not surprising that many fear such a project. Stepping into the unknown is not a comfortable professional arena. With so many unknowns in one project idea, like designing interaction for the unknown project participants, designing an open collaborative process that can adapt to future participants' needs, create space for process design re-iteration, open new space for unknown participants' digital interaction, support collaborative art expression, etc., fear becomes an everyday companion.

For the members of TSLIS designing such interaction design that will eventually lead to social innovation is far from the professional comfort zone, where the interaction design is designed for known users, and carefully controlled processes. On the other hand, for the Dance Company this project introduces much vulnerability, like opening the Opera House to outsiders who will transform into project participants and all-digital collaborative art creators. In the situation where none of the collaborating parties had similar experiences, many questions that tackle the acquisition of trust arose. Disciplinary walls are high. While scientists and researchers tend to be concrete and work with research results, statistics, explicit results, dancers work with body movements, imagination, and are used to unpredictable situations and processes. Let alone that both disciplines, presented by digital immigrants (Prensky, 2001) are to meet young participants, digital natives, and learn from them.

Again, there are many questions that arrived from different disciplinary anchorage. "*Can these people do anything concrete besides improvising? The meetings are so divergent. Can this researcher relax a bit and use normal, human language? No one understands what the topic of the meeting is. How one will know what kind of digital storytelling production young people can provide? Are they interested in digital storytelling at all?*"

In this brave interplay of three partners, where two hosts design processes in order to learn from the guest, trust is possible only through repeated positive experiences with a trustee. Therefore in this project fears - like the fear of failure, fear of the unknown, fear of something new, different - are faced by designing the interaction design process that will enable flat power communication, frequent dialogue exchange, followed by constant analysis and redesign (if needed) of the communication process. Once the young participants understood that the whole process is adaptable to change, that their voices are heard, and they have the power to influence the project - the trust was created. As the feeling of trust increased, the fears become weaker and fewer, and the positive force of building trust was unleashed.

Participants' project evaluation

Once the project was finished, some of the young participants answered a set of questions where they got the chance to evaluate the project and describe their feelings and ideas about this collaboration. As

aforementioned, special attention was given to social capital acquisition. Here is how they perceive the project and their role.

The great majority of young participants who answered the survey, 7 of the 12 participants who finished the project, emphasized that the participation in the Meet the Ministry project was (1) really exciting, (2) they have learned a lot, and (3) they have made a lot of new contacts. Here is how one of them described the project.

"Very interesting and educational! Great fun to gain insight into how the opera and dance company work! I also made new friends, and it felt great that we managed to cooperate so well together" (young participant A, my translation)

Through their answers they continue to express positive feelings about being able to learn more about contemporary dance, but also experiment with video production. Even though they repeat they did not have any expectations from this project, in majority they were positively surprised. Doing workshops in the Opera House gave them a "*wow feeling*" and influenced their feeling of being closer to the Opera House. Almost all of them would participate in a similar project in the future, and would recommend such projects to their peers.

Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that not all of them were so positive. Some of the participants felt confused, and would prefer a better communication and organisation. Below is a quote from a young participant who calls for better structure in the future.

"It has been fun, but I think it has been extremely poorly structured and planned. It has been pretty blunt. We never really got to know your expectations of us and what the goal was so we haven't really understood what the meaning of it all has been. It has obviously not prevented us from having fun and discovering interesting things. However, it would have been nice to have a better plan because we would have been able to make better use of the time." (young participant B, my translation)

During a similar survey with the Dance Company professionals who participated in the project, resulted in a different overall feeling. It comes with no surprise that by being adult professionals, their feedback comes with more critical perspective. Maybe the best summary of Dance Company professionals' feedback is expressed through the following quote.

"Complex, beautiful and at times hard and frustrating." (Dance Company professional A)

The dancers too report establishing many new contacts and express great satisfaction for being able to work and collaborate with the *"community"*.

"The relationship between participants and between participants and dancers have been really nice to see as it has been growing along with the evolution of the project. It has also been lovely to see how participants have grown into and from the project and to witness and hear how they have gained knowledge and tools

from the process. To hear that participants have become friends and met outside of the project, to see how they have been able to push their understanding of dance and filmmaking and that their interest in these fields have grown through the process are some of the most important values to me in the project."

Still, a majority of the Dance professionals found the project frustrating and not clear enough, wishing they had a better understanding of the goals. It seems that it was not easy to connect the Meet the Ministry project to Ministry of Unresolved feelings show. That together with the traditional lack of time which was also reported in this project, resulted in frustrating *"too many cooks"* and a *"reinvent the wheel"* atmosphere. Dancers report feeling good while doing workshops with the young participants but they wish the whole project was more structured and better organised. Even though some of the dancers mention the problem of specific financial compensation for participation in such projects, the majority of the Dance professionals are on the positive side for participating in a similar project in the future, but with only one of them being absolutely for it. When asked if they would recommend such project to their colleagues they were quite polarised.

However, they do come with many concrete recommendations for the improvement.

"Clearer structure, digging deeper into specific tasks and ideas", "To many chefs", "More time for planning and following up the process together with collaborators and a bigger involvement and collaboration between different departments and collaborators.", "Learning from this one!", "Plan it in good time and stick to the plan."

Conclusion

Although we realise that the number of project participants is far from being representative, we argue that this research gives a solid base for further developments in this field. Especially so if we take into account a growing body of literature that points out that learning through the arts is more useful for our youth since it equips them with crucial creative and critical thinking skills (Dwyer, 2011; Land, 2013; Cabanac et al., 2013; Bowen et al., 2014). By learning through art we can transform our education (Caldwell and Vaughan, 2011), catering for skills that will not be easy to digitise and leave artificial intelligence to it. A few powerful conclusions can be drawn out of this research, and they read as follows.

First, interdisciplinary, inter-institutional collaboration is rich and fruitful, even extremely risky by being unpredictable in their outcome and the process (Kanakia, 2007). As Briazu argues (2017), regardless the literature offers advice on principles for good interdisciplinary work (Nancarrow et al., 2013) there are still no guarantees that the risk and pitfalls can be fully avoided. One can only be brave and work hard hoping that the benefits will outnumber the challenges. We live in a world where our leading institutions claim that many of the complex problems society are currently facing demanding, innovative solutions that combine knowledge from different scientific disciplines (van Rijnsoever et al., 2011). Such projects introduce powerful synergy that is highly appreciated by the audience (Bohumelova and Hvorecky, 2016). Therefore, as a society, we can learn a lot from such collaborations. They are full of unexplored potential and carry loads of positive motivation needed for social innovation and innovative knowledge transfer.

Second, collaborative art projects are powerful mechanisms for learning new concepts, developing creative and critical thinking (Cabanac et al., 2013; Bowen et al., 2014), and social capital acquisition - both bridging and bonding (Kale, 2017). Such projects should be taken into account when thinking of social capital acquisition for empowerment of specifically disempowered members of our society.

Third, the collaborative digital art projects are time consuming. For that reason we must not forget to underline, they are expensive, and require careful planning paired with strong, explicit strategic support. Nevertheless, when looked at from a larger perspective they penetrate deeper into the fabric of society, thus becoming powerful instruments for societal change (Glaveanu, 2017).

Bearing in mind that interdisciplinary research has the potential to deepen knowledge in one's own discipline and to provide new insights and inspiration from other disciplines (Pennington et al., 2013), we should continue developing interdisciplinary, inter-institutional projects and learn from both the results and the process of the creation. Most importantly, it seems that our youngest are interested in partnering up with us in exploring communication and collaboration in multidisciplinary interinstitutional settings. We should do nothing less than help them open as many doors as we can.

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The Land of Ewes and Milk: An Exploratory Study of Heritage Food of Egyptian Bedouins

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ABSTRACT

For a territory to be sustainable, economic and social benefits need to be exploited to improve the living standard of local people. Food as a part of human culture has supposed a significant role in tourist decision-making and satisfaction, tourism services and destination promotion strategies, accordingly, it can be a useful factor of destination development. The main argument of current research is to explore and document a group of authentic heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins as an attempt to

preserve them as well as suggest a potential utilisation of these foods in the light of rural tourism. An initial online survey, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions with Bedouins from Sinai and Matruh areas have been undertaken to accomplish the study aim. At the end of the study, a full description of seven heritage foods of the mentioned areas with their original names, pictures, ingredients, and preparation methods have presented, additionally, a potential utilisation has been suggested.

1. Introduction

UNESCO outlined heritage as "*our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations*" (Soini & Birkeland, 2014). As a part of the heritage, cultural legacy is an essential component of social and community well-being, thus, national governments and educational establishments increasingly recognise the value of cultural heritage (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Further, the mutual relations between food, place, and identity that appears during food tourism can truly be explored, verifying that gastronomy has become a critical source of identity portraying in post-modern societies (Richards, 2002). Food prepared and consumed by humans serve to boost social bonds, define identity and mark occasions besides its basic nutritional purposes (Palmer, 2002).

Otherwise, for a territory to be sustainable, economic and social benefits need to be maximised in to enhance living standards as far as the city target is sustainable in terms of environmental limitations and socioeconomic equity (Guzmán et al, 2017 cited from Mori & Yamashita, 2015). This recommended utilisation has directed to rural areas due to the decrease in agriculture and outwardly migration of population, as well as gradual declines of funds provided to those areas (Lordkipanidze et al, 2005). Tourism in rural areas, which local food is an animator of it, has a basic role in economic development which could help to keep and improve the quality of life in rural areas under the conditions of sustainable development (Petrin & Gannon, 1997). Also, tourism-based farm diversification in the countryside had increasingly been emphasised as a driver of rural development and regeneration (Sharpley & Vass, 2006)

As a result of the relatively long history of use as a regional development driver and substantial utilisation of resources, considerable debate about the value of tourism for communities in rural and peripheral areas has been produced (Moscardo, 2008). with better formulation, rural communities and peripheral areas usually suffer from the challenge of continuous economic development because of lacking traditional activities such as fishing and farming, therefore, food tourism often becomes a critical alternative to help create jobs and to support the standards of locals' lifestyle (MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003).

The term "Bedouin" descends from the Arabic *Badiya* (desert), indicating desert dweller or pastoral nomad, a way of life nomadically related with pastoral herders who resided in the desert in tent dwellings constructed of goat-hair (Lane, 1994). The Bedouins live in different regions within Egypt such as the coastal zone of western desert and south and north Sinai in the eastern desert (Alary *et al*, 2016). The current study will try to explore a set of heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins and suggest a potential utilisation of that food on the light of rural tourism to avoid getting them lost because of 'modernisation' of dietary styles (Adikari & Lakmali, 2016). Whilst, the Malaysian experience confirms that food is a basic antecedent of attracting international tourists to a specific destination (Omar *et al*, 2015). Yet, the touristic destinations around the world such as

Indonesia and Sri Lanka gave considerable attention to heritage food utilisation as a competitive advantage (Abdulmawla et al, 2018).

The lack of systematic methodologies for appropriate consideration of the gap between sustainable development of the destination and the preservation of cultural heritage (Guzmán et al, 2017) led us to address the issue more and more with a stress on heritage food, mainly with the little attention to cultural heritage sources given by studies on sustainable cities (Shmelev & Shmeleva, 2009). Hence, it has been discussed that gastronomy studies add a missing perspective to rural development filed (Scarpato, 2003), but there are few empirical studies in food heritage issues, particularly in nomadic and Bedouin areas (Everett & Aitchison, 2008). As for Egypt, there is unsatisfied literature on food heritage, particularly the heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins, which produced the need to address this unique legacy and its role in rural development through food tourism.

The main argument of current research is to explore and document a set of authentic heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins as an attempt to retain them as well as suggest a potential utilisation of these foods in the light of the appraised literature on rural tourism and its relationship with heritage food. To undertake such research, we have complied with scientific works concerning the prospective of culinary heritage to build a consistent theoretical framework and determine the most convenient methodology for our field study. As for the field study, the procedures and strategies of data collection will be illustrated in the next parts. The paper is structured in five sections. The first section describes the theoretical outline that the study mainly refers: (the need to and benefits of rural tourism, cultural heritage as a driver of rural development, food heritage as a part of cultural heritage, and food heritage as a driver of rural development). While the second section refines the research methodological approach, the third highlights the Egyptian Bedouin society as our context, the fourth presents the results we got so far. The last section offers some concluding and interpreting remarks and insights of the current situation of Bedouin food for future research developments.

2. Theoretical Outline

2.1. Need to and Benefits of Rural Tourism

Regarding the development of rural areas around the world, the rural tourism concept has many interpretations. For instance, rural tourism encompasses activities and interests in farms, nature, adventure, sports, health, education, arts, and heritage taking place in the countryside as a multifaceted activity rather than farm-based tourism only (Bramwell & Lane, 1994). Su (2011) cited that rural tourism had long been recognised internationally as an efficient driver of rural socio-economic regeneration for over a hundred years and highlighted the deep roots of tourism developing policies specifically targeted at rural areas in Germany, France, Austria, and the United Kingdom. In the USA, it has been reported that 30 states have developed tourism policies focused on rural areas, whilst a further 14 have involved rural tourism within their comprehensive tourism development strategies (Sharpley, 2002 adapted from Luloff et al, 1994). The benefits of rural tourism are generally seen as an integrated Triple Bottom Line for the host society and for the land itself and for the tourist (Calabrò & Della Spina, 2014). Also, it is agreed that policy to ensure sustainability in tourism as a contributor to rural development should include the domain of stakeholders involved (Bramwell &

Lane 2000). Consequently, several established tourism destinations have switched to rural tourism in order to diversify their tourism outputs and to expand the benefits of tourism away from the coastal resorts into remote areas (Sharpley, 2002).

In many rural districts, agriculture is no longer either the main supplier of jobs nor the main source of regional income (Vos & Meekes,1999). Above, society's requirements for new functions in rural areas are rapidly changing and diversifying, as a result, highly valued landscapes that developed during centuries till millennia fade or are completely converted within a limited number of years (Vos & Meekes,1999). Hence, the need to earnest community involvement, together with public sector support, provides opportunities for the development of small-scale indigenous tourism projects in less developed territories has been appeared (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). Sharpley (2002) summarised the benefits of rural tourism development as an effective means of achieving not only the renewal of local areas but also a variety of tourism-policy achievements, including the attraction of more varied, higher-spending markets; overcome the problems of seasonality associated with summer-sun, package tourism; supporting independent, non-organised tourism; generalising the socio-economic benefits of tourism into the hinterland; encouraging the cultural attractions of the destination; and, satisfying the expected demand for more ecologically forms of tourism.

2.2. *Cultural Heritage as a Driver of Rural Areas Development*

It is not only the sunny weather or the low cost of living that attracts these travellers to rural areas but also the search for a more incorporated community life, environmental framework or cultural excitement (Karkabi, 2013). Cultural heritage is being indicated in the international agenda for its role in recognising the distinctiveness of cities and enhancing their competitiveness in an increasingly globalised world (Shmelev, 2012). The viability of rural tourism confirms the fact of agreeing and complementary to traditional activities, not being an alternative to previous values (McKercher & Du Cros). By contrast, (Sharpley, 2002) argued that two opposing views of the nature of the relationship between tourism and heritage have been proposed, that reflect different extremes of the conflict/co-operation situation. Moreover, unless appropriately organised, threats can arise to the quality of the social structures and cultures resulting from the unplanned development and up tourism. Thus, issues of sustainability are gaining increased attention in the context of rural tourism for good management to cultural resources (Cawley & Gillmor, 2008).

More recently, with necessarily confirming the aesthetic and historic influence logically attributed to heritage, the concept of heritage emphasised it as a major anchor for cultural identity and highlighted it as an important factor at the heart of community development (Araoz, 2011). Likewise, the role of cultural heritage conservation has proven significant for the development of destinations and communities (Guzmán et al, 2017). Therefore, it is logical to state that, for the preservation of cultural heritage to be considered sustainable, it also needs to be economically, socially, and environmentally effective especially with a list of gorgeous natural and cultural properties growing continuously (Guzmán et al, 2017).

Bandarin & van Oers (2012) pointed out that traditional heritage and its elements play an important role in cultural areas and contemporary city evolution, especially benefiting the social and economic movement, the authors argued that those economic benefits are commonly evidenced in tourism incomes, the attraction of

investment, and the creation of jobs. It is this culture and heritage that are usually well kept between generations in rural areas and it is in periods of economic decrease that their inhabitants seem to hang on more to a distinct heritage. Culture and tourism then considered resources for socio-economic development in rural and peripheral communities (MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003).

Concerning the notion of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, culture should be identified not just like an additional dimension of sustainable development besides environmental, economic and social aspects because it reflects peoples' identities. (Nurse, 2006). Cultural heritage can participate towards well-being and quality of community life, can help to relieve the impacts of cultural globalisation, and can become a driver of sustainable economic development and sustain cultural diversity (Gražulevičiūtė, 2006). MacDonald & Jolliffe (2003) hypothesised that cultural tourism development in rural areas presents potential short and long-term economic solutions benefiting local communities, culture also can be used to specify featured rural communities as tourism destinations, community-based partnerships help to verify long-term growth for cultural rural tourism strategies.

2.3. Food Heritage as a Part of Cultural Heritage

The UNESCO Convention on intangible cultural heritage 2003 defined intangible cultural heritage as "*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*" (Viriaere & Miller, 2018). Article two of the convention stated that intangible cultural heritage can be expressed in five aspects: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship (Rodzi et al, 2013). For food, although they deal with tangible and consumable materials, the style and way of consumption remain a part of the intangible culture (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). Likewise, Bessiere (1998) defined food heritage as "*a set of material and immaterial elements of food cultures, that been considered as a shared legacy or common good. This food heritage includes agricultural products, ingredients, dishes, techniques, recipes and food traditions. It includes table manners, the symbolic dimension of food and in its more material aspects, cooking artifacts and the table setting: utensils, dishware*". Therefore, we can argue that food heritage is an integral part of cultural heritage. The proposed literature assumed that food is an important aspect of human culture, even been recognised as intangible cultural heritage or tangible part beside the intaingable food habits, cooking methods and other components of food heritage processes (Abdulmawla et al, 2018 and Mac Con Iomaire, 2018).

2.4. Food Heritage as a Driver of Rural Areas Development

Levi-Strauss 1968 argued that 'food is culture', an element of heritage, and a society's gastronomy is a language through which it directly expresses its structure. Likewise, it can be associated with other aspects of culture and shared with people from elsewhere (Montanari, 2006 and Lee & Kovacs, 2015). Through the ages, a well-served cuisine is always an attraction for tourists who target any type of pleasure and personal satisfaction. As a result, cuisine in the 21st century occupies a prime classification, in a very various way as it

was in past centuries (Fons et al, 2011). Fons et al, (2011) discussed that in old times, with subsistence economy, food was a requirement for survival; today with the economy of abundance, gastronomy is considered as a joy and delight for the senses, therefore, tourists keep in their minds and memories what their eyes saw, and their palate tasted which is a sufficient reason for tourists to return.

Emphasising the role of heritage food in local development, creative food clusters have created, they are places that offer visitors a package of culinary tourism choices, such as food tours and farm visits in addition to additional experiences, such as arts-related activities (e.g., cultural festivals). the development of such creative food clusters required utilising local resources drawn from both agricultural and cultural sectors (Lee & Wall, 2012; OECD, 2014 and Lee & Kovacs, 2015). In a related, tourists also consume cooked and raw meals from food outlets and purchase culinary souvenir products and cookery books, meanwhile, food festivals are usually organised with the appearance of several enterprises and a series of events celebrating local fare of the destination (Henderson, 2009). To fit with these activities, companies which specialise in small group tours to areas of the world famous for their local food and wine or those, which are less well known have been established (Mason & Mahony, 2007).

The correlation was reported between increased levels of food tourism attention and the development of local identity, the growing of environmental awareness and sustainability, an increase in social and cultural benefits because of the production of local food and the preservation of traditional heritage, skills and ways of life (Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Also, Hjalager and Richards (2002) noted that to confront the stagnation of economic activities, some rural communities have switched to food tourism development as a strategy for creating a more diversified economy while supporting local food production. Three specific factors became visible to ensure the role of local food tourism in rural development: food as a means of increasing tourist spending, food as a means of extending the tourist season, and food ability to assist marketing (Everett & Aitchison, 2008).

Food has supposed a prominent role in the tourist decision-making and satisfaction, tourism services and place promotion strategies, accordingly, it can be a useful component of destination development. (Henderson, 2009). Therefore, the slow food movement has been promoted by countries such as Italy as an 'eco gastronomic locavore movement' in many places around the world as being substitutional to a fast-paced, junk food lifestyle (Donald, 2009). Indeed, regional tourism development initiatives are utilising locally-produced foodstuffs and beverages to support areas' tourism products, boost visitors' experiences, and help safeguard and enhance the viability of local food outputs and processing sectors (Boyne et al, 2003). Similarly, food-themed visitor attractions are also assuming increasingly popular across the county, enhancing the development of new skills, facilitating the permanence of local crafts and encouraging the re-introduction of heritage foodstuffs. These sites catalyse sustainable gastronomy, encouraging the preservation of a local food identity (Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Touching local gastronomic education, cooking schools created as a type of food tourism products which run by or jointed with famous chefs, this method involves selling a mix of educational materials and accommodation for those who interested in local gastronomy arts (Henderson, 2009).

3. Context: Egyptian Bedouins

3.1. Overview

The naming of the Arabic word *Badawi* (p. *Badu*) reveals to Bedouin that has an etymological association with the words *Bedaya* (beginning) and *Beda'l* (primeval, inchoate or primitive), its antonym is *Hadari* (p. *Hadar*) indicating civil or urban (Altorki & Cole, 2006 and Karkabi, 2013). Bedouin is the synonym of (desert dweller) and classified into two categories: sedentary Bedouin and nomadic Bedouin, both have been associated with the ranching of cattle, fundamentally sheep, goats, and camels, and occasionally horses and donkeys in the *Badiya* (desert) (Baer, 1957; Abu-Lughod, 1989 and Cole, 2003). Bedouin were traditionally desert nomads with no regular home, moved from place to another looking for pasture and food, but their mobility did not mean the absence of territorial membership and responsibility because each tribe had its collective region that delimited and recognised by the other tribes (Altorki & Cole, 2006).

The Arab Bedouin tribes settled in Egypt's three main deserts (Sinai, the Western Desert, and the Eastern Desert) controlled great spaces of the land but almost virtually insignificant (UNEP, 2009 and Alary et al, 2016). Four major Bedouin tribes lived in the western desert: *Awlad Ali, Jumi'at, Sa'di, and Murabitun*. During the rule of *Mohammed Ali Pasha*, Bedouin *sheikhs* were selected as mediators between the ruler and the tribes, and Bedouin customary law (*urf*) was authorised by the government (Kark & Frantzman, 2012). The largest Bedouin clan in Egypt, *Awlad Ali*, is split into six tribes also called clans, in Arabic (*qabila*), each tribe consists of sub-tribes or pedigrees (around 45 pedigrees) containing different families called (*bait*) (meaning house), comprising two or three generations (Alary et al, 2014).

Marsa Matruh governorate divided into eight midpoints, each tribe appears in two key-persons in each region chosen by sons of tribe themselves: *El shaykh*, the traditional representative nominated by the heads of bait, and *El Umda*, equals mayor in English, who is the link between the tribe and the governmental Egyptian authorities; both are paid by the governorate (Altorki & Cole, 2006). Siwa oasis, a part of *Marsa Matruh* governorate, includes thousands of (*Berber*) speakers belonging to some 10 *qabila* (tribes) including the traditional proprietors and administrators of the arable, other residents of Siwa involve members of Arab Bedouin sons and Nilotic Egyptian tribes, both speak dialects of Arabic (Nabhan, 2007). The coastal zone of the western desert was mainly occupied by *Awlad Ali*, arrived from the Arabian Peninsula in 950 and 951 (Altorki & Cole, 2006). Also, the *Matruh* population involves other Bedouin tribes and migrant people that arrived from the Nile valley over the last century (Alary et al, 2014).

3.2. The Socioeconomic Properties

Bedouins often have known with continuous political instability which leads them to depend on tribal system and its customary law (*qanun al urf, p. al-qawanin al urfyya*) for self-administration, in doing so, regions are mainly distributed between different tribes, specifying rights of land and resources usage within the geographical borders identified for each tribe (Karkabi, 2013 and Alary et al, 2014). The Bedouins' everyday social world is comprising in two: one half for adult men and in other for women and children, even while their rest hours, men and women scarcely socialise together (Abu-Lughod, 1985). For women, this is forbidden by

traditional customs; Bedouin women's sounds are almost not allowed to be heard outside the home) (Gilbert & al Jebaali, 2012).

in South Sinai, the political and economic conditions drove the indigenous nomads into urbanisation and exchanged them with new populations around the coastal towns in the region, especially with the governmental resettlement policies of Egyptian citizens and the lifestyle migration of Europeans tourists targeting warm climate and low cost of living (Karkabi, 2013). However, Bedouin indigenous community, who to some extent did benefit financially, often suffering extremely from missing their nomadic lifestyle and its unique cultural features (Gilbert, 2011). Otherwise, prevailing hardship, unemployment, lack of required services, have led young Bedouin to migrate out of the area to other regions either in Sinai or outside looking for a better quality of life, while elderly Bedouin stay in the birthplace (UNEP, 2009). So, settling down the Bedouins has been highlighted as the main goal of formal policies by implementing international and national development projects in the zone since the 1950s (Alary et al, 2014).

The Bedouin economy relied on sheep-herding and coal production, critical role given to transportation especially camels for grazing journeys and coal-producing areas in the Eastern Desert, families do not have such resources in the quantity needed can be considered as poorer and excluded in various extents from such economic activities (Briggs et al, 1999). A herd of 150:200 sheep and goats assure an acceptable standard of living for one family unit, whereas, for an expanded family (up to two married brothers with their married sons), the family herd could reach several hundred animals (Alary et al, 2012). In the nomadic society, goat products (dairy products, meat, and leather) were used to apply the family's nutritional and housing needs, in addition to one or two animals selected for the feast of sacrifice, *Eid al-Adha*, sheep usually sold to provide them with cash (Alary et al, 2014). Export of sheep to local and international markets would confirm an additional influx of money in addition to save jobs for young Bedouins which encourage them to invest in grazing (UNEP, 2009).

About health and nutrition issues, the natural conditions and geographical location of Sinai in the area between Asia and Africa have made it a special biological that own distinctive fauna and flora (Zalat et al, 2001). *El-Maghara* area, North Sinai is nominated as one of the most famous floral centres of medicinal plants in the Middle East, sixty-one percent of its flora is identified as medical (McKercher and Du Cros, 2005). However, the absence of other medical plants and other plants that Bedouin use them to fortify their food has some negative effects on their health conditions beside wrong dietary habits that cause some of the illness reported (UNEP, 2009). Siwa is known for its palm and olive trees because of its position and the abundance of groundwater resources that usually used to meet nutritional requirements, thus, Siwa is one of the few Egyptian Bedouin societies that have managed to keep most of its traditional features (Ahmed, 2014). By contrast, despite the large participation of South Sinai in tourism revenues, this has brought limited direct benefit to Bedouins, who excluded from most job chances which produced low financial abilities, discontent, and a profound lack of trust in the development strategies (Gilbert & al Jebaali, 2012).

4. Methodological Approach

Radzi et al, (2010) argued that food heritage researches should cover basic principles of food intake, ingredients in food, cooking techniques, food and cultures, and meals. the current research will try to adopt that. However, we need first to identify clearly the concept of "heritage food" and through which criteria we can determine whether a type of food may consider as heritage or not. As Abdulmawla et al, (2018) described, heritage food is the authentic traditional foods that featured a specific region or territory. those foods must keep their original assets from farm to fork during preparation processes, which enable local people from recalling their old memories and enhance their belonging feelings, accordingly create a community consensus reflecting the high value of such foods and nominate it as heritage.

The research approach was a qualitative one that sought to gain data about the authentic food of Egyptian Bedouins, which allows document them in the right way. The target population of the study was Egyptian Bedouin society. It's known that people who belong to Bedouin roots are living in most of the Egyptian governorates (Abdulmawla et al, 2018) especially after their immigration from the desert to the city for better life opportunities. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, people who keep up the nomadic lifestyle are living in three major regions within Egypt: western desert, eastern desert (north and south Sinai), and the northern coast of western desert (UNEP, 2009 and Alary et al, 2016) Hence, the study focused on heritage food of these areas precisely the regions of *Sinai* and *Matruh* as delegates of both western and eastern deserts.

As for the selection of dishes under investigation, two rounds of data collection were conducted during 2018 in order to highlight the most nominated foods as a heritage by local people in *Sinai and Matruh*. The first round was exploratory in nature, it was an online initial survey targeted more than 30,000 Egyptian Bedouins on Facebook groups concerned with Bedouin affairs. The aim of the survey was compiling the most known foods as Bedouin heritage as well as reach out the expected qualified participants. We have also contacted representatives of the union of Arab tribes in Egypt -a non-governmental society establishment- to provide us with a list of experts who could serve as sources and reference in the second round. In their study on Bedouins of the Egyptian eastern desert, Briggsa et al, (1999) proposed that although there is a clear challenge to design strong methodologies for extracting indigenous knowledge, however, without them, modernisation patrons will keep a controlling position in the development debate. This argument has generated the need to rely on indigenous communities to portray a clearer understanding of Bedouin affairs, which is what the current study did.

Second, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions have been applied to ensure the inclusion and exclusion processes to gathered foods in the first round. The used instruments are commonly used in cultural and ethnographical studies because they allow to exchange and rewrite ideas between the participants themselves from one side, as well as the participants and the researcher from the other side. Purposive sampling was undertaken to best illustrate the names, descriptions, ingredients, and preparation methods of authentic meals. 15 semi-structured interviews with aged local people have undertaken before transferring to the focus group with six Bedouin experts (three participants from each region) through one Bedouin coordinator. Conducting both interviews and focus group discussions was intended to ensure the

consistency of collected data from different sources. The interviews were of some 30 minutes, whilst, local participants were required to be aged, a majority between 60 and 80 years old (Adikari and Lakmali, 2016) from residents in the mentioned Bedouin regions. They also were required to be informative and concerned with Bedouins' affairs generally and particularly the authentic food.

5. Results

While documentation, profiles of heritage foods have been made in its original names and pictures with a brief description of each type of food and Bedouin areas that are famous for using it. With respect to preparation methods from the raw ingredients to the final products. The section shows the recipes under investigation after careful selection of seven heritage foods. Three unique heritage food of Sinai namely: (*Lessima* or *Fattet El ajar*), *Sallat*, and *Fattet Lehywat*), two from *Matruh*: (*Tajin* Bread, *Lemgatta'*). And two mutual food cultures between *Matruh* and *Sinai*: (*Shae'r* Bread and *Zarda*) will be described in the results section.

5.1. Shae'r Bread

- Description: *Shae'r* Bread (bread of barley flour) is one of the oldest and most important types of bread in Egyptian *Badiya*, this is due to its high value and richness of nutrients especially for diabetics and those who suffer from digestive problems. 'The roots of *Shae'r* Bread in the Egyptian desert back to hundreds of years' said a Bedouin expert.

- Ingredients: 1 kg of coarse flour of barley, 500 gm of semolina, one tablespoon of salt, three tablespoons of olive oil, yeast.

- Preparation method: put the flour in a vessel then add the semolina, add warm water with salt and yeast, knead the mixture until it is firm, cut the dough into equal pieces after fermentation, spread little flour upon a table, separate the dough and put it within the oven until maturity.

FIGURE 1. SHAE'R BREAD.

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.2. Tajin Bread

- Description: Tajin in Matruh or *Masbub* in Fayoum and other nomadic areas is one of the heritage bread. It is light and usually eaten with dates.

- Ingredients: wheat flour, water, yeast, oil, salt.

- Preparation method: put the flour, warm water, and yeast in a vessel, knead the mixture until it is firm, bring a casserole, Fig (2), and coat it with little oil, put the dough within the casserole after fermentation, put the casserole upon the fire, after some minutes, and turn the dough over to ripen both sides.

FIGURE 2. TAJIN BREAD.

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.3. EL Zarda

El Zarda (p. Zardat) is a desert trip like a safari for a period ranging from one to three days and sometimes a whole week. Usually, one friend or family member invites others to make *Zarda* in a quiet place inside the desert. The invitation takes place on happy occasions such as harvest seasons, religious feasts, academic success, having a new child, and accomplishing a successful commercial deal. In *El Zarda*, A tent (Bait Arab) is made and a lamb or two is slaughtered according to the number of invitees. Using lamb meat, heritage dishes are cooked at lunch and dinner, such as *Bo Mardam, Mebakbaka*, and Bedouin red rice. In breakfast, they eat eggs, beans, milk, and Karasa bread. All foods are cooked using firewood as shown in Fig (3). The boiled tea is used as a hot drink several times a day especially in the morning.

FIGURE 3. BEDOUIN ZARDA.

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.4. Lessima (Fattet El Ajar)

- Description: One of the most important traditional dishes of Sinai, which resist extinction. In the past, the pastoralists used to cook it during grazing because of its simple ingredients and easy preparation until it became an integral part of heritage food of eastern desert Bedouins, starting from *Gesr El Suez* to *El Arish.*

- Ingredients: small immature watermelon, black aubergine, tomatoes, onions, hot green pepper, garlic, olive oil, salt, spices, and *Qarasa* bread.

- Preparation method: ignition of firewood, grill watermelon until maturity, peel the watermelon and put it in a bowl, grill the aubergine until it is cooked, bring a large pot, cut the bread into small pieces and put them in the large pot, add melted watermelon to bread with kneading, peel the aubergine and put it with the mixture with good flipping, cut tomatoes, peppers, onions, and garlic into small pieces and add them to the mixture, add salt and spices with continuous stirring, add enough quantity of olive oil.

FIGURE 4. LESSIMA (FATTET El AJAR).

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.5. El Sallat

- Description: A way of meat roasting, and a popular heritage meal is known between Bedouins of Sinai, Red Sea, and *Halaib* and *Shalatin* territories. It is often cooked during *Zardat* and Safari trips.

- Ingredients: goat meat, goat fat, salt, and spices.

- Preparation method: bring a pot and light the coal inside until it turns red, cut goat meet after good cleaning, wash a few pebbles with water, then dry them and put them on the blazing coal, coat the pebbles lightly with goat fat and leave them for 20 minuities, put meat pieces upon stones and flip them until full cooking, add salt and spices, and serve meat with local rice, vegetable salad, and local bread.

FIGURE 5. EL SALLAT

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.6. Lemgatta'

- Description: *Lemgatta'* in *Matruh* and *Makhruta* in *Fayoum*, *Minya*, and *Beheira*. It is mostly cooked in the winter to give a feeling of warmth.

- Ingredients of dough: wheat flour, water, and salt

- Preparation method of dough: put two cups of flour, one teaspoon of salt, and water in a plate, knead the mixture until it is firm, cut the dough into small pieces, spread little quantity of flour on a clean table and separate the dough pieces upon it using a wooden hand, cut the smoothed dough into long thin slides using a knife or the local machine in Fig. (6), put the slides in a little colander for a while until ventilation.

- Ingredients of dish: dough slices, boiled meat, onion, garlic, olive or corn oil, turmeric, coriander, hot pepper.

- Preparation method of meal: put the oil on fire until heated, add two chopped onions to oil for shallow fry, add two chopped garlic cloves and leave the mixture until browning, add 500 gm semi-cooked meat with flipping, add two spoons of hot powder and half spoon of turmeric, add four chopped tomatoes and two spoons of tomato sauce, add one spoon of salt and half spoon of coriander with better flipping, leave the mixture until sewing, after 10 minutes add two cups of hot water and leave it until boiling, add *Lemgatta'* and wait for good cooking.

FIGURE 6. LEMGATTA'

Source: authors' elaboration.

5.7. Fattet Lehywat

- Description: One of the most favoured heritage meals in North Sinai, South Sinai. Arab *Lehwittat* is the most famous tribe that offers this meal in Suez and Ismailia regions. *Fattet Lehywat* frequently prepared in winter and Ramadan (fasting month) because it is rich and dairy convenient food for the stomach.

- Ingredients: *Frasheh* bread, local butter (*Samn Balady*), goat milk, chamomile powder.

- Preparation method: put slices of *Frasheh* bread on a plate, add goat milk, add chamomile powder with good stirring, add hot liquid butter on the surface of food and in a hole in the middle of the dish.

FIGURE 7. FATTET LEHYWAT

Source: authors' elaboration.

6. Conclusion and Implications

Increasing scientific works implemented around the globe have pointed out that cultural heritage and its conservation can significantly contribute to meet the targets of sustainable development (Gražulevičiūtė, 2006). Authentic food is a part of cultural heritage that can help in rural development through rural tourism. To discuss this scientific fact theoretically, we have constructed a theoretical outline to prove the robust association between cultural heritage and rural development, then we illustrated how food heritage is considered an integral part of cultural heritage, and therefore the significant role of food heritage (as a culture) in rural development. About the study context, it is agreed upon that all nomadic regions located in the countryside are identified as rural areas. The field study targeted documentation of heritage food selection of an area not easy to be reached, the *Egyptian Badiya*. Despite the challenge of data acquisition from such nomadic territories (Briggs et al, 1999), the Bedouin roots and filiations of an author made it easier to compile the data from its original sources in the desert of *Sinai* and *Matruh*. The two areas with a poverty rate of around 20% for *Sinai* and 53% for *Matruh* (CAPMAS, 2019) are the main homeland of Egyptian Bedouins. Although the abundance of natural and cultural potentials of the two cities, there is still a lack of rural development policies towards a better lifestyle for the population especially those peripheral residents. Indeed, after our humble effort, we can argue that Egyptian Bedouins have a great food culture, unique cooking methods, and unique food habits. For instance, the types of Bedouin bread -that is used daily by most Egyptians and named (*Aish*) means life- prepared using firewood, hot sand, and the clay kilns in the desert. Another example is *El Zarda* that offers a permeant stay at the desert for several days with a complete ecological life, during it, a selection of heritage food such as (*Bo Mardam, Mashwy Hofra, and Mebakbka*) is cooked, in addition to drinks as boiled tea and hot fresh milk.

The best utilisation of this unparalleled culture allows tourist -especially in ecotourism and safari patterns- to be a part of such a unique experience and lead them to return and extend their trip (Fons et al, 2011; Lee & Wall,2012; Henderson, 2999 and Everett & Aitchison, 2008) from one side, and improve financial abilities and living standards of local Bedouins to protect them from poverty and immigration from the other sides (Lordkipanidze et al, 2005 and MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003). The successful exploitation of documented foods in the current study as a part of rural development can be achieved by 1) incorporating some of these heritage foods into the menus of *Sharm El Sheikh, Marsa Alam and Siwa* hotels as a very distinctive touristic destinations; 2) involving Safari trips which based on Bedouin food in tourism strategies; 3) evaluating the nutritional and sanitation properties of these foods for a better quality with saving the original shape; 4) trying to brand the featured meals and register them as a unique heritage of *Sinai* and *Matruh*; 5) Implying heritage foods in tourism programs targeting *Sinai* and *Matruh* and also in promotion campaigns to stimulate tourism in these areas; and 6) Mainly rely on the local Bedouin in preparing and serving foods to maximise their benefits as a genuine stakeholder in the development process. In fact, most of these issues still need more scientific efforts to be covered.

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Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance

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ABSTRACT

The Loire forms a key link for the Centre-Val-de-Loire and Pays-de-la-Loire Regions and for their inhabitants alike. It is unquestionably a geographic link, but also one which stems from the territory's long-standing history. This is the focus of the current project's aspirations through six animated films (4-5 minutes). To talk about he way in which the Loire's riverside territories relate to the river and about how this relation has its roots in a historical process involving the shaping of a landscape. The aim is to help the general public to picture what the Loire and its banks might have looked like in Renaissance times, and in doing so to grasp the ever-present nature of a relationship with the river forged slowly and patiently over time, which also shows that today's landscapes are a foundation for the landscapes of tomorrow.

Keywords:

world heritage,
cultural landscape,
Loire,
film,
Renaissance

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I. Presentation

I. a. The Presentation of the Loire Valley listed site and key points

The Loire Valley was included on the World Heritage List as a "continuing and organically evolved cultural landscape" on 30 November 2000. It is the largest site ever listed in France. This inclusion – the culmination of decades' worth of extensive work and attention devoted to the site – bestows international recognition upon it and adds a new, more general aspect: a cultural, economic and social vision.

The convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage was adopted by the Unesco General Conference in 1972. The World Heritage Committee is the "jury", the decision-making body, which considers nominations of properties for inclusion submitted by States Parties and identifies which sites will be included on the World Heritage List. There are 21 States Parties to the Convention, which meet at least once a year. Inclusion in itself does not result in another law; it has no direct legal consequence on the site in question. That said, upon signature each State Party undertakes to preserve and enhance listed properties within its territory with respect to Unesco and the international community.

Unesco listed properties are divided into three main categories: cultural properties, natural properties or mixed properties (cultural and natural). "Cultural landscapes" are mixed properties. The "cultural landscapes" category has existed since 1992. These are sites which have also gained Unesco recognition for their tangible and human factors (intangible and symbolic). Tangible factors encompass both nature, with its biodiversity, and architecture. Human factors are the activities of the civilizations that have shaped this landscape or contributed to the identity of the territory. Three types of cultural landscape can be distinguished:
- the cultural landscape designed and created intentionally, such as gardens or parklands
- organically evolved or continuing landscapes (with an economic or social activity for example)
- associative landscapes, connected with culture, religion or art.

An organically evolved or continuing landscape is a combined work of nature and man, "which retain an active social role in contemporary society (...), and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress" (Unesco*, 2012: 88).*

A site is recognized on account of its value, "which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (Unesco*, 2012: 14)*: *outstanding universal value*. The OUV of each site is determined at the time of its inclusion on the basis of the criteria set by Unesco. The Committee refers to ten criteria when assessing nominations, at least one of which must be met if the site is to be listed. The "organically evolved and continuing landscape" of the Loire Valley meets the three following criteria out of the ten existing for Unesco (Unesco, 2000):

Criterion (i): represent a masterpiece of human creative genius

The Loire Valley is noteworthy for the quality of its architectural heritage, in its historic towns such as Blois, Chinon, Orleans, Saumur, and Tours, but in particular in its world-famous castles, such as the *Château* de

Chambord. The *Château* de Chambord, listed under criterion (i) since 1983, has been included within the perimeter.

Criterion (ii): exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.

The Loire Valley is an outstanding cultural landscape along a major river which bears witness to an interchange of influences and human values and to a harmonious development of interactions between human beings and their environment over two millennia.

Criterion (iv): be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

The landscape of the Loire Valley, and more particularly its many cultural monuments, illustrate to an exceptional degree the ideals of the Renaissance and the Age of the Enlightenment on western European thought and design.

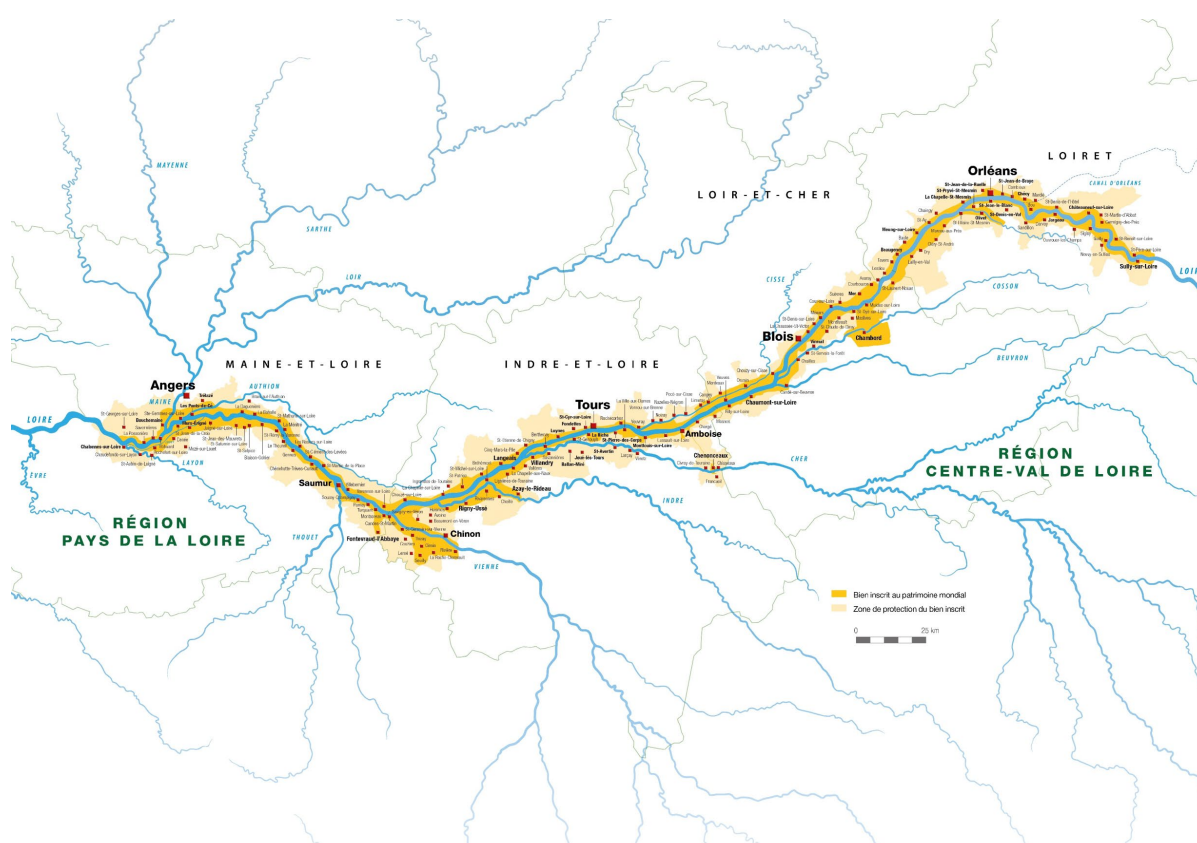The project *Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance* is created to respond and reflect these three criterions.

FIGURE 1. THE LISTED PERIMETER OF THE LOIRE VALLEY WORLD HERITAGE SITE
© Mission Val de Loire

The listed perimeter encompasses the middle course of the river, from Sully-sur-Loire upstream to Challonnes-sur-Loire downstream, over a length of 280km and extending over nearly 850km². The listed site runs from the riverbed right up to the hilltops or levees. In 2019 it embraces 155 riverside municipalities, 4 départements (Loiret, Loire-et-Cher, Indre-et-Loire and Maine-et-Loire), 2 regions (Centre and Pays-de-la-Loire) and 1 regional natural park (Loire-Anjou-Touraine PNR). 900,000 inhabitants currently live within the perimeter.

The factors that give this area an identity come to light through a less administrative approach. The Loire Valley is characterised by the components defining its landscape: the river – stone – vines and gardens.

The river: The Loire with its myriad tributaries (Cosson, Beuvron, Cher, Indre, Vienne, Thouet and Maine) outlines the landscape and paves the way for the development of human societies connected to it. The river valleys are cultural and economic corridors along which such concepts as civilization and urban planning have been able to emerge and flourish.

The quintessential stones are also a defining feature of the Loire Valley landscape: tuffeau (a sort of limestone) and slate (a sort of schist), which are the most commonly used stones in all sorts of buildings. The dazzling white of the latter contrasts with the gleaming black of slate, contributing to the identity of the perimeter.

Vines have become the most typical crop grown on Loire hillsides. Quality vineyards have been tended since the 15th century, dividing the landscape up into plots. Wine forms one of the cornerstones of French cuisine.

The Loire Valley gardens have proven a testing ground for gardens across France. The French-style garden, modelled on the monastic design, originated at Louis XI's *Château du Plessis*. Royal presence brought Italian gardeners to the region (Blois, Amboise). From the 18th century, exotic plants arrived from the port of Nantes, and gardens were graced with rare botanical species: cedars, chestnut trees, tulip trees and sequoias among others. The traditions for designing and redesigning gardens are still going strong in the 21st century (Villandry, Chaumont).

The Loire Valley represents a wellspring of human civilization, as the birthplace and home of a cast of inspirational figures. Following on from the Renaissance kings and their noteworthy contemporaries – Du Bellay, Rabelais and Ronsard among them – between 1800 and 2000 such prominent names as Honoré de Balzac, Charles Péguy, René Bazin, Hervé Bazin, Max Ernst, Olivier Debré, Alexander Calder and others have each helped to shape the history of the Loire landscape in turn.

I. b. The Presentation of the Mission Val de Loire

In their readiness to pursue a policy in keeping with Unesco's guidelines, in 2002 the State, its representatives and local stakeholders signed the Loire Valley Charter of Commitment. The same year, this document led to the founding of Mission Val de Loire, an interregional joint association, in line with the wishes of the Centre (now Centre-Val de Loire) and Pays de la Loire regions. These two regions take it in turns to chair this

association, for a three-year period each time. The Pays de la Loire region is its current chair. Financing of the association is also shared between the regions: two-thirds for the Centre region and one-third for Pays de la Loire. Eight members of staff make up the Mission Val de Loire team. Not all listed sites are run according to a similar association, but in the Nord Pas-de-Calais mining basin for example, there is a similar structure operating on the ground.

The Mission Val de Loire is positioned at the intersection of several different parties: it oversees coordination between Unesco, the State and local operators/stakeholders. It liaises with Unesco's world heritage headquarters and ensures that the inscription is taken on board across the perimeter at all levels. Its guidelines are set out in the Property Management Plan, approved in 2012, underpinned by three priorities:
Guideline 7, as contributing to the organization of a sustainable form of tourism that safeguards the site's landscape and heritage values;
Guideline 8, as upholding the action for fostering assimilation of the Unesco listing's values by the territory's stakeholders;
Guideline 9, as upholding the action for assisting decision-makers with advice and constant guidance.

It is responsible for managing use of the label and certifies educational, scientific and cultural initiatives where they contribute to enhancing the site. Policy coherence requires close collaboration between the heads of the different managing bodies of local collectivities and the State. To foster the networking of stakeholders – one of the most important missions of the structure – the team runs a number of forums for getting together and holding discussions, all of which are key calendar dates to make aware of and share the values of the world heritage listing.

Mission Val de Loire acts as an interface when it comes to knowledge and research. It invites scientists and operators within the perimeter to deepen knowledge through dialogue, publications and numerous consultations.

Mission Val de Loire communicates across a number of platforms, including the www.valdeloire.com (in English www.loirevalley-worldheritage.org) website. This provides a wealth of information: it can be used as a database with practical publications and teaching aids that can be downloaded, but also as a tourist platform with an agenda showcasing a whole host of events for a wide range of audiences, ages and interests.

I. c. The Presentation of Mission Val de Loire's action in terms of enhancement and cultural mediation of heritage

Fostering assimilation of the listing's values by all stakeholders across the territory is crucial to Mission Val de Loire's purpose. This is one of its guidelines (8), identified in the Management Plan for the listed perimeter. And yet Mission Val de Loire does not have its own exhibition venue or other site for receiving the public. It therefore looks for potential partnerships and lends support to an array of cultural projects whose organizers and leaders may be local authorities or associations for example. Tools specific to cultural mediation include posters, brochures, films, DVDs and exhibitions. There are currently eight exhibitions available for borrowing

at no cost, designed by MVL in mobile format (photos, panels, roller banners, pop-up stands and interactive terminals). These combine the collective expertise of specialists in a range of themes all committed to enhancing Loire heritage.

In an effort to reach out to younger generations, Mission Val de Loire has teamed up with the local education authorities of Orléans-Tours and Nantes. Since 2011 a *Teachers' Toolkit*, designed and set up by Mission Val de Loire, has made numerous documents available (for downloading) via a search engine, for all school levels from infant right through to high school. Exhibitions with accompanying questionnaires-activities have also come about through this collaboration.

II. **The project called Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance**

II. a. The context: The 500 years of Renaissances

In 2019 the Centre-Val de Loire Region has put together a cultural season on the theme of the Renaissance. This decision is based upon a number of landmark anniversaries: First, 2019 marks the 500th anniversary of Leonardo da Vinci's death at the *Manoir de Cloux*, now known as the Clos Lucé, in Amboise. The artist spent the last three years of his life near the royal court as a personal guest of King Francis I. He nurtured a new approach to art and the sciences alike. He was a pioneering figure and an inspiration for the technological innovation taking place in the Region today. Second, building work on *Château* de Chambord began 500 years ago, back in September 1519. This prominent monument to the Renaissance also bears traces of the genius Leonardo da Vinci. Finally, Catherine de Medici, the wife of French King Henry II, was also born in 1519. As owner of *Château de* Chenonceau, she had a part to play in the emergence of a new era, especially with her Renaissance-style gardens. She also represents a link between France and Italy, the latter serving as the model for the French Renaissance. It was in the Centre Region that the Kings of France had their *châteaux* built, inspired by the new style witnessed and appreciated in Italy. The Loire Valley can be considered the birthplace of the French Renaissance.

These anniversary commemorations are an opportunity to bring together stakeholders from the culture, science and tech sectors as part of a large-scale initiative.

The Unesco listing encompasses two regions, however: the Centre-Val de Loire and the Pays-de-la-Loire, whose capital city is Nantes. Although the Centre-Val de Loire Region is showcasing its local monuments and past, Mission Val de Loire demonstrates, for its part, that today's administrative boundaries did not exist back in the Renaissance, and that the Loire, as a main thoroughfare and the territory being listed as a site with its own characteristics, calls for greater coherence. This consideration is clearly stated within Mission Val de Loire's policy, including in all these measures.

II. b. The key implementation issues

This territory has been so strongly shaped by the Renaissance that Unesco has selected this period as one of the criteria for the site's inclusion on the World Heritage List. The key words of the regional initiative, such as *Renaissance, innovation, creativity, humanism*, correspond to the criteria behind the Unesco listing. They are in keeping with its guidelines: promote the landscape values (7), foster assimilation of the values by residents and stakeholders in the territory (8) and assist decision-makers (9). The cultural season represents a challenge and a tremendous opportunity for Mission Val de Loire. By bringing partners together and contributing to content, it is playing a key role in this initiative.

Mission Val de Loire was eager to personally contribute to the cultural program. It decided to focus its proposal on the common thread running all the way through the territory: the Loire. The Loire forms a key link for the Centre-Val-de-Loire and Pays-de-la-Loire Regions and for their inhabitants alike. It is unquestionably a geographic link, but also one which stems from the territory's long-standing history. This is the focus of the project's aspirations. The way in which the Loire's riverside territories relate to it has its roots in a historical process involving the shaping of a landscape. Our aim is to help the general public to picture what the Loire and its banks might have looked like in Renaissance times, and in doing so to grasp the ever-present nature of a relationship with the river forged slowly and patiently over time, which also shows that today's landscapes are a foundation for the landscapes of tomorrow. The project *Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance* has been designed to shed light on the three criteria underpinning the listing. It was about preparing a presentation, for the general public, of a historical portrait of the river, which resonates with its present-day image. The choice of format was mulled over for a long time: digital tool, traditional publication or exhibition? The requirements were clear, though: a scientifically grounded, informative and entertaining format.

A historical, documentary and iconographic research assignment was undertaken by a historian, thanks to which a whole host of sources could be gathered: texts from the time and an image database. The intention was not to engage in an extensive research program, however; rather, it was to make use of knowledge that has already been acquired, compile it and cross-link it in an interdisciplinary manner. With that in mind, a call was launched to a group of local, national, European and international academic and scientific partners, to archives, universities and schools, museums and qualified individuals in a bid to compile the "material" available: chronicles, publications, accounts, reports from archaeological digs: the whole of a scientifically sound corpus that can be communicated to a broad audience. Today's bargees and shipbuilders have also been able to contribute their specialist knowledge. Once all of this data had been obtained, the format type

was decided on: a web series made up of short films would reach out to all generations. Distribution over the Internet would mainly appeal to young people, while public screenings would be organized for all ages. The web series is organized around three main themes – development, trade and travel – with 2 episodes per theme and episodes lasting 4-5 minutes. These animation films should adopt a style and language that makes the scientific subject matter easily understandable to the general public.

From this vast set of documents it was possible to paint a naturally fragmented "portrait": a whole made up of distinctive parts. The content is formed from a set of "focal points" bearing on specific, scientifically substantiated facts (archaeological digs, *ad hoc* research, sedimentology, documentary approaches and so on). One episode demonstrates that the riverbanks have shifted over time, while in another we learn about the venerable age of a portside development. The practices of fishermen, washerwomen and boatmen are all touched on. Historically high and low water levels as well as ice jams have had to be chronicled. The ancestors of our levees today are also presented, as are some aspects to do with the "status of the river", which at that time had tolls dotted all along its length, etc.

The sheer number of sources from the time sparked an earnest discussion within the team. How can such a complex history be told in a concise, easy-to-follow way, during short episodes? How can the team's enthusiasm be passed on to viewers? How can archive images and written sources be presented in a meaningful way? A good number of meetings were required to tailor the contents for the audience. Period accounts have been updated to make them easier to understand. Rémi Deleplanque, responsible for the educational and cultural heritage development activities of the Mission Val de Loire was following the project from the beginning. The chosen service provider was attentive and grasped the importance of respecting sources (Christophe Gaillard /MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey). Promoting the original sources was obviously a key requirement. We were aiming for an animation designed for a mainstream audience that was entertaining, engaging and relevant. The possibilities offered up by technology were harnessed to showcase the beauty and wealth of the historical documents, and the sound was also chosen with particular care (Sound design: Fabien Bourdier).

II. c. Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance

But what might the Loire and its riverbanks have looked like during the Renaissance? Directed by Mission Val de Loire, the web series "Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance" immerses us into this historical period, criss-crosses this landscape and tells us about the close relationship that has always existed between the Loire and its communities. … In some respects, this period is also similar to our own.

Three teasers were released before the first "proper" episodes were aired, focusing on this central question. The first presented the theme within the context of the Unesco listing, the second delved into the close link between the river and society and the third talked about the history of the Loire Valley during the period in question.

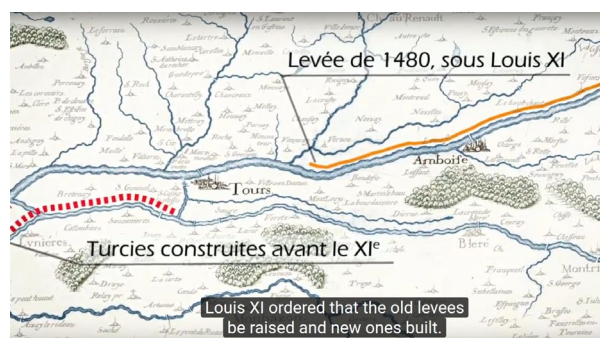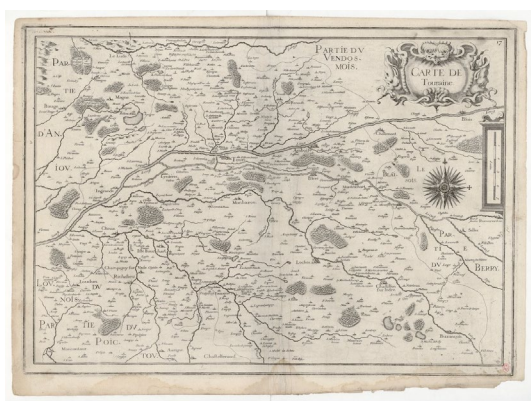## Chapter 1: Developing the landscape

FIGURE 2-3. COMPOSIT ATLAS, TOURAINE, CH. TASSIN AND N-J. VISSCHER, GRAVURE, 1641.
© gallica.bnf.fr / BnF and the same map animated by MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey

Floods remain imprinted in local memory and strike frequently:

FIGURE 4-5. FOUR DRAWINGS OF THE COURSE OF THE LOIRE…, 17TH C.

© gallica.bnf.fr / BnF and the same map animated by MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey

The Loire is fickle: inconstant flow, severe low water levels and catastrophic floods. It may strike us as controlled today, but back in Renaissance times, residents had to keep on their guard because of this capricious, difficult nature. By the 16th century, the levees were already well-established. They made navigation easier, contained the most common high water levels and protected farmland. Vineyards gained ground across the valleys around Angers or Orléans, while the countryside around Blois was shaped more by cereal crops. The alluvial plain in Touraine was ideal for market gardeners. And so the Loire Valley became a land of gardens. And yet, the main course of the river could change, and its banks could shift: the Loire was in no way tamed. The movement of *alluvia* paved the way for islands and myriad channels. Flow variations supplied natural and artificial canals. There were several devastating floods that would forever stay etched in locals' minds. Repairs were conducted by the towns by royal order. In 1615 François Bourneau, a witness back in the day, described a freak flood dubbed "the deluge of Saumur":

"Winter had been harsh, with heavy snowfall. For nearly a month the land remained blanketed in snow, which began to melt as Lent approached. On one side, Loire, Vienne and Authion rose up against us and besieged our town – all around was nothing but sea. Saumur, which is akin to a peninsula, between four rivers, looked more like an island floating amidst the mass of water." (Champion, 1959: 229-230).

But how beautiful this landscape is! So many Renaissance poets waxed lyrical about it!

This initial episode gives the public an opportunity to make a direct comparison with the Loire they know today. We understand how the levees came about and we realize that the islands we see today weren't always there – and might one day disappear. That despite our efforts, the river has not always flowed within its bed and has threatened the communities alongside it. But also that these communities chose to settle near its banks as they have gained from its wealth and life-giving nature. The testimony gives us a glimpse into the local concerns of the day.

Chapter 2: Developing the towns

FIGURE 6. VIEW OF ORLEANS, JORIS HOEFNAGEL, PRINTED BY G. BRAUN AND FR. HONGENBERG, 1575.

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Royal presence in the Loire Valley expedited the growth of towns. Back in Renaissance times, the river, its banks and its bridges were used and exploited. Direct access to the water was blocked by ramparts, but developments increasingly sprung up along the banks. A final wave of defense system reinforcements took place in the 16th century. This was the responsibility of the respective municipalities, and certain trades set up at the water's edge for convenience's sake. Tanners, dyers, butchers and washerwomen could thus all be found on the riverbanks in a carefully thought-out order. Despite the evident hygiene problems, the residents paid scant attention when it came to their banks and emptied their waste indiscriminately into the Loire. Infectious diseases were rampant in heavily populated towns.

At the end of the 15th century, there were only eight bridges straddling the Loire between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes-sur-Loire. These often comprised different sections and different materials dating back to different periods. The hotchpotch of constructions along the bridges meant that crossing over them was no easy matter: drawbridges, houses, shops and public toilets could all be found across them. In June 1623, in Angers, an alderman bemoaned "*just how laborious it was for the locals to go from one side of the town to the other via the big bridge – such that on market days there were so many carts obstructing the way that it was impossible or immensely difficult to get across on horseback or by foot*" (Courant, 1997:23). Beneath the bridges, water mills and fishing huts added to the hustle and bustle. The municipality let out plots and managed their upkeep while the locals kept an eye on safety. The Loire was the beating heart of community life and the country's economy.

This episode enables the public to picture what life on the riverbanks was like. We learn that the river played more of an economic role in residents' day-to-day life than it does today. Hygiene is still a relevant issue today, as is the maintenance of civil engineering structures and bridges, and even the safety of local communities. The testimony enables the perspectives of a resident back then and a resident today to be compared.

Chapter 3: Navigating come what may

FIGURE 7. *VIEW OF BLOIS WITH CHALAND BARGES,* DRAWING, 1600-1650.
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The Loire has been navigated along since prehistoric times, but during the Renaissance it could be likened to a busy motorway – a main thoroughfare for the country's trade and transport. All manner of boats and users took to it, and navigating it was fraught with difficulty. Vessels were designed with flat bottoms. Traditional *chaland* barges were the largest vessels equipped with square sails. The *piautre* was the name of the rudder specific to these boats, and the bargee's pole, pushed into the sand, helped to steer them. Some tradesmen sailed themselves, but most entrusted their goods to "water carriers". The latter worked from generation to generation, their lives tough and uncertain. One corporation, the "Community of Merchants operating along the River Loire and rivers descending into the latter", acted as a kind of trade union for the channel's upkeep, signposting, known as marking out, and toll management. It governed compensations and defended the interests of its members. Tolls, a sort of river customs duty, were common, and managed by lords, ecclesiastical communities or towns. Printed or handwritten signs were displayed, setting the taxes for each product traded. There was a plethora of different regulations and enforcing them was a challenge. Despite efforts to improve the safety of sailing, accidents frequently arose and compensation was paid out. In 1507 for example, 15 *livres tournois* (Tours pounds) were paid "*to Benoist Mycier, merchant of Nevers, to compensate the cargo of wheat and barley that he lost, in the month of April, near Laril, parish of Saint-Benoist-sur-Loire, because of two mills that were in the way of the chaland barges*" (Mantellier, 1864 (2): 448).The economic importance of the Loire was such that, at the turn of the 16th century, Leonardo da Vinci, living in Amboise at the time, drew up plans for connecting the Loire to the Rhône, and therefore the Atlantic to the Mediterranean!

This episode shows that flat-bottomed boats are a very old model and that the bargee's profession goes back many centuries. The testimony addresses the types of transport vessel, cargoes and the kinds of difficulties encountered.

Chapter 4: Products transported

FIGURE 8-9. VIEW OF ORLEANS, ENGRAVING, CIRCA 1650.
© Médiathèque d'Orléans, ICO G 138 / Bibliothèque Numérique Orléans nd the same view animated by MASAO Productions

In the 16th century, royal presence in the Loire Valley and discoveries of far-flung countries ushered in a new golden age for trade along the Loire. During the Renaissance, France's longest river acted as a transit route for products from almost all over the known world at the time. The most common commodities were salt, wheat and wine, which were staple ingredients in people's diet back then. Quality varied wildly and fraud was rife. Products from inland were sent downriver to Nantes while boats sailed back up with goods that were often imported. Wealthy French or Italian merchants who had made their homes in towns along the banks had luxury, exotic products brought in. Oranges, wool and soda arrived from Spain and Portugal, while metals came from England and Ireland, fabrics from Flanders and leather from Cordoba. With such new products now appearing on the scene from overseas, the tradesfolk were obliged to change their practices. The toll signs setting the taxes on goods or accounts give a precise idea of the local or imported products used in

communities' day-to-day lives. The royal "catering" accounts indicating the products that arrived at the Court show the kinds of food that this privileged class enjoyed. Certain "noble" products such as paper, books, sugar and slate for the castle and stately residence roofs were exempt from duties. Accordingly, in 1521, the Judgment of the Parliament of Paris decreed that a "Boat laden with slate shall be exempt from tax: He who steers the boat shall shout upon approaching the toll: "I bring slate", and shall throw a piece of slate into the water" (Mantellier, 1864 (3): 111). The thriving trade along the Loire during the Renaissance was a key factor in the development of the whole kingdom.

This episode gives a clearer idea of the Loire Valley's prominence within the kingdom and the global trading network which was taking shape and developing at the time. By following the journey taken by products, the public will realize that "globalisation" was already in motion back in Renaissance times. We find out where all sorts of consumer products we take for granted today came from, about the conflicts of interest and transformation of the feudal system, as well as the emergence of new social classes.

Chapter 5: Travelling in times of peace and war

FIGURE 10-11. THE MASSACRE OF TOURS, ENGRAVING BY J. TORTOREL AND J. J. PERRISSIN, circa 1570. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-78.770-17 and the same engraving animated by MASAO Productions

In times of peace, the Loire Valley played host to constructions of all sorts and its river linked it with the world. After the unrest of the Hundred Years' War, the decades of peace that followed and regular visits by the royal court drove a building boom in the Loire Valley, in which the many boats sailing up and down the river played their part. Commissioners harked from all walks of life: municipalities, the wealthy nobility, city-dwellers and the royal court itself. Timber was brought up from the forests of the Massif-Central by simple pine barges known as *sapines*. Blocks of white *tuffeau* stone were ferried up or down the river on *chaland* barges. Books were regarded as an example of precious cargo. They attested to the free movement of thoughts and ideals – of Protestantism in particular - which spread from the 1520s across western France via Orléans, Tours and Saumur.

In times of war, the Loire Valley became a strategic battleground. From the latter half of the 16th century, the Wars of Religion brought turmoil and strife to life in the Loire Valley, which played a key role in this context. Towns protected themselves as best they could but suffered tremendously for all that.

In 1569 in Blois, "*To defend the areas around Le Port-Vieux, thirty posts are delivered for driving into the riverbed (…). Masons have to cut off the bridge to prevent the enemies from crossing the Loire. (…). The City's Assembly has decided to repair the wall of St-Laumer towards the river, wall up all the windows of the gallery over the water and, on the side of this gallery, pierce oblique loop-holes…*" (Trouëssart, 1999: 98-101).

Trade was paralysed, the passing armies terrorised the locals and shortages in food staples led to famine. The Loire and its ships were witnesses and actors of the tragic events unfolding. In 1598 the Edict of Nantes represented peace, but problems continued to dog domestic policy and the Loire Valley remained a key battleground. French Kings Henry IV and Louis XIII fought to cement their power. The journeys taken by construction materials shaped and enhanced the Loire Valley. Those embarked on by men of arms remind us that the Renaissance was not just a time of greater open-mindedness, but also one of intolerance.

This episode throws light on the contradictions of this famous and often admired period. On the one hand we admire the striking transformation of the landscape and construction of its celebrated châteaux. On the other we are presented with the limits to this openness, this development and this inventiveness that the Renaissance tends to represent in our eyes.

Chapter 6: **Visits by "ordinary" and royal travellers**

FIGURE 12. THE ESTATES GENERAL IN TOURS IN 1470, IN "LES CRONONIQUES ..." BY PHILIPPE DE COMMYNES, ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT, 1510-1520.

© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique, Ms. 18, fol. 66v.

Since the kingdom revolved around the *châteaux* and their immediate surroundings, the Loire was truly a Renaissance heartland. Royal families, ambassadors and other political figures all travelled along it, and its towns put on wholly worthy welcomes steeped in symbolism. "Tableaux vivants" are vestiges of medieval theatre, but draw inspiration from the triumphant entrances of old reinterpreted by the Renaissance artists. Many feature the river. Locals closely followed the private and public lives of their kings and queens: experiencing royal births, engagements or deaths as family events. The Loire carried living and deceased members of the court. Bargees decked out their *toues* or *galiotes*, merchants transported foodstuffs and aldermen organised delivery of their gifts. The municipalities expected a reward in return for publicly supporting the royalty, in the form of liberties, exemptions or other types of rights granted during these special occasions. In this way, the town sought not only to appeal to the monarch's better nature but also to enchant its own population. In 1539, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V travelled through France from Spain to Flanders to crush the uprisings. "*On the third day of the month of December, Francis I took to the River Loire to sail to Orléans. The aldermen sent him in Gien ten or twelve boats all draped in satin, with rooms, fireplaces, etc.*" (Du Bellay-Langei, 1753: 370). At the same time, the river also continued to serve ordinary folk who visited its banks and towns, and to inspire a great many poets.

The final episode invites the public to experience the excitement of Renaissance festivities. In addition to admiring the splendour and wealth, we find out exactly how these events were organised by aldermen and how almost every inhabitant in the town had a part to play.

III. Conclusion

III. a. Extended Promotional Methods

During the creation of the litle films we realised that it was sensible, necessary even, to round off the film contents with a documentary pack. This would also give teachers an opportunity to refresh or add to their teaching resources. This series of documents, which are freely accessible on the Mission Val de Loire website, back up the narrative, provide non-updated transcriptions of written sources and offer a bibliography and a selection of images. All written and iconographic sources are credited, referenced and, where possible, refer users to the place where they are stored.

One episode a month will be broadcast between July and December. Episode 6 will be followed by a "making of", taking viewers behind the scenes of each step in the production process from research right through to broadcasting.

The main communication channel is Mission Val de Loire's website: www.valdeloire.org. Viewing will also be possible on the website of the Region's initiative: www.vivadavinci2019.fr. There will also be links on social media, such as the respective Facebook pages.

In addition to this web series, a series of public screenings and conferences has also been planned for the autumn of 2019 (The Journey of the stone, early September, Tours – Blois – Saint-Dyé-sur-Loire, The Loire

Festival in Orléans, The Rendezvous of History in Blois in October). Some events are for children only, some for history enthusiasts and others for the general public.

III. b. *Potential for future discussion: creation – promotion*

The films set the stage for (re)discovering the link between past and present and even for planning for the future. These complex ideas are already laying the groundwork for 2020, which will mark the 20th anniversary of the Unesco listing. This opportunity is all the more invaluable as it encourages us to renew our perspective of the territory and of its values. The web series "*Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance*" will serve as an effective tool in this context, a stepping stone to new discussions. For the primary goal of the listing was never to turn the factors assessed into static museum pieces, but to encourage us to become aware of them and manage them responsibly. This is a living, continually changing territory and inhabitants and policymakers alike are encouraged to keep the interaction between the river and its community responsible and ongoing through their thoughts and actions. As such, for us, looking to the past is useful only in the way it enables us to plan for our future.

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Culturally Responsive Teaching: Toward Equity in Education

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ABSTRACT

Keywords:

diversity, pedagogy, equity, social sustainability

The article introduces basic principles of culturally responsive teaching practices (CRT) as a suitable pedagogical approach in line with the European Profile for Language Teacher Education for meeting the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous student body in European countries. While CRT is widely practiced in traditional immigrant countries such as the US and Australia, it has received less attention in the continental European context. This fact shall be exemplified in the discourse on intercultural education in German-speaking countries, which has traditionally focused on structural reform while neglecting the importance of pedagogical practice. The article's objective is to provide evidence based on a qualitative research action study that CRT increases student engagement, notably for students with a migration background, thereby promoting equity and social sustainability. In conclusion, a multifaceted approach toward educational reform, which combines culturally inclusive pedagogical practice with structural changes, will be advocated.

I)   Introduction

Culturally Responsive Teaching (CRT) is a pedagogical approach widely used in Anglophone countries designed to improve the academic achievement of culturally diverse learners. It is based on the premise that academic knowledge and skills are acquired more easily and thoroughly when they are situated within "the lived experiences and frames of reference" of students" (Gay, 2002: 106). Given the increasing level of cultural heterogeneity in European countries, it shall be argued that CRT is relevant for educational practitioners.

The ensuing section will consider the educational achievement gap in European countries, followed by reflections on the potential benefits of integrating CRT into the educational reforms of European educational systems. These reflections will be exemplified in the academic discourse on intercultural education in German-speaking countries (Interkulturelle Pädagogik). The main section will outline the basic principles of CRT, thereby introducing pedagogical principles which will be applied in the qualitative action research study conducted at an Austrian university. The conclusion advocates a multifaceted approach in educational reform.

II)   CRT in the Context of Educational Achievement Gaps in European Countries

The overriding challenge facing theorists and practitioners in the field of Intercultural Education (I.E.) in European countries today is how to close the achievement gap within an increasingly heterogeneous student body (Entorf, 2015). In other words, how can the current educational structures as well as the teaching and learning process be altered to make it "more conducive to improving the educational achievement of all students?" (Allemann-Ghionda, 2012: 221). The question has emerged as prominent within the European academic debate of I.E. since international standardized surveys have confirmed the disparity in the educational achievement of various ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic groups. The question has further gained momentousness in the last few years due to the increased number of refugee students, whose particular situation requires an adequate pedagogical response.

The public discourse touches on several socio-political issues, two of which are considered central in the debate: For one, it raises questions concerning equity in education and its underlying democratic principles. Another key issue concerns the loss of educational and social capital, which Western societies with a low birth rate and an aging population need to take into consideration (OECD, 2012). Both of these issues affect social sustainability in European countries.

1. Integrating Culturally Responsive Teaching into the Debate of Intercultural Education in German-speaking Countries

In German-speaking countries, potential solutions to the problem of unequal opportunities for migrant and minority students have traditionally focused on the structure of the respective educational system based on the premise that any attempt to improve equal opportunities for all students will not be successful without deep-seated structural changes (Gogolin & Krüger-Potratz, 2010; Auernheimer, 2016). The consensus holds that as long as the respective educational systems practice early tracking by dividing students into different educational tracks at an early age, bottom up approaches based on pedagogical practices will not succeed in bringing about equal educational opportunities for all students.

This consensus shall not be questioned here. Nevertheless, it shall be argued that significant changes *can* be effected by introducing innovative and culturally inclusive pedagogical practices. CRT, which is widely practiced in the U.S. and other Anglophone countries, is based on the awareness that education is a socio-cultural process which inevitably takes place in a socio-cultural context (Adler, Shadiow & Young, 2006). It is further based on the insight that academic achievement is significantly increased if the teaching-learning process draws on the respective experiences, understandings, and ways of knowing of students (Saifer et al, 2010). Culturally responsive teaching methods value students' culture and draw on that culture as a strength in their education (Saifer et al, 2010). By providing instructions in a context meaningful to students and by responding to cultural diversity in the teaching-learning process, CRT fosters student motivation and engagement (Hammond, 2015). Summed up by Geneva Gay, a prominent proponent of CRT: "Culturally responsive pedagogy validates, facilitates, liberates, and empowers ethnically diverse students by simultaneously cultivating their cultural integrity, individual abilities, and academic success" (2010: 46).

The concept of responding to heterogeneity within the teaching-learning process is, of course, nothing new within the German discourse of I.E. Nevertheless, it shall be argued here that the connection between *cultural* heterogeneity and pedagogical teaching practice has been neglected. This might be due to the caution which has traditionally accompanied the notion of culture in the context of I.E. pedagogical theory (Auernheimer, 2016). In order to avoid cultural ascriptions, which confine individuals to a "ghetto of being different" (Welsch, 1992: 10; Gogolin & Krüger-Potratz, 2010), educators have shied away from the explicit integration of culture into the teaching-learning process. Furthermore, controversies about how to handle conflicting values between various cultural traditions, such as the position and the rights of women, have contributed to the aforementioned caution in pedagogical practice (Prengel, 2006).

These concerns have fostered a tendency among theorists in I.E. to avoid including culture as a pedagogical framework. Yet, it shall be suggested here that it is precisely this tendency which curtails educational results. Empirical research on CRT has shown that the omission of culture as a concept which refers to students' experiences and ways of understanding deprives them of educational opportunities (Cummins, 2001; Entwistle, 1995; Ginsberg & Woldkowski, 2000). Culturally responsive pedagogy therefore holds that low academic achievement is partially due to the lack of congruence between the cultures of the students' families

and the cultural norms embedded in the expectations, policies, procedures, and practices of schools (Bowman & Stott, 1994; Entwistle, 1995; Cummins, 2001; Delpit, 2006, Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ogbu, 1993). Since learning is the act of making meaning out of experience, CRT seeks to create authentic connections to students' experiences and frames of reference (Henderson & Mapp, 2002). Thus, students are able to acquire new competencies and skills by building on their existing culturally framed knowledge base (Boethel, 2003).

In this context, it is essential to understand that the term culture refers to a dynamic concept, an individual, constantly shifting, social construct which changes over time and which is hybrid in nature (Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Bhabha, 2004). Understood as "a way of life," culture provides the context within which individuals operate and make sense of the world. It further influences how individuals learn, teach, and approach problems (Saifer et al, 2005).

If the centrality of culture in a person's identity construction is not considered, cultural frames of reference which individual students rely on are not sufficiently taken into account in pedagogical practice (Cleary & Peacock, 1998; Gay, 2010). This fact might be crucial in understanding why, despite a number of support programs, pilot projects, and various other pedagogical measures since the 1960s (Adam, 2013), the disparity in the academic achievement between minority and mainstream students has increased, rather than decreased (Auernheimer, 2013).

2.   Integrating CRT with the European Profile for Language Teacher Education (EPLTE) and with I.E. Existing Practices in German-speaking countries

The question then remains how to effectively meet the challenge of reducing the achievement gap between various student groups. Culturally responsive teaching experience has shown that integrating "even minimal cultural content" (Gay, 2000: 146) into teaching practice will benefit students whose background does not align with the traditional monocultural middle-class context. This includes students with a migration background, refugee students, second-generation minority students, but also students from socio-economically and educationally disadvantaged strata of society (Prengel, 2006).

When situating CRT within the wealth of existing pedagogical material on heterogeneity in German Intercultural Pedagogy, numerous linking points and overlaps become evident: "Pädagogik der Vielfalt," (Prengel, 2006), migration pedagogy, refugee education, differentiation, and respective teacher training programs (Lafranchi, 2013), among others, align well with culturally responsive teaching practice. And there are, of course, innumerable practitioners who have found ways of effectively responding to their students' diverse ways of knowing and understanding as is evidenced in Holzbrecher and Over's manual (2015) with culturally inclusive forms of delivering instructions.

On the European level, the need for culturally sensitive pedagogy has been acknowledged in the *European Profile for Language Teacher Education* (Kelly et al, 2004), suggesting that European language teachers should receive "training in social and cultural values", "training in the diversity of languages and cultures",

[and] "training in the importance of teaching and learning about foreign languages and cultures" (6). In line with culturally responsive practices, the report specifies that "[t]rainee teachers [should be] taught [to] promote social and cultural values such as respect for difference [through] inclusive and context-sensitive classroom management strategies [and] a choice of teaching materials that reflects social diversity and cultural plurality..." (81).

The need for culturally responsive pedagogy therefore is uncontested. Nevertheless, when reviewing the relevant literature, one finds that despite the wealth of teaching materials and best practice examples, empirical research in the area is lagging behind (Muniz, 2018).

The following qualitative action research study therefore seeks to add to the growing body of evidence which suggests that CRT practices increase student engagement. Selected principles of CRT, some of which will be used in the study, will initially be outlined. The principles are taken from a variety of sources and include the following: student centered learning, teacher training, reshaping the curriculum, academic standards, creating a safe classroom atmosphere, affirming student identity, social interaction, teaching consciousness of difference, integrating families, incorporating assessment and reflection, multilingualism, and school governance. When applied in combination, the principles constitute an effective pedagogical framework for teaching diverse learner groups.

III) Selected Principles of CRT

1. Student Centered Learning

Since CRT seeks to promote authentic learning that is relevant and meaningful to students and to connect learning in the classroom to what students already know and appreciate from outside the classroom (Sheets, 2005), culturally responsive instructional strategies transform knowledge from the students' home and community into effective classroom practice (Banks et al, 2001). In concrete terms, this includes involving students in the planning process of what they will learn and how they will learn it. Students' lives and interests are the basis for what is taught and individualized learning plans reflect the students' social, emotional, and cognitive strengths (Saifer et al, 2010; Hammond, 2015).

2. Teacher Training

It is important for culturally responsive teachers to be knowledgeable about the social and cultural contexts of teaching and learning (Gay, 2010; Hernandez-Sheets, 2005). Effective professional development programs should help educators acquire the skills and knowledge needed to implement an *equity pedagogy*, in the sense of providing all students with an equal opportunity to attain academic and social success in school. This includes 1) developing a clear sense of one's own cultural identity, 2) explicit knowledge about cultural diversity, 3) understanding of how cultural and ethnic stereotypes are created and developed in popular culture, 4) the development of strong observational skills to effectively respond to students' needs in the delivery of instruction, 5) and knowledge about the histories and cultural backgrounds and languages of

students represented in the classroom (Hernandez Sheets, 2005; Gay, 2010; Lafranchi, 2013). Having acquired knowledge about the cultural backgrounds of their students, future pedagogues need to also acquire the skills for translating that knowledge into an enriched curriculum (Gay, 2010; Hernandez Sheets, 2005; Hammond, 2015).

3. *Reshaping the Curriculum*

When designing culturally inclusive content, educators will challenge their students to recognize that knowledge is socially constructed (Banks et al, 2001). They will help them identify the fact that assigned curricula, units, and textbooks often study historical events from a limited point of view, namely the point of view of the victor (Banks et al, 2001). This becomes relevant in history lessons when discussing topics such as the "discovery of America" or the history of colonialism.

Reshaping the curriculum means helping students understand how these concepts may have very different meanings for different ethnic and cultural groups. "Such teaching will help students develop empathy for the points of views and perspectives of various groups and will increase their ability to think critically" (Banks et al, 2001: 4). CRT therefore develops a sense of socio-political consciousness.

Educators teaching students with a migration background need to be sensitive to and informed about their students' country of origin with regards to culture, language, and history (Lafranchi, 2013). Recognizing and appreciating the cultural diversity of immigrant students will naturally lead to a culturally expanded curriculum (Prengel, 2006). While this does not necessarily mean that new topics are added, it does imply that the viewpoint from which social, political, and historical events are taught is broadened to include differing vantage points (Auernheimer, 2016). Educators therefore face the challenge of overcoming monocultural interpretations of current and historical topics such as factors triggering migration, causes for political instability in developing countries, or structural discrimination.

4. *Academic Standards*

A term that is essential in understanding the importance of high academic standards in CRT is *equity* (Gay, 2010; Nieto, 2000). Proponents emphasize that schools should ensure that all students have equitable opportunities to learn and to meet high standards. Using CRT methods, teachers provide all students with the opportunity for the development of higher level cognitive skills in the context of an academically challenging curriculum.

5. *Creating a Safe Classroom Atmosphere*

CRT stresses the importance of fostering a caring and nurturing environment which is essential for students' personal and academic development. One possibility to this end is to incorporate culturally responsive material into the physical environment of the school. Seeing relevant cultural material displayed in their school and classroom environment can help students feel a sense of belonging and emotional safety. "What is not seen in the physical environment can be as powerful a statement as what is seen" (Saifer et al, 2005: 62).

Thus, the challenge for educators is to provide material and ideas that reflect the cultures of children, youth, and adults in the school community, while also eliminating stereotypic and inaccurate materials from daily use (Dermon-Sparks, 1989).

Possibilities for creating a safe, culturally responsive school or classroom environment may include posting signs in multiple languages spoken by students and family members at the school, introducing culturally relevant books, or bringing family members into the classroom. Another way of fostering a caring environment is to allow for time and space in which students can empathize with others by sharing their lives (Prengel, 2015). The importance of creating a safe environment for learning is expressed by Eric Jensen (1998) in *Teaching with the Brain in Mind*: "Emotions engage meaning and predict future learning because they involve our goals, beliefs, biases, and expectancies (...). The systems [for thinking and feeling] are so interconnected that chemicals of emotion are released virtually simultaneously with cognition" (93).

While a safe classroom atmosphere is vital in the learning process of all students, it is all the more so for refugee students for whom school provides stability and a sense of orientation (Winklhofer, n.d.). The rituals and rules provided in a school's daily routine offer a safe setting which enables students to deal with trauma, build up self-esteem, overcome anxiety, and draw on their inner resources (Adam & Inal, 2013). Educators play a crucial role in making students feel welcome (Lafranchi, 2013). However, educators need to be aware of the fact that this will not substitute specialized professional care for students who have experienced severe trauma. (Prengel, 2015; Adkins & Dunn, 2008).

6. *Affirming Student Identity*

An important way to affirm students' identity is to show interest in their home, family, and community life. Thus conversations are central to CRT. Students feel valued and respected when they can share their experiences and their background (Prengel, 2006).

At the same time practitioners learn to understand the students' worldviews and build relationships with them. They can use the information gained from conversation to enrich and adapt the curriculum to make it more relevant and meaningful to the students (Saifer et al, 2005).

Prengel advocates guiding students in a reflection process pertaining to their cultural and historical backgrounds, values, symbols, norms, strengths and weaknesses (Prengel, 2006). This process is central because "[w]hen students are encouraged to express and share their experience, it will enhance the process of democratization between and within cultures and it will [simultaneously] affirm each individual['s identity]" (93).

7. *Social Interaction*

Extracurricular and co-curricular activities have proven effective in providing students with opportunities to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes that foster positive intergroup relations (Bochner, 1994). Research

has shown that participation in after-school programs, sports activities, academic clubs, and school sponsored social activities "contributes to academic performance, reduces dropout rates and discipline problems, and enhances interpersonal skills among students from different ethnic backgrounds" (Banks et al, 2001: 4) . One of the most effective ways for improving intercultural relations among students is for educators to teach members of diverse cultural groups the social skills necessary for interacting effectively with members of another culture (Bochner, 1994). This includes carefully managed dialogue about stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Students also need to be taught how to respond to group differences—how not to give offense and not to take offense (Banks et al, 2001).

While some European countries such as Finland and Sweden offer after-school programs with notable academic results, educational systems in German-speaking countries traditionally have not included afternoon activities. However, pointing to the social, linguistic, and academic benefits of extracurricular and co-curricular offers, in particular for students with a migration background, educators and administrators are increasingly advocating change in favor of full-day care at school (Bönsch, 2015).

8. Teaching Consciousness of Difference

Reflecting difference in heterogeneous student groups involves reflecting stereotyping and biases that negatively affect intercultural relations. It is helpful for students to understand that it is a natural part of human information processing to categorize people, but that this act can easily lead to prejudice and discrimination (Banks et al, 2001). Thus, potentially harmful simplifications need to be addressed and counteracted (Lafranchi, 2013). This can be done by encouraging intergroup contact and by teaching students universal values such as equality, freedom, and solidarity (Prengel, 2006).

9. Integrating Families

CRT values the knowledge of students' family and community members as an important resource to enrich culturally diverse teaching. Thus, parents and community members are invited to become involved in classroom activities since they can have a significant positive impact on the quality of their children's education (Bronfenbrenner, 1985).

Practitioners are strongly encouraged to find appropriate ways of building bridges between the school and the students' homes and communities. Possibilities include home visits (Saifer et al, 2005), contacting representatives of the respective communities (Auernheimer, 2015; Gogolin et al, 2011), inviting parents to the classroom (Saifer et al, 2010), attending respective cultural events (Education Alliance, n.d.), or spending time in the country of the students' origin in order to gain a deeper understanding of the students' background and culture (Lafranchi, 2013). Whichever options seem feasible and most appropriate, it is important that educators approach the immigrant families with a readiness to learn from them and show concern for the welfare of the students (Adam & Inal, 2013).

Possibilities for integrating parent and community involvement on the institutional level of the school include establishing parent-teacher organizations to work collaboratively for the benefit of the students (Saifer et al, 2005) hosting family nights at school to introduce school- and classroom activities (Education Alliance, n.d.), or "redesigning" the cultural profile of the school (Auernheimer, 2016).

10. Incorporating Assessment and Reflection

In CRT a variety of culturally sensitive techniques are employed to assess complex cognitive and social skills. When evaluating the progress of culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse students, a single method of assessment is certain to disadvantage particular student groups. Educators should therefore adopt a variety of formative and summative assessment strategies that give students an opportunity to demonstrate mastery (Banks et al, 2001).

These strategies may include observations, oral examinations, performances, as well as standardized assessments taking into account that students learn and demonstrate their competencies in different ways (Sheets, 2005). Methods such as portfolios, performance, exhibitions, learning journals, or projects align well with CRT curricula and include consideration of complex cognitive and social skills which are required in a multicultural society (Klippert, 2010).

11. Multilingualism

Culturally heterogeneous classrooms are often comprised of speakers of various languages. CRT considers bilingualism among learners to be a resource rather than an impediment (Hammond, 2015). Research suggests that educators who draw on their students' bilingualism and cultural affiliation as a strength, are likely to empower future employment advantages of bilingual proficiency. There is also evidence that suggests that educational advantages result from continued development of both languages among bilingual students, such as enhanced metalinguistic development (Thomas & Collier, 1997; Gogolin et al, 2011).

12. School Governance, Organization, Equity

Questions related to access, equity, and social justice are as much part of culturally responsive awareness as pedagogical guidelines for practitioners (Nieto, 2000). Schools that foster CRT oppose a conservative ideology that emphasizes assimilation and the maintenance of the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1999). Instead they ensure that decision making is widely shared and that a variety of stakeholders—students, teachers, administrators, parents, and members of the community—collaborate in creating a caring learning environment (Auernheimer, 2016).

IV) Qualitative Action Research Project

1. Problem Statement / Focus Area

Students with a migration background often experience difficulties in terms of academic achievement and social integration at their respective institutional setting. These factors tend to affect their motivation, leading

to a negative spiral with significant consequences for future educational opportunities. The difficulties these students face often go unnoticed by instructors who might not be prepared for the pedagogical challenge of cultural heterogeneity.

2.   Research Design

Participant Action Research using qualitative data based on Lewin's model was chosen since it seems to be the best suited design for the nature of the problem. Lewin viewed action research as a process that "gives credence to the development of powers of reflective thought, discussion, decision and action by ordinary people participating in collective research" (Adelman, 1993: 8). Therefore, the fact that the researcher was an active participant in the study as lecturer is in line with the choice of method.

3.   Setting and Participants

The study was conducted with fourteen non-Austrian students originating from Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Russia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Serbia in five foreign language courses held at the technical department of the University of Applied Sciences in St.Pölten, Austria from 2015 to 2019. Students were aged between 18 and 30 years old and included six female and eight male students.

It is worth mentioning that students at the UAS St.Pölten spend the majority of their classes with the same group of classmates, which affects the climate and learning environment in the respective courses.

4.   Aim of Study

The aim of the study was to describe the effects of culturally relevant practices on student engagement in foreign language classes at the university level.

5.   Procedure

Traditional class assignments were altered to align them with culturally responsive principles, such as making students' lives the context for what was taught (student centered learning) and reshaping the curriculum to involve material on cultural diversity (teaching consciousness of difference).

The alteration of tasks included

- *Student centered learning:* While students were originally asked to give presentations on a *given* topic to demonstrate mastery of a particular presentation technique which they had studied in class, the task was altered to allow students a *free choice of topic*.

- *Reshaping the curriculum & teaching consciousness of difference***:** The prompts for small group discussions used to be based on articles dealing with general business matters. In order to redirect the discussions toward issues which would allow students to reflect on cultural heterogeneity, articles were chosen accordingly, dealing with culturally relevant issues such as: "Greeting conventions in international business culture" or "Social networking in an international context".

6.   Qualitative Data Sources

Qualitative data collection procedures included interviews, classroom observations, artifacts, and field notes.

*   *Interviews*: fourteen semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions were conducted with the participants in order to gather focused qualitative textual data (Hays, 2014). The interviews were conducted in combination with reflection sessions following students' class presentations. The questions focused on

students' perceptions of CRT principles in an implicit, adapted, and personalized form. The issues which were addressed included students' perceived academic progress, classroom climate, feeling comfortable as a "minority" student, and their interaction with other students. Due to the sensitive and personal nature of the issues addressed, the interviews took place in a one-on-one setting.

* *Class observations*: participants were carefully observed and assessed while participating in the culturally responsive tasks (presentations and small group discussions). In addition class atmosphere, class participation, and student interactions were observed. Due to the researcher's dual role as lecturer and researcher, she functioned as a "privileged active observer" (Pelto&Pelto, 1978; Wolcott, 1997).

* *Field notes*: included notes on informal conversations and emails received from the participants.

* *Artifacts*: provided by students for demonstration purposes during their presentations were considered in the data analysis (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2009).

7.   Data Analysis and Interpretation

Class Observations and Artifacts

The most apparent result based on *class observations* concerned the *presentation task* assignment, which, in alignment with the principle of *student centered learning*, allowed students a free choice of topic. A clear majority of the students (11 out of 14) chose a topic that was directly related to their cultural heritage. Presented topics included "Romanian legends," "How to produce Serbian schnapps," "The Serbian railway system," "Istanbul," Traditional Hungarian melodies," "Moral values in Islam," Turkish soccer," and "Running a fishing business in Turkey".

Another apparent fact that emerged from observing student presentations concerned the use of *artifacts*. The majority of students who had chosen a culturally relevant topic decided to bring artifacts for demonstration purposes, such as a Turkish fishing net, the Quran, Serbian schnapps, a violin which was used to play traditional Hungarian melodies, a flag supporting a Turkish soccer team, and Turkish tea utensils.

When observing *small group discussions* on culturally relevant topics, the observer found that the international students were actively engaged and eager to add personal experiences to the discussion.

Interviews

The following themes emerged from the interviews:

- Engagement: All students strongly asserted that they had enjoyed the presentation preparation process and that they had invested a considerable amount of time preparing for it.

- Student interaction: All students who had chosen a culturally relevant presentation topic found the process of sharing their background with other students to be a gratifying experience. Some students mentioned that their presentations had aroused interest in other classmates which led to extensive conversations after class.

- Classroom climate: some students reported that their presentations, which had allowed them to share aspects of their background, made them feel more comfortable in the classroom with their peers.

- Academic progress: the interviews were connected to a standardized assessment reflection process, which involved questions concerning students' perceived academic progress. The majority of the international students felt that the course had improved their language skills.

- Field notes: Several students sent emails to the researcher after the course had ended to express their appreciation.

Interpretation

To the researcher, who took part in the study as an active observer, the results of the data analysis were more conclusive than expected. The effects of integrating culturally responsive principles simply by altering task assignments to make them culturally more inclusive had an apparent affect on the engagement—and potentially on the academic achievement—of all 14 participating students. While this fact was reflected in the observations, the interviews, and the artifacts, it was most strongly confirmed in the collected field notes, emails and informal conversations, in which students expressed appreciation for opportunities to share their background within the class setting.

V) Conclusion: Embracing a Multifaceted Educational Approach

Based on the conclusive evidence of the findings, which suggest that CRT practices increase student engagement, the author advocates

- *acknowledging the centrality of culture in the teaching and learning process:* Unless the respective cultural background of minority students is taken into account, their academic potential will continue to be neglected. This fact, which is all the more relevant when considering the increasing heterogeneity of students in European countries, should constitute a central aspect in future pedagogical theory and practice.

- *a multifaceted approach in establishing educational equity*: While there is a consensus in many European countries concerning the need for structural educational change, such as the dismantling of early tracking in German speaking countries, other aspects which are vital in ensuring educational equity have not received sufficient attention. Thus, the root causes that underlie the educational achievement gap have not been given due weight in terms of their complexity. CRT advocates multi-facetted strategies and diverse stakeholders working together to achieve desired educational goals.

It is an uncontested fact in European countries that there is a correlation between the socio-economic background of students and their educational achievement (Entorf, 2015; Auernheimer, 2013; Gogolin et al, 2011). This holds especially true for students with a migration background. The neglected academic achievement of minority students in European countries is often considered to be the untapped potential of the respective educational systems. Tapping into this potential by recognizing cultural diversity as a source of strength and vitality would ensure progress toward equity in education, thereby promoting social sustainability.

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CRIS forever! Culture Resilience In Small ... towns

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ABSTRACT

In the contemporary and ageing society, small towns are struggling to survive. What factors are affecting culture resilience in small towns? Multi-stakeholders' engagement is as essential as financial and cultural resources, whose resilience is founded on efficient public-private partnerships of public administrations, marketing and branding. The aim of the paper is to classify a sample of Italian small towns for their governance of heritages and creativity, with focus on roles, community engagement, public and private efforts (and spending), and marketing and branding as regards both heritages and creativity. Tourists' flows are included in the analysis as evidence of the connection of resilience and the efficiency of marketing and branding. Main data will be collected from financial reports and websites of public administrations. Results will split the sample into two different groups of small towns with different culture and creativity, multi-stakeholders' engagement, partnerships and any

Keywords:

Small towns; culture; marketing; branding; resilience

other cooperation in cultural districts and clusters, different communication tools and strategies, amounts of resources with public-private resources.

Italian Small Towns and Culture Resilience

In the contemporary and ageing society, small towns struggle to survive, when cultural resilience might be a driver out of an *unhappy decline*. Small towns are usually affected by a low growth rate, as they cope with economic decline owing to ageing residents, depopulation, depleting tax base, businesses moving away, low community spirit and indolent governances. In the contemporary society, small towns are usually meant as the cradle of young generations, who are flocking to metropolis and the uncomfortable bed of old generations, who are negatively affected by health issues. Culture and creativity may be leading businesses but community memory is sometimes failing and citizens do not always and fully hope in resurgence thanks to micro-businesses of intangible culture, which is misunderstood as a fragile and vulnerable asset. While meaning adaptation and happy recovery thanks to innovative solutions, resilience might include reshaping of forgotten resources (from house museums to historical gardens, from ecomuseums to festivals, from performing to visual arts), these resources supported by marketing and branding, in order to attract new audiences like cultural tourists; these resources increasing thanks to partnerships of public and private stakeholders, whose grants and sponsorships can be combined.

Italian Small towns have been resilient, since when their governance perceived that cultural heritage might be an exit-strategy out of decline and they committed themselves with different and versatile stakeholders, resources, policies and management (Pechlaner, Wolf Zacher, 2015; Evans, 2013; Mallik, Chaudhury, Gosh, 2011). This resilience is funded on culture and creativity, whose industries have been constantly growing in Italy since the latest recession. Despite the crisis, these sectors have been growing at a faster rate than the general economy. In 2016 they recorded a total economic value of €90 billion: most of this value was direct revenues, deriving from activities directly linked to the creative supply chain of arts, of theatres, of movie, etc. The remaining derived from indirect revenues, relating to ancillary or subsidiary activities. In the same year, 1,500,000 workers were employees in the cultural and creative sector, and represented almost 6% of the entire Italian workforce. In the same year, 6% the Italian GDP was culture and creativity: from performing to visual arts, from folklore to design, from tangible to intangible heritages.

What are contents of this culture resilience in small towns? It's not only a matter of sectors or arts. It's also an asset of time and timing. Culture resilience includes 1. Awareness and memory of the past history and culture, which is re-discovered and innovated, in order to get out of crisis; 2. Willingness to drive the future according to this memory, with the community and any other stakeholders' engagement, the public administration being the main leader of this process; 3. Public and private stakeholders' supply of resources for this process. Above all, these stakeholders can manage networks, clusters and any other merging phenomena, in order to optimize the collection of resources; 4. Marketing and branding, they are supporting the whole process.

The resilient heritage includes the tangible and the intangible: memory of past productions and highlighted entrepreneurs, villas, historical quarters, gardens, open-air museums, cultural and creative assets, they are all here included. Management and marketing of this heritage imply roles for local administrations, associations,

foundations, clubs, citizens and also *off-border* organizations, that rank and brand small towns. Governance can, therefore, count on strong empowerment and engagement from internal and external (observatory, ranking boards, international organizations, etc.) stakeholders, who make resilience as consistent as their willingness and resources (Fan, 2014; Eshuis, Klijn, 2012; Mallik, Chauhury, Ghosh, 2011; Morton, Chen, Morse, 2008; Van den Berg, Braun, 1999; Ashworth and, Voogd, 1990).

Citizens and residents are included in this governance: as for legacy of highlighted entrepreneurs, whose archives, endowed foundations and relatives give evidence of the industrial and cultural memory; as for engagement in the promotion and active implementation of events for tangible and intangible heritages; as they are tax-payers and they give themselves money for the common, social and creative capital. Citizens are often volunteers, who are supplying their time and in-kind resources for villas, gardens and events: together with employees, their commitment concerns identification with the mission of the organization, long-term relationships in and out of villas, gardens and museums, so that trustworthiness with sponsors and municipalities fosters the economic and social capital. Though they are not paid like employees, they invest time, advocacy and congruent identities, so that they become ambassadors of place brands.

Resources are not enough, so that private grant-makers and sponsors are engaged next to local communities with their tax-paying, in-kind resources, efforts and time. Other small towns can give funds or stimulate fund-raising thanks to the scheme of merger. Above all, grant-making foundations are here leaders of projects, districts, clusters and they reveal themselves as the crucial node of networks, which can survive only with a long-term vision. The European Union can also be relevant as regards fundraising of small towns, next to other international organizations like Unesco, with highlights and awards for some of their heritages, landscapes, assets.

Marketing and branding, they both drive these multiple stakeholders, though they can be implicit and spontaneous (as for volunteers), while not being accounted in lines of reports, as it is for the traditional patronage, public administrations provide for local events.

The aim of the paper is to classify a sample of Italian small towns for their resilience thanks to heritages and creativity and with focus on governance and roles, community engagement, public and private efforts (and spending) for culture and creativity, and marketing and branding as regards both heritages and creativity. Tourists' flows are included in the analysis as evidence of the connection of resilience and the efficiency of marketing and branding. Main data will be collected from financial reports and websites of public administrations.

The method is a qualitative and quantitative investigation for economic performances and evidence of strategies (marketing and branding), links and funding of culture and creativity. Networks of small towns will be included in the analysis. Results will split the sample into two different groups of small towns with different culture and creativity, different weights of multi-stakeholders' engagement, different partnerships and hybrid cooperation in cultural districts and clusters, different communication tools and strategies, different amounts of resources with different shares of public and private resources.

Marketing and branding of Italian Small Towns as drivers to avoid the unhappy decline

Marketing and branding are well-developed strategies in for-profits and nonprofits management, while their implications for public administrations, above all of the small towns, are often neglected. Nevertheless, the link between marketing and public administration is close and the role played by place branding – which is part of place marketing - within place management is crucial. In fact, place branding is, and has been, practiced consciously or unconsciously for as long as cities have competed with each other for business, residents, tourists, prestige or power (Ashworth, Kavaratzis, 2017; Eshuis, Klijn, Braun, 2014; Gold, Ward, 1994).

According to Ashworth (2011), to embrace place branding the public administration must be prepared and equipped with the appropriate resources and skills to exploit the potential of the place branding. In fact, as stated by Braun (2011) different relevant factors can – positively or negatively – affect the implementation of small towns branding. The most important factors are related to the inclusion of small towns branding in the political priorities, the ability to build and manage relationships with relevant stakeholders - a multi-stakeholder approach - and the availability of small towns governance to work together with surrounding areas.

As place branding conveys a clear vision of the small towns' future and outlines the strategies for its development, it is important to involve in the brand development and its delivery, both local community and other stakeholders – especially investors and funders, but also tourists and visitors. In addition, public administration should communicate the opportunities for specific target groups (Ashworth, Voogd, 1990; Van den Berg, Braun, 1999; Kotler et al., 1993) who are local community, investors, visitors/cultural tourists, and potential residents.

Regarding to residents, it is important to underline their dual role in the place branding process. On the one hand, residents could be considered as a target group, as they could be considered beneficiaries of place branding strategies; on the other they should be interactively involved in the branding process (Eshuis, Edwards, 2013). Making place branding to be a participatory process enhances the sense of community, help to build a credible place identity (Holman, 2008; Morton et al., 2008; Dinnie, 2011) and transform residents in place branding ambassadors. With this respect, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2008) stated residents will play a more and more pivotal role in the co-creations and development of an inclusive and democratic place branding, since they are keepers and bearers of the local cultural heritage. So, local culture sharpens the small towns image and plays a constitutional role in the perception of the stakeholders since history, architecture, cultural facilities and events constitute the foundation for the branding strategy of the place (Kunzmann, 2004).

For small towns, place branding is a driver to avoid the unhappy decline and it is even more effective when it is rooted in local historical and cultural heritage. Symbolic attributes, tangible and intangible reputation elements, legends, myths, cultural traditions, fancies and prejudices obviously represent crucial elements for place branding (Fan, 2014). They together make up a sense of place, provide authenticity and distinctiveness and contributes to the place attraction and competitive advantage. However, the above-mentioned elements

must be explicit in place branding strategies, and this is why public administration should be aware of branding strategies and committed in embracing place branding approach.

According to Evans (2013), public administrations must include cultural heritage in place branding, and this can be realized in different way. The most suitable way for the aims of this paper are: a) the *heritage-led place branding strategy* in which heritage activity and assets are seen as one of the main catalysts of place branding and destination marketing through icons or heritage sites; b) the *place branding through heritage strategy* in which heritage is embedded and prioritized in policy- making and therefore in city governance and decision-making.

Cultural heritage becomes a pillar both as significant element in place branding and as driver to avoid the unhappy decline of small towns in Italy.

Methodology and results

The sample was selected according to one of the most famous observatories and ranking for culture and tourism in Italy, Touring Club Italiano (TCI). Above all, among the many activities in favor of the Italian cultural and historical heritage, since 1998 the TCI has been selecting and certifying the excellent small towns in Italy with "Bandiera Arancione". Bandiera Arancione is a label of tourist-environmental quality, designed from the point of view of travelers and their visit experience: it is assigned to destinations that have historical, cultural and environmental heritage but also offer to tourists all the services they need. The sample was selected among the 241 Bandiera Arancione small towns on the 15th July 2019. Researchers selected one "active" small town for every Italian Region due to two criteria: i) participation to the next network activities - a "Treasure hunt" to be held in October 2019 to which 100 small town will participate; ii) participation to other networks or label marks considering the aim of this article (merger of local administrations, merger of slow towns, small and mountain or hill towns, etc.) . In 3 Region (Molise, Umbra and Valle d'Aosta) it was impossible to select a small town due to the first criteria.

As a consequence, three towns were added for their multistakeholders' engagement at different boundaries: Cernobbio, for local ones with the latest project about Villa Bernasconi; Scarperia e San Piero, for province and regional ones, with merger of towns in Mugello; Livigno for national and international ones, with the latest award for Winter Olympic Games 2026 Milan-Cortina. These towns were selected for ongoing research projects of authors, too and they were investigated, presented and commented, as for their performances, during lectures of Economics of Tourism and Cultural Tourism at IULM University during the academic years 2017-2018 and 2018-2019. Students appreciated their projects of restoration and cultural management for Cernobbio (Villa Bernasconi), their cultural projects and heritages supported by the merger of towns for Scarperia e San Piero in a multi-content and cultural supply in Mugello, the importance of their tangible and intangible heritages for Livigno, next to being a famous alpine resort.

The full sample was investigated on websites of 20 towns, as official domains of their public administrations. Apart of the latest reports as regards resources (public, private, European, etc.) and expenses in culture, tourism, territory and urban design, sustainable development and environment, links were counted for their

being signals of multi-stakeholders' engagement, marketing and branding of themselves and with other towns. Tourists' accounting was not always present. Nevertheless, websites were repository of statistics and news about crowded and local events with the engagement of residents and tourists.

As for revenues, the main stakeholder 'Public Administration' was checked for grants in the current account and investment. Next to this accounting, income from other-than-public resources (current account) and revenues from management of own properties were considered to be evidence of multi-stakeholders' engagement, from private to international (like European Union) ones. Expenses were considered for their total amount, as for day-by-day and investments. Four 'missions' were considered relevant for this research: culture, for tangible and intangible assets; tourism, for promotion and events; territory and urban design, for the beautification of local assets; sustainable development and environment, for safety, health and beauty of the local landscape.

Cluster analysis with normal mixture of their economic performances, as regards accounting lines in 2018's and 2017's reports and their ratios (percentages) for total revenues and expenses (both current account and investments), separated them in two groups for significant ratios of revenues and expenses.

Normal Mixtures clustering is useful when data come from overlapping normal distributions. Normal mixtures is an iterative technique based on the assumption that the joint probability distribution of the observations is approximated using a mixture of multivariate normal distributions. These mixtures represent different clusters. The individual clusters have multivariate normal distributions. When clusters are well separated, hierarchical and k-means clustering work well. But when clusters overlap, normal mixtures provides a better alternative, because it is based on cluster membership probabilities, rather than arbitrary cluster assignments based on borders.

Where is the evidence of culture resilience? Though the analysis in Table 1 is about economic performances, tourists' flows are detailed as increasing for all towns included in the sample, according to statistics (when available) and comments on news about local events, all of them (statistic and news) at pages and links of their websites. As a matter of fact, the number of events is constantly growing for different kinds of national and international tourists, who are looking for sports, from winter to summer, from tracking to canoeing and who are looking for heritages, events, traditions, folklore, pilgrimages and religious and not-religious celebrations. All brands available (from Bandiera arancione to Città lente - slow towns; from co-branding with private sponsors to co-marketing with grant-making foundations, like bank foundations) are echoing these events and cross-linking with websites of partners, sponsors, grant-makers and other public administrations, it is multiplying the promotion and, as a consequence, crowding-in at events. Governance is, therefore, a combination and hybridization of public and private roles, with provision of public and private resources, with more than a cultural and tourism advocacy, summed up with focus on territory, urban design and sustainable development. Resources are, indeed, collected from different public and private stakeholders and they get into increasing tourists' flows and community engagement. Residents are volunteers, time-givers and brand ambassadors both when they promote and organize events and when they supply suitable accommodation for tourists - b&b next to hotels -. These small towns do not suffer of over-tourism and they are welcoming slow tourists and not only slow tourists.

Culture resilience cannot be investigated for percentages of expenses (marketing or branding) or revenues. Marketing and branding have been practiced consciously or unconsciously, as long as cities have perceived the importance of promotion and partnering with private and other-than-public stakeholders, in order to increase the prestige and growth of their local amenities and as destinations for not-residents. Nevertheless, different shares of expenses can split vocacies of these towns for culture and tourism. At the same time, public administrations can be stakeholders (for current grants and investments) as well as private institutions, grant-making foundations, the European Union, so that multistakeholders' engagement can activate adaptation and innovation of assets (resilience), they are both granted to citizens (residents) and not-citizens (tourists).

Average performances as percentages of revenues and expenses	CLUSTER 1: GERACE, CASTELVETRO DI MODENA, SASSELLO, CLUSONE, VALFORNACE, SARDARA, SANTA FIORA, ALA, MONTAGNANA, PETRALIA SOTTANA, MANIAGO	CLUSTER 2: LAMA DEI PELIGNI, VALSINNI, ZUNGOLI, NEMI, ORTA SAN GIULIO, SANT'AGATA DI PUGLIA, SCARPERIA AND SAN PIERO, CERNOBBIO, LIVIGNO
Grants from Public administrations (current account)	17.82	3.82
Grants from Public administrations (for investment)	19.31	29.28
Grants from private institutions, European Union and any other private contribution (current account)	0.39	0.00
Revenues (as for management of own properties)	6.58	6.54
CULTURE expense	4.84	6.16
TOURISM expense	1.97	5.07
TERRITORY AND URBAN DESIGN expense	7.67	2.84
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT expense	12.19	23.28

TABLE 1. AVERAGE PERFORMANCES OF THE SAMPLE AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL REVENUES AND EXPENSES.

Source: Own elaboration with JUMP Statistics Software as for data 2018 and (when 2018 not available) 2017.

The sample can be separated in clusters 1 and 2. Both clusters have quite the same revenues as for management of own properties, on average for 6.50 of total revenues and grants. These revenues derive of management of own properties, which can be loaned, paid for entry fees, etc. These properties can include villas, gardens and any historical and cultural sites, coming from legacies of citizens, like noble families, highlighted managers of supply chains, businesses and manufacturing industries as for local and traditional productions. These properties were sometimes born as foundations. Some of them were delivered to public and local administrations, in order to be maintained, supported and granted for the local welfare.

For average performances, the most crowded Cluster 1 (11 municipalities) is prevailing for public grants (current account), other-than-public grants, revenues and the expense for territory and urban design. Other-

than-public grants include private ones and European Union. Territory and urban design, this kind of expense provides residents and not-residents with the order and beauty of old towns, which do not deny contemporary arts and design (for some installations and temporary exhibitions).

For average performances, the Cluster 2 is profiting by prevailing public grants for investments and expenses for culture, tourism and sustainable development and environments. On average, other-than-public (current account) are not present. Nevertheless, it is not excluded that some of these towns profit by grants from European Union for investments in cultural tangible and intangible heritages and any other relevant asset and projects, from landscapes to networks of towns, whose administrations can gain European grants for connected projects. Above all, grant-making foundations are here leaders of projects, districts, clusters and they reveal themselves as the crucial node of networks, which can survive with a long-term vision. As a consequence tourism, culture, sustainable development and environment are combined issues and goals, prevailing percentages of expenses are aimed to. With at least 20% of expenses for the sustainable development, culture and tourism are supported in a landscape with different issues: from mountains to hills, from winter to summer. Expenses are covered by revenues which derive from multiple and different stakeholders, while tourism is national and international. For grants, incomes, fees, taxes, in-kind-resources and shopping of tourists, revenue diversification is here optimized for a versatile supply in different landscapes.

Though for a lower percentage in comparison with Cluster 1, in Cluster 2 the expense for territory and urban design can grant residents and not-residents of the beautification of every municipality, which does not only deny memory but also appreciates contemporary arts and design (for some installations, open-air events, temporary exhibitions, gardening for old and new-born generations, etc).

In both clusters the heritage activity and assets are seen as one of the main catalysts of place branding and destination marketing through icons or heritage sites. Their policy-making can have different visions and percentages of revenues (current account and investment) and expenses. Merger of public administrations are a useful strategy next to grant-makers, who combine their efforts thanks to a leader like the bank foundations. Public and private partnerships can count both public mergers and private leaders. Both clusters have cultural heritages and for them, multiple stakeholders are available in order to maximize resources both in current accounts and investments and to increase the supply of culture and creativity together with the appeal for residents and tourists. The hybridization of strategies and roles can occur. It is essential for cultural and creative sectors to connect with communities, destination managers, local administrations, media, consortia, and any other stakeholders for the growth of all of them. This can be efficiently managed with a mix of partners and events that educate and empower the community, as well as tourists, who are looking for authenticity of small towns with increasing levels of scrutiny.

Multiple Stakeholder and Visions in Italian Small Towns

From Lombardy to Tuscany, some highlighted cases of community and stakeholders' engagement as well as long-term planning and vision can be commented.

It has been as far as the late '70s that Italian Small Towns felt the urge to organize themselves in Association in order to lobby against the various attempts to merge them into bigger administrative frames, mainly for fiscal and economic reasons. It is then that, at last, the *Associazione Nazionale Piccoli Comuni* was created in 1999 including small and historical towns with equal or less than 5.000 inhabitants up to small towns with equal or less than 15.000 with the aim of defending the autonomy of small towns, generally fostering promotion, safeguard and development of this category of towns, but in reality standing up as lobbying association. In times, other associations and clubs were founded with the aim of contributing to the development of a broader vision for small towns. Since then, *Borghi Autentici d'Italia*, the *Club Borghi più belli d'Italia* (branch of the National Association of the Italian Municipalities – ANCI), "*Bandiere arancioni*" of the Touring Club Italiano following the example of the "Blue Flag" awarded by the FEE (Foundation for Environmental Education), have started working specifically for the valorisation in terms of safeguard, restoration and promotion of tangible and intangible heritage of local identities to counterbalance the loss of population, economic revenues and touristic attraction. In this sense, some towns included in our sample can be found in various associations and clubs, depending on the goals that the different associations promote with their statues, chart of qualities and certification procedures. Common goal of all these organizations is to preserve, promote and make the most of the different traditional heritage of the fragmented Italian small towns which have their greatest richness in their own peculiarities.

From the "Atlas of Small Towns" edited by ANCI (2019), in Italy there are 5,500 Small towns, 69% of Italian municipalities, with a total of 10,068,213 residents (17% of the national population). Most of the small municipalities have a population from 1,001 and 3,000 inhabitants (45.8%), while the municipalities with populations under 1,000 are 33.6% of the total. From 2011 to 2017, only 965 Small Municipalities present a greater demographic variation than the national demographic increase (> 1.77% - called Contra-Exodus towns, in confront to Exodus or Constant population segments). The Small Municipalities of the counter-exodus are mainly in the demographic class between 3.001 and 5.000 inhabitants, they are concentrated mainly in the coastal hill or in the plain, as well as outside the perimeter of the internal areas of the country.

Working together, albeit merging, is therefore essential to many of the Italian municipalities, likewise the involvement in communitarian projects on European, national or regional level (applying to direct or indirect PON/POR funding) and the ability to engage with multi-stakeholders. Three towns among the chosen sample belong to cluster 2 and can be described as models. They are: Cernobbio located near Como on the Como lake side, formerly international silk industrial centre, nowadays luxury tourist destination and seat of the International Global Summit Ambrosetti Forum, Livigno a non-customs area, renowned winter and summer tourist resort in the Alps. Scarperia e San Piero del Mugello, merger of two municipalities, ubicated in the outskirt of Florence, birthplace of Giotto and the Medici family, in its territory the Mugello Circuit is placed. In common they have:

- Actual low branding strategy

- Multiple stakeholders' interest

- Touristic (inter-)national appeal

- Tangible and intangible cultural heritage available.

Accordingly, their actual policies demonstrate a consistent interest in integrating their strengths (touristic appeal, availability of specific cultural point of interests and distinctive memories and traditions) and opportunities (being close to major tourist destinations in the cases of Cernobbio and Scarperia, potential strong brand image) in order to overcome the weaknesses of being small towns in the Exodus and/or Constant population segment with all the subsequent implications.

Among the strengths of the three cases, the availability of tangible and intangible cultural heritage that help to build a particular brand experience enriched by identity elements of traditions is always present.

For Cernobbio, the municipality planned the recovery as "city museum" of an Art Nouveau Villa belonged to Mr. Davide Bernasconi, entrepreneur of the end of the XIX century who made a fortune for his family and for the town out of silk and textile industries for almost one century. His action, though, gave birth to an industrial town (similar to the UNESCO Crespi Village at Crespi d'Adda) in the paternalistic entrepreneurship vogue following the second Industrial Revolution. Afterwards his memory had vanished rapidly. Nevertheless, memories and connections with local multi-stakeholders re-emerged as soon as the Municipality started out the museum project based on the engagement of the residents – siblings of former workers/suppliers/clients of the Bernasconi industry – to collect materials, stories and objects to create the narrative of the museum. The Villa, now, does not witness just the Bernasconi's business but it is the teller of the history of the town for two centuries. While attracting also foreign visitors – panels and labels are in Italian and English – the main target is local and trans-generational as the multi-stakeholders (Camera di Commercio, local design and artcrafts schools…) involved in the project.

On the other hand, Scarperia e San Piero in Mugello developed the touristic exploitation of their territories through the merging of the two municipalities, and the creation of an Union of several other municipalities (Unione dei Comuni, an umbrella organization) taking advantages of reduced managing costs and scale economy, attracting multinational companies and international universities to open local headquarters, investing in sustainable tourism and environment, targeting international tourists as well as national. Up-to-now, albeit the richness in local history and in cultural, tangible and intangible, heritage the values connected to these aspects have not been included in the definition of the brand image of the area. Plans to do so are programmed in order to improve and strengthen the strategies on tourism, since cultural policies are already well defined although separated.

Livigno, as third example, has been using cultural heritage – mainly the various points of interests belonging to the local rural traditions – to enrich their touristic offer based on sport and to extend the permanency. Livigno is a well-known alpine resort for young people devoted to both winter and summer sports and local governance is fully engaged in order to accompany residents and not-residents to 2026 Winter Olympic Games Milan-Cortina with an excellent range of events, from sports to culture. Livigno profits by a continuant increase of tourists: international ones are more than one third of national ones in summer 2018; international ones are more than twice national ones in winter 2018 (arrivals). The intangible culture consists of Alpenfest and other events of local folklore together with a dictionary with the old language and dialect, so that

everybody can appreciate roots of words as combinations of different histories and idioms for an alpine landscape. The tangible heritage is in the landscape with monuments, tracks and the museum MUS in Livigno and Trepalle. In this museums, folklore and traditions are exhibited their history long, from roots of the agricultural supply-chain to craftsmanship. Citizens supplied the collection in the past and today, they are still ready to enrich and improve the collection, whose cultural content can create opportunities of edutainment, conferences and events, volunteers are as pivotal as administrations for. This a museum with an open-air networking with locations outside of the museum, above all, fountains and the mountain landscape, where folklore and traditions were born.

CONCLUSION

Supported by networks of multiple stakeholders and with attention to both citizens and tourists, the here investigated sample is growing in both a) the *heritage-led place branding strategy* in which heritage activity and assets are seen as one of the main catalysts of place branding and destination marketing through icons or heritage sites; b) the *place branding through heritage strategy* in which heritage is embedded and prioritized in policy-making and therefore in city governance and decision-making together with community empowerment and engagement. Citizens are as essential as public roles, employees of both public and private grant-makers. Volunteers, coming from different sectors of civic society, can act as brand ambassadors and fundraisers, soliciting grants and contributions of money and goods and services from potential donors. They can also be in charge of some general and specific activities related to the accomplishment of events together with staff.

Marketing and branding, as spontaneous and implicit strategies of the whole sample, culture resilience is connecting resources (revenues) and expenses for the here investigated issues in different weights and visions: one cluster is, on average, much more adapting and innovating for culture, tourism and environment; one cluster is showing advocacy for territory and urban design. Revenues are here commented for implications of public administrations into current account and investments. Above all, the weight of private grants and European grants is appreciated for current account, but it can be multiple if paying attention to investments. Revenues are quite the same, with the meaning that at least 6% of total revenues derives of own property management for heritages open to residents and tourists (for example).

Skills of local governances can be optimized, if small towns branding will be included in the political priorities as well as the ability to build and manage relationships with relevant stakeholders. Thanks to participatory processes, residents are and may be much more empowered of the role of brand ambassadors than in the past, fully aware that they often play this role while celebrating historical events and anniversaries going back to middle ages. Residents have memory of past histories: symbolic attributes, tangible and intangible reputation elements, legends, myths, cultural traditions, fancies and prejudices obviously represent crucial elements of this memory for place branding and, together, they make up a sense of place, provide authenticity and distinctiveness and contributes to the place attraction, in order to engage next generations not to leave small towns and tourists to be enchanted by the memory and the contemporary of small towns.

The here implemented research has got limitations. First of all, most of economic data are restricted to current account as for revenues and, as for expenses, we restricted them to their goal, without separation between current account and investment. Data are available for 2018, but very few towns have not 2018's reports available online in July 2019. Economic data can be an evidence of different advocacy for culture, tourism, etc. Nevertheless, a much more comprehensive research should involve the complexity of partnerships, roles and it should not be limited to one year.

The short-term nature of the analysis is going to be solved by the future investigation, which will involve a greater number of small towns on at least a five-years' accounting of revenues and expenses, both of them investigated for current accounts and investments. Revenue diversification is for sure granting solvency and sustainability. This implies attention to steps and processes. Further focus will be on the complexity as regards project management of their mergers, partnerships and community engagement.

Combining efforts for old and contemporary heritages, small towns develop a project management which is at least in three steps: approval of different stakeholders' in public and open meetings, where participatory roles are granted at any different engagement; collection of resources with a constant and continuant monitoring for their being used thanks to different media and social media; redemption to all stakeholders with selection of benchmarks and well-done projects, in order to inspire the next project management. A long-term vision must support this kind of project management with boards, whose roles are well-defined and separated and with communities, who are well trained. Grant-makers might be foreseen, selected and matched for different projects and roles, in order not to crowd-out any one of them on a long-term visioning. Media and social media can be efficient tools in order to provide information, support visions and values and promote, without the annoying overload of useless data. At the same time, media and social media echo the best projects and benchmarks for the reputation of all partners in national and international scenarios, where reputation can further grant new resources.

Highlighted visioning and efficient project management, they can be optimized in these small towns, whose administrations constantly look forward to innovation and culture resilience.

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Croiser les publics et leurs pratiques : récit d'une experience partagée entre professionnels et futurs professionnels de la culture

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RESUMÉ

Le lab est un organisme culturel régional, au service des professionnels du spectacle vivant de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, pour les aider à se développer et les conduire à travailler ensemble. En 2018-2019, le lab et la *Burgundy School of Business (BSB)* ont travaillé ensemble sur un projet d'accompagnement des professionnels régionaux du spectacle vivant et des étudiants de la BSB, sur le thème de la mobilité artistique. Il s'agissait de mettre en relation trois équipes artistiques avec des étudiants de la BSB et de faire travailler ces derniers sur un projet concret et réel proposé par les professionnels. Cette expérimentation avait deux objectifs principaux : permettre la montée en compétences des étudiants et des équipes artistiques, favoriser le croisement des réflexions et des méthodologies. Ces deux éléments sont essentiels pour permettre de valoriser la diversité des pratiques professionnelles, et d'amenant les différents acteurs culturels à travailler ensemble pour favoriser la durabilité des projets.

Mots-clés:

insertion, pratiques, connaissances, décloisonnement, intelligence collective

REMERCIEMENTS

PRESENTATION DU LAB

Le lab est un organisme culturel régional implanté depuis 40 ans en Bourgogne. Le lab est au service des acteurs culturels régionaux. Pour cela, depuis sa création, il développe des outils et des actions innovantes qui s'inscrivent en complémentarité des politiques culturelles: l'Etat d'une part (Ministère de la Culture/Direction régionale des Affaires Culturelles de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté) et le Conseil régional de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté d'autre part.

Nous sommes actuellement organisés en deux pôles d'activités:

- le Pôle Voix qui s'adresse aux professionnels et praticiens du chant (chœurs, chorales, professeurs de chant)
- le Pôle Spectacle Vivant qui s'adresse à l'ensemble des disciplines artistiques et des professionnels du spectacle

Avec la fusion des régions, l'action du lab s'est étendue à la Franche-Comté, notamment à travers le Pôle Spectacle Vivant.

Depuis janvier 2019, ce dernier met en œuvre son nouveau projet d'activités, intitulé « ARTIS ». Ce projet remplit 3 missions:

- une mission de veille, d'information et de ressource. Cela se concrétise par un repérage des dispositifs d'aides, le relais d'appels à projets, la mise en œuvre d'études spécifiques, la réalisation de boite à outils.

- une mission d'accompagnement des projets artistiques et des professionnels, avec l'ambition de favoriser les conditions de la création, la mobilité des œuvres et de renforcer les compétences. Cela se traduit par des rendez-vous individualisés, de la formation, du suivi de projets au plus long cours.

- une mission de développement de projets de coopération et d'actions innovantes. Cela se manifeste d'une part par la conduite de, ou un appui aux projets de coopération menés avec ou par des acteurs culturels régionaux, et d'autre part par la construction de partenariats avec des secteurs d'activités autres que celui de la culture (petite enfance, recherche, enseignement supérieur)

Notre longévité et nos missions font que nous disposons d'une connaissance approfondie de l'écosystème du spectacle vivant, tant au niveau régional que national.

En définitive avec le lab, nous proposons une réponse unique et adaptée aux besoins du secteur culturel.

RÉCIT D'EXPÉRIENCE

Description du projet

En 2018-2019, ARTIS (Pôle Spectacle Vivant du lab) et le *CACM - Center for Arts and Cultural Management – Burgundy School of Business (BSB)* ont travaillé ensemble sur un projet d'accompagnement des professionnels du spectacle vivant implantés en Bourgogne-Franche-Comté et des étudiants de la BSB, sur le thème de la mobilité artistique.

Il s'agissait de mettre en relation des professionnels avec des étudiants de la BSB et de faire travailler ces derniers sur un projet concret et réel proposé par les professionnels : d'une part il était proposé aux professionnels de s'appuyer sur des techniques enseignées à la *Burgundy School of Business*, et d'autre part les étudiants étaient amenés à tester leurs apprentissages dans un environnement réel.

Pour cela, nous avons lancés deux appels à candidatures auprès des équipes artistiques de la région :

- le 1er appel à candidatures portait sur l'accompagnement d'une compagnie artistique dans la préparation de sa venue à un festival, en travaillant principalement sur une stratégie de communication et de visibilité à la fois auprès du public et des professionnels du spectacle vivant.

- le 2nd appel à candidatures avait pour but d'accompagner une compagnie artistique dans une démarche prospective et d'étudier la faisabilité d'une diffusion de spectacle en Chine, en abordant différents aspects relatifs à cela (le projet artistique choisi, le modèle économique existant, les financements possibles à mobiliser, la stratégie de communication et de visibilité auprès des professionnels, la logistique).

Quinze compagnies ont répondu aux deux appels à candidatures, la majorité des réponses s'étant concentrée sur le 1er. Trois compagnies ont été sélectionnées par l'équipe d'ARTIS et du CACM pour participer à ce projet : deux compagnies sur le 1er appel à candidatures, une sur le 2nd. Ces trois compagnies avaient des profils très variés :

- une compagnie d'arts de la rue et de marionnette : très petite structure composée d'une seule personne (le directeur artistique), créée il y a une quinzaine d'années, de dimension locale, évoluant en marge des circuits de diffusion institutionnels et classiques.

- une compagnie de danse contemporaine : structure émergente constituée autour d'une petite équipe artistique (4 personnes), créée il y a quatre ans et parrainée par une compagnie de danse plus confirmée, de dimension régionale, évoluant dans les circuits de diffusion secondaires (les théâtres municipaux par exemple).

- une compagnie de théâtre : structure constituée autour d'une petite équipe artistique (4 personnes), créée il y a une trentaine d'années, se spécialisant récemment dans le spectacle Jeune Public, de dimension nationale et commençant à se développer à l'international, évoluant plutôt dans les circuits de diffusion secondaires, travaillant avec plusieurs autres secteurs d'activités (petite enfance, éducation...), disposant de deux lieux de résidence et de diffusion (l'un en Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, l'autre en Île-de-France).

Les deux premières compagnies avaient toutes les deux pour but de jouer un de leurs spectacles au festival Chalon dans la Rue (festival d'arts de la rue implanté à Chalon-sur-Saône en Bourgogne-Franche-Comté), et devaient pour cela déposer une candidature pour pouvoir être sélectionnées dans la programmation du festival. Ce qui se jouait pour les deux était le franchissement d'un palier, d'un   cap : en candidatant au festival Chalon dans la Rue, elles souhaitaient pouvoir accéder à un réseau de directeurs de lieux et de programmateurs de spectacles plus institutionnel, et ainsi favoriser leur développement.

La troisième compagnie, quant à elle, avait pour but de poursuivre son développement à l'international, commencé avec un projet de partenariat avec le Maroc.

Une fois les compagnies sélectionnées, le travail entre professionnels et étudiants s'est déroulé de janvier à avril 2019, avec un rendez-vous de travail par mois. Le premier rendez-vous fut consacré à la découverte des différents projets: une fois les présentations effectuées, les étudiants se sont répartis en trois groupes de travail, un groupe par compagnie et cinq à six étudiants par groupe. Des échanges au sein de chaque groupe ont eu lieu en fin de rendez-vous pour préciser les attentes et les objectifs des compagnies.

Durant les rencontres suivantes, chaque groupe d'étudiants présentait le résultat du travail de réflexion effectué entre les rendez-vous, un échange avait lieu ensuite entre les étudiants et la compagnie où chacun pouvait interroger l'autre sur les pistes proposées. Ces échanges permettaient aux professionnels d'affiner leurs réflexions quant à leur projet, et aux étudiants leurs propositions.

Objectifs du projet

Le projet de partenariat entre ARTIS et le CACM poursuivait plusieurs objectifs:

- la montée en compétences des étudiants et des équipes artistiques
- le croisement des publics (étudiants en école de commerce & équipes artistiques)
- l'élargissement des horizons (réflexions, méthodologies, modes de pensée)

De manière générale, nous faisons le constat que l'organisation actuelle du secteur du spectacle vivant en France rencontre plusieurs difficultés et problématiques:

- le cadre juridique, réglementaire et administratif se complexifie de plus en plus et évolue régulièrement, ce qui oblige les professionnels en activité à s'adapter constamment à ces évolutions, sans nécessairement avoir les compétences et savoir-faire pour cela.

- les équipes artistiques sont confrontées à une concurrence extrêmement forte où elles doivent réinventer chaque jour leur façon de se faire repérer et ainsi d'accéder aux réseaux de production et de diffusion.

- le déséquilibre entre l'offre et la demande de spectacles (surproduction de spectacles par une multitude de compagnies face à un ensemble de théâtres et de salles de spectacles qui ne peuvent pas tous les accueillir) font que de nombreuses compagnies créent des spectacles ayant une durée de vie très limitée. Et cet état de fait se reproduit d'une année sur l'autre.

- le système de subventions devient de plus en plus lourd dans son fonctionnement: pour rentrer dans ces cadres de financement, les professionnels de la culture produisent et reproduisent les même démarches, les mêmes projets, les même postures professionnelles. Cela crée un enfermement des professionnels et par là-même, un assèchement des initiatives et un appauvrissement des façons de faire.

Outre ses objectifs spécifiques indiqués plus haut, l'expérimentation poursuivait également un objectif de fond: celui d'assurer au mieux la pérennité des projets artistiques et culturels. Cela se traduisait ainsi:

- pour les étudiants, il s'agissait de leur donner une première expérience préprofessionnelle et de les amener à tester leurs connaissances et compétences. Et ainsi, de favoriser une insertion professionnelle plus durable dans le secteur culturel et d'éviter le passage parfois très brutal entre l'Université et le monde professionnel. En expérimentant dès l'Université, ils peuvent ainsi mieux affiner leurs souhaits de travailler dans telle ou telle branche d'activités et tel type de métier.

- pour les professionnels, en leur donnant l'occasion d'élargir leur perception du secteur par un travail avec des étudiants recevant une formation orientée sur le management et l'entrepreneuriat, il s'agissait de leur transmettre d'autres manières de travailler et d'autres outils, de façon à ce qu'ils puissent les réutiliser dans leurs différents projets et ainsi qu'ils sortent des schémas classiques de la conduite de projets.

Évaluation du projet

Faire travailler les étudiants sur des projets concrets et réels leur a permis de mettre en pratique leurs connaissances, mais aussi de comparer les savoirs appris avec la réalité du terrain en France.

Les profils très différents de chaque compagnie participant à cette expérimentation, mais également le type de projets qu'elles souhaitaient développer, ont permis aux étudiants d'avoir un aperçu de plusieurs types de diversités existant en France:

- la diversité des projets artistiques existants de par les disciplines artistiques, les réseaux de relations et de diffusion...

- la diversité des compagnies et de leur fonctionnement : l'organisation interne (formalisée ou non), la taille des équipes (plus ou moins restreintes), le modèle économique (réflexion sur celui-ci ou non, sur sa pérennité, sur la diversification des types de financements...), l'implantation territoriale, les relations avec leur environnement professionnel, les stratégies de développement...

Cette découverte de ces types de diversité a été très appréciée des étudiants.

Plusieurs interrogations et difficultés ont été soulevées durant le projet et lors de l'évaluation de celui-ci. Le facteur temps est sans doute celui qui parait le plus essentiel. D'une part pour que les étudiants puissent

comprendre le projet artistique sur lequel ils travaillaient, les attentes et objectifs de la compagnie. Et d'autre part pour que les étudiants aient le temps de réfléchir et de proposer des solutions, et pour que les compagnies puissent les expérimenter. La barrière de la langue a également joué un rôle : les séances de travail ayant lieu en anglais (ce qui s'explique par le fait que les étudiants proviennent très majoritairement de l'étranger), la compréhension des subtilités de langage et du vocabulaire artistique et culturel employé par les compagnies a demandé du temps. La durée totale de l'expérimentation, à savoir quatre mois, s'est ainsi avérée trop courte.

L'expérimentation a été vécue de façon différente par chacune des compagnies. Cependant, quelques traits communs ont pu être dégagés. Outre la question de la temporalité évoquée plus haut, un hiatus a été souligné entre les attentes des compagnies et ce qu'elles ont vécu durant le projet. Ce hiatus s'explique en partie par le décalage entre le profil des professionnels participants (travaillant dans le spectacle vivant et donc plutôt bons connaisseurs de ce secteur d'activité) et celui de la formation dispensée à la BSB (formation généraliste au management dans le domaine des arts et de la culture, qui dépasse la simple branche du spectacle vivant).

En termes de résultats, trois situations se sont produites, chacune propre à chaque compagnie:

- pour la compagnie d'arts de la rue et de marionnette: l'approche entrepreneuriale des étudiants a heurté les convictions et les principes d'indépendance politique et artistique défendus par le directeur artistique. Certaines des solutions proposées par les étudiants ont cependant été utilisées par la compagnie, notamment sur le plan de la communication.
  Au moment de l'expérimentation, la compagnie n'avait pas encore la réponse à sa candidature pour le festival Chalon dans la Rue. Depuis, nous savons que cette dernière n'a pas été sélectionnée.

- pour la compagnie de danse contemporaine: c'est sans doute avec ce projet que l'expérimentation a le plus porté ses fruits, malgré les difficultés citées plus haut.
  Au moment de l'expérimentation, la compagnie n'avait pas encore la réponse à sa candidature pour le festival Chalon dans la Rue. Depuis, nous savons que cette dernière a été sélectionnée: elle s'est donc produite fin juillet dans le festival et a ainsi pu mettre en application les propositions des étudiants.

- pour la compagnie de théâtre: l'expérimentation a fait ressortir que le projet était sans doute trop avancé et que la compagnie avait déjà une certaine expérience de l'international, pour pouvoir réellement bénéficier du travail des étudiants. D'autre part, de par son projet artistique, la compagnie visait prioritairement des écoles et centres éducatifs chinois (pour à la fois jouer le spectacle et mener un travail en lien avec les usagers de ces lieux) et non des festivals et salles de spectacle. Cet élément n'a pas été explicité tout de suite par la compagnie et a nécessité un temps de compréhension approfondi de la part des étudiants.

Malgré ces difficultés, les étudiants comme les compagnies ont fait un bilan assez positif de cette expérimentation. Pour les étudiants, cela les a amenés à adapter les connaissances apprises par rapport à la réalité du terrain. Cela leur a permis également de prendre conscience de la nécessité d'assurer au mieux la

pérennité des projets artistiques et culturels, d'abord en analysant le plus finement possible ces derniers, ensuite en apportant des réponses adaptées à chaque situation rencontrée.

Pour les compagnies, les informations et les propositions transmises par les étudiants ont été utilisées et mise en pratique, totalement ou partiellement. Le travail avec les étudiants leur a également permis d'élargir leurs connaissances, et pour certaines d'entre elles, de découvrir et d'expérimenter d'autres façons de faire.

Une première évaluation a eu lieu lors de la dernière séance de travail: un questionnaire a été remis aux étudiants et aux compagnies afin de recueillir des premiers éléments d'analyse. En ce qui concerne les compagnies, une seconde évaluation aura lieu au mois de septembre, afin de jauger les effets qui se seront produits sur un temps plus long suite au travail avec les étudiants.

Diversité et durabilité dans le secteur culturel

Le projet mené par ARTIS et le CACM peut constituer un exemple intéressant qui illustre la diversité dans le secteur du spectacle vivant, et comment celle-ci peut contribuer à la durabilité dans le secteur culturel. Avec ce projet, un exemple de diversité peut être compris: celui sur la variété des pratiques professionnelles. Les acteurs culturels ont tout intérêt à connaître les différentes pratiques qui existent dans leur secteur, que ce soit en termes de méthodes de travail, de façons de penser, d'outils de communication, de modèles économiques... Cette connaissance de ce qui existe leur permet de nourrir leur réflexion. Mais la connaissance est peu efficace si elle ne se manifeste pas également par la mise en relation et l'intelligence collective. Faire se rencontrer les acteurs culturels entre eux mais aussi avec d'autres professionnels ou futurs professionnels (du même secteur d'activité ou d'un autre), les faire travailler ensemble de façon à croiser les regards et les points de vue, est un moyen de valoriser la diversité des pratiques.

Amener les différents acteurs culturels à travailler ensemble est aussi un moyen de favoriser la durabilité des projets et des pratiques dans ce secteur d'activité. Le cloisonnement d'une part entre les différentes branches d'activités d'un même secteur, mais aussi d'autre part au sein d'une même branche entre les différents niveaux de développement et de taille des entreprises, est une situation qui amène à un enfermement des acteurs sur eux-mêmes, à un assèchement des pratiques et ainsi à une durabilité des projets amoindrie. Plusieurs mondes ainsi se côtoient mais échangent peu voire pas entre eux. La construction de passerelles entre différents niveaux ou branches d'activité est alors quelque chose d'essentiel. Le fait d'avoir travaillé à cela avec les trois compagnies participantes qui souhaitaient franchir un palier de développement et d'accéder à un autre type de réseau en est une illustration parmi d'autres.

CONCLUSION

L'évaluation de cette expérience par ARTIS et le CACM a été positive dans son ensemble. Cela nous a conduits à renouveler ce partenariat et ce type d'expérimentation pour l'année 2019-2020. L'objectif est de construire une proposition véritablement adaptée et pertinente permettant aux étudiants et aux professionnels artistiques et culturels d'en tirer le meilleur profit : pour cela, un approfondissement des

thématiques traitées et de la méthodologie employée sera effectué, ainsi que la construction d'un cadre de compréhension et de références communes et partagées entre équipes artistiques et étudiants.

Human capital and cultural participation: an investigation on student's performance

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ABSTRACT

Cultural participation and social engagement are believed to be potentially beneficial on school, university and work performance. Studies carried out from various disciplinary perspectives confirm that a positive impact upon students' marks is likely to be exerted by such experiences. The paper investigates upon the relationship between cultural participation, social engagement and students' performance examining a sample of first-year students sitting the Public Economics exam. The aim of the study is to verify the possible degree in which students' performance is being affected by a lifestyle where cultural participation and social activity play an important role. The methodological approach of the work describes the features of cultural participation, social activity, leisure as the main independent variables adopted in the following empirical investigation. However, the different groups related to the students' personal activity did not show any substantial differences in the exam outcome. The possible explanations of such an apparently paradoxical evidence is that the prevailing technical features of teaching economics on one hand, and the form of a written, closed answers exam, prove able to drain any possible differences among students, since their experience heterogeneity ends up being drained by a uniform protocol where individual views and abilities are not emphasized and extracted.

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1. Introduction

According to the official statistics (ISTAT, 2017) cultural participation in Italy proves lower than the European average. In the year 2016 an increase in museum, cinema and concert participation was recorded, but symmetrically less people read books (-1.5 compared to 2015) and newspaper (-3.2). Among the adult population 18.6% are not active in any cultural activities. Such a cultural "absence" varies by gender and region: women are more reluctant than men (21.5% vs. 15.5%), residents in the southern regions are less active than those who live in the north-east (28.6% vs. 12.5%).

As we may expect young people seem to participate less than adults, although this can be considered from different perspectives: on one hand the theory of cultural addiction (Stigler & Becker, 1977) implies a growing cultural participation through time, due to the experience and its ability to intensify taste formation; on the other hand the diffusion of technology among the youth improves accessibility of many cultural products which could be seen as obsolete and conventional otherwise. Statistics still ignore cultural consumption on the web; not only it should be associated to analogic experience, thus expanding the scope of cultural experience, but it also emphasizes the likely growth of shared cultural consumption due to the even diffusion of digital devices (see Leung, 2005).

Despite the conventional skepticism towards cultural contents being conveyed to the demand through digital channels, we must acknowledge that the development of technology has changed the cultural offer, enriched the languages and techniques, evolved the methods of dissemination and enjoyment of culture, and in some respect weakened the cultural divide affecting twentieth century's societies. The web has changed the way people work, play, learn and communicate. Today, there is a scarcely an aspect of our life that is not being affected by the torrent of information available on the hundreds of millions of sites crowding the internet (Leung, 2005).

The paper aims at investigating on the relationship between the use of leisure time and cultural participation on one hand, and students' performance on the other. Being strictly related to the effectiveness of building human capital, the analysis of students' performance appears to be crucial in order for the labor market outcome to be facilitated by appropriate educational trails. Degrees awarded with a low mark are likely to reduce the opportunities for the student either to find a proper job or to be properly paid, therefore misallocating human resources; on the contrary, high marks appear to lead to earlier and better paid employment (Monks, 1997; Brunello & Comi, 2004).

Becker (1964) defines human capital as the productive ability whose level can be enhanced through education, i.e. the accumulation of knowledge, abilities and skills. The individual choice to invest in education is therefore a rational process resulting from the comparison of costs and benefits in a long-term horizon. Also

non-cognitive abilities the set of attitudes, behaviors, and strategies that are thought to underpin success in school and at work, such as motivation, perseverance, and self-control (EEF, 2013) may exert an important impact upon the quality of human capital (Cunha & Heckman, 2007). It implies that both cultural activities and social engagement provide individuals with a more effective technical ability but also with a more solid view of her/his professional eco-system.

As a concept developed and conceived in an individualistic form the concept of human capital in economics in very close to cultural capital, in fact the definition of human capital within economics clearly include culture as one of its components (Throsby, 1999).

The benefits of cultural participation have been considered by Throsby (2001) who points at its impact upon innovative orientation; Grossi et al. (2012) emphasize that cultural participation leads to a sounder perception of individual well-being; Wheatley and Bickerton (2017) also focus upon personal satisfaction and the subjective perception of well-being.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 a theoretical framework is proposed. Section 3 provides a glossary of the terms describing the object of this paper. In section 4 the materials and methods are presented. Section 5 offers a descriptive statistics and proper checks. In section 6 are illustrated the main results. Finally discussion and concluding remarks are provided in Section 7 and Section 8.

2. Cultural participation and student's performance: a proposed theoretical framework

The issues dealt with in this paper prove to be quite important in the present years, when scholars appear to be doubtful about the orientation towards specialization that still represents the backbone of many educational processes, from the diffused metrics for evaluating academic research and teaching performance to the educational methods adopted in many university courses. The purpose of this brief literature review is to summarize the ongoing debate on the impact that participation in extracurricular activities (which include several participation behaviours and several different experiences) has on students' achievements.

The impact of extra-curricular activities on the student performance can be summarized from a number of perspectives. The most commonly reported evidence suggests that self-confidence, the positive development of a range of competences and skills associated with employability (including team-work, problem solving and communication, improved skills in time-management and prioritization, improved self-management), facilitates the creation of strong social ties, facilitating the improvement of academic results (Buckley & Lee, 2018).

Chan (2016) argues that extracurricular activities enhance students' confidence in their ability which in turn encourages deep learning; in fact, students with active involvement in extracurricular activities attain results that indicate a positive relationship between 'deep approach' and academic outcomes. Several studies (among the others Cabanac, 2013) have examined, over time, the effects of music on school performance at every level: students attending at music courses achieve better performance on all other subjects. Dos Santos-Luiz (2016) and Babo (2004) suggest similar outcomes. Scoppola (2013) examines the impact of music learning upon school and university performance, highlighting the individual ability to transfer the outcome of cultural experiences to different areas, as also neuroscientists (Sacks, 2007; Stern, 2010) highlight.

Others studies examined the effects of internet and videogames on children's school performance; the results indicated that longer internet use was associated with better reading skills, but only for the young initially low in reading skills; videogame playing was associated with better visual-spatial skill (Jackson et al., 2011). Moderate relationship between social media and academic performance of the students was also found by Tamayo et al. (2014) and Al-Rahmi (2013). Although the impact of social media still remains controversial, recently Boahene (2019) confirmed that the use of social media for educational purposes appears to be positively related to academic performance, but symmetrically the general use of social media may negatively affect academic performance. Other studies investigated the role of friendship ties in academic performance, consistently with previous research showing that social support from parents and peers can be beneficial for the academic success of both first-generation and further generation college student (Azmitia, Syed & Radmacher, 2013).

According to Cheong et al. (2019) first-year college students' regular communication with their friends on campus can be related to student's higher academic effectiveness due to a stronger perceived connection with the college. Olejarz (2017) examines the growing role that the humanities – including art, music and the wider cultural realm – play in many technical professions where the ability to craft "the right questions" prove more important than the reliability in routine problem-solving processes.

Furia et al. (2018) showed that in the Italian experience volunteering is stimulated by cultural participation in "niche" cultural areas: the consumption of conventional cultural products such as museums, exhibitions and theatre has a significant impact on volunteer activity.

3. A Glossary

A preliminary glossary can facilitate the interpretation of our research: many words describing the object of this paper are often abused and transformed in labels, due to conventions aimed at simplifying complex concepts such as culture, art and knowledge, also in the light of the growing attention towards shared metrics whose need of universal precision ends up to drain the manifold meaning of some crucial concepts. The issue proves crucial if we consider the discriminatory power of such words. For example, art funding is normally (and formally) assisted by the acknowledgement of cultural value in objects, services and actions, relying on expert commissions, mainstream definitions or more brutally on political decisions. Some technical definition is therefore helpful.

3.1. Leisure

The investigation described in this paper has been based upon the expected influence of cultural participation and other leisure activities on students' performance. Leisure is defined as a non-working time spent in non-compulsory and discretionary activities; it includes hobbies, socializing, sports, etc. Leisure activities are normally considered salutary, induce positive emotions and reduce stress (Pressman et al., 2009). "It is also regarded as a way of life marked by a sense of freedom and independent choice, and as the individual's opportunity for achieving self-actualization" (Kraus, 2011). If we consider factors such as gender and age the concept of leisure could change: in fact women appear to consider leisure as time available for themselves,

that can be devoted either to others or to stand-alone action/rest. On the contrary, for men the prevailing view of leisure is as either time to spend with friends, or to engage in hobbies.

The boys in the 14-17 age bracket consider, more than adults, leisure as time for fun, friends, evasion from of school and home-works. People between 20 and 34 years consider leisure as time for resting and relaxing, but also time to spend with a partner. The meaning itself of leisure can change through time, including the risk of an increasing negative atmosphere when leisure itself end up being associated with loneliness and wasted time (ISTAT, 2006). In any case, and evidently with a varying degree, leisure is among the most "free" areas in one's life, when meaningful engagement, self-expression, creativity and non-conventional action can be experienced (Caldwell, 2005).

3.2 Quality of life

Leisure is undoubtedly considered a major feature within quality of life. Such a concept refers to an evaluation judgment about important aspects of life in a society (Gasper, 2010). Quality of life has been defined as ''the global assessment of a person's life satisfaction according to his chosen criteria'' (Leung & Lee, 2005). The World Health Organization defines quality of life as "an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live, and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns. It is a broad ranging concept affected in a complex way by the person's physical health, psychological state, level of independence, social relationships, personal beliefs and their relationship to salient features of their environment" (WHOQOL Group, 1997).

The multiple perspectives from which quality of life can be framed and analyzed make it a subjective and variable, also due to its natural comparison with some standard whose stability may depend upon social value hierarchy, as Leung & Lee (2005) emphasize: perceived quality of life is influenced by personality (optimism, pessimism, isolation, self-worth, neuroticism); also objective factors exert a visible influence upon its definition, describing the environment as the combination of family, job, neighborhood, community, standard of living, etc.; Kraus (2011) observes that "sense of freedom and independent choice, and (…) the individual's opportunity for achieving self-actualization" contribute to define one's quality of life.

Also measures of well-being can be either subjective or objective: the former capture the ways in which individuals incorporate emotional responses and cognitive judgments in their personal sphere; the latter take the form of a basket of indicators aimed at capturing material conditions (health, income, width of family, etc.) that influence well-being itself (Wheatley & Bickerton, 2016). The concept of quality of life is often associated with that of well-being, although well-being seems related to individual perceptions and quality of life is centered on community and social life. From a disciplinary perspective Gasper (2009) observes that well-being is object of psychology, while quality of life belongs to the realm of sociology and social policy.

3.3. Cultural participation

Despite the overflow of statistics aimed at measuring the dimensions of cultural demand through the overall purchase of entrance tickets for museums, theatres and archaeological site, or similarly through the expenditure aimed at buying books and journals, we must highlight that such a dimensional view of culture

proves restricted and backward. Cultural participation cannot be not limited to the consumption of products belonging to the so-called "élite" culture (or, in any case, to its conventional and institutional definition) but is part of daily life and contributes strongly to the quality of life of a given community (UNESCO, 2009). A fairly broad definition is provided by UNESCO (2012) which defines cultural participation as "any activity that, for individuals, represents a way of increasing their own cultural and informational capacity and capital, which helps to define their identity, and/or allows for personal expression". Moreover UNESCO (2009) offers a simple taxonomy of cultural practices: a) home-based action: time spent on watching TV, listening to the radio, watching and listening recorded sound and image, reading or surfing the web (*culture d'appartement*); b) going out: cinema, theatre, concerts, museums, heritage sites (*culture de sortie*); c) identity building: amateur cultural practices, membership of cultural associations, popular culture, ethnic culture, youth culture, community practices (*culture identitaire*).

Measuring cultural participation means understanding and evaluating quantitative and qualitative aspects of the participation in any activity that, for individuals, represents a way of increasing their own cultural and informational capacity and capital, which helps define their identity, and/or allows for personal expression (UNESCO, 2009). Cultural participation is associated with a more active lifestyle, and it may positively affect the degree of social cohesion (Morrone & De Mauro, 2008). Cultural participation appears to be connected with broader participation in the community life, as O'Toole (2006) observes:

> participation is something that can be viewed as a whole. That is, there is not a simple sense in which people participate in cultural life or in political life but rather there is the participative instinct and the participative capacity, which is also something that exists on a continuum. (…) Cultural participation is very strongly linked to citizenship, to the reality of citizenship.

4. Materials and methods

4.1. The survey on students' lifestyle

The investigation described in this paper has been carried out during the academic year 2016-2017 focusing upon the expected positive relationship between cultural participation and social activities in students' lifestyle on one hand, and their exam performance on the other. The research team submitted an evaluation test to the students enrolled in the Public Economics[63] exam, being held in written form with multiple-choice questions related to a common program previously illustrated and discussed in lectures, and available in the adopted textbook. After having completed the exam in due time students have been asked to answer a questionnaire about their personal habits related to cultural participation and social activities. The students were 184, all of them fully answered to the questionnaire[64].

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[63] The Public Economics course is given within the five-years degree course in Laws at the University of Catanzaro "Magna Graecia". This University is a small-sized public university located in the South of Italy. It presently records about 10,638 students enrolled in different Schools (Laws, Medicine, Pharmacy) Degree Courses and at different levels of the Italian University system.
[64] The research had been approved by the Direction of the Department of Laws, History, Economics and Society; the administrative offices provided us with demographic information about the students of our sample. Each student participating to the investigation approved and undersigned the "informed consent" form in order for the research team to use the data collected. Of course students could refuse to be the object of our research project and to answer the questionnaire. None of them dit it.

In order for students' cultural participation and social activities to be properly assessed we had drafted a self-reporting questionnaire consisting of 22 items[65]. The main reference have been the UNESCO 1986 and 2009 frameworks, originally designed within a broader project aiming at the definition of cultural habits in people's practice. The Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS)[66] aims at providing Countries with a uniform data collection tool, also in view of data harmonisation within global cultural statistics.

> The 2009 FCS provides us with a pragmatic definition of culture based on the concept of cultural domains[67]. These include cultural activities, goods and services related to the cultural 'value chain': creation, production, dissemination, exhibition / reception / transmission, production / consumption. Other related domains are linked to the broader definition of culture, encompassing social and recreational activities. These domains represent the minimum set of core cultural domains for which UNESCO would encourage countries to collect comparative data (UNESCO, 2009).

The areas of cultural participation can be interfaced with the kind of action affecting the setting, the time/space features and the varied intensiveness of each cultural experience, as Morrone (2006) suggests: the participation behaviours can divided in attending/receiving[68], performance/production by amateurs[69], and finally interaction process[70]. Based on this distinction, and excluding the participation behaviours based on performance/production by amateurs which is not appropriate to the context of analysis, ten extra-curricular activities were investigated through a self-reporting questionnaire. These were: theatre, concert, museum, cinema, music, videogames, friends, social media, volunteering, conference (for each of them the frequency of execution was required). The mentioned activities were unpacked in two macro-categories: former five were identified as *Sharing Experiences*, which implies the simultaneous consumption and a horizontal connection with other consumer, while the latter five were identified as *Interactive Experiences* where consumption implying a vertical relationship.

These layers of cultural experience can be paralleled by the physical setting where it occurs, clearly contributing to the emotional and cognitive value attained by each consumer. Although unavoidably subjective, such a distinction can help us understand some important preferences: as an example, home consumption allows for a limited sharing experience, while theatres and museums put cultural consumers in touch with strangers and widens the scope of socialisation. Following this setting cultural practices can be divided into home-based[71], going out[72] and identity building[73].

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[65] For dimensioning the feasible distortion and for calibrating the questions with our goal, 20 pilot interviews to students of University of Catanzaro anticipated its final definition.

[66] From this point FCS.

[67] The cultural domains present in FCS (2009) are: Cultural and Natural Heritage, Performance and Celebration, Visual Arts and Craft, Books and Press, Audio-visual and Interactive Media, Design and Creative Services, Intangible Cultural Heritage (transversal domain). Related domains are: Tourism and finally Sports and Recreation.

[68] "Occurs when there is a communicational process between external sources of information and a receiving subject.

[69] "Involves subjects that build up or create material or nonmaterial cultural products, either for an audience or for a private pleasure or aim, either in organized or in not organized context (for example musical or theatre performances, handicraft, but also amateur activities that are very widely disseminated among people). Professional practices are excluded here".

[70] "Is defined as a continuous feedback flow of communication between an external source and a receiving subject. The information and communication technologies are an example of interactive cultural participation. Through these technologies, the receiving subject is able to re-elaborate the messages and send them in a new form to the original source, building a new form of dialogue totally absent in traditional media (…)".

[71] Refers to the amount of time spent on watching TV, listening to the radio, watching and listening to recorded sound and images, reading and using computer and the Internet.

[72] Includes visits to cultural venues such as cinema, theatre, concerts, museums, monuments and heritage sites.

[73] Covers amateur cultural practices, membership of cultural associations, popular culture, ethnic culture, community practices and youth culture.

The time dimension was adapted to the kind of action we investigated upon: the yearly basis was related to more general issues, while a shorter horizon was adopted for more recurrent action such as tv watching and radio listening, as Morrone (2006) advocates in order for the dynamics of data to be improved. The answers based upon ranking from 1 to 5 can easily avoid any biases that could be generated by the adoption of two different time horizons.

4.2. Statistical analysis

Descriptive statistics were computed for all variables, and reported as mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum value, number of observations. For the reliability of the questionnaire we used Cronbach Alpha Index. In bivariate analyses we used the Student's t-test to compare both continuous and discrete variables. The students involved in the study were divided in two groups: Active group and Inactive group. The Active group was obtained evaluating the medians of the two extra-curricular activity (Sharing Experiences and *Interactive Experiences)* that had to be ≥ 3 for at least one of them, the students who, otherwise, did not pass this criteria were cataloged as Inactive group.

The score of Public Economy exam was used as dependent variable and investigated through an econometric model based on OLS method to show whether the mentioned activities could be able to influence students' performance. The analyses were performed with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program (version 25.0, SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL, USA).

5. A preliminary analysis

5.1 Descriptive statistics

The sample included 184 students attending the Public Economy Course (PEC) at the University Magna Graecia of Catanzaro in Southern Italy in the academic year 2016/2017, 4 students dropped out study then 180 were available for statistical analysis. We investigated on the socio-demographic dimension (gender, age, family income, parents' education), past studies and marks (secondary school attendance, secondary school vote, attending PEC), and extra-curricular activity (hours spent in cultural, social and leisure activity). Table 1. presents summary statistics of the key explanatory variables; the variable Active is equal to 1 if the student is substantially involved in extra-curricular activities, and to 0 otherwise.

TABLE 1. SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Active	180	0,49	0,501	0	1
Female	184	0,71	0,457	0	1
Age	184	19,8	2,67	18	41
Area size	184	0,66	0,474	0	1
Income size	184	27,585.60	29,775.61	0,00	90,000.00
Father education	184	1,91	0,759	0	3
Mother Education	184	1,95	0,759	0	3

Theatre	180	1,71	0,837	1	5
Concert	180	1,90	0,952	1	5
Museum	180	2,17	0,896	1	5
Cinema	180	2,67	0,974	1	5
Music	180	2,69	0,976	1	5
Videogames	180	1,36	0,631	1	4
Friends	180	3,04	0,982	1	5
Social media	180	2,86	1,045	1	5
Volunteering	180	1,44	0,820	1	5
Conference	180	2,62	1,047	1	5
Lyceum	184	0,72	0,449	0	1
Secondary school vote	184	82,98	11,423	60	100
First year	184	0,93	0,257	0	1
Grade PEC Exam	184	20,90	4,942	8	31

The average student in the sample is 20 years old (± 2.67 years), female (71%), resident in Catanzaro (66%), belongs to a middle-income, educated family (annual income EUR 27,600.00; graduated parents), classical school (72%), good marks (83/100) and attended at PEC lectures (93%). Furthermore, such a student is sometimes engaged in activities of various kinds (friends, social media, videogames, music, conferences).

5.2. Average exam score and control variables, by option

We identified two groups of students, the Active group was composed by 88 students, while the Inactive group was slightly larger with 92 students. Table 2. shows the results of such comparisons. The first two columns show the means in different variables including also the score in the PEC exam. In the third column this gap is computed from estimating, in the fourth column, through t-stat for independent samples (p-value).

TABLE 2. BALANCE CHECKS ON STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS ACROSS ACTIVE AND INACTIVE GROUP

Variable	Active	Inactive	A – I	p-value	
Male	0,34	0,26	0,080	0,245	
Age	19,83	19,80	0,025	0,950	
Area size	0,67	0,66	0,007	0,917	
Income size	28,315.20	26,610.03	1,705.167	0,701	
Father education	2,00	1,85	0,152	0,179	
Mother Education	2,06	1,84	0,220	0,052	*
Theatre	2,00	1,42	0,576	0,000	***
Concert	2,22	1,60	0,618	0,000	***
Museum	2,41	1,95	0,463	0,001	***
Cinema	2,95	2,40	0,552	0,000	***
Music	3,01	2,38	0,631	0,000	***
Videogames	1,49	1,23	0,260	0,006	***
Friends	3,43	2,66	0,769	0,000	***
Social media	3,17	2,57	0,605	0,000	***

Volunteering	1,65	1,24	0,409	0,001	***
Conference	3,01	2,25	0,761	0,000	***
Lyceum	0,80	0,64	0,154	0,021	**
Secondary school vote	83,57	82,33	1,242	0,469	
First year	0,94	0,92	0,019	0,607	
Grade PEC Exam	21,39	20,65	0,734	0,319	
Obs.	88	92			

* $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.01$.

The socio-demographic and family background profiles are substantially equal on average with the only exception of mother's education level that is higher for the Sharing X group. On extra-curricular activities the difference statistically significant is due to the way the groups were realized.

6. Main Results

In order for the impact of extra-curricular activities possibly exerted in students' performance (PEC exam), as suggested by the economic and multidisciplinary literature, we operated a simple linear regression. The likely impact can prove consistent with the main outcomes of literature considering that economics, as it is taught in university courses, appears to be closer to sciences rather than to humanities. Of course we can intensively discuss the complex and often contradictory features of such an association, but the present textbook approach and content tend to emphasize direct and precise causal links among variables, in a sort of "if-then" logic. Therefore the connection between extra-curricular activities and exam performance appears to be consistent with our theoretical expectations. Our simple linear regression takes the follows form:

$$\text{Grade PCE exam} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Active_i + \beta_2 X_i + \beta_3 Y_i + \beta_4 Z_i + \beta_5 SE_i + \beta_5 IE_i + \varepsilon_i$$

where $Active_i$ is the dummy variable taking value 1 if the student is engaged in extra-curricular activities and 0 otherwise; X_i is the vector of student's predetermined characteristics (Male, Age); Y_i is the vector of student's socio-demographic profile (Area size, Income, Parents' education); Z_i is the vector of cognitive ability (Secondary School mark, Lyceum, First year); SE_i is the vector representing Sharing Experience (Theatre, Concert, Museum, Cinema, Music); IE_i is the vector representing Interactive Experience (Videogames, Friends, Social media, Volunteering, Conference); ε_i is the error term.

Table 3. presents the OLS estimates on students' performance. Moving from left to right in the table, the estimated equations are gradually built up in terms of the explanatory variables' vector that they include, the aim being to investigate whether any of the correlations between our explanatory variables and the Active option can account for the observed difference in Public Economics exam scores.

TABLE 3. ACTIVITY AGGREGATION AND EXAM PERFORMANCE: OLS ESTIMATES

Predictor	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Active	0,734	0,751	0,716	0,431	0,655	0,471	0,660
	(0,735)	(0,730)	(0,733)	(0,710)	(0,890)	(0,823)	(0,916)
Male		-0,215	-0,201	0,648	0,713	0,499	0,589
		(0,814)	(0,819)	(0,816)	(0,819)	(0,955)	(0,960)
Age		-0,138	-0,118	0,051	0,071	0,069	0,095
		(0,112)	(0,105)	(0,122)	(0,130)	(0,134)	(0,136)
Area size		0,515	0,628	0,928	0,990	0,938	0,999
		(0,796)	(0,791)	(0,736)	(0,762)	(0,749)	(0,780)
Income size			-0,000	-0,000	-0,000	-0,000	-0,000
			(0,000)	(0,000)	(0,000)	(0,000)	(0,000)
Father's education			-0,796	-0,658	-0,654	-0,598	-0,623
			(0,623)	(0,599)	(0,617)	(0,612)	(0,631)
Mother's education			0,797	0,872	0,966*	0,788	0,956
			(0,590)	(0,561)	(0,564)	(0,626)	(0,645)
Lyceum				-0,279	-0,069	-0,229	0,003
				(0,795)	(0,821)	(0,808)	(0,828)
Secondary school mark				0,173**	0,169**	0,170**	0,165**
				(0,032)	(0,032)	(0,035)	(0,034)
First year				0,105	0,285	0,080	0,385
				(1,469)	(1,464)	(1,444)	(1,436)
Theatre					-0,440		-0,488
					(0,555)		(0,587)
Concert					-0,078		-0,062
					(0,506)		(0,506)
Museum					-0,445		-0,468
					(0,479)		(0,485)
Cinema					0,360		0,362
					(0,402)		(0,418)
Music					0,048		0,100
					(0,412)		(0,470)
Videogames						0,188	0,003
						(0,641)	(0,649)
Friends						0,039	-0,050
						(0,424)	(0,441)
Social media						0,046	0,052
						(0,422)	(0,437)
Volunteering						-0,284	-0,290
						(0,519)	(0,506)
Conference						-0,018	0,149
						(0,409)	(0,416)
Constant	20,652**	23,091**	22,967**	4,659	4,726	4,555	4,445
	(0,475)	(2,394)	(2,728)	(4,373)	(4,884)	(4,821)	(5,009)
Obs.	180	180	180	180	180	180	180

Adj. R^2	0,000	-0,008	-0,008	0,126	0,114	0,101	0,089
lnL	-541	-540	-539	-524	-523	-524	-523

Standard   in the brackets
error

* $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.01$.

No predictor is substantially significant, with the only exception of Secondary school mark, which is able to raise at the 5% level the mark of PEC exam of + 0,170 on average in all models where it is present (see models (4) – (7)). The variables engaged in blocks of extra-curricular activities are not statistically significant and show a null coefficient (see models (6) and (7)). Only in the model (5) the mothers' education variable is significant at the 10% level, with a positive increment of +0,966.

It is important to highlight that in all models presented there is no reason to believe that the performance of PEC exam depends on any exploratory variable used; it does not change when we add extra-curricular activities. Indeed, the probability to explain the variance of PEC Exam mark is extremely small (the greatest adjusted R-squared is 0,126 in model (4)) and this one decreases considerably when we introduced the extra-curricular activities (adjusted R-squared is 0,114, 0,101 and 0,089 respectively in model (5), (6) and (7)).

7. Discussion

Contemporary society is experiencing a radical change, gradually but firmly overcoming the protocols of the serial manufacturing paradigm dominated by dimensions, accumulation and the quest for efficiency. In such a fading hierarchy of values the education has been oriented towards conventional methods, standard tools, specialization. Actually, the emerging paradigm appears to be characterized by the prevailing value of experience and relationship, and education protocols should promptly adapt to such an unexpected framework: new educational goals, cross-disciplinary fertilization, attention to diversity and new (possibly personalized) methods for evaluating students' performance are the challenges to be faced by schools and universities. The needed change is therefore a gradual and consistent transition from a traditional, selective, competitive and individualistic education to an innovative, collaborative, synergy-based and participatory one, consistently with the required values of an advanced democracy in a complex society (Chiari, 2011). For these reasons school and the university should be not only the place where students accumulate technical knowledge but mainly where they can learn (cognitive and non-cognitive) skills, practical abilities within a non-conventional methodological framework. Non-cognitive skills such as communication abilities, motivation/initiative, teamwork skills, leadership, flexibility/adaptability, problem-solving competences are at least as important as cognitive skills for individual development and labor market success (Brunello & Schlotter, 2011).

Nowadays school, and often university, are not catching the challenge, due to both a prevailing bureaucratic approach and an endemic resistance to change. The university adopts a mechanical definition of programs, where quantity prevails upon quality within a rigid grid of credits-pages-hours; the quest for specialization, strong also in social sciences where evolutionary and flexible skills should prevail, is paralleled by tight

method aimed at measuring and evaluating student's performance: written multiple-choice exams may be comfortable and quick, but end up losing any individual and subjective features that should be important in the general evaluation of a student. In such a way critical thinking and problem framing do not appear in teaching and evaluating protocols.

Education should then evolve in order for its programs to prove consistent with the changes in society; its appeal and strength should depend upon its ability to provide pupils with knowledge, skills and abilities that can be effectively spent on a rapidly changing labor market; a possible crucial point could be represented by encouraging co-operation and real-time interaction also in evaluation schemes. The new professions require skills that concern personal qualities of any candidates (problem solving, decision-making, teamwork, leadership), as well as stronger and characterizing capabilities that underline particular type of personalities able to work in contexts featured by shared skills and views.

The conventional academic protocols do not prove aimed at generating versatile and flexible professionals, but offer students a rough mosaic of reciprocally disconnected skills and actions. In the leading industry, which belongs to what is conventionally defined knowledge-based economy and consists of companies active in the digital dimension and providing the markets with info-tech tools, human resources are progressively oriented towards multi-disciplinary approaches, working in asymmetrical and informal teams where unpredictable synergies generate new products and therefore the overall value of corporate action. Also the rise of artificial intelligence in mechanical action should suggest the weight of content production in order for machines and devices to be endowed with adequate abilities to react and interact; their "brain" will be designed by scholars active in the humanities.

8. Concluding Remarks

The paper offers an empirical analysis about the impact of the individual cultural endowment and experience on student's performance, with a test carried out in an Italian University; the exam analyzed was Public Economics in a Course of Laws. The poor results attained suggest a few remarks on the failure of expectations whose predictability appears consistent with the economic and other disciplines' literature according to which a wider endowment of cultural experience leads to a higher level in exams and in general in school/university performance.

The results may then be interpreted in the light of mechanical teaching protocols and rigid evaluation methods, whose occurrence ends up draining the individual and subjective ability to "personalize" both learning action and exam sitting. The uniformity of results, and the substantial irrelevance of cultural experience shed a sharp light on the need to overcome such a rigid teaching and evaluating methods , whose standardization exerts a visible damage on the possibility to adopt an evolutionary and flexible approach able to capture the spirit of time in identifying and appraising the emerging features of the labour market, to facilitate the emersion of individual unique features that represent the most important value of human capital, to connect the personal life of students with their university trail.

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