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What is the legacy of the European Year of Cultural Heritage? A long way from cultural policies towards innovative cultural management models

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ABSTRACT

The year 2018 has been declared the European Year of Cultural Heritage (EYCH). This initiative aims at celebrating European cultural heritage through a series of actions and events across Europe to enable people to become closer to and to become more involved with their cultural heritage. This paper aims at investigating the legacy of the EYCH and its impact on the management models of cultural heritage. By means of a qualitative approach analyzing both secondary and primary data, the research contributes to the academic reflection on cultural management by highlighting the link between policy, governance and management. The EYCH initiative focused on promoting transversal and integrated policy actions by participatory governance approaches. However, it partially fails to design a proper management model for the cultural heritage that could enable policy and governance innovation to take place.

Keywords:

European Year of Cultural Heritage

Cultural management models

Cultural governance systems

Introduction

The year 2018 has been declared the European Year of Cultural Heritage (EYCH), following the proposals presented in November 2014 by the Council of Ministry of the European Union ("Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage", CEU, 2014) and in 2015 by the European Parliament (Resolution "Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe", EP, 2015). The EYCH consisted, first, in a broader set of events and initiatives: in total 23,000 events reaching 12,8 million people, alongside 14,000 labelled projects and over 900 EU-funded projects. It implied the collaboration of 37 countries and 38 stakeholders, and its implementation was carried out through the cooperation among 19 Directorate Generals of the European Commission.

However, the ambition of the EYCH was not only to create a year-long series of events to celebrate the richness and importance of cultural heritage, but also to leave a legacy that would prompt a rethink of the role and meaning of cultural heritage. Furthermore, the EYCH initiative could be interpreted as a potentially key moment for stimulating a broader discussion on cultural heritage management, pushing forward the link between policies, governance systems and management models.

Our research intends to investigate this topic, going beyond a mere analysis of policy documents: we aim to question the management dimensions emerging during the European Year of Cultural Heritage and its implication for future developments of the cultural sector. In particular, the research would like to answer the following research question: does the EYCH aim to create a new management approach to cultural heritage?

In order to investigate this question, inductive qualitative research has been carried out adopting a longitudinal as well as a transversal approach. The longitudinal analysis investigates the evolution of the policy documents related to the EYCH for a period of approximately four years; the transversal approach allowed the authors to link the impact of policy initiatives on governance and cultural management. The research was divided in two phases: a policy documents analysis and an empirical investigation focusing on identifying governance and management approaches emerging from the EYCH policy initiative. The latter investigation consists in a series of semi-structured research interviews with officers and those in managerial positions at European Union level who were involved in different phases of the EYCH. The results of the two phases provided interesting insights and stimulated further reflections on the management approaches emerging from the EYCH, thus allowing the authors to answer the research question.

This paper is structured in five sections. Following the introduction, the first section presents a literature review on the developments of European cultural heritage policies as related to the academic research on cultural governance and cultural management in a longitudinal perspective. The second section explains the research design and methodology, while the third section provides an analysis and discussion of the secondary and primary data. Section four focuses on the managerial implications of the analyzed results in terms of cultural heritage management. In the last section, the authors draw some concluding remarks, also highlighting the limitations and potential further developments of the research.

The development of the approaches to cultural heritage: policies, governance and management

The objective of this research is to reflect on the link between policies, governance and management of cultural heritage with specific reference to the impact of the European Year of Cultural Heritage initiative.

In order to provide an appropriate theoretical framework to carry out this investigation, it seems relevant to analyze the development of the European policies on cultural heritage as well as the academic debate on cultural heritage management and governance.

With reference to policy, cultural heritage, defined as "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations [...] irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration" (UNESCO, 2018), has been part of European policies from the beginning, starting specifically with the founding treaties of the European Union (Zagato, 2011; Sciacchitano, 2015).

In the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (1957, also referred to as Treaty of Rome) and more specifically in the Treaty on the European Union (1993), the European Union promotes a vision of culture based on the concept of preservation and on its potential role as a unifying element for the construction of a European identity. The common cultural identity is indeed underlined as one of the guiding principles,

"THE SHIFT OF EUROPEAN CULTURAL POLICIES FROM A FOCUS ON PRESERVATION AND IDENTITY TOWARDS AN INCREASING ATTENTION ON TOPICS OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE, CROSS-SECTORAL APPROACHES AND THE RELATION BETWEEN CULTURE AND SUSTAINABILITY, IS MIRRORED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH CULTURAL GOVERNANCE AND CULTURAL MANAGEMENT DEBATE"

and the role of promoting the preservation of European common cultural heritage is attributed to the European Union. These treaties promote, moreover, the principle of subsidiarity: the role of the European Union is to foster cooperation, implementing incentive measures but not excluding the laws and regulations of the member states that keep their autonomy in the development of their cultural policies (Mattocks, 2017; Staiger, 2013; Littoz-Monnet, 2007). In the consolidated version of these documents proposed in the Treaty of Lisbon (2007), art. 167 specifies that "the Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore". In this Treaty the key role of the member states and the subsidiarity principle is further underlined, reaffirming the European Union as the supporting entity in the development of common policies on cultural heritage; the cooperation for the development of cultural initiatives and exchanges among member states and with external partners (among which the Council of Europe) is again encouraged.

Though these founding documents addressed this topic, the first specific policy document on cultural heritage was issued in 1994 (Council Conclusion of 17 June 1994 on drawing up a Community Action Plan in the field of cultural heritage). This conclusion promotes an interpretation of cultural heritage still mainly based on preservation. However, for the first time it advocates for the need to connect cultural heritage with other fields such as tourism, territorial development, research, mass media and new technologies. As a matter of fact, over the following twenty years the approach to cultural heritage shifted from attention to conservation and links with the creation of common cultural identity to an interpretation of cultural heritage as leverage for socio-economic development, also addressing integrated approaches and the importance of enhancing cultural heritage as a strategic asset of the European Union (Barca, 2017).

An external organization, the Council of Europe, became in those years one of the most important discussion platforms on these topics. In 2005, an initiative of the Council of Europe led to the "Framework convention on the value of cultural heritage for society" (also known as the Faro Convention), considered as a milestone for the promotion of concepts that were to become central in the following years; first of all the idea of participation, but also the interpretation of cultural heritage protection as "a central factor in the mutually supporting objective of sustainable development, cultural diversity, contemporary creativity".

The Faro Convention, differently integrated in the national policies of EU member states, became an inspiring document for later policy actions by the European Union. Its influence is visible in the definition of the European Agenda for Culture (Resolution of the Council of the European Union, 2007), stating the need to promote cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, culture as driver for creativity and strategic element for international relations. It is also evident in the creation of the Culture 2007-2013 program and in a series of initiatives such as the "Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage and Global Change" launched by the Council of the European Union in 2011 (Barca, 2017).

However, a real turning point in the European policies on cultural heritage can be seen in a series of documents issued in 2014. In this year the Creative Europe program was launched, unifying the previous Culture and Media programs and underlining the need for integrated projects and interpreting culture and creativity, and their subsectors, as an interacting ecosystem.

In 2014, the Council approved the "Council conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe", that substantially adopted the definition and role of cultural heritage given by the Faro Convention. In 2014 the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament "Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe" emphasized the need to promote more

integrated approaches to the governance of culture in the European context. Finally, in November 2014 the Council of Ministry of the European Union (during the Italian presidency) issued the "Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage", where the member states were encouraged to adopt a multi-level, multi-stakeholder approach to cultural heritage. This document also promoted the importance of civic participation in governance systems that recognized the interconnections among tangible, intangible and digital cultural heritage and that could facilitate the role of culture in local regeneration (Barca, 2017; Sciacchitano, 2015). The launching of a European Year of Cultural Heritage was also proposed in the conclusions.

This latter idea of a European Year of Cultural Heritage is again proposed in 2015 by the European Parliament resolution "Towards an integrated approach to Cultural Heritage for Europe". The resolution moreover identifies cultural heritage as a strategic resource for smart, inclusive and sustainable growth in line with other reports appearing in the same year, such as the report of the Horizon 2020 Expert Group "Getting Cultural Heritage to Work for Europe" or the final report of the project "Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe" (CHCfE, 2015).

The shift of European cultural policies from a focus on preservation and identity towards an increasing attention on topics of participatory governance, cross-sectoral approaches and the relation between culture and sustainability, is mirrored in the development of both cultural governance and cultural management debate.

With reference to cultural governance, academic research on the topic initially consisted often in studies on cultural governance at the territorial level (Pratt, 2010, 2012 and 2015) and on the capacity of governance systems to unlock the potential of the cultural and creative sector (EC, 2010). Over the last two decades, issues of regional development, urban regeneration and planning (Borin & Juno Delgado, 2018; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Healey, 2004; Andres & Chapain, 2013) and of the specificities of cultural clusters and districts (Scott, 2000 and 2010; Tepper, 2002) have been particularly debated. This stream of studies evolved into the broader theme of the governance of creative cities (Florida, 2004; Pratt, 2010 and 2012; Grodach, 2013), that increasingly highlighted the link between the different dimensions of the cultural and creative sector – namely cultural heritage, local cultural assets and the development of cultural and creative industries (Borin, Donato, Gilli, 2012; Florida, 2004). It was also deeply investigated as a result of the financial crisis and its impact on the cultural sector. Within this framework, academics highlighted the need to identify new models of cooperation, governance systems and management models to ensure the overall sustainability of the cultural and creative sector in times of crisis (Bonet and Donato, 2011; Patuelli & Donato, 2018). This finally paved the way for the concept of cultural ecosystems (Borin & Donato, 2015; Borin, 2015): culture is interpreted as an ecology (Holden, 2015), in which governance systems are a means of promoting sustainability through the connections between cultural heritage, public and private cultural institutions, citizens and communities. Also, on the basis of the links with related fields, identifying through implementation of ecosystem approaches, the key for more sustainable models of development (Holden, 2015; Throsby, 2016). It was ultimately connected with the growing debate on how culture can interact with other traditional dimensions of sustainability (Duxbury, Kangas & De Beukelaer, 2017). Although the discourse has been sometimes criticized (Isar, 2017), culture has been advocated as one of the four pillars of sustainable development equal to social, economic, and environmental priorities (Loach, Rowley & Griffiths, 2017) and the importance of cultural heritage for development has been considered crucial (CHCfE, 2015; Van der Auwera & Schramme, 2014) even promoting the concept of "culture as sustainable development" (Soini & Dessein, 2016). In this idea, culture and cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible) are embedded in the whole discourse on sustainable development and constitute the basis for successful reflections on sustainable societies (Soini & Dessein, 2016).

With reference to cultural management, the link with the development of cultural policies is even more evident. Over the past decades, studies on the management of cultural heritage have shifted from an initial more conservative focus on preservation and cultural identity towards broader areas, more related to traditional disciplines of management (e.g. arts marketing, funding, performance measurement, etc.), although adapted to the peculiarities of the cultural heritage sector (Colbert, 2003; Evrard & Colbert, 2000; Dewey, 2004; Donato & Visser, 2010; Badia & Donato, 2013). In general, this trend implied not only the development of particular approaches (specific to cultural heritage), but also exploring the capacity of cultural heritage management to draw from the experiences and contact with other related

disciplines, such as tourism management (Leslie & Sigala, 2005; Pechlaner & Abfalter, 2006; Silvestrelli, 2013), public management or urban planning and development (Deeben et al., 1997). As well as significant parallels with the development of cultural policies and governance, cultural heritage management has been increasingly associated with the broader debates concerning the need to implement integrated strategies, or to find alternative models for dealing with a more complex society and emerging socio-economic changes. Among these trends, issues such as models of financing (Borin, Donato & Sinapi, 2018) or participatory/co-financing, participatory management as well as management models adapted to public-private and multi-stakeholder partnerships (Settembre Blundo et al., 2017; Borin, 2017; Jelinčić et al., 2017) have been addressed as new strategic management practices for the cultural heritage sector. This studies also promoted discussion on issues of sustainability in cultural heritage management and on the need to conceive cultural management as a tool for sustainable development (Barthel-Bouchier, 2016; Guzmán, Roders & Colenbrander, 2017).

In short, the analysis of the previous paragraphs has provided significant insights on how cultural policies resonate with and have an impact on cultural governance and management debates. However, so far, the European policy initiatives specifically linking policy and governance changes to new paradigms in cultural heritage management have been scarce. The EYCH could be therefore interpreted as a potentially key moment for stimulating a new, broader reflection on cultural heritage management, pushing forward the above-mentioned link policies – governance systems – and management models. The challenge of our research is therefore investigating policies to understand the management dimensions emerging in the policy documents, and initiatives issued and implemented during the European Year of Cultural Heritage. This inductive qualitative investigation will be presented and discussed in the following sections.

Research design and methodology

As specified in the previous sections, this paper aims at investigating the managerial approaches emerging from the European Year of Cultural Heritage. In order to explore this topic, the authors decided to adopt an inductive qualitative research approach involving three main phases: preparation, organization, and reporting results of the analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). In the preparation phase, the authors designed the research and collected suitable data originating from two main sources of information (primary and secondary). In the organization phase, the data were coded creating categories and abstraction using also the Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2012). This methodology was considered essential in order to comply with the criteria of rigor and trustworthiness (Gioia et al., 2012). It consists in coding the data according to a 1st order (informant-centric) and 2nd order (theory-centric) procedure leading to the final aggregation of data into main themes. In the reporting phase, the data are presented through tables and figures and clarified through the interpretation and discussions of the authors.

The decision to use a qualitative methodology is based on the fact that it is generally considered particularly suitable to carry out in-depth contextual analyses (Creswell, 2012; Yin, 2016). It was decided to collect research information through multiple sources, in compliance with the acknowledgement of the "potential relevance derived from multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone" as identified by Yin (2016: 9). Therefore, the investigation focused on two main sources of data: document analysis and semi-structured interviews. These sources were classified according to the primary and secondary data classification (Schreier, 2018).

As far as secondary data are concerned, the analyzed sample included documents that were issued in the period November 2017 - December 2018 in relation to the European Year of Cultural Heritage and published in the official web sources of the European Year of Cultural Heritage (EC, EP, EU official websites). For reasons of thoroughness, a document published after the specified year, but strictly related to it (namely the European Framework for Action on Cultural Heritage – EC, 2018m), was also included, since it was considered to be the policy document more explicitly discussing a central topic of the research, i.e. the legacy of the EYCH.

As far as primary data were concerned, semi-structured interviews were carried out with a selected research sample of eight qualified experts and officers of different European Union bodies who were involved in the EYCH. During the primary data collection, the researchers minimized the risk of influencing the interviewees and collecting biased information (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) by ensuring the confidentiality of the identity of the interviewees and establishing, in many cases, previous personal contact with the interviewees and guaranteeing that

confidential information would be kept private. The semi-structured interviews were carried out following a flexible research protocol that was amended several times based on informants' responses.

The different research phases are presented in the third section of this paper.

Empirical Research and Discussion

An in-depth presentation of the results of the research will be provided in the following sub-sections, organizing the analysis into two main parts: the former discussing secondary data analysis, the latter focusing on primary data analysis. This will allow further comparison of the results and lead the authors to draw some reflections on their managerial implications in section four.

Secondary data analysis: emerging perspectives

The first level of analysis aimed at identifying the policy, governance and managerial perspectives emerging from the official documents issued by the European Union in relation to the European Year of Cultural Heritage. As preparatory action for the analysis of these documents, the authors collected data from the official website of the EYCH.

This phase gave more precise insights on the type of documents that could be included in the analysis and lead to the selection of three main organisms of the European Union as relevant in terms of document issuing: the Council of the European Union, the European Commission and the European Parliament. During the EYCH, relevant documents were also produced by 'arm's length' groups working in close connection with European Union institutions; although not directly issued by the above-mentioned organisms, these documents are considered crucial for a thorough investigation of the research questions and therefore included in the documents of the research sample. More specifically, we are referring to the reports published as result of the studies of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) working groups of Member States' experts, in particular of the OMC Participatory Governance, the OMC Heritage Professions and the OMC Sustainable Tourism (OMC Participatory Governance, 2018; OMC Heritage Professions, 2018; OMC Sustainable Tourism, 2018). These reports are the result of a collective effort by experts of 27 European Union countries, requested by the Council of the European Union to address specific challenges, such as "innovative approaches to the multi-level governance of tangible, intangible and digital heritage which involve the public sector, private stakeholders and the civil society" (OMC Participatory Governance, 2018).

The resulting sample includes a total of 22 documents published in the period between May 2017 ("Decision (EU) 2017/864 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 May 2017 on a European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018") and December 2018 ("EC SWD(2018) 491 final, COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT, European Framework for Action on Cultural Heritage", 5 December 2018), including the New European Agenda for Culture (22 May 2018). This analysis highlighted that the EYCH promoted more than ten thousand events and activities taking place across Europe, that were classified according to 10 long-term European initiatives around the theme of Engagement, Sustainability, Protection and Innovation (EC, 2018) that have been launched during the year but will also continue beyond this period (see Figure 1).

In the document analysis, a recurring idea emerged that the EYCH is not merely a celebration of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage but rather a moment of reflection regarding the development of innovative interpretations of and approaches to cultural heritage (European Parliament and Council of the EU, 2017; EC, 2018a, d, l, m) and aiming to leave a lasting legacy for future European policies and initiatives (EC, 2018c, g, h, o; European Council, 2019). In particular, the emerging themes were related to four main concepts (see Figure 2): 1) holistic approaches 2) mainstreaming and integrated approaches 3) evidence-based policy making, and 4) multi-stakeholder cooperation/ participatory governance.

With reference to the first concept, "holistic" and "participatory" are frequent terms in all the documents that identify the EYCH as an opportunity to test new integrated, holistic and participatory approaches to safeguarding and management of cultural heritage, at national and EU level (EC, 2018m) and highlighting that the aim is to use the initiative to foster "a sense of belonging to a common European space" (EC, 2018d, i, l). The year is therefore an "opportunity to engage citizens in a deeper reflection on the wealth of memory, ideals, principles and values embedded in Europe's cultural heritage, aiming at re-discovering how cultural diversity has shaped our identity as Europeans, thus reinforcing a sense of belonging to a common European space" (EC, 2018c).

With reference to the second recurring theme, "mainstreaming and integrated approaches", the



FIGURE 1. EUROPEAN INITIATIVES IN THE EYCH 2018
Source: EC, 2018

EYCH is indicated as a stimulus for mainstreaming the cultural heritage importance as a transversal topic in other sectors (OMC Heritage Professions, 2018; OMC Sustainable Cultural Tourism, 2018); the EYCH is interpreted as a laboratory "for heritage-based innovation" (OMC Participatory Governance, 2018) in which heritage's impact on other domains is investigated and used as a rationale for rethinking innovation mechanisms.

Regarding the third recurring theme, "evidence-based policy making", new policy actions are called upon, but they need to be supported and implemented on the basis of more precise data: therefore, several documents call for gathering better comparative data from the existing statistical institutions such as Eurostat and UNESCO.

As for the fourth theme, "multi-stakeholder cooperation/participatory governance", the documents encourage dialogue and exchange among a wide range of actors when designing and implementing cultural heritage policies and programs.

The idea of holistic approaches, multi-stakeholder cooperation and participatory mechanisms are also the basis of the implementation of specific actions inside the New European Agenda for Culture adopted in May 2018 (EC, 2018d and e), as well as the 2019-2022 Work Plan for Culture issued in November 2018, in which there are explicit references to sustainability in cultural heritage and to the concepts of cultural and creative ecosystems, participation and cooperation. Furthermore, these principles are the starting points for the actions encouraged in the European Framework for Action on Cultural heritage (EC, 2018m) which are explicitly indicated as the legacy guidelines of the EYCH. The document proposes around 60 actions to be implemented by the European Commission in 2019 and 2020, grouped around the four above-mentioned topics. Also, the creation of a Culture Heritage Forum, meeting at least once a year starting in 2019, indicates a clear intention to encourage participatory mechanisms

in a holistic perspective: its members are European organizations active in the field of culture and cultural heritage, individuals appointed in a personal capacity, Member States' authorities as well as international organizations.

These results were considered as particularly relevant for the following phase of the research and were used to develop the research interview protocol.

Primary data analysis: the EYCH purposes and objectives

In the second phase of the research, the authors interviewed key stakeholders in the implementation of the EYCH. The results were analyzed according to the Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2012) and will be presented according to aggregated dimensions, then further detailed in the 1st order, 2nd order results. Overall, the coding of the interviews highlighted the presence of three main aggregated dimensions/ themes:

1. changing European policy mindset;
2. facilitating integrated approaches and participatory governance in line with the Treaty;
3. developing long-term policies.

Theme 1: Changing European policy mindset

With reference to theme 1 (aggregated dimension "changing European mindset - see Figure 3), the interviewees underlined that the EYCH per se is only partially important and that the real objective is not merely to celebrate European cultural heritage. The aim is rather to create a legacy and make 2018 "a turning point in policy-making in the future" and "having launched the EYCH means that the sector has finally reached a stage of high priorities in the EU". According to the 2nd order analysis, two main points emerged: the first concerning the introduction of a trans-sectoral approach to policies, implementing culture as transversal to other sectors; the second focusing on the promotion of shared perspectives that could change the mindset in creating European policies. With reference to the first point, an interviewee argued that "this year [EYCH] is the beginning of a change in European policy mindset: the starting moment for integrating cultural elements in all other domains: research and innovation, agriculture, social inclusion and environment for example". Cultural heritage policies are therefore no longer interpreted as isolated from the other socio-economic sectors, but rather as the leitmotif unifying, in a trans-sectoral way, other key policy fields for the European Union. Though cultural heritage has previously already been included in European initiatives and policy measures (Barca, 2017; Sciacchitano, 2015, 2018 and 2019), the EYCH aims to structure this approach and embed it in the mindset of policy makers. In summary, the ambition is "to make cultural policies as transversal policies to other sectors. For example, we cannot make transport policies without considering the cultural element,



FIGURE 2. TOPICS EMERGING IN PHASE 1 – SECONDARY DATA

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate dimension
To interpret culture and CH not in a sectoral way [...] not to close each sector in specific policies (policies for culture, for transports, wealth, energy, etc.) [...] policy topics touched by the European Framework for Action on Cultural Heritage and by the New European Agenda for Culture can make a difference also in domains that are not usually connected to heritage		
Bringing the cultural agenda outside the self-referential space of the cultural policy discourse [...] is to make cultural policies as transversal policy to other sectors. Provide a framework for a European, cross-sectoral and integrated approach to cultural heritage	Introducing a transversal approach to policies, implementig culture as transversal to other sectors	
An important mindset change in the way people act within the Commission, being them normally used to work in a comfortable silos approach. as a result of the mainstreaming effort during the EYCH, 15 Commission Services (EAC, REGIO, RTD, GROW, CNECT, ENV, CLIMA, JRC, EMPL, HOME, TAXUD, DEVCO, NEAR, ECHO, MARE) as well as the EEAS are now involved in the implementation of the Framework of Action on Cultural Heritage. This is a very positive signal, especially as several of these DGs have no tradition in working on cultural heritage related issues		CHANGING EUROPEAN POLICY MINDSET
Having launched the EYCH means that the sector has finally reached a stage of high priorities in the EU		
This year (EYCH) is the beginning of a change in European policy mindset: the starting moment for integrating cultural elements in all othe domains [...] The aim is to implement shared perspectives between culture and other sectors	Promoting sharing perspectives that could change the mindset in creating European policies	
Cultural heritage addressed through other EU policies such as education, agriculture and rural development, regional development, social cohesion, environment, tourism, research and innovation, among others		
I think indeed that the EYCH called for a change in mindset [...] it is also a key resource for our future		

FIGURE 3. FIRST AGGREGATED DIMENSION: CHANGING EUROPEAN MINDSET

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

culture is related and at the basis of other different sectors". With reference to the second topic, the stated objective was also to implement shared perspectives: "we want to pass from a vertical logic in policy-making to a horizontal logic with shared perspective between culture and other sectors".

Theme 2: Facilitating integrated approaches and participatory governance in line with the Treaty

A second objective perceived by the interviewees in the EYCH is to facilitate integrated approaches and participatory governance, respecting the principles of subsidiarity highlighted in the Treaty (TFEU, 1957) (see Figure 4). This is perceivable in the two themes highlighted in the 2nd order analysis: the first relating to the principle of stakeholders' engagement, integrated and participatory governance and the second emphasizing that the European Union could work only as a facilitator in the implementation of these approaches, since their actual implementation is the responsibility of member states. This is even more evident in the 1st order analysis, where verbatims reports reiterate that the European Union, through

the European Commission and its member states, is organizing the events and policy initiatives of the EYCH with the "aim to promote participatory governance initiatives in the different member states, since they are the ones in charge of the implementation of cultural policies". An interviewee argued that "participatory governance, integrated approaches and stakeholders' involvement are key concepts in this EYCH" and that we need to interpret the "EYCH as a moment for which the European Union and the European Commission are facilitators", they "cannot compel the different countries to implement participatory approaches, but [they] can facilitate the dialogue". Several actions are aiming to enable this dialogue, organizing collective reflection around working groups such as the Culture OMC (Open Method of Coordination), whose reports issued in early 2018 promote again the principles of participatory governance and stakeholders' engagement.

1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate dimension
The key idea of the EYCH is to promote participatory governance and stakeholders' engagement, of course respecting the principle of subsidiarity		
EYCH generated a stronger appreciation for the potential of the Faro Convention in eliciting a stronger sensitivity and a greater need to experiment with participatory governance models. The notion of a **heritage community** is especially important in this regard		
More bottom-up examples: The Cultural gems app developed by the JRC is a a collaborative platform for sharing information on cultural and creative places off the beaten tracks in European towns and cities. The information on the app is crowdsourced, and therefore citizens, local administratos and non-for-profit organization are key to uploading content about their cities	› Stakeholders' engagement and participatory governance	
Series of events that aim to promote participatory governance initiatives in the different member stater, since they are the ones in charge of the implementation of cultural policies		› FACILITATING STAKEHOLDERS' INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN LINE WITH THE TREATY
Participatory governance and stakeholders' involvement are key concepts in this EYCH. But of course, the European Union could only encourage the implementation of these principles		
The EC and the EU are facilitators: we can facilitate the dialogue		
In line with the Treaty, the EYCH is giving guidelines that are focused mainly on the key principle of participatory governance		
Request to move participatory governance of cultural heritage from simply an abstract notion to concrete action, in other words how participation can be put to practical use in the ordinary and everyday governance of CH		
About the long-term impact of the EYCH on policies [...] and a lot will depend on the will of EU Member States, regions and cities to apply some of the key principles that emerged during the year and to fully use the potential of the new Framework for Action	› EYCH as moment in which the EU and EC are facilitators, to stimulate EU to implement participatory governance mechanism	

FIGURE 4. SECOND AGGREGATED DIMENSION: FACILITATING INTEGRATED APPROACHES AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN LINE WITH THE TREATY

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Theme 3: Developing long-term policies

Finally, a third key theme refers to the temporal dimension of the EYCH. As emerged also in the previous analysis about the trans-sectoral, transversal policy mindset that the EYCH is trying to promote, this year aims at creating an approach to policies that will focus on the long term, extending and promoting the principles of engagement, sustainability protection and innovation at a broader European level (see Figure 5). According to the 2nd order classification, the perceived aim of the EYCH is to develop a common European cultural heritage policy and use the EYCH for establishing the basis for a long-term policy strategy. These ideas are even more evident in the transcripts of the 1st order analysis: the interviewees declared that "the EYCH is the year in which we create the basis for long-term policy development" and that "the EYCH wants to set the foundation of long-term policy reflections, to create a cultural heritage European policy based on the guiding principles of this year". "Concretely, the objective of EYCH is to have an impact in long-term policy development not just for this year", argued one of the interviewees.

Discussion: the impact of EYCH on the cultural management discourse

The results of both the primary and secondary data analysis highlighted that the focus of the EYCH was to stimulate a broader change in the approach to cultural heritage in Europe and beyond, based on key concepts such as participatory governance and stakeholders' involvement, holistic and integrated approaches and transversal European policies to be implemented in the long-term.

However, the documents as well as the interviewees overlooked the importance of implementing the necessary management models that could enhance these policy and mindset shifts, creating the basic conditions necessary to enable member states and stakeholders to actually implement the policy recommendations. A reflection on the managerial framework that could encourage an effective implementation of participatory mechanisms is partially missing. Similarly, indications on how to create or advance (for instance through education and training programs) managerial competencies and resources to enable these mechanisms are not sufficiently developed. It should also be further

1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Aggregate dimension
EYCH as the year in which we create the basis for log-term policy development		
Cultural heritage has a clear European dimension and therefore calls for joint action at European level		
The EYCH is based on the principles of engagement, sustainability and of course also preservation but developed in the long term and at a broader European level	› To develop a common cultural heritage European policy	
To set the foundation of long-term policy reflection, to create a cultural heritage Eurpean policy based on the guiding principles of this year [...] to have an impact in long-term policy development not just for this year [...] to ensure that the EYCH could foster a log-term dynamic		› LONG-TERM CULTURAL HERITAGE EUROPEAN POLICIES
That the EYCH created a good momentum and raised-awareness on the need to raise our ambitions and to be proactive. [...] At EU level, it is very interesting to note that both the New Strategic Agenda of the European Council for the years 2019-2024 and the Political Guidelines of the President-Elect for the next European Commission make a direct reference to cultural heritage	› EYCH for setting the basis for a long-term policy	

FIGURE 5. THIRD AGGREGATED DIMENSION: LONG-TERM CULTURAL HERITAGE EUROPEAN POLICIES

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

expanded to include the analysis of managerial practices among the different member states that could enable the development of the common policies at the basis of the future reflections developed during the EYCH.

In a nutshell, the EYCH was effective in stimulating a broader discussion on the potential and impact that cultural heritage could have in a trans-sectoral and long-term perspective, but there is a need for further reflection that goes beyond mere policy and governance measures. The next phase in the process would be for the European Commission and the stakeholders to go further and identify how innovative management models for cultural heritage could boost the policy measures related to the EYCH, unlocking the potential of the suggested governance models.

This will suggest rethinking key aspects of the management of cultural heritage. First, reflection is needed on how to develop the necessary mindset of policy makers and cultural heritage managers, on how to develop the required competencies and skills in human resources. In particular, it will imply reconsidering education approaches and human resources training to provide the essential tools for the managers and staff who will work on developing and implementing participatory approaches. Second, it will require a change in leadership styles to encourage participation and cooperation development. Third, it will entail a change in communication, in order to encourage exchanges not just with audiences but also with citizens and communities and other sectors of society and the economy; this will need the implementation of effective communication tools that will enforce cooperation and transversal approaches. Finally, it will imply the need for a profound reorganization of the cooperation mechanisms among cultural heritage organizations and between cultural heritage and the stakeholders of other socio-economic sectors both public, private and civic; this will promote the cross-sectoral approaches named in the policy documents, making cultural heritage a "unifying element" of the society and the economy.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to investigate the emerging managerial implications for the cultural sector, as a result of the policies related to the EYCH.

In the first section of the paper, the analysis of the literature on cultural heritage highlighted a holistic approach that connects policy, governance and management, indicating strong links between these domains. In particular, it emerged in the analysis that there was a shift from an initial approach based on preservation, to a more open approach based on the intersection between governance and policies, that lately focused on participatory approaches that could potentially engage the different actors of cultural ecosystems.

"THE RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS THAT THE EYCH DOES NOT PROPOSE A NEW MODEL OF MANAGEMENT FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE. THE INITIATIVE REMAINS MAINLY FOCUSED ON PROMOTING POLICY ACTIONS AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE APPROACHES THAT ARE NONETHELESS DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT WITHOUT A PROPER MANAGERIAL MODEL"

In the subsequent section of the paper, the focus was on the EYCH: secondary and primary data (documents and research interviews) were collected, analyzed and discussed. The analysis of these data highlighted that the EYCH was interpreted as an opportunity to change European policy mindsets as well as the perception and role of European cultural heritage in the long term. In particular, the EYCH promoted a different interpretation of cultural heritage as a cross-sectoral field and unifying element that could help to create shared perspectives with other key sectors for the European Union, such as research and innovation, agriculture or tourism. One of the key themes emerging in the investigation is that of participatory governance. Indeed, in line with the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (1957) and respecting the fact that cultural policies are competence of member states, the European Union tried to promote its role as facilitator, providing guidelines for a common approach to cultural heritage policies. These common policy guidelines are

based on engagement and stakeholders' involvement, sustainability alongside protection and preservation of cultural heritage.

However, the guiding principles for a new management model that could facilitate the participatory governance and the other ideas promoted by the EYCH policy initiatives are not sufficiently identifiable. As a result, the necessary future steps of the EYCH could stimulate a new approach to management of cultural heritage.

In conclusion, the research highlights that the EYCH does not propose a new model of management for cultural heritage. The initiative remains mainly focused on promoting policy actions and participatory governance approaches that are nonetheless difficult to implement without a proper managerial model. These results underline the need for the European Union to take a step forward and indicate a potential future development of this research: identifying a path that could create firmer links between policy, governance and management could be an interesting investigation, in addition basing the research on the analysis of case studies and best practices already implemented in European countries. This could indeed enable the cultural heritage sector to rethink how to fulfill its potential as cross-sectoral, transversal and unifying field.

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Creative hubs and cultural policies: a comparison between Brazil and the United Kingdom

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a comparative analysis of ten creative hubs located in London, Birmingham, and São Paulo. It expolores how cultural policies in the UK and Brazil have constituted in distinct ways the boundaries between 'culture' and 'innovation'. Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'habitus', and 'capital' inform this analysis and its account of the 'cultural-production subfield' and the 'innovation-production subfield' within the creative economies and cultural policies of the UK and Brazil. The article also draws on Pier Luigi Sacco's cultural history and theory to make an argument about the key factors underpinning recent changes in cultural policy.

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Keywords:

Cultural Policies

Creative Hubs

Innovation

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu

Introduction

This article draws on FAPESP-funded research on "Agglomeration and collaboration networks for the Cultural Economy - a comparison between creative work in Brazil and the United Kingdom" based in the School of Communications and Arts of the University of São Paulo and undertaken in collaboration with Network: Queen Mary University of London's Centre for the Creative and Cultural Economy. The research presented in this article also draws on the findings of a 2017 AHRC-funded project 'Creative Hubs and Urban Development Goals (UK/Brazil) which suggested that the cultural and creative production field involved two distinct subfields: a) the subfield of innovation production, and b) the subfield of cultural production (Shiach et al, 2017).

Since 2017, ten case studies involving creative hubs located in São Paulo, London, and Birmingham have been undertaken to test this hypothesis and understand the influence of cultural policies in both subfields in the two different national contexts. This article presents a comparative analysis of ten creative hubs located in London, Birmingham, and São Paulo. It explores how cultural policies in the UK and Brazil have constituted in distinct ways the boundaries and possible convergences between a 'Cultural Production Subfield' and an 'Innovation Production Subfield'. The objective of this research was specifically to develop a categorization that would aid analysis of the productive practices of cultural and creative entrepreneurs who join in communities of practice in the form of co-working spaces, incubators, cultural centers, and artistic collectives and thus to understand the similarities and differences between two production ecosystems.

The article draws on Pier Luigi Sacco's cultural history and theory to make an argument about the key factors underpinning recent changes in cultural policy. Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'habitus', and 'capital' also inform this analysis and its account of the 'cultural-production subfield' and the 'innovation-production subfield' within both the creative economies and the cultural policies of the UK and Brazil. These two countries were chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly the earlier AHRC-funded project had identified the importance of broader economic and cultural histories in understanding the development of cultural policies in these two countries. Secondly, this comparison could lay the basis for a broader international comparison focussed on Europe and South America. And finally each country provided examples of hubs established on the basis of radically distinct economic and cultural framings of the creative economy. All the hubs studied were physical spaces that agglomerated micro-businesses, entrepreneurs and freelancers operating in Cultural and Creative Production Field.

Data collection was done through 26 interviews lasting 20-40 minutes using semi-structured questions. Ethnographic research was also undertaken, involving participation in events, workshops, and exhibitions in each Hub. The research has also drawn on information from social networks, websites, and secondary data, including public documents and reports. Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital were used to aid in the identification of key differences between the businesses in the cultural-production subfield and in the innovation-production subfield operating within these hubs. Three distinct levels of analysis were undertaken.

This article addresses the findings from three different levels of analysis. 1. Micro-level - Capital Analysis –Mapping the diversity and specificity from each Hub using Bourdieu's concepts of capital to describe the profiles of the Hubs; their networks and connection; and identify how they access financial capital. 2. Medium-level - Habitus analysis to understand the characteristics of a) the cultural production subfield and b) the innovation production subfield. The Hubs were separated by groups observing the differences between their ecosystem in terms of capital exchanges, work dynamics, behaviour, ideology, relationship with the local community, public space, government, private institutions, and market. 3. Macro-level - Field analysis– Through analysis drawing on the concepts of 'Capital' and 'Habitus' programmes and funding from government and private companies were used to comprehend how both countries circumscribe their Cultural and Creative Production Field.

These levels generated different readings: the first one was an individual description of each Hub, highlighting their cultural capital (history, profiles of agents, sectors of activity, values, motivations), their social capital (contact and relationship networks), their financial capital, their business models, and the mechanisms through which they accessed financial resources. In the second level of analysis, it was possible to establish some criteria to separate the creative hubs into subfields, and describe the similarities and differences between them (intermediate analysis). Finally at the third level, the microanalysis of the Hubs, it was possible to identify how Creative Hubs access financial resources and to verify which of them received

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public resources from which spheres of public policies. By identifying the types of financing accessed by the Hubs, as well as the subfield to which they belong, it was possible to identify some characteristics of the local and national public policies (cultural or not) of the countries and contexts of which the Hubs are part.

As a result, it was possible to identify an important difference between the public policies of the United Kingdom and Brazil, and thus to propose the hypothesis that in Brazil cultural policies during the last ten years were closely informed by social movements, minorities, cultural diversity, and cultural citizenship. While British policies, in the same period, were more closely linked to economic development, skills development and increasing job opportunities. The research also showed that local cultural policies directly shape the forms of work organization within the Cultural and Creative Production Field.

Framing the cultural and creative industries in international cultural policies: Culture 1.0 to Culture 3.0.

This article draws on the history of cultural policies offered by works such as 'From Culture 1.0 to Culture 3.0: Three Socio-Technical Regimes of Social and Economic Value Creation through Culture, and Their Impact on European Cohesion Policies' by culture economist Pier Luigi Sacco and co-authors Guido Ferilli and Giorgio Tavano Blessi (2018), and Dave O'Brien's, *Cultural Policy: Management, Value and Modernity in the Creative Industries* (2014). These works offered significant insights into the periods and paradigms of cultural policies from 1960 to 2020, and a framework to understand how the value of the arts, culture and creativity was related to excellence, social inclusion and economic development over these decades.

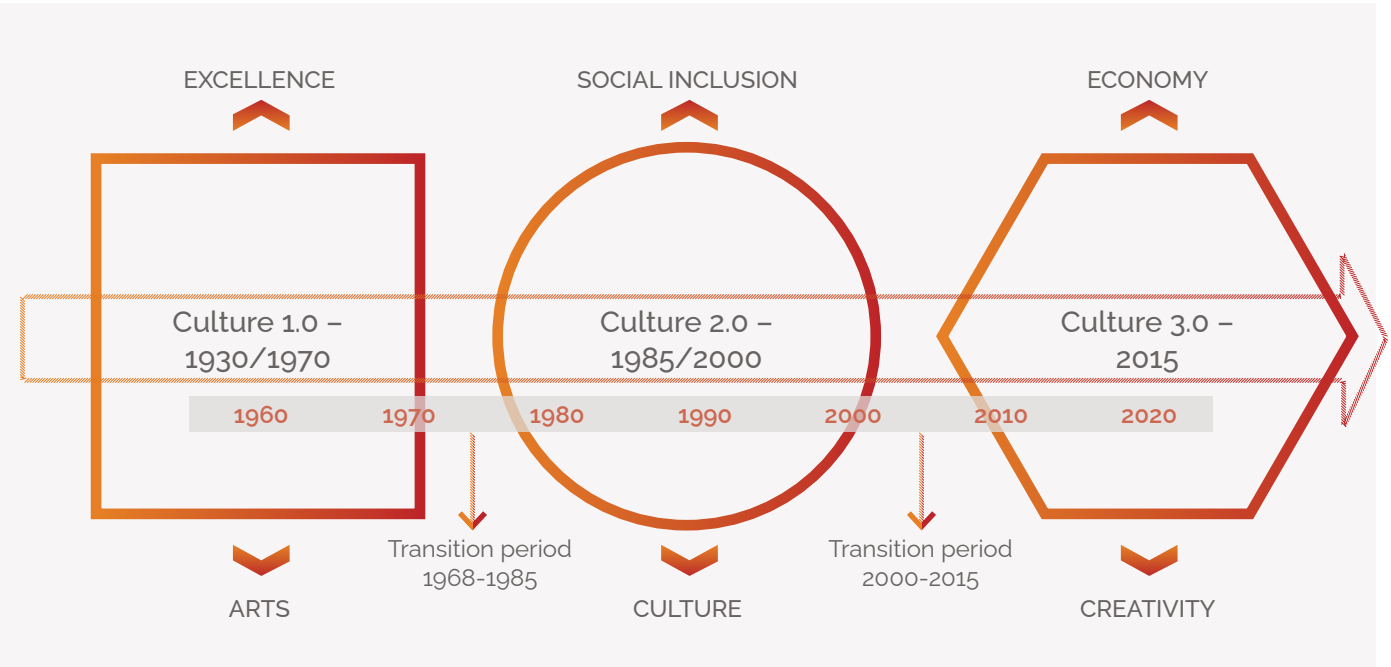


FIGURE 1. SACCO AND O'BRIEN: CULTURAL ANALYSES

Source: Authors' own elaboration, based on Sacco, Ferilli & Blessi (2018) and O'Brien (2014).

Culture 1.0, Sacco, Ferilli and Blessi argue, was a period when public subsidies sought to democratise access to the arts (Sacco, Ferilli & Blessi, 2018). Culture 1.0 was based on the model of Germanic romantic art, where the art field was separated from the economic field (and thus from the market). The concept of art was legitimised by specialists who attributed values based on levels of artistic excellence – Intrinsic value. Cultural policies justified their subsidy through the idea of the externalities of the arts. The state would be responsible for enhancing the externalities and democratising access to the arts. The symbolic capital of the arts field put value on artistic excellence, enlightenment and spiritual cultivation, which constituted the 'habitus' of western civilisation. In this period, these authors argue, culture was associated with an idea of 'the good life', and according to O'Brien (2014), this concept of excellence reflected a conception of culture as the high-point of civilisation within a welfare state. This first phase is characterised by the early stage of cultural policies and started with the creation of funding agencies for culture in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States and the creation of the Ministère d'État chargé des Affaires culturelles in France.

The transition from Culture 1.0 to Culture 2.0 can be defined as a change in the symbolic capital of the arts field from the value of excellence for culture towards the valuing of social inclusion and cultural development. Since the 1970s some cultural policies have drawn on an anthropological concept of culture, understanding it as a resource for social transformation (O´Brien, 2014). Framed in relation to the idea of cultural development (Girard & Gentil, 1972), culture becomes a space with particular importance for minorities (O´Brien, 2014). Following this model, cultural policies framed culture as a resource to transform lives and increase the participation of excluded groups (O´Brien, 2014), and culture also came to be associated with human and civil rights and to be represented as a resource to promote social inclusion and urban regeneration. This led to policies that promoted cultural production networks at local, regional and global levels.

Sacco, Ferilli, and Blessi (2018), have pointed out some key factors that fostered this transition from Culture 1.0 to Culture 2.0: industrialised forms of culture became more profitable; audiences expanded; and culture became increasingly linked to entertainment. In that time, communication and media theories (Miège, 1987) increasingly revealed the hegemony of North American cultural industries, which typically displayed asymmetric economic powers, and this influenced national governments to create instruments to protect their internal cultural market.

The transition from Culture 1.0 to Culture 2.0 was thus characterised by a new relationship between 'the art field' and 'the economic and political field'. Cultural policies incorporated new agents and institutions from sectors such as publishing, cinema, music, television, and radio in their scope. The central policy issues for Culture 2.0 became copyright; culture as entertainment; growing markets and audiences. The second paradigm (Culture 2.0) comprise the arts field, but also expanded to address a broader cultural field. The Cultural Production Field here incorporates the idea of externalities based on the welfare state to justify broadening the concept from art to culture.

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The instrumental and institutional value of culture was then considered also as the public value of culture (Yoon, 2010). The "public value of culture" and a focus on the audience, was the way found by the state to overcome the elitist hierarchy of taste, and thus to attribute to cultural production collective values of representation of 'citizenship', 'diversity', 'inclusion' and 'well -being' (Yoon, 2010). This account of the "public value of culture" drove cultural policies and and produced a discursive change in response to increasingly individualized demands (Yoon, 2010).

In the past decade, Sacco, Ferilli and Blessi (2018) argue, we have witnessed a further transition from Culture 2.0 to Culture 3.0, driven by two concurrent streams of innovation: digital content production and digital connectivity. In Culture 3.0, communities have been formed and organised through a collapse of the separation between producers and audience. This collapse is associated with a move from passive participation to active participation of social actors in the cultural and creative production field. This change

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introduced new challenges for cultural policymakers. To these challenges is added the associated 'culturalization' of the economy (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2015; Scott & Urry, 1994) which has brought cultural production into everyday life. Culture 3.0 has been marked by technological innovations and the globally competitive need for constant innovation with new products and processes.

For Sacco, Ferrilli and Blessi (2018), cultural participation generates indirect macroeconomic consequences, which are not insignificant when compared to the economic effects of cultural and creative industries. In this perspective, the authors point to the importance of an interdisciplinary point of view to understand the interfaces of creativity and economics, sociology, medicine, psychology, environment, art, technology, education, politics (Sacco, Ferrilli & Blessi, 2018). The symbolic value of creativity here constitutes the cultural dimension of sustainable development. At the same time, cultural participation is a central element for cultural policies, with states considering cultural participation when creating public policies related to innovation, well-being and sustainability, social cohesion, entrepreneurship, education, and soft power, integrating them in the sustainable development goals agenda (see United Nations Agenda 2030). Cultural policies start to value engagement through networks of cultural and creative productions; individual and collective learning; innovative practices transformed into social technologies; and in the forms of reception, enjoyment and reproduction of cultural content.

UNESCO has recently ensured that the role of culture is recognized through a majority of its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Within the framework of action of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), approved by the United Nations in September 2015, the international development agenda refers to culture for the first time. "Safeguarding and promoting culture directly contribute to many of the SDGs - safe and sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reducing inequalities, the environment, promoting gender equality, and peaceful and inclusive societies" (UNESCO, 2018). UNCTAD published in 2018 its Creative Economy Programme Development through Creativity, where it recognises the development dimension of the creative economy, and proposes meaningful tools for fostering development gains towards the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (UNCTAD, 2018).

Culture 3.0 represents a change in symbolic capital from 'culture' to 'creativity'. To incorporate the value of creativity within the scope of cultural policies has required a repositioning of the cultural and creative production field as part of the economic field. This aspect has involved a move towards something like Joseph Schumpeter's point of view, which considers creativity as a driver of entrepreneurship and innovation, and the key to economic development (Graff, 2016). The "public value of culture" is being replaced in policy discourses by the value of engagement. This value of engagement is produced by the cultural participation of agents organised in networks which establish both monetary and non-monetary exchanges. These networks dynamise different ecosystems which operate at global, regional, national, local and hyperlocal scales. The "value of engagement" thus becomes the driver of a cultural policy for entrepreneurship and is being established through a discursive change in response to the increasing demands for new digital and business solutions.

This is linked to a radical restructuring of the global economy towards a knowledge economy as discussed by Peter Drucker (1968). He emphasizes the importance of knowledge in transforming the economy in the twentieth century. He writes that "the base of the work will be knowledge, and the productivity of the worker will depend on his ability to put into practice concepts, ideas, theories" (Drucker, 1968). The importance of this expansion of the Cultural Production Field to the Cultural and Creative Production field is reinforced in the works of Richard Florida. Drucker influenced Richard Florida in the creation of his concept of 'the creative class', which identified computer scientists, engineers, chemists, biologists, mathematicians, and inventors as workers within the Cultural and Creative Production

Field, justifying the importance of these professionals for economic development (Florida, 2002)

The third paradigm (Culture 3.0) can be understood as an expanded Cultural and Creative Production Field, where organisations from the creative industries and from innovation sectors became part of the scope of cultural policies. Businesses from fashion, design, advertising, leisure, gastronomy, video games, marketing, software development, applications and digital platforms, data science, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, augmented reality, new technology-based businesses all became part of Cultural and Creative Production Field. The values associated with creativity and culture within cultural policy do remain contested, however, and the practices of agents from the Subfield of Cultural Production are in fact often in tension with those from the Subfield of Innovation Production (Ley, 2003).

This tension occurs because agents in the field of innovative production prioritise activities with (large scale) organisations seeking profit, while agents in the field of cultural production prioritise the construction of communities supported by a sense of belonging, identity and empowerment through public space' (Shiach et al, 2017). Policy responses to this constitutive tension are related to how different countries have identified the role of arts, culture, and creativity in relation to excellence, social inclusion, and economic growth.

Networks and Hubs

The contribution of the cultural and creative industries (CCI) to the Gross Domestic Product of countries in both the Global North and Global South is very signficant: £101.5 billion in the UK (UK Creative Industries Federation, 2018); $586.7 billion in the US (NEA, 2013), and R$155.6 billion in Brazil (FIRJAN, 2016). With the development of digital technologies, an important link has been established between 'culture' and 'innovation' within what is understood as 'information' or 'knowledge' societies (Castells, 2000; Lash & Urry, 1994; Drucker, 1968), which have experienced an increasing convergence of telecommunications, information, and internet industries (Hesmondalgh, 2015). Small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) occupy an essential role in the production, circulation, and distribution of symbolic content and CCI organisations are shifting from a hierarchical vertically integrated organisational architecture to networked and contractual relations (Hesmondalgh, 2015) which allow them to pursue flexibility through the use of atypical forms of employment (Savanović & Orel, 2018). CCI organisations tend to employ individuals for a specific set of tasks in a pre-set timeframe to cut costs, enable innovation and optimise their work process and overall performance (Savanović & Orel, 2018). These shifts have in turn been associated with the creation of new types of work spaces, including creative hubs.

Cultural networks have gained importance within cultural policies in recent years. According to Uzelac (2016), networks are infrastructures that support the cultural and creative sector. Through cultural networks, creative professionals have sought to coordinate an intricate work dynamic (Uzelac, 2016). The most significant economic agents within CCI are micro-businesses, entrepreneurs and freelancers (NEA, 2013; UK Creative Industries Federation, 2018; FIRJAN 2016), working on projects within temporary networks for the production, circulation, distribution, and consumption of cultural and creative goods and services (Hutton & Pratt 2009). This has led to the emergence of an ecosystem of coworking spaces and communities (Savanović & Orel, 2018) through which micro-businesses, entrepreneurs and freelancers access networks of potential collaborators, job opportunities and training.

More than any other industry sector, the CCI is characterised by the prevalence of flexible and fragmented working arrangements that Lazzarato (2014) calls 'internment work'. The dynamics of production within the CCI thus tend to promote the formation of agglomerations or nodes known as creative hubs. Creative hubs exist in many forms, such as co-working spaces, business incubators, cultural centres, training institutions, and online platforms (Virani, 2014). This article investigates specifically hubs that exist as physical spaces and provide a form of urban agglomeration that promotes connections between entrepreneurs, micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, and freelancers (Virani, 2014). These spaces offer collaborative environments, coworking spaces, lounge areas serving as galleries, theatres, cafés or self-service bars, and play an essential role in building social cohesion within the local area and communities (Savanović & Orel, 2018).

Policy development the UK and Brazil

The idea of the 'Creative Industries' has been important for policy development in the UK since the late-1990s, as part of a broader project to define and deliver

'Creative Britain'. The CCI have been seen as central to economic growth from this point, and understood as part of a larger project to reposition the UK as a global creative centre. 'Creative Britain' combined urban development policies with the promotion of creativity, culture and innovation, and sought to increase the value of intellectual property, strengthen the art market, and increase employment and tourism. This brought profound changes to cultural policies in the UK, evidenced particularly by the creation of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997, which was later re-named the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport in 2017. For the cultural policies of the UK, the CCI have been increasingly understood as an economic sector that produces social impacts. During the past twenty years of working within this cultural policy framework, and with the increasing importance of the digital sector in the economy in general, the relations between creativity and economic growth have been energetically promoted across a range of policy contexts in the UK.

This convergence between the subfields of cultural production and innovation production is central to the overall argument of the UK's "Industrial Strategy – White Paper", published in March 2018. This paper argues for the strategic importance of the CCI for future economic growth across the UK, with particular reference to audio-visual industries, information technology, gaming and advertising sectors. In parallel with the new Industrial Strategy, the Cultural Development Fund was created by Arts Council Engand and investement in creative clusters was also undertaken by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to strengthen local partnerships between creative businesses; museums and galleries; universities; and local government. These partnerships were designed to build on the central role of hubs by strengthening clusters that could support innovation and offer advice on finance, new market opportuntities and IP.

These significant developments demonstrate a convergence between the fields of cultural production and of innovation production, organised through key networks or geographical clusters that foster both innovation and knowledge exchange. They can also be understood as an expression of the logic of what Sacco described as 'culture 3.0' where cultural policies become part of the economic field. The relationship between cultural policies and innovation policies that was found in the UK is much less obvious in the Braziian context. The separation between the innovation and cultural subfields in the Brazilian policy context to some extent reflects the aims and methods of PRONAC, the National Cultural Funding Programme. PRONAC is divided into two main strands: direct funding in which the national government invests public money; and incentive projects which involve tax relief for private companies to enable investment in cultural projects. This programme was created in 1991, and its funding system has been basically the same since this period. However, in 2003 the national government launched a social participation plan to develop what was called the National Cultural Plan. This focuses on Brazilian diversity, and related symbolic, social, and economic cultural values. One part of this plan is the 'points of culture' initiative, considered by many a model cultural policy for South America.

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The National Cultural Plan was built on an anthropological understanding of culture, valuing its social and symbolic dimension, but less focussed on its economic impacts. This has produced a prioritisation for funding of projects in the visual arts, cinema, music, heritage, theatre, literature area. It has not, however, sought to build a strong relationship with the innovation production subfield. From 1995 cultural policies were managed by the Ministry of Culture, but this Ministry has now been closed, and its cultural policies have been dismantled. Innovation policies in Brazil have no political or institutional connection to cultural policies

at this point, having been managed by the Innovation, Technology and Science Ministry (recently integrated into the Communication Ministry which has created some programmes to invest in start-ups). The political and economic crises which Brazil has experienced in recent years makes it hard to imagine any effective integration of the innovation and cultural subfields in the near future.

Bourdieu and the Cultural and Creative Production Field

Bourdieu studied the field of cultural production between 1968 and 1983, and his insights into the Cultural Production Field were published in the book , in 1993. The field of cultural production, according to Bourdieu (1993), is a social space, which has its own rules, principles and hierarchies. Bourdieu shows that the field of power (political and economic) and the field of production as a whole represent the "social space of the field" (Bourdieu, 1993).

The social formation, according to Bourdieu, is structured by a series of fields. Each one is defined as a structured social space with its laws of operation, and its relationship of forces. The field, according to Bourdieu (2001), is social space where agents and institutions occupy positions to control or modify the field (Bourdieu, 1993). The field is defined based on several networks of relationships and agents that position themselves differently and dispute symbolic, political and economic forces, establishing conflicts and tensions among their members. These disputes are reflections of the general division of classes in society represented by economic and political power on the one hand and cultural power on the other. In other words, society is structured around an opposition between "economic" and "cultural" power (Bourdieu, 1993), while economic and cultural powers are structured around the opposition between a "heteronomous" force represented by economic and political capital (forces outside the field - field of power) and the "autonomous" forces that represent the specific capital of each field (Benson, 1999). Each field is identified according to its specific capital that will determine the nature of the field.

According to Bourdieu, the habitus is the "primacy of practical reason", a system of provisions that are socially constituted (Bourdieu 2001). The habitus is several devices operated under a coherent logic and is also a system where agents integrate the past experiences and learning present in an array of perception and appreciation (Garnham & Williams, 1980). The exercise of habitus is built on principles, purpose and value and is not an individual phenomenon. Although internalised by the individual, it is recognised by a group that shares the same values through interaction in a social group (Garnham & Williams, 1980). To explain the structures of social practice, Bourdieu uses the concept of capital: capital in all its forms, not just that recognised by economic theory, as economic theory imposed a commercial definition for all social practices. According to Bourdieu (1986), the concept of capital is defined by volume (quantity) and structure (types of capital). He argued that cultural capital can be presented in three fundamental aspects: 1) economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money; 2) social capital composed of connections and networks of contacts that can be established by family, social or work relationships. And finally, the last type of capital, cultural capital that also can be understood by three aspects: a) cultural capital incorporated through the way of life, belief, taste, behaviour; b) institutionalised cultural capital acquired by formal education; c) cultural capital objectified represented by possessions of symbolic value in the field.

Cultural and social capital can also be converted into economic capital, depending on the agent's position in the field. Cultural capital, when recognised by the agents that hold the dominant social capitals in the field, is transformed into symbolic capital specific of the field and can be converted into economic capital. Cultural and social capital present forms of value due to their power of conversion into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2001).

Bourdieu defines Cultural Production Field through the relationship between two subfields: the small scale production subfield (or "restricted production" or art field) and the large scale production subfield (large production – large production scale or cultural industries) (Bourdieu, 1993; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Benson, 1999). Small-scale or restricted production is a production field for producers, with a relatively high degree of "autonomy", but never total autonomy. Mass production is a large-scale production field occupied by agents with a low level of autonomy, and a high level of heteronomy (subject to external market rules) but with a certain level of autonomy. Bourdieu writes about small-scale production as geared towards the production of "pure" artistic products, and mass production as geared towards the production of commercial, cultural goods

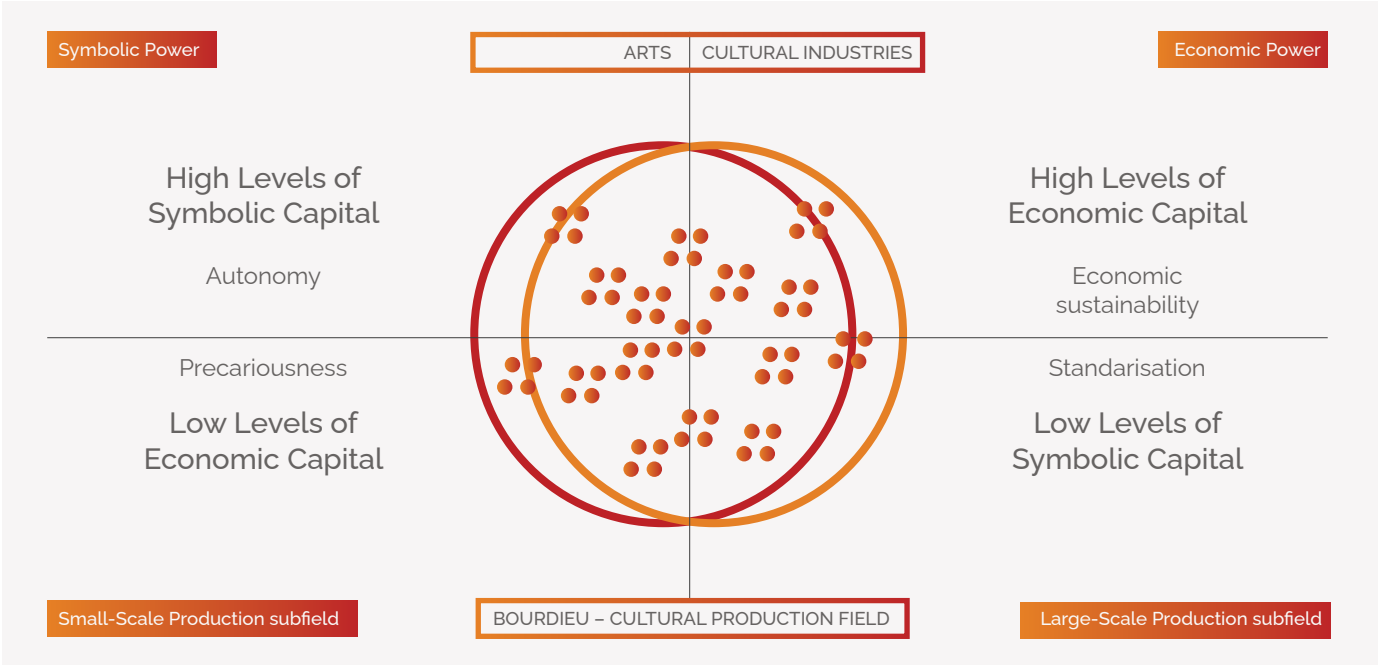


FIGURE 2. BOURDIEU'S CULTURAL PRODUCTION FIELD ANALYSIS
Source: Authors' own elaboration, based on Bourdieu (1986, 1993 & 2001).

(Hesmondhalgh, 2006). The small-scale production subfield, in turn, involves low levels of economic capital and very high levels of symbolic capital. On the other hand, the subfield of cultural mass production involves, through higher sales, higher levels of economic capital (Hesmondhalgh, 2006).

As David Hesmondhalgh argues, Bourdieu has devoted himself to studying the field of small-scale production in greater depth but has made few contributions concerning aspects of the symbolic logics that operate in the cultural industries subfield related to the transformations that occur after 1980 (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Hesmondhalgh suggests that the cultural industries after 1980 started to adopt a regime of segmentation of their programming and production of symbolic content, trying to address different segments of the population including groups with more refined tastes, which generated the idea of quality mass production (such as classical music programs, documentaries on art, culture, among others) (Hesmondhalgh, 2006).

Cultural policies developed within different national contexts in recent decades have assigned value to the cultural and creative industries in diverse ways, which are related to how they understand the relations between excellence, social inclusion, wellbeing, and economic development (O'Brien, 2014). Bourdieu developed his theory in the period of Culture 1.0, whose art of excellence represented the scope of cultural policies directed by the paradigm of democratisation of access to the arts. Culture 2.0 is characterised by the first expansion of the field with the insertion of cultural industries as part of the scope of cultural policies. Agents working in the field of cultural industries were able to benefit from public subsidies that promoted a new organisation in the field.

The second expansion (Culture 3.0) of the field, from culture to creativity, inserted new sectors (creative industries and the innovation sector) into the scope of cultural policies and caused a reorganisation in the social sphere of cultural production with the entry of new agents. Agents, previously positioned between the spheres of small-scale production (legitimate and non-commercial arts) and large-scale production (some agents from the cultural industries), began to dispute spaces and positions in the field, with agents from other sectors, previously not contemplated by cultural policies. Thus we understand that the Cultural and Creative Production Field comprise two spheres or subfields: the cultural production subfield (arts, cultural industries) and the innovation production subfield (creative industries and information and communication technology innovation).

The Cultural and Creative Production Field comprises a set of sectors that, over the last 60 years, have been incorporated into the scope of cultural policies. The Cultural and Creative Production Field includes four groups of sectors (arts, cultural industries,

creative industries and innovation). Each one has constituted its own rules and hierarchies and is a social space through which agents dispute economic, political and symbolic forces. The agents dispute the positions through a non-monetary exchange of cultural and social capital. The exchange of cultural and social capital takes place regardless of the positions that the agents occupy in the Field. The agents who occupy privileged positions determine the habitus of the field. The Field is dynamized by two movements, one that represents the symbolic logic of the field and another that represents an economic logic of the field.

The Cultural and Creative Production Field has two types of ecosystems (subfields), where agents and institutions organize themselves. Ecosystems maintain the specific social division of each subfield: the cultural production ecosystem, with the heteronomous forces maintained by the habitus of institutions, artists and producers with recognition and reputation, who access finance and prizes converted into economic capital, and those agents with less prestige who seek to modify the dominant habitus. The innovation production ecosystem maintains the heteronomous forces of the subfield – the large companies and conglomerates – which dictate the rules of the market, and small producers who assume the risks and seek to achieve access to capitals by replicating the rules or trying to create disruptive means to access the market and economic capital. Thus, the Cultural and Creative Production Field presents two forces: a) a force whose processes, codes, and skills are reproduced in the logics of symbolic exchanges and for whom the transformation of social and cultural capital into symbolic capital promotes access to economic capital; and b) the logic of the large-scale market, whose processes, codes and skills are reproduced in a commercial sense that supports direct access to financial capital.

The Matrix below summarises the positions of agents of production within the field of cultural and creative production according to their habitus, with reference to their dynamics of capital exchange and the forms of symbolic capital valued by their networks. The Matrix is a representation of the extensive Cultural and Creative Production Field and is divided into four circles and four quadrants. The circles are divided into different colours: blue - the arts sector; yellow - Cultural Industries; green - Creative Industries sector and orange- Innovation sector. The right and left quadrants indicate the production subfield in which the agents are positioned, and the upper or lower quadrants indicate their levels of sustainability and precariousness, as well, autonomy and standardization. Each agent is positioned in the Matrix according to the sectors, while quadrants indicate the subfields, the levels of symbolic power and economic power.

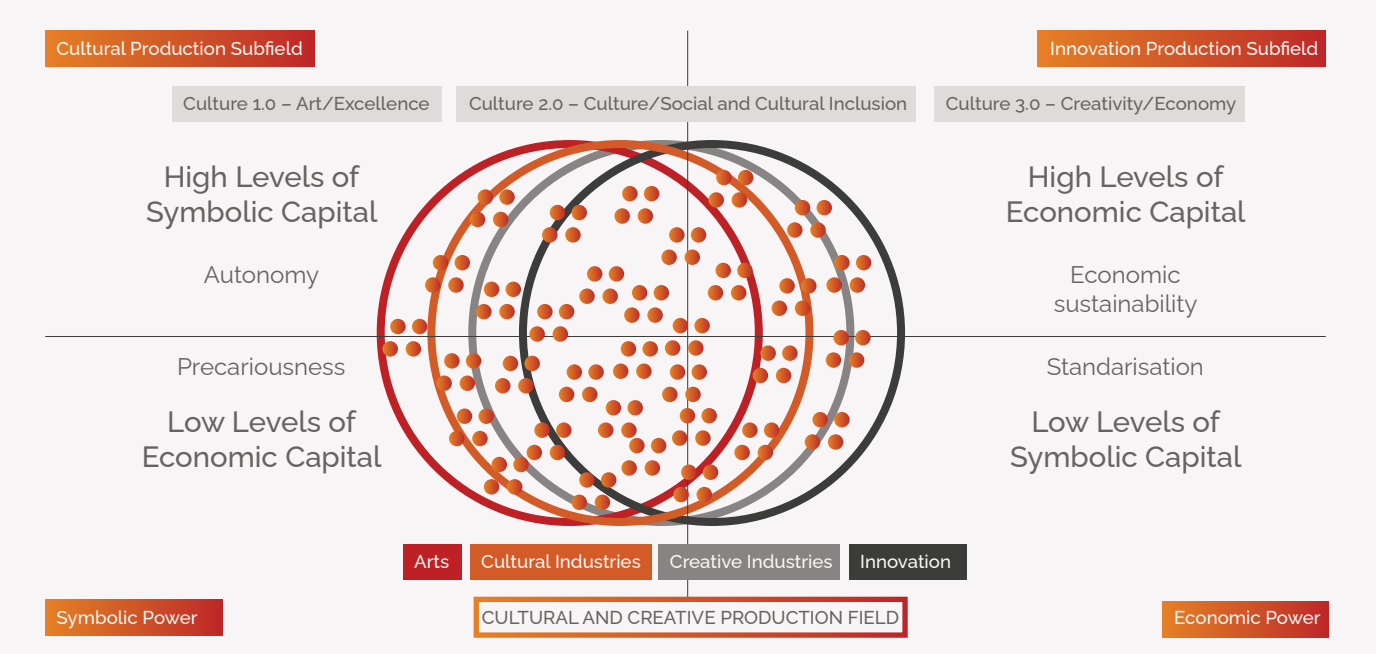


FIGURE 3. MATRIX OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE PRODUCTION FIELD
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Micro-level - Capital analysis

Micro-level analyses of data were conducted to identify the different types of capital produced and valued within each hub (cultural/social/economic). Drawing on factors such as the history of the hubs; their business models; their modes of knowledge exchange; the sub-sectors they represented; their networks; and how they accessed funding and investment, these three different forms of capital were identified and evaluated. The cultural capital identified was then further divided into 'embodied', 'objectified', and 'institutionalised' forms, with a particular focus on 'habitus', which was understood, following Bourdieu, as an embodied state of cultural capital that forms an integral part of an individual and 'cannot be transmitted instantaneously by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange' (Bourdieu,1986).

The Cases Studies: Ten Hubs

- Hub 1 (UK) – a cultural centre based in an old leather factory with 6,000 m2 space accommodating three cinemas, three live performance spaces, and 24 private creative businesses that rent space to work inside the cultural centre.
- Hub 2 (UK) – offers events, yoga, and workshops. It promotes local festivals and events. It is based in a multi-functional venue that boasts 8,000 square feet space, 1,700-2,200 ft2 art gallery space, 19 studios units, and a café. Its tenants' community has 13 tenants, most of them are young artists with careers of 5 or more years.
- Hub 3 (UK) – is a building of 30,000 m2 that include 40 workshops and studios and four communal areas for exhibitions. The community includes 50 tenants who are artists and companies. Tenants include emerging and established artists, people with and without a university degree, and artists of diverse ethnicities.
- Hub 4 (UK) – is a maker-space that belongs to a University. Its business model involves supplying free space to small businesses. The Hub develops free weekly activities to engage artists, researchers, and entrepreneurs. It is based in an old factory with 15,000 ft2 of space that includes co-working and project spaces to support entrepreneurs and facilities such as 3D printers, laser cutting machinery, virtual reality technology, and printing studios.
- Hub 5 (UK) – is a gallery with a café and offices. The Hub's businesses model is based on a Fellowship programme, which takes on 14 new fellows per round and develops projects with universities and schools. It is based in an old post office building with a gallery, four working studios, a wet-lab and darkroom, a photography studio and co-working spaces.
- Hub 6 (Brazil) – is a global network of collaborative working spaces (co-working spaces). The hub provides workspace and meeting rooms, innovation labs and business incubators. In total, there are 24 leases with different small, medium and large enterprises, constituting a community of 120 people.
- Hub 7 (Brazil) – is a community that promotes parents' collective action for early childhood development of their children. The hub was conceived and is managed by a group of parents residing in the districts of São Paulo west region. The community consists of approximately 16 families, approximately 40 members, The house has three areas: the area for a children education project, a theatre, and a co-working space.
- Hub 8 (Brazil) - is a University-based multidisciplinary laboratory that provides advanced features for engineering projects (software, hardware, 3D printers, mechanical and electronic workshops), with free access for undergraduate students.
- Hub 9 (Brazil) - is a cultural centre that began with an occupation of a Cement Factory that was abandoned in the 1970s. The Community has no legal identity and is formed by leaders of social movements, young people, and artists who live in the locality.
- Hub 10 (Brazil) - is a social space run by a non-profit cultural association. This association has orgsnised a carnival parade group since 2009. The house contains 400 m2 of space, and it is located in a central area of São Paulo. The carnival parade group began through cultural activism against real-estate speculation, and today is one of the biggest carnival parade groups in the city.

Six of the ten Hubs analysed are positioned within the Cultural Production Subfield, and four within the Innovation Production Subfield. Hub 5 does have characteristics found within both subfields, but its habitus relates more to the Innovation Production Subfield, so we consider its position as part of that subfield. All of the hubs positioned within the innovation production subfield have a relatively strong financial position, and have also received some funding from

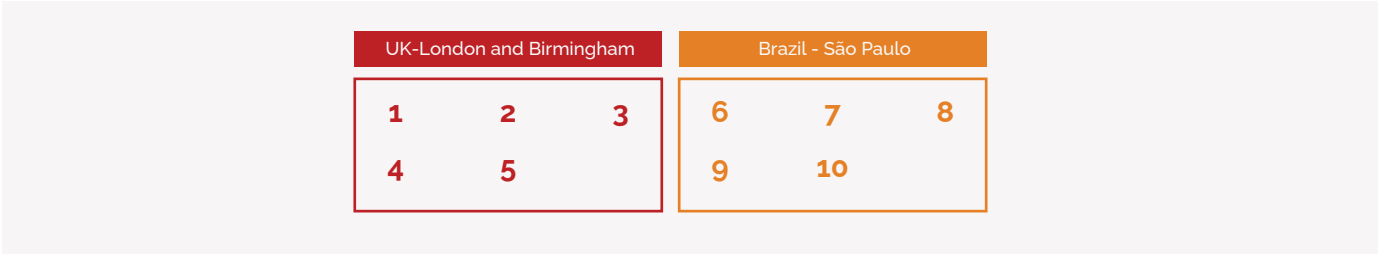


FIGURE 4. THE HUBS FROM EACH COUNTRY
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

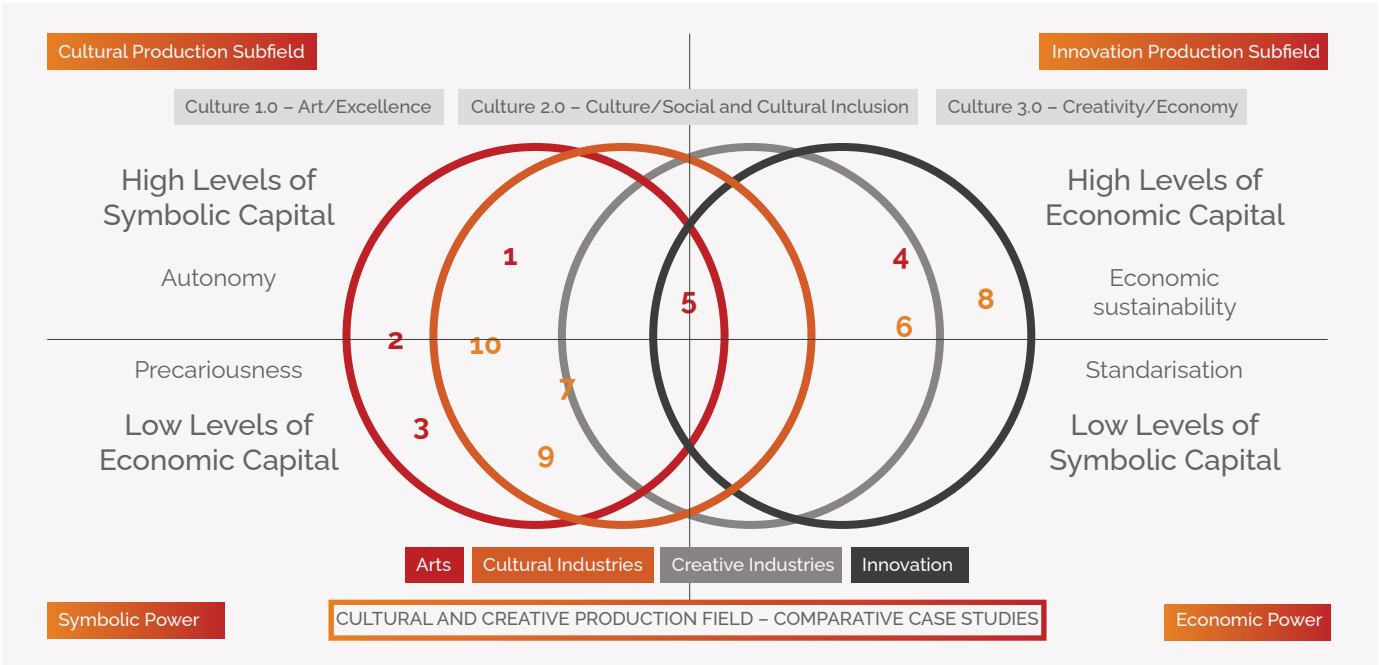


FIGURE 3. MATRIX OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE PRODUCTION FIELD
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

a public or private investor. Most of the Hubs that are positioned within the Cultural Production Subfields exhibit a more precarious financial position, apart from Hub 1, which received public funding and is an Arts Council England National Portfolio Organisation, an important element of UK cultural public policy.

Hubs 9 and 10 did receive funding through public policy initiatives in Brazil, but this was not a guarantee of their economic sustainability. Hubs 1, 2, 5, and 10 have more autonomy in the realm of aesthetic experimentation compared to Hubs 4, 6,and 8, which undertake activities linked to large-scale products and intellectual property. Hubs 3, 8 and 9 do have a decree of autonomy, but their precarious situation is a limiting factor. Finally, all of the Hubs with economic sustainability are located in gentrified areas, while the more precarious Hubs are located in poor neighbourhoods, and Hubs with some level of autonomy are in regions undergoing a gentrification process.

Micro-level - Capital analysis

Medium-level analysis of data was undertaken to identify the 'habitus' of each hub, examining in particular: the dynamics of capital exchange; work dynamics; ideology; relationships to local communities; and connections to diverse markets. As Bourdieu has argued, 'the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment produce the habitus, which is a system of dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures' (Bourdieu, 2001) The medium-level analysis investigated the habitus of each hub, considering their dynamics of capital exchange and the forms of symbolic capital valorised by their networks. This analysis identified two distinct ecosystems 1) cultural production (which includes both small-scale arts companies and larger-scale creative businesses) and 2) innovation production, which is associated with cross-disciplinary creative practice and businesses seeking to grow rapidly and attract

investment. The ecosystems of these two subfields are distinct, but they also have some similar characteristics. All of the Hubs studied engage closely with their tenants, although these relationship take diverse forms. Tenants can be independent artists, cultural producers, start-ups, small businesses, entrepreneurs, or freelancers who establish networks to produce material and immaterial goods with high symbolic value. Tenants assume the risks of production within a logic of production based on projects, and typically have intermittent work.

Having identified within the microanalysis two types of Hub: the planned hub (internal community born after hub space was created); and the spontaneous hub (internal community formed before spaces was acquired), this distinction was also used to inform the medium-level analysis. Planned hubs understand their community as a group of people who collaborate to create new products and services. They focus primarily on larger-scale businesses in the fields of technology, design, and engineering. Planned hubs start with a degree of economic capital, and their cultural and social capital are then deployed to gain other funding. The value of creativity for the ecosystem of these hubs is seen in its capacity to create solutions, as well as new products and innovative business models for a world in transformation. These planned hubs typically build on collaborative methods (open innovation, open search, design thinking), and co-create solutions within the disciplinary spaces of computer science, information technology, design, engineering, and digital economy, aiming to impact on economic development, and to generate valuable forms of IP. For example, in hubs 1, 2 (UK) and 6, 8 (Brazil) we can find convergence between several disciplines, (hubs 1, and 2) and the development of new companies, and new products (hub 8) with social impacts (hub 6) based on larger-scale economic development. These hubs have strong institutionalised cultural capital, and also have connections with important local and international institutions (strong social capital); these in turn facilitate access to economic capital.

We can find some significant differences between planned hubs studied in the UK and Brazil, however. Hubs 1 and 2 (UK) receive public funding and have access to funding through charitable foundations.

Comparative	Cultural Production Subfield	Innovation Production Subfield
Types of Hub	Spontaneous hub	Planned Hub
Sectors	Arts, cultural and creative industries	Arts, cultural and creative industries and innovation
Paradigm of Culture	Culture 1.0 Culture 2.0	Culture 3.0
Communities	Endogenous	Exogenous
Connection with local communities and area	Intrinsic	Extrinsic
Scale	Local and hyperlocal	National, regional and global
Work ecosystem	Agents organise their network to develop temporary projects	Agents organise their network for create and strengthen small businesses
Funding ecosystem	Agents access funding from cultural policies, private foundations, crowdfunding, rend space, sell products and services	Agents access funding from cultural and other public policies, private investors, private foundations, rent spaces, sell services
Symbolic value	Excellence and social inclusion	Disruptive creativity and economic development
Engagement value	Creation new artistic languages, idea, promote socials and cultural causes	Creation of new ideas, promote the knowledge and development of new business models

TABLE 1. COMPARATIVE BETWEEN INNOVATION PRODUCTION FIELD – HABITUS ANALYSIS
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

"'SPONTANEOUS' HUBS TEND TO UNDERSTAND 'COMMUNITY' AS A LOCAL NEIGHBOURHOOD TRYING TO CREATE NEW WAYS OF LIVING, WORK AND CONSUME. THEY FOCUS ON PLACE TO FOSTER ART ACTIVISM, CULTURAL DIVERSITY, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION"

In contrast, hubs 6 and 8 (Brazil), are independent of public financing. Hub 6 generates income through renting space to creative companies and has also received funding through angel investors and venture capital, and in both hubs 6 and 8 (Brazil), access to financial capital is related to these hubs' ability to generate a return on investment.

'Spontaneous' hubs tend to understand 'community' as a local neighbourhood trying to create new ways of living, work and consume. They focus on place to foster art activism, cultural diversity, and social inclusion. For spontaneous hubs, their communities pre-date the creation of the hub space, and the symbolic capital of arts and culture is an essential value exchanged within their ecosystem. The Habitus typical within these hubs involves thinking of symbolic capital as a resource to enhance social inclusion, and framing the value of arts and culture in relation to their capacity to create new ways of living, working, and consuming. Spontaneous hubs focus on arts and cultural production (festival, exhibition, show, plays) to promote social equality, art activism, multiculturalism, and social inclusion represented in their sense of place and belonging.

Spontaneous hubs offers networks an environment with a high level of social and cultural capital exchange, and a relatively low emphasis on return on investment. Their business models involve renting space to small companies and independent artists, and promoting workshop, concerts, exhibition, festivals, and events. The dynamic of capital exchange in spontaneous hubs does demonstrate a degree of variability, however, with different degrees of dependence on public funding and different abilities to attract investment found across the various hubs to financial capital is more restricted.

Macro-level - Field analysis: Cultural/ Innovation Sub-fields and Cultural Policy

The macro-analysis of data related to the ten hubs has made it possible to recognise the boundaries between the Culture and Innovation Production Subfields that are circumscribed distinctly within the cultural policies of the UK and of Brazil, as each country has distinct understandings of the role of arts, culture, and creativity in terms of excellence, social inclusion, and economic growth. For example, UK-based hubs two and five reflect the relationship between the cultural and creative industries and UK public policies related to urban development (in London and Birmingham). Hub 2 is located in an area that is the site of a significant urban regeneration project, which attracts a range of funders including the Department of Energy, Business and Industrial Strategy; the European Regional Development Fund, the British Council and the Arts Council. This suggests an important convergence between urban development and cultural policy that is distinct from the cultural policy landscape in Brazil.

The macro-level analysis of the five Brazilian hubs reflected a clear separation between the Cultural and Innovation Production Subfield within public policies. Hub 10 accessed resources via PRONAC - National Cultural Support Program and local cultural policies. Hub 9 also reflects the impacts of local cultural policies, specifically the funding for spaces in urban peripheries. These programs are part of the national and local funding system, and both follow the same rules. In Brazil, every year agents and institutions, need to start a proposal framing project, for approval and fundraising for each year. This logic creates a specific cycle within its management process. This process poses a constant risk for institutions, even those with more recognized cultural capital once the project's framing and fundraising cycles create a dependence on federal and local public administrations and instability in terms of economic sustainability. In the case of UK policies, specifically, those Hub, which is part of the National Portfolio, received funding for three years and guarantee more stability in terms of economic sustainability.

The relationship between cultural policies and innovation policies found in the United Kingdom context is much less evident in the Brazilian context. Hub 6 is part of a global co-working franchise model

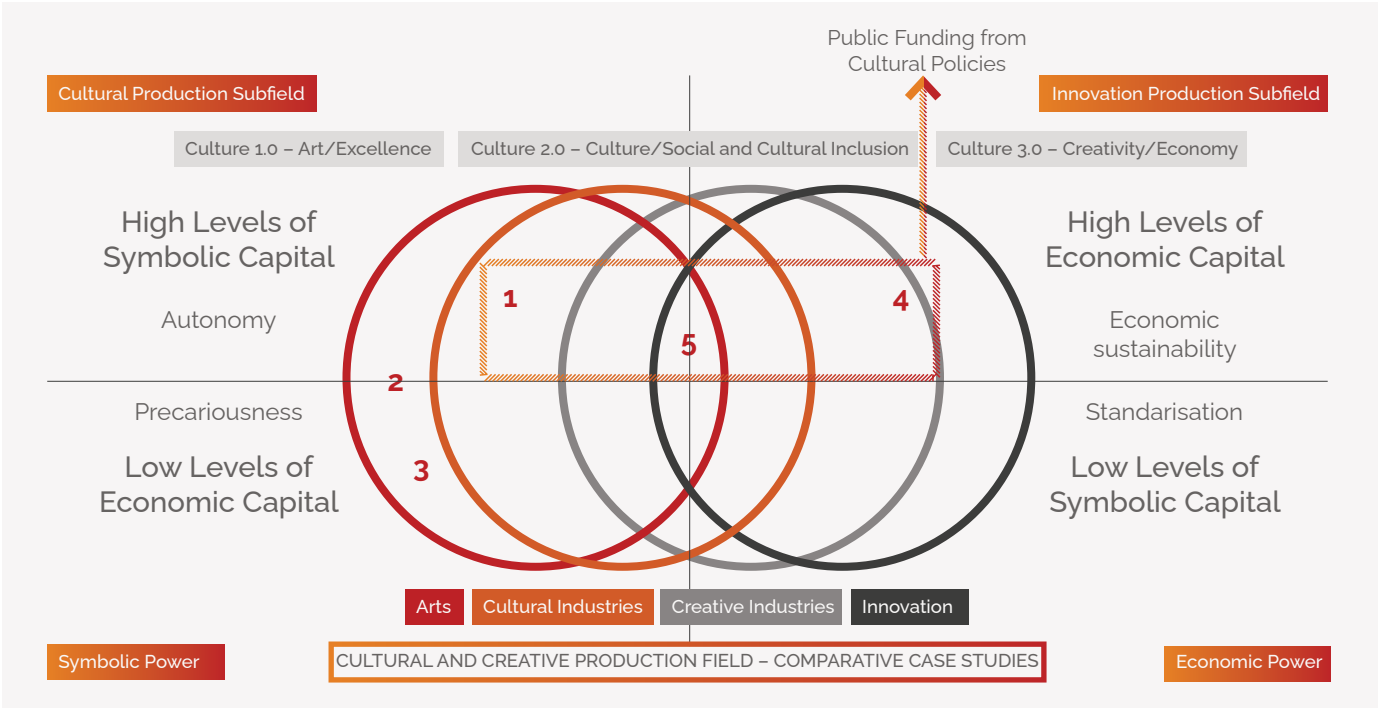


FIGURE 6. THE POSITION OF THE UK HUBS WITHIN THE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE PRODUCTION FIELD FOCUSSED ON RECEIPT OF PUBLIC FUNDING

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

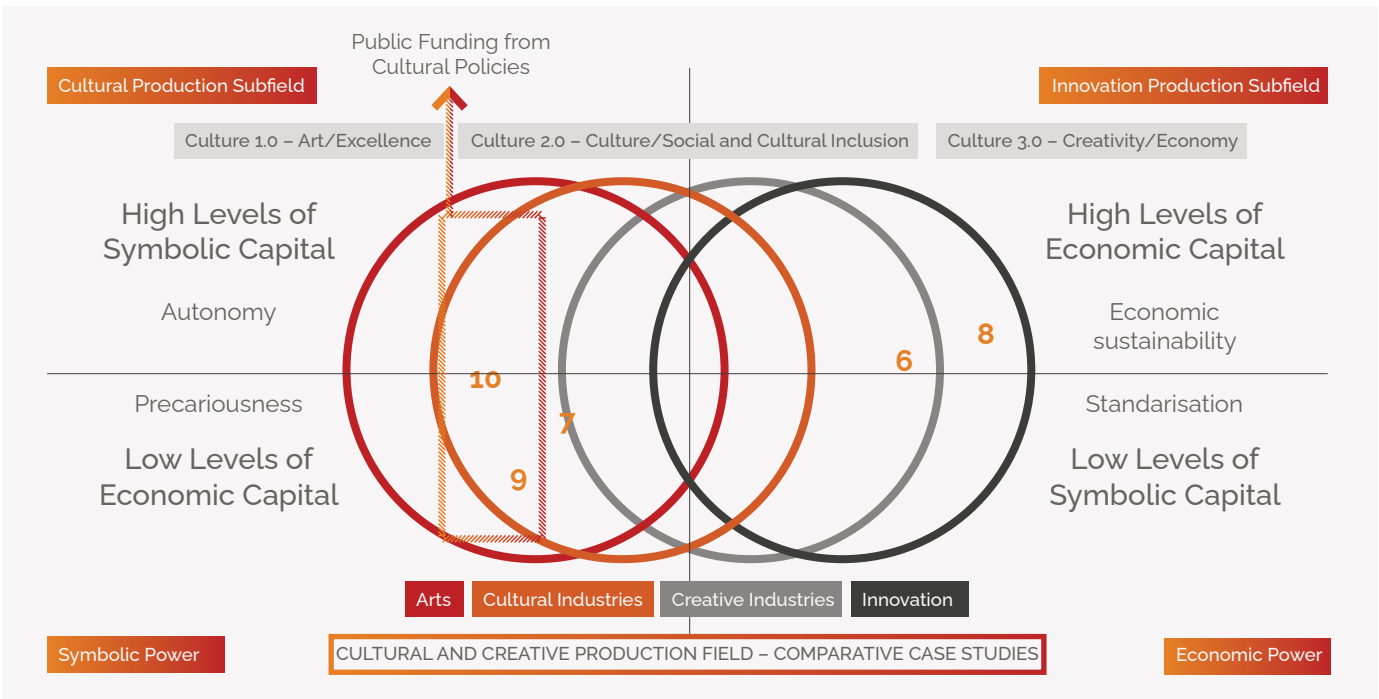


FIGURE 7. THE POSITION OF THE BRAZILIAN HUBS WITHIN THE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE PRODUCTION FIELD FOCUSSED ON RECEIPT OF PUBLIC FUNDING

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

imported from the UK and, as such, has attracted the attention of many public managers in Brazil, but it did not receive public funding. Innovation policies in Brazil have no political or institutional link with cultural policies at this time, having been managed by the Ministry of Innovation, Technology and Science (recently integrated into the Ministry of Communication which created some programs to invest in start-ups). The political and economic crisis that Brazil is experiencing makes it difficult to imagine any effective integration of the subfields of innovation and culture shortly.

The relationship between cultural policies and

innovation policies found in the United Kingdom context is much less evident in the Brazilian context. Hub 6 is part of a global co-working franchise model imported from the UK and, as such, has attracted the attention of many public managers in Brazil, but it did not receive public funding. Innovation policies in Brazil have no political or institutional link with cultural policies at this time, having been managed by the Ministry of Innovation, Technology and Science (recently integrated into the Ministry of Communication which created some programs to invest in start-ups). The political and economic crisis that Brazil is experiencing makes it difficult to imagine any effective integration of the subfields of innovation and culture shortly.

When observing the cultural policy of the two countries three aspects that could be used as a parameter for comparison were identified. The first aspect is the continuity of public policies. British cultural policies were instituted in 1997, and after 12 years, these policies remain as strategic policies for the country. In the case of Brazil, since its creation, cultural policies have had two periods of instability and absence, and little efforts have been made to integrate cultural policies with other public policies. Another important aspect is the funding mechanisms. In Brazil, the culture financing mechanism is regulated by the National Cultural Support Program and is local. In the UK, however, funding is provided by an arts financing agency (The Arts Council), which invests directly through the National Portfolio.

A final aspect to consider is how the Cultural and Creative Production Field is circumscribed by Cultural Policies. In the case of Brazil, the paradigms that consolidated cultural policies were those of Culture 1.0 and 2.0. It is possible to identify through its financing mechanisms that the sectors covered by cultural policies are the arts: heritage, visual arts, performing arts, museums, festivals and the cultural industries, audiovisual, recorded music, publications—demonstrating no convergence between the Cultural and Inovation Production Subfield. In the United Kingdom, the paradigms that consolidated cultural policies were Culture 1.0, Culture 2.0 and Culture 3.0. It is possible to identify through the financing mechanisms that the sectors contemplated are those traditionally linked to the phases of Culture 1.0 and 2.0, however it was possible to recognize a set of actions financed by cultural policies integrated with other public policies, such as urban development policies clearly showing an influence of the Culture paradigm 3.0.

Conclusion

Analyzing the Brazilian Hubs, it was possible to identify the participation of social movements in culture and the presence of programs to foster community-based cultural production. Most of the Hubs analyzed in Brazil are positioned in the Cultural Production Subfield. Only two of the Hubs positioned in the left quadrants (Subfield of Production of Innovation) presented evidence of any financing from any public agency, which suggests a lack of convergence between the Subfield of Cultural Production and Innovation. One of the aspects identified in the research on UK's Hubs was the importance of European Union Funds for the financing of Creative Hubs. It was possible to locate in these cases a convergence between the Subfield of Cultural Production and Innovation. Research on Hubs in the United Kingdom has shown that local cultural policies promote an intersection between art, culture and creativity focussed on their economic impacts, which could be evidence of the Culture 3.0 paradigm. UK cultural policies have characteristics of the three phases of cultural policies and integrate the three paradigms of the arts, culture and creativity and develop integrative public policies that relate the paradigms of culture 1.0, 2.0 and 3.0. In Brazil, cultural policy actions are not integrated with other public policies and are related to Culture 1.0 and Culture 2.0 paradigms.

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Palpable Cities: leisure in the contemporary urban geographies – a theoritecal discussion

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues the role of cities as scenarios where the economic, social, political, cultural, leisure, educational and also geographical inequality it is increasingly evident. It is intended to reflect about the close relationship of humans with the territory. In addition, we seek to discuss the importance of leisure as a builder of identity (individual and social), of belonging and a key factor in appropriations (through the leisure experiences, the routes and places that each individual has in their city) of the territory by its inhabitants.

Keywords:

Leisure

Right to the city

Urban geography

Human geography

Neoliberal capitalism

Introduction

This paper seeks to discuss the role of leisure in the contemporary urban geographies, characterized as scenarios where the economic, social, political, cultural, educational and geographical inequality is increasingly evident. The urban space in this neoliberal capitalist model has become a space of dichotomies, estrangement, intolerance and what is worse, a place of segregation and social violence. On the other hand, segregation and urban social violence (re)produce in such a way the prevailing capitalist model. In this model it is difficult to overlap or try to minimize the impact that is produced in the socio-cultural spheres, such as on the city's geography, its division and layout in neighborhoods, their extension, and the relationship between peripheral neighborhoods and the urban center.

In this context, we want to discuss how leisure could be understood as a sort of dialectic and synergetic relationship between humans and the city, characterized by the singularities and particularities of a specific geographic space. In the same way that Campbell (2016) understands that cities are us (citizens) who make them and every city has the potential to be sensitive through art (Campbell, 2015), we believe that leisure, as part of the symbolic dimension of the territory (Haesbaert, 2007), has the capacity to build urban geographies not only as a mere instrument of political-economic domination, but as a set of sensations, emotions, rhythms and energies capable of favoring the articulation of particular and collective narratives within the context of the city. In this sense, we understand leisure as one of the components of the symbolic dimension of the territory (op. cit.) through which the human beings connect affectively with the place in which they live in (Tuan, 2012), building their own cities within the city; in other words, building their own palpable cities.

This article is structured as follows: in the next item, we will define leisure in line with the territory parameter, since it is acknowledged that it should be understood not only considering the time factor. In point 2, we propose an argument about leisure based on theoretical production on the subject, seeking to comprehend this phenomenon as polysemy and complex in the current system of capitalist globalization. In the third item, we deepen the analysis of the leisure concept taking into account the transformations occurred by the advancement of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and how they transform the relation between human beings and between them and the territory. In the next point, we present the core of the article, which is the understanding that leisure can function as a configurator of the cities that each individual creates, dialectically with the territory in which they live in. Finally, by way of conclusion, we signal different aspects of this type of theoretical-conceptual proposal.

For a leisure connected to the territory

It is important to start by bringing up the way Paul Claval (2007) understood culture as a crucial element to comprehend the way in which societies organize themselves in space. As we consider leisure "as a human need and as a dimension of culture characterized by the ludic experience of cultural manifestations in a social/time space" (Gomes, 2014: 13), we agree with Fernando Mascarenhas (2001) when he states that leisure should constitute a space for the organization of culture. Therefore, we can conclude that leisure is also a key factor in understanding how societies organize themselves in space. On the other hand, we start from the idea that leisure is linked to the territory, because it is possible to visualize a configuration of the urban space where the affective and the emotional are the main components. By saying territory, we are referring to:

> *[...] the space of lived experiences, where the relations between the actors, and of these with the nature, are relations permeated by the feelings and the symbolisms attributed to the places. They are appropriated spaces through practices that guarantee them a certain social/cultural identity (Boligian & Almeida, 2003: 241).*

In this way, it is established that each inhabitant makes a cut of the city determined by their life´s experiences and practices of leisure that are promoted by the personal feelings and emotions and, therefore, are individual and non-transferable. Thus, one arrives at an understanding of leisure as affective configurator of the cities, since it is understood that they are a construction of the human being and as such reflect their subjectivity and all that this implies. In addition, leisure, in this group, starts to act as an intimate bond between the inhabitant and the city, which is with the space where the inhabitant feels identified, represented and protected - their palpable city. Hence, it is plausible to see leisure as an integral part of the

symbolic dimension proposed by the New Cultural Geography (Loureiro, 2004), and the symbolic territory introduced by Rogério Haesbaert (1997), and even the concept of topophilia coined by Tuan (2012).

It is pertinent to reinforce that the present work does not consider territory as the determinant of culture, the identity and the leisure of a given community, nor does it adhere to a deterministic conception of the geography. It is understood that the territory strongly influences the human beings through the feelings that arouse they both consciously and unconsciously, and which has to do, to a greater or lesser extent, with their idiosyncrasy, their ideology, their life trajectory. This belief that the choice for territory is based on the "affective link between person and place" (Tuan, 2012: 19) is the basis upon which this subsection is based. We can point out that the relationship between leisure and territory is characterized by a synergetic and dialectical relationship, of double meaning, in which human beings and territory are constantly influenced, but without a predetermined hierarchy. Therefore, we think that the understanding of leisure that this work pleases is based on the definition proposed by Gomes:

> *Leisure represents the need to enjoy, ludically, the countless cultural practices socially constituted in each context. This need can be satisfied in multiple ways, according to the values and interests of the subjects, groups and institutions in each historical, social and cultural context. Hence, leisure needs to be treated as a social, political, cultural and historically situated phenomenon (2011: 16-17).*

Therefore, it can be said that both individual and social identity are constructions that the subject does to recognize himself as unique and, at the same time, as an integral part of a collective (Geertz, 1989). So leisure in its individual and social unfolding (Cuenca, 2009) is part of this dialectic, that being in a particular time/space is crossed by all the questions that contemporary cities have, and in which cognitive capitalism is a constitutive element of these scenarios.

Problematization of leisure in the hegemonic cultural context

This topic proposes a conceptual reflection on leisure based on the theoretical production on the theme, with the intention of understanding this phenomenon so polysemic, rich and complex, in the present globalized neoliberal capitalist system. In this world context, where social relations are hyper connected and the concentration of capital is increasingly pronounced, urban dynamics in cities and cultural and leisure characteristics tend to be homogeneous. So keeping a concept and trying to fit it into other contexts, times or situations is not wise in the face of such a dynamic and vertiginous scenario as the current one. In addition to running the risk of falling into a theoretical anachronism, concepts must relate to the historical-political momentum in which they are immersed, rather than to extrapolate old conceptions or correspond to other societies and worldviews.

In this sense, we have two groups with different points of view regarding leisure. The first one, considers leisure to belong to Classical Antiquity, whether under the Greek ideal called scholé or the Roman, *otium* (De Grazia, 1966; Munné, 1980; Cuenca, 2004), and the second one, establishes as an historical landmark of leisure the Industrial Revolution (Dumazedier, 1976). To keep discussing this, doesn´t allow the creation of new approaches to the theme that may be more current and close to our realities. With this we aren´t saying that doing studies and surveys analyzing the historical occurrence of leisure, investigating how it happened or was understood by the Romans, Greeks or factory workers, and even make a comparative analysis, isn´t important. What we want to point out is that, for example, in both Greek and Roman society, leisure was considered a privilege of a select group, the elite. Thus, it functioned as a clear social division between masters and slaves. In the case of the Industrial Revolution, leisure became a "possibility of control over the body and mind of workers [...], little by little taking the form of merchandise" (Mascarenhas, 2006: 92). It should also be noted that it was in this historical and economic context that Dumazedier carried out his research on leisure in France and, although the Industrial Revolution brought a new form of economic-political organization of cities, many transformations have taken place at various levels: social, technological, cultural, political, economic, urban, geographical, etc. For all this, it is not prudent to think that as some aspects of the Industrial Age still persist, and some are even more accentuated, it is possible to extrapolate concepts, ideas and place them nowadays only by performing contextualization or some adjustments. Here we defend the idea that leisure (and so many other concepts) must be endogenous, that is, it has its origin in the interior. Continuing with the historical contextualization and already situating

"APPROACHING LEISURE IN A DECONTEXTUALIZED WAY, DATING BACK TO OTHER TIMES AND CONTEXTS, OR EVEN CONSIDERING IT AS SOMETHING OPPOSED TO WORK IS A LITTLE USEFUL IDEA IN A HEURISTIC SENSE"

ourselves in the second half of the twentieth century, it was from the Information Revolution and the advent of ICTs in the 1970s and 1980s that all these changes described in the previous paragraph were intensified, modifying also the notions of time and space (Harvey, 1990; Igarza, 2009; Gomes, 2014). On the other hand, neoliberal capitalism, through these information technologies, produced a compression of these terms: "the wider the geographical scale (which explains the emphasis on globalization) and the shorter the time periods of market contracts, both better" (Harvey, 2014c: 13).

In relation to this, Gomes (2014: 7) states:

> *[...] it is increasingly evident that the understanding of leisure as a sphere opposed to work has not managed to problematize the complexities and dynamics that mark the multiple dimensions of collective life in different spheres and contexts, notably in this twenty-first century. The opposition to work and leisure is increasingly paradoxical, since labor flexibility (and, with it, the precariousness of labor), coupled with the gradual international division of labor (which concentrates factory production in some countries and regions of the world, especially in Asia), and the technological advance, which has expanded spatial/temporal boundaries, have already made clear that the supposed boundaries between the two are increasingly tenuous and diffuse in everyday social life. These are some of the examples that inevitably indicate that some of the categories commonly used to conceptualize leisure need to be revised and questioned.*

In keeping with Gomes's thinking, Igarza, when analyzing the changes that ICTs have had and still have about human relations, work and leisure, adds the following:

> *Modern economies work by recognizing that the creative, the mediatic and the idle, on the one hand, and the consequent relativization of the social place granted to work and full employment as a collective strategy, on the other, are not opposed (2009: 34).*

In this way, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of today's society, the dynamics behind global capitalism, the transformations that influence cities and social relations through the advancement of technologies and the media. All of this, to varying degrees, affects both the more subjective, symbolic-affective, and the more objective or formal aspects. In this sense, approaching leisure in a decontextualized way, dating back to other times and contexts, or even considering it as something opposed to work is a little useful idea in a heuristic sense. Moreover, this idea does not contribute to the advance and production of new knowledge in this area and leads to an understanding of leisure that responds to strategies of cultural domination - articulated by the colonialist power and by the colonialist knowledge. The objective of importing and reproducing a certain Eurocentric model, or reducing it, reduces visions of the world in one perspective. As in this study the question of territory is a fundamental aspect, it is prudent to abandon concepts and theories about leisure that do not correspond to the geographic context and historical-political moment that is intended to study. It is thus believed that it will be possible to create a specific framework that will dialogue with the object of this study, with the city of Belo Horizonte and with Brazil in this political-social moment[1].

Leisure and the digital information revolution – the age of cognitive capitalism

In the present topic, we intend to analyze leisure in the current context, where globalized neoliberal capitalism reigns. As a starting point, one can mention the architect Natacha Rena, who was influenced by Hardt and Negri (2001, 2005, 2016), especially by the latter, and who states that "if the factory formed the field of labor exploitation until the 1970s, the capital-state now

[1] This paper it´s a result of Agustin Arosteguy Doctoral dissertation titled "Territory and Cultural Experiences: appropriation of leisure at two "Points of Culture" in Belo Horizonte / MG (2018). Supervised by Christianne Luce Gomes.

extracts the surplus value in all space" (Rena, 2015: 22). This space is the urban space that, in the era of cognitive capitalism and increasingly overwhelming neoliberal public policies, make this place a scenario of dispute not only territorial, but also political and symbolic. In this way, cities that once organized themselves from economic models of capital to obtain the greatest exploitation through factories and concrete places are now territories where cognitive capitalism acts with equal intensity without considering any pre-established order and without respecting or obeying no limitation, be it physical, human or spatial/temporal. Every action is plausible as long as you make a profit, and that's all that matters. Beyond space, this form of capitalism and the dizzying advance of technology have profoundly changed the ways of working and the relationship with time. As a result, people have changed their way of relating to space, to work, and also to each other. A central feature of this new neoliberal capitalism, which Hardt and Negri refer to as Empire (2001), is precisely linked to the question of time because "the time of expropriation of post-fordist, imperial, neoliberal capitalism occupies all the time of our lives" (Rena, 2015: 25). In this regard, Rena adds:

> *The current capitalist exploitation passes through the capture of desires and, in this sense, a whole symbolic system abducts subjectivity and makes us obedient workers and consumers within a financial capitalist system. We witness the emergence of a new man: the indebted man. (Idem)*

It is clear that debt is what keeps capitalism alive (Harvey, 2014a) and is the engine of it. From the point of view of leisure and culture, the city as a whole also became a company or what Jorge Barbosa (2006: 127) called a "beautiful city, set design against disorder". By this, he means that the cities are controlled by the real estate speculation, gentrification, urban revitalization policies and state control through capital surplus. These are all mechanisms "in the hands of a small political and economic elite able to shape the city more and more according to their particular needs and their deepest desires" (Harvey, 2014b: 63). Leisure and work, for the first time in history, are equated. They happen anywhere in the city without caring about the moment or situation: it can be at work, on the trips and at home (Igarza, 2009). That is, it left behind this dichotomous relationship of subordination that work imposed on leisure; now both occur in parallel times, in real, simultaneous and ubiquitous spaces and times. These hyper connected urban crowds inhabit cities, experience what Igarza calls bubbles of leisure. In addition, they do it all the time, without establishing any difference between the spaces and times by which they circulate, inhabit and work. In this scheme, leisure is also impacted and transformed, converting and entering the interstices that the imperial neoliberal system allows. In this way, we find ourselves facing a new leisure and a new society: the intermittent leisure of the Interstitial Leisure Society (Igarza, 2009). In this sense, Igarza proposes a leisure connected to the ICTs and what they allow people to do in their times of transition, times of waiting, times of displacement. Therefore, the author understands that leisure completes the lag time, the time period between two related actions. It is possible to see, therefore, that the subject in question is limited to the capacity of consumption of the person, to the possibility that the apparatuses, be cell phones, computers, iPods, notebooks, tablets, allow in the space of the urban city highly connected. Thus, Igarza argues:

> *Leisure is consumed in small fruition pills, shortages that can be enjoyed in the micro-spaces left by work activities or in the fragments of idle dedication that the user is awarded during the trips or in his free time at home (2009: 43).*

This definition implies an exclusion, since it considers that leisure can only be enjoyed by highly technological people, with a purchasing power and determined level of life and, therefore, leaves completely that leisure quality that does not depend on capital, rationality, of neoliberalism. Thus, the Argentine author categorically reinforces: "interstitial leisure is an utopia-market come true" (Igarza, 2009: 45). Words like "consume" and "user" have a direct economistic meaning and are in close dialogue with Richard Florida's proposed cities, with a more hegemonic view of culture and leisure. In his book 'Who's your city?' (Florida, 2009), the North American urbanist argued that metropolitan areas with a high concentration of high-tech workers, artists, musicians and homosexuals are related to a high level of economic development. Florida supports the theory that the creative class promotes and fosters an open and dynamic personal and professional environment[2]. This environment attracts more creative people as well as business and capital. The author suggests that attracting and retaining high-quality talents instead of

[2] Although Florida created and upheld this theory for 15 long years, in 2017 published a book, in which he assumes that his interpretation was wrong and makes a mea culpa. In 'The New Urban Crisis', Florida reflects on its previous findings to address issues of inequality and segregation, suggesting that the new urban crisis is a fundamental aspect of large, dense, wealthy, educated, and politically liberal metropolitan areas.

focusing solely on infrastructure projects such as sports stadiums, emblematic buildings and shopping centers is a first-rate use of a city's regenerative resources for its prosperity in the long term.

Undoubtedly, all this acceleration provided by ICTs to urban crowds means that in urban space there are no spatial, temporal or functional barriers. On the one hand, it should be noted that, although a growing part of the population has access to ICTs, thus facilitating their communication and circulation throughout the city and thus affirming their geographical belonging, this is not enough for them to be included in digital urban culture (Igarza, 2009) not even within analogical urban culture. On the other hand, this acceleration that produces hyper connections in a big city, getting to know in every minute what is happening almost in real time, causes that the spatial displacement is reduced and even annihilated by the acceleration of the time (Harvey, 1990). In other words, this possibility of knowing what happens anywhere without being physically in it compresses the space so that people do not have or must necessarily move around to know what is happening. This inevitably reduces the amount of social experiences that people can engage in. This compression of space by time is facilitated by the globalized neoliberal capitalist system:

> *The process of neoliberalism, however, involved a lot of creative destruction, not only of the old institutional powers and structures (even shaking the traditional forms of State sovereignty), but also of the divisions of work, social relations, promotion of the good-social welfare, combinations of technologies, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, forms of attachment to the land and habits of the heart (Harvey, 2014c: 13).*

Boaventura de Souza Santos (2002: 239) also shows this acceleration of time when he denounces:

> *The most fundamental feature of the Western conception of rationality is the fact that, on the one hand, it is contracting the present and, on the other hand, expanding the future. The contraction of the present, occasioned by a peculiar conception of totality, has transformed the present into a fleeting moment, entrenched between the past and the future. The broader the future, the brighter the expectations confronted with the experiences of the present.*

Thus, the Portuguese sociologist proposes a cosmopolitan rationality that follows the inverse trajectory: to expand the present and to contract the future. That is, to see all the experiences and social events that are happening in space in the present moment. In this way, one will be able to decelerate the present and postpone, as far as possible, the arrival of the future. Moreover, it is precisely in this more accurate perception of the present that we want to analyze leisure and how it articulates with territory and culture. With this we want to draw attention to the leisure proposals that compact with the vision of Boaventura. These proposals are necessary as anchor points and also as forms of resistance, and even more so when we think of Latin American urban metropolis like Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, in Brazil, Bogotá and Medellin, in Colombia, and Buenos Aires, in Argentina. Thus, it is important to reflect on the role of leisure and culture in these cities and on the conditions that make it possible for a human being to define, within his field of choice, a city to live in and a neighborhood within it. One does not want to deny or diminish the importance of the economic factor, the possibility of a well-paid job and all that it implies. However, what is aspired to take into account other factors, such as affective, social, historical and sentimental relations with the territory and the rest of the people that inhabit it. Each choice is a particular case and it is not possible to generalize, but what is interesting to point out is that each choice is composed of a tangle of questions, subjective and objective, affective and economic, historical and social, psychological and sociological that end up forming biopolitical subjectivities[3] of the neighborhoods and, by extension, of the cities. As Rena, Berquó and Chagas point out (2014: 73):

> *It is this more optimistic perspective on biopolitics that opens space for discussion of the biopolitical power of the crowd, or the biopower of the crowd, for it is believed that in parallel or even within this flexible system of contemporary capitalism it is possible to resist positively by activating processes that escape the logic of the capture of the biopolitical machines of subjectivation.*

Faced with this, it is the hope in biopolitical subjectivities that grants a greater hope in the future within this neoliberal system, which can be summarized as the capacity of the human being to

[3] This concept is understood from the standpoint of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, who define it as the anti-capitalist insurgency of the multitude that uses life and the body as weapons (2004).

organize and resist (real and virtual) in the geographic space of the metropolis. Resisting against neoliberalism means recognizing and accepting the subjectivities of territories and, through them, understanding that these identities are manifold. As a result, a leisure understanding is demanded in close relation with the present time, in consonance with the territory's identity, and preoccupied and occupied in expanding the experiences (individual and social) present and active in the urban space.

Leisure as an affective configuration of cities

Given the concept of cities presented in the previous section, which favors a more capital-oriented city model, it can be seen that this model has also been supported and promoted by three important programs that, in a certain way, standardize culture according to a hegemonic perspective. These are the European Capital of Culture program (European Union), and the Agenda 21 for Culture (United Cities and Local Governments) and the Creative Cities networks (UNESCO).

Although the three models have their particularities in relation to the objective they pursue and, therefore, differ in their purposes in terms of scope and dimension, we can recognize two common characteristics:

a. Categorization and/or structuring: the three presented models are elaborated from a series of categories and concepts. All cities wishing to receive such distinction or recognition must inexorably fit within such categories. In our opinion, this is oriented towards the homogenization of culture, since it is easier to extrapolate cultural policies between different cities and between different countries. Unfailingly, this favors cultural benchmarking (Arosteguy, 2016).
b. Rehabilitation and/or visual improvement of the cities: undoubtedly the three programs favor a visual improvement of the cities. This fact encourages tourism and is a great incentive for any city. This movement of openness towards tourism also makes it possible to host large-scale events, such as the Olympics and the World Cup. This implicitly involves the risk of transforming cities into showcases where the best of each one of them must be shown. This fact has repercussions in favor of the urban phenomenon of gentrification, which basically consists of the abandonment of strategic sectors or neighborhoods of the city and then be bought at ridiculous prices to transform them into residential neighborhoods. In this regard, it should be noted that the concept and impacts of gentrification have expanded and resignified to become the new form of neoliberal urban policy (Smith, 2002). What had happened in Rio de Janeiro after the 2014 World Cup is an example of this.

As Neil Smith warns us, the neoliberal policy of cities is a strong channel for the proliferation of the phenomena mentioned previously: cultural benchmarking and urban gentrification. In this sense, the context of creative cities and the creative economy are optimal scenarios for the deepening of these two phenomena so typical, paraphrasing Bauman, of liquid contemporaneity. In this study we defend that the cities are:

> *[..] the space where actions and desires of creation gain strength and form "and in this way" she (the city) seems to expand the political and rebellious potential of art (and of leisure, our addition), strengthening the aspect of freedom of the production (Campbell, 2015: 8).*

It´s relevant to understand that cities are a mere invention of the emerging bourgeoisie of the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, they were created to organize economically pre-industrial societies, it is appropriate to think that these urban spaces actually have different configurations that each inhabitant builds, from his subjectivity that is defined by a set of factors, ranging from social, political, economic, philosophical, cultural, and geographical, among many others. Thus, urban sociologist Robert Park (1967: 3, apud Harvey, 2014b: 28) understands that the city is:

> *The most coherent and, in general, more successful attempt to remake the world in which he lives, and to do so in accordance with his deepest desires. But if the city is the man-made world, then it follows that it is also the world in which it is condemned to live. Thus, indirectly and without any clear conscience of the nature of his task, in creating the city man re-created himself.*

In this way, each individual will configure their city by the way in which it identifies itself, feels represented, appropriates and experiences it. All this subjective and singular identification that each subject establishes

with its territory, determines or delimits a specific and particular space that at the same time that influences the personality of the person and is influenced in a constant and enriching exchange. So we can think that the inhabitants imprint characteristics in the metropolis and at the same time the metropolis influences them. In this exchange that happens at an affective, sensory and emotional level, space and individual are constantly modified, transformed and influenced. Taking the words of the geographer Jorge Barbosa when he points out that: "The territory keeps the most hidden elements and, at the same time, contributes to externalizing the meanings of a given culture" and under the inspiration of Gomes and Elizalde's (2012) definition of leisure, one can arrive at an understanding that leisure is a human need and a dimension of culture characterized by the affective and emotional experiences and experiences that individuals weave and construct to appropriate, identify and connect with the territory where they live and develop their lives. In this way, people establish a private, intimate and untransferable cut of the city from the spaces through which they circulate and occupy, creating personal ties that transcend everyday life and that reverberate in an "own city" according to the leisure practices that each one performs.

This fact, it is interesting to bring the idea that the city can be conceived as a kind of puzzle, where each inhabitant fits the different pieces according to their social experiences and experiences of leisure. Within the urban context that individuals choose to experience through different cultural expressions, this/these territory/ies, spatial cuts, in a sense, become constitutive traits of the personal identity that each citizen reflects and imprints on it/them. Thus, it can be stated that the geographical spaces where the person circulates, transits and experiences through leisure practices, end up forming part of the personal characteristics, and, therefore, becoming part of it. Thus, every individual is an amalgam that mixes and is constituted in close connection with the territory.

Reinforcing the idea introduced by the New Cultural Geography, in which territory also reflects on the symbolic aspect of society, it is important to cite Barbosa again (2004: 102) when he comments that "Territory is both a material and symbolic referential for construction/affirmation of cultural identities". Since leisure is the dimension of culture, it is implicit in the symbolic dimension of the territory. Therefore, leisure can be understood as a sort of dialectic and symbiotic relationship between humans and the city, characterized by the singularities and particularities of a specific geographic space. In this sense, leisure could perhaps recover the poetics of the territory and this "territory, then, would not be a mere instrument of political domination and/or public space for the exercise of a (presumed) citizenship, but effectively a space of identification and (re)creation of/with the world, 'nature'" (Idem).

"WITHIN THE URBAN CONTEXT THAT INDIVIDUALS CHOOSE TO EXPERIENCE THROUGH DIFFERENT CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS, THIS/ THESE TERRITORY/ IES, SPATIAL CUTS, IN A SENSE, BECOME CONSTITUTIVE TRAITS OF THE PERSONAL IDENTITY THAT EACH CITIZEN REFLECTS AND IMPRINTS ON IT/ THEM"

A sort of closure

It is possible to establish that to be or not to be a palpable city is not a category, but a subjective construction, an individual projection. In addition, as such, it is not a rigid and tight concept that can be extrapolated to different scenarios, moments and/or situations, without taking into account the singularities of each specific case. They are individual constructions based on experiences, experiences that each individual constructs with the city, in a dialectical and symbiotic way, through perceptions, emotions and senses. In this way, cities are far from being an entity to be deciphered or distant beings with whom we will never be able to identify or establish a connection. Campbell (2016) puts it like this: the city is us to do it.

A city is more than vertical structures of steel, concrete and glass that form and shape the architecture of our lives. In this current age where neoliberal capitalism imposes on cities a production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) determined by capital and its reproduction, there is a risk of transforming our cities into superficial societies, cities without a soul, without a drive, pushing more and more citizens to lack identification with the city but to see it as a functional

"IT IS POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH THAT TO BE OR NOT TO BE A PALPABLE CITY IS NOT A CATEGORY, BUT A SUBJECTIVE CONSTRUCTION, AN INDIVIDUAL PROJECTION. IN ADDITION, AS SUCH, IT IS NOT A RIGID AND TIGHT CONCEPT THAT CAN BE EXTRAPOLATED TO DIFFERENT SCENARIOS, MOMENTS AND/OR SITUATIONS, WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SINGULARITIES OF EACH SPECIFIC CASE"

element of their lives. That is, to consider it only in economic terms, leaving aside the sensations, the rhythms, and the energies that inhabit it and that allow to create the particular and plural narratives within the text of the city. As a consequence, the starting and also the destination point, lies in the idea that every human experience of everyday life is what defines the changing fabric of the city and vice versa. In this sense, feeling the city is a form of symbiotic identification and not a mere one-way and abstract extrapolation.

To paraphrase Foucault when he talked about homosexuality (1981), the palpable city is not a form of desire, but something desirable. We have to strive us to make our cities palpable and not obstinate ourselves in recognizing that they are. For all this, we commune with Garcia Canclini (2012) when he says that combating the increasingly visible tendency of dehumanization and impersonality of cities, growing cultural homogenization, the almost cloned (re)production of 'successful' of hegemonic cultural policies and practices; it is through culture and the daily social and subjective experiences of reporting, circulating and feeling the city. In this way, it is possible to approach and recognize the uniqueness of contemporary societies. In addition, this is the challenge and commitment that contemporary citizens have with their cities.

Perhaps so, after all, approaching the city through the senses is the way to capture what Bauman (2003) defined as emotionally as a community or when Canclini (2012) himself refers to societies without reporting not as lack or absence of them, but rather as the lack of an organizing account of the diversity existing in the world. That is, exempt from a totalizing and hegemonic account. In this way:

> *[...] we move from multiculturalism, understood as recognition of differences within each nation, to intercultural conflicts in a global geopolitics where all societies are interdependent (2012: 37)*

In view of this scenario proposed by Canclini, it makes sense to think that it is the inhabitants who complete the city, not only in the economic sense but in the holistic sense, which includes politics, history, culture, geography, emotions, feelings, and tensions. Inhabitants become proactive inhabitants, inhabitants of this permeable urban identity. Thus, it is possible to think of a symbiotic and interactive relationship in which, through leisure and art, the city and the inhabitants can undertake a dive in order to surface their own multiple identities. In short, it is about the possibility, of the right to change ourselves by changing the city and vice versa.

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Infection, Participation and Informality in higher arts education: the case of the School of Arts (Porto)

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ABSTRACT

Higher arts education poses several specific challenges. The specificity of art in the contemporary age demands the development of unique strategies. Following a conceptual framework defined by Infection, Participation and Informality the School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa adopted since 2018 a strategy comprising a project-based methodology, informal tutoring sessions with artists, a Cultural Programme and an artistic residencies programme. This paper presents the early results of this strategy, and analyses how it could foster the critical artistic practice of the students.

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Keywords:

Higher Arts Education

Artistic Residencies

Aesthetic infection

Participation

Informality

Introduction

Artistic education poses several specific questions. The fusion of art academies with the university system brought the latter's pedagogic models to the former. Such models of transmission of knowledge are conservative and do not overcome many of the challenges of the contemporary world, let alone the specific challenges of art. After Duchamp (for some, the start of art as we know it today), art can be anything and so can art education. That is, "art education has no definite goal, no method, no particular content that can be taught, no tradition that can be transmitted to a new generation — which is to say, it has too many" (Groys, 2009: 27). In the Art World, art schools and universities are secondary players. Any museum, art centre or gallery plays a more fundamental role than the academy. Art institutionalization within the academic world implicates the reification of paradigmatic practices and models, watering down the critical dimension of art.

To face these challenges, the School of Arts (SoA) at Universidade Católica Portuguesa developed a strategy based on the principles of Education by Infection, Participation and Informality. The SoA offers a Cultural Programme that articulates exhibitions and events, open to the broader artistic community, with tutoring sessions, workshops and activities developed by guest artists with the students. The model proposed by the SoA privileges artistic creation as a means of informing both education and research in the specific field of art.

This paper aims to report and discuss the early results of this strategy. We will describe how it provides students with an understanding of a diversity of artistic methodologies, practices and concerns. On a second moment, we will take the specific Conference Programme organized by the SoA in 2019 under the topic of Art & Ecology, to propose how an art university can engage its students with criticality towards the fundamental issues of contemporaneity.

The School of Arts

In 1996, the School of Arts (SoA) was founded in Porto, the second largest city of Portugal. Porto is home to a very active cultural scene driven by different actors and institutions. The SoA is well connected with many of the independent and institutional agents. Namely it established partnerships with Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art and Porto/Post/Doc International Film Festival, among many others.

The SoA is a community of students, teachers and qualified professionals, whose mission is to proclaim the presence of art in the various fields of activity and serves as a key element of Portugal's cultural, social and economic development. The SoA is divided into the following areas: Sound and Image, Arts and Restoration, a Research Centre for Science and Technology of the Arts (CITAR) and two service centres (CCD and CCR_ Centre of Conservation and Restoration). Its main tasks are the artistic dissemination of knowledge and culture through quality processes and accredited teaching, as well as research and knowledge transfer to the community.

The CCD (Digital Creativity Centre), acknowledged as one of the anchor projects from the Creative Industry Cluster in Northern Portugal, is a centre of competence and creative excellence with an infrastructure equipped with cutting edge technology in the areas of Digital and Interactive Arts, Computer Music, Sound Design, Audio-visual and Cinematic Arts, Computer Animation. It offers a broad range of studios and equipment to create audio-visual artworks, besides offering a Fabrication Lab where material artworks can be created through digital fabrication. The facilities are prepared to host public presentations: CCD has an auditorium appropriate for high-quality film screenings, music concerts and performances; and an exhibition room equipped to support almost every media used in contemporary artistic practices. CCD also promotes a Cultural Programme with guest artists and scholars. The programme aims to articulate the several dimensions of SoA's mission: education, research and artistic creation.

Infection, Participation and Informality

The university is a specific environment that "isolates" the student, "to be exclusively a site of learning and analysis, of experimentation exempted from the urgencies of the outside world" while "paradoxically" proposing exactly to "prepare students for life outside the school, for 'real life'" (ibid.). As 'real life' is "ever changing" so should be education. In the specific case of art, since Duchamp introduced the ready-made and the following avant-gardes proposed an increasing relevance of 'real life', artists got themselves "infected with exteriority" (ibid.). Following Malevich's idea that artists should be subjected to "aesthetic infections" triggered by "new visual forms and impressions produced by modern life" (ibid.: 28), Boris Groys proposes infection as a way

"THE SCHOOL OF ARTS IN PORTO IS A COMMUNITY OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND QUALIFIED PROFESSIONALS, WHOSE MISSION IS TO PROCLAIM THE PRESENCE OF ART IN THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF ACTIVITY AND SERVES AS A KEY ELEMENT OF PORTUGAL'S CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT"

of constantly updating the artistic practices. Under this perspective, the students would be presented to new aesthetic elements, partially deriving from artistic, technological and societal development, in a safe environment. Such principle owes to the idea of vaccination, as the infection is promoted within a controlled setting. The context of higher education institutions guarantees that the contact of students with new aesthetic elements is driven by criticality and debate. They would then develop their own original practice, responding to aesthetic novelty and politically urgent issues.

The art school exists under a "state of exception", given the specificity of artistic creation because it "safeguards by force of its own, its own rules of production" (Madoff, 2009: 275). It is nevertheless a very narrow one – given the constraints of the art market and bureaucratization on what a university should be. As museums, galleries and art events hold the power, budgets and media influence to "rewrite art history" (Bauer, 2009: 224), art schools and universities should invite its surrounding communities (societal, artistic, alumni) to participate actively in the discussion and "assimilate the parameters of the aesthetic experience" they provide (Madoff, 2009: 275), in order to affirm themselves as socially relevant agents within the Art World. Art schools should develop "alternative cultural stances to the predilections and short-term memory of the market" (Bauer, 2009: 225), therefore transmitting a "critical artistic and cultural practice" (Deliss, 2009: 131). Such participation is two-sided: to bring the community to take part in the aesthetic debate; for the students to engage with the issues of the community. Certainly, this is fundamental for the art school to create its own discourse.

The third principle is one that leads to intellectual emancipation. Informality allows "both students and teachers [to] reformulate their hierarchical relationship and enter a flat zone where each party recogniz[es] the value of their respective input and could then pitch and barter their way forward from ignorance to knowledge" (ibid.: 131). This would favour a symbiotic relationship between students, professors and young practitioners. This implies the rupture of the traditional cause-effect relation between teaching and learning. Emancipation stands here for "reappropriation of a relationship of the subject to itself" (Rancière, 2010: 23-25), that allows it to overcome a distance between what it already knows and what it still doesn't, through the adventures of his own and those of the others (ibid.: 19). Through an experimental approach on their own work, and by acknowledging the experiences of older artists, art students will acquire more relevant skills. Informal education "can provide young people with the cognitive and affective skills they need to cope with a rapidly changing society" (Cohen, 2007: 12).

These three principles define the Pedagogical Programme at the core of the SoA's strategy for Art Education. The SoA proposes a Cultural Programme of exhibitions and other events, a programme of artistic residencies, informal tutoring sessions with artists and promotes problem-based/project-based methodologies in its curriculum. Students, in their contact with artists, are "infected" with aesthetic and societal forms, therefore they're stimulated to update themselves, developing new structures of thought. Much of this contact is done in an informal way, through "the use of observation, experiential approach to developing ideas, and encoding of new forms and representations" (Deliss, 2009: 126). In these processes, the surrounding communities are invited to participate in the aesthetic discussions of the SoA, further valuing the SoA's work as well as the work of its students.

Art school understood under these premises is inherently political, "infecting the world as much as the world infects it" (Groys, 2009: 30). As "every art activity consists primarily in policing the public" (ibid.), art is engaged in community discussions and solving political issues. Art and politics are both connected "as forms of dissent, as operations of reconfiguration of common experience of the sensitive" that create a new "configuration of the possible" (Rancière, 2010: 95-96).

Merleau-Ponty described great prose as the "art of capturing a meaning which until then had never been

objectified and of rendering it accessible to everyone who speaks the same language" (Merleau-Ponty, 1969: 373). Art goes even further, beyond language, encompassing a multitude of sensitive information – sound, image, touch, smell, word, etc. By capturing meanings not yet grasped and rewriting the possible, art can indeed be, not merely a tool, but the platform to question and transform reality.

The Cultural Programme

The Cultural Programme is comprised of exhibitions, conferences, film screenings and workshops. This programme is part of a pedagogic strategy that SoA has been implementing since the semester between February and July 2018, complementing the graduate and postgraduate programmes. The programme follows the premise that a diversity of critical approaches and artistic practice fosters artistic innovation. The exchange of knowledge and (soft/hard) skills that arise is believed to put quality contemporary artistic creation at the centre, and therefore to embolden the quality of the education. In short, academic institutions that focus on art should sustain a close dialogue with the most relevant contemporary creators and the artistic community.

1. **Artistic Residencies**

At the core of this strategy, a programme of artistic residencies organizes a significant part of the activities. The resident artists often develop an exhibition programme and participate in tutoring sessions with the students. One artist was selected in the first academic year and three in the second and third years. Each artist starts by proposing an artistic project to be developed and presented within the residency in premiere in the SoA. The works should enter national and international circulation. The residencies are adapted to the specific needs of each project. Usually, they last three months in their research and development phases. The work can take the shape of any audio-visual art form and can be presented in any of the exhibition spaces of the CCD.

All throughout the process the artists are required to involve the undergraduate students, the professors and researchers of SoA. This brings new artistic perspectives to the SoA community and grants the invited artist the possibility to work with concepts and expertise that they don't master. On the other hand, the artists are required to present artist talks, organize workshops and mentor the (final) artistic projects of the undergraduate and graduate students.

These residencies are also an opportunity to strengthen the cooperation with the artistic community, fostering collaborative work and the meeting and discussion between artists from different disciplines. It is an opportunity to build partnerships with institutions, through presentation of the projects developed in the SOA, funding or collaboration in the development of joint projects.

2. **Exhibitions**

Each academic year, the SoA presents 4 exhibitions – some of which developed by resident artists. Every project is developed specifically for the exhibition space and presented in premiere, involving a variety of media from cinematic art to photography and new media. With the gallery open four days per week, the students and researchers have the opportunity to contact directly with some of the most relevant artists working in the Portuguese and international art scene. The artists engage in the tutoring of students from different areas and participate in a session of the conference programme, by presenting their artistic methods, processes and conceptual framework. In some situations, students and professors engage in the setting up of the exhibition, acquiring technical skills fundamental to the understanding of the presentation of contemporary art; in some rare situations, students, professors and researchers participate in the development of the artworks with different degrees of complexity; more recently, professors and researchers developed part of the side programme of the exhibition, directly engaging with the practice of the artist.

3. **Conference Programme**

The Conference Programme happens yearly, on the second semester with weekly sessions. It's part of the curriculum of graduate and undergraduate students and, like the other activities on the Cultural Programme, it's open to outside public. Artists, curators, scientists and researchers are invited to present their work or research in the most suitable format – from a keynote presentation to a debate, concert or performance. Since 2019 the Conference has an annual theme that sets the broad topic for students to develop their artistic projects.

4. **Other events and activities**

Besides the core projects aforementioned, the SoA with CITAR organize a series of academic and research events. It's relevant to mention the Summer School on Art & Cinema. This yearly event launched

in 2018 is an intensive programme that follows the major principles of the SoA's strategy. During a week, about 20 participants contact with some of the most important international artists and filmmakers (Palme d'Or 2010 Apichatpong Weerasethakul, Atom Egoyan and Todd Solondz, among others) in a series of workshops and masterclasses. Participants learn about other artists' methods and practices (Infection), actively employ them in short exercises (Participation) and at the end of the night attend a public screening (or opening) of the artists' work (Informality). However, given the small sample of participants and the short duration of the programme, to assess its results is not helpful for this paper.

Early Results

Artistic Residencies

In the first semester of 2018 the SoA hosted one resident artist, the Portuguese filmmaker and artist Salomé Lamas. In 2018/2019 three artists were enrolled in the residency program, two of them Portuguese, the artists Nuno da Luz and Jonathan Uliel Saldanha, and one Brazilian, the filmmaker Ana Vaz. In 2019/2020 the filmmakers Yohei Yamakado (Japan, based in France) and Vasco Araújo were the resident artists. A third residency by the American artist Ben Russell had to be postponed to 2020/2021 due to the impact of COVID-19. The trend evinces an aim of the SoA towards internationalization, with the goal of fostering knowledge and skills exchange between different cultural backgrounds.

"THE CONTEXT OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS GUARANTEES THAT THE CONTACT OF STUDENTS WITH NEW AESTHETIC ELEMENTS IS DRIVEN BY CRITICALITY AND DEBATE. THEY WOULD THEN DEVELOP THEIR OWN ORIGINAL PRACTICE, RESPONDING TO AESTHETIC NOVELTY AND POLITICALLY URGENT ISSUES"

1. **Salomé Lamas (February – June 2018)**

The pilot year was important to test the program's articulation with the SoA's research and teaching activities. The residency was funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Established in 1956 in Lisboa under the testament of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, the Foundation's "original purpose is focused on fostering knowledge and raising the quality of life of persons throughout the fields of the arts, charity, science and education"[1]. In the specific field of art, the Foundation has been historically responsible for the presentation of Portuguese art abroad, by supporting the development of artistic projects and funding of residencies and study periods of artists abroad. Currently the Gulbenkian Foundation has delegations in Paris and London.

Salomé Lamas works with film and film installations, and her works have been featured in many relevant museums and film festivals. Her approach on the moving image often questions the perception of truth and fiction, critically reflecting on the cinematic media.

During this time she developed an exhibition project out of the film Extinção, premiered earlier in 2018 in the CPH:DOX film festival in Copenhagen. This film dealt with the issue of legal and immaterial borders, by approaching the non-recognized country of Transnistria, internationally recognised has being part of Moldova. One scene of the film was shown in a large projection in the exhibition room, with photograms of other scenes being exhibited in a photographic composition. The opening of the exhibition was on June 18th as part of the first edition of Summer School on Art & Cinema. As part of her residency, she also gave two artist talks and mentored projects of the undergraduate students in cinema.

2. **Nuno da Luz (October-December 2018)**

The residency of Nuno da Luz was funded by InResidence, a programme promoted by Porto Municipality to fund artistic residencies as well as promoting the visibility of the network of spaces run in Porto. Its goal is "to bridge national and international artists with the opportunities and resources which can be found in Porto to develop residency projects across different art forms" (School of Arts website).

Nuno da Luz has a master's degree on Experimentation in Art and Politics at Sciences Po,

[1] For more information, see: https://gulbenkian.pt/en/the-foundation/ (accessed October 13th, 2019).

Paris. His work often takes the form of events, concerts, installations and printed editions. He showed his work in several museums and galleries and was a resident artist in some of the most prestigious residency programs in Europe, such as: Bethanien Künstlerhaus (2017), Cité internationale des arts (2015), Residency Unlimited (2014), and Sound Art Braunschweig Projects (2013). The artist is represented by Vera Cortês gallery.

Nuno da Luz developed an immersive installation representing the surrounding environment of the SoA – the intersection of the Douro river with the Atlantic Ocean. The installation was comprised of the sounds recorded on location, the sonification of a signal of processed data – provided by the Hydrographic Institute of the Portuguese Navy (HI) – through two cymbals, among other elements. The HI has the mission of supporting all the activities related to the sciences of the sea, and it is under direct supervision of the Ministries of Defence and Science. The data referred to measurements of the length and height of the waves and tidal agitation on the bay facing the selected environment.

The exhibition, titled Poetry as an echological survival [sic.], was inaugurated on March 7th, 2019 in SoA's exhibition room and was preceded by an artist talk where the artist exposed his process and the collaboration with the HI, represented by the Commander Pires Barroqueiro. The exhibition had a second moment, from 21st to 29th of June, in Vera Cortês Gallery, in Lisbon. For this second moment the artist recorded sounds from the surroundings of the gallery and worked with new data from the HI, related to the equivalent measurements of Lisbon coastal area.

Nuno da Luz mentored the artistic projects of ten undergraduate students, that were working with sound and music. The concerns with field recordings, and the understanding of sound environments were very present in the students' projects, revealing a positive influence of the artist on their work. The artistic projects took diverse shapes: from musical compositions presented live, to musical performances involving video-mapping, to sound installations. Besides, he conducted a performance of the composition Crude (Music for Walls), a piece written by Guilherme Vaz in 1973, with the students. The piece was performed twice, once on the 2nd of April and again on the 15th of June 2019.

3. Jonathan Uliel Saldanha (January-March 2019)

Jonathan Uliel Saldanha is a musician and visual artist who describes himself as a "sonic and scenic constructor". He "operates elements of pre-language,



FIGURE 1. EXHIBITION VIEW OF POETRY AS AN ECHOLOGICAL SURVIVAL
Source: School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

generative choirs, acoustic animism, echo, mimicry and intra-cranial-dub"[2]. He presented his works in the most significative art venues in Portugal and in several international venues and festivals such as the Palais de Tokyo, Paris, and the Festival Accès(s).

The residency of Jonathan Uliel Saldanha was developed in partnership with BoCA biennale, in its second edition. This biennale occurs in Porto and Lisbon since 2017, with satellite events in other Portuguese and European cities. Part of the biennale program, the artist premiered his performance-concert *Scotoma Cintilante*, with the choir based in Lisbon Ver pela Arte, a choir exclusively composed by blind people, on April 9th 2019 in the SoA's auditorium. It was later presented in the National Theatre of São Carlos, in Lisbon, the only venue in Portugal with a regular Opera program. The project was fully developed during his three-months residency.

This was a project prone in collaboration with SoA researchers. To face this challenge, he designed a haptic score/sculpture in collaboration with André Perrotta, based on the 3D animation studies developed by Ricardo Megre and two undergraduate students of animation. The composition of the musical piece revolved around a refractory vocal mechanism he developed with Pedro Monteiro. Pedro Monteiro was also the maestro of the choir, having for that purpose, developed a novel not visual method of conducting. Following the performance, the exhibition Dismorfia was inaugurated in SoA's exhibition room, documenting the rehearsals with the choir and featuring the score-sculpture and the aforementioned 3D animations of the process. On April 11th, the artist and Pedro Monteiro joined Álvaro Balsas, PhD in Philosophy of Science, in a public talk about the development of the project and its conceptual implications.

Unlike other artists, Jonathan Uliel Saldanha was not responsible for mentoring undergraduate students. The interaction of the artist with the university's community is limited to the aforementioned activities.

4. Ana Vaz (April-June 2019)

During her residency – also funded by the InResidence programme, Ana Vaz worked on the post-production of her first feature-film. With a bachelor's degree in philosophy and having studied film in Le Fresnoy, one of the most prestigious artistic film schools in Europe, the Brazilian artist produced almost a dozen



FIGURE 2. PREMIERE OF *SCOTOMA CINTILANTE*
Source: School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

[2] For more information, see https://jonathanulielsaldanha.com/ (accessed: March 9th, 2020).

of short-films, and a couple of installations. Her films often push forward an experimental research of the potential of moving images, engaging political topics, decolonial thought and a critique of western civilization. The film she worked on during this residency reflects upon the Japanese landscape, following the impact of the 2011 Fukushima nuclear accident.

As she continued to work on the project, the presentation in the SoA was postponed. Her residency was proficient in interaction with the undergraduate students. She conducted an artist talk with SoA community, a workshop and a public screening in the Summer School on Art & Cinema 2019. In these moments, she shared concepts and techniques important to her practice. She mentored ten final cinema projects. Of those, two were selected for very relevant international film festivals. *Auspício* in Curtas Vila do Conde, *Casa na Praia* in FIDMarseille Campus and Doclisboa; and also in Doclisboa *Simulacro*. Such circulation of SoA's final projects in respected festivals is unusual and suggests a successful combination of students with mentoring artists.

5. **Yohei Yamakado (September – December 2019)**

Yohei Yamakado's residency was funded by Gulbenkian Foundation, in a residency programme that started with an Open Call. The jury was comprised of Nuno Crespo, dean of the SoA, Cristina Grande, curator in the Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art, and Guilherme Blanc, curator and cultural advisor for Porto City Hall, and it reviewed 251 applications. The decision was based in the recognition of the quality of his body of work, the artistic relevance of his project, and more significatively, the impact this residency would have in his artistic career, still at an early stage.

Born in Kobe, Yamakado studied in University of Doshisha in Kyoto, University of Paris 8, IRCAM and Le Fresnoy – Studio national des arts contemporains, in Tourcoing. After an early career in music composition and founding the music label RÉCIT, he directed two films *La lyre à jamais illustra le taudis* (2018) and *Amor Omnia* (2019). In both films the artist evinces a unique way of approaching film. He presented his work in venues such as L´Onde (2018), Nuit Blanche Kyoto (2015, 2016, 2017), Towada Art Centre (2016), Institut Goethe-Paris (2014) or IRCAM (2014).

During his residency, despite not engaging in tutoring sessions, the artist presented his films and his residency project on November 18th and invited his usual collaborator, filmmaker Riccardo Giacconi to do the same on December 20th. Both occasions were an opportunity to the academic community of the SoA to access specific artistic discourses and practices.

6. **Vasco Araújo (September 2019 – September 2020)**

Vasco Araújo is a well-established artist that won EDP young artists in 2003, one of the most significative awards in Portugal. He has exhibited his work in venues such as Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art, Gasworks, Jeu de Paume, Venice Biennale or Palais de Tokyo. Araújo was awarded funding by dgartes (public support programme in arts) to develop a film and an exhibition, in a project fully produced by the SoA. Besides the support of SoA's technical staff (Photography Director, Sound Director, Producer, among others), CITAR researchers and SoA students participated in the production. Shot in February, *Pathosformel* was presented in Avant première on the 16th of October 2020, the same day the exhibition inaugurated.

Throughout the academic year of 2019/2020 the artist tutored one of the two classes of undergraduate students working with cinema. This year the students' productions were finished in September, which doesn't allow us to follow their track on the film festival circuit.

Exhibitions by other artists

Each exhibition has specific dynamics. Most of them depart from projects not developed purposely for the exhibition space, but either presented in premiere or presented for the first time in a specific setting. The former is the case of Shadow Hunter, an exhibition developed by one of the most important living photographers of architecture, Guido Guidi, and A Invenção da Memória, by the photographer João Paulo Serafim. In the second group we have Sombra Luminosa by Mariana Caló and Francisco Queimadela, an exhibition adaptation of their film with the same title, and Julião Sarmento. Filmworks, the first retrospective of the artist's moving image works. In 2020 all exhibitions (by the artists Diogo Evangelista and Vasco Araújo) are original projects developed for SoA's exhibition room. Two other exhibitions were planned, by Pedro Tudela and Filipa César, but were postponed to 2021.

The level of involvement of the artists with the SoA's community varies significantly. Some of these artists were supervisors of artistic projects (Diogo Evangelista, Pedro Tudela, Filipa César). In every exhibition there is a public presentation. Since the academic year of 2019/2020, the SoA proposes a

side programme of workshops, film screenings, talks and guided tours to the exhibition. Therefore, these exhibitions, despite the lack of direct participation of the students, propose plenty of opportunities for the academic community to engage with contemporary artistic practices in an informal way.

Tutoring Sessions

The mentoring provided by the artists diversifies the set of knowledge and perspectives the students contact with during their studies. These sessions are set in an informal environment of discussion of the projects. As

Exhibition / Artist(s)	*Arenário/ Francisco Tropa*	*A Invenção da Memória / João Paulo Serafim*	*Sombra Luminosa / Mariana Caló e Francisco Queimadela*	*Filmworks/ Julião Sarmento*	*Shadow Hunter / Guido Guidi*	*Blind Faith/ Diogo Evangelista*
Running Dates	*28/02/2018 - 12/04/2018*	*16/04/2018 - 22/05/2018*	*11/10/2018 - 14/12/2018*	*02/07/2019 - 11/10/2019*	*15/10/2019 - 13/12/2019*	*13/02/2020 - 30/04/2020*

TABLE 1. LIST OF EXHIBITIONS IN THE SCHOOL OF ARTS
Source: http://artes.ucp.pt

Academic Year	Media of the artistic project	Guest artist
Academic Year 2017/2018 (February – May 2018)	Cinema	Salomé Lamas
2018/2019	Cinema (MA and PG)	Filipa César Salomé Lamas
	Cinema (BA)	João Salaviza Ana Vaz
	Photography (MA)	José Pedro Cortes David Campany André Cepeda Márcio Vilela Paulo Catrica Tatiana Macedo
	Animation (BA)	Ed Hooks
	Sound (BA and MA)	Nuno da Luz
2019/2020	Cinema (MA and PG)	Filipa César João Canijo
	Cinema (BA)	Vasco Araújo Cláudia Varejão
	Photography (MA)	Emília Tavares Márcio Vilela Paulo Catrica Duarte Amaral Neto Rui Xavier Sérgio Mah Carlos Noronha Feio
	Animation (BA)	Ed Hooks
	Sound (BA and MA)	Pedro Tudela
	New Media Art (BA)	Diogo Evangelista

TABLE 2. LIST OF GUEST ARTISTS ENROLLED IN TUTORING SESSIONS
Source: School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Year	Nº of Films Selected in Film Festivals	Nº of Films Awarded in Film Festivals	Nº of Selections	Nº of Awards	Selections and Awards in Relevant Film Festivals
2016	6	4	10	7	1 selection and 1 award in Porto/ Post/Doc 1 selection in Lisbon/Estoril Film Festival
2017	8	2	47	4	1 selection in Lisbon/Estoril Film Festival
2018	13	8	85	12	0
2019	23	7	80	10	1 selection in FIDMarseille Campus 2 selections in Curtas do Vila do Conde 2 selections and 1 award in doclisboa

TABLE 3. SELECTIONS AND AWARDS OF THE SOA'S STUDENTS FILMS IN FILM FESTIVALS
Source: School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

previously seen, many of the guest artists engage in presentations of their own work in the SoA. The set of tutors change every year (except for some exceptions) to guarantee the pedagogic experience is unique every year.

After a first experience with Salomé Lamas in 2018, the tutoring plan was structured around one visiting artist for each class in the artistic field. The artist would present his work and the conceptual framework and methodologies they considered the most relevant for their practice. Afterwards, they would supervise the artistic projects of each student, bringing new feedback and insights to their production. They meet, individually or with the full class, on a biweekly basis.

It is not possible within the range of this article to implement methodologies that could thoroughly analyse the impact these tutoring sessions had on the quality of the artistic projects. However, if we take the case of cinema productions, we can have a glimpse of it. Cinema is the field where this strategy first took place and where it is better structured. Besides, the film festival circuit provides a trustworthy and structured selection process that allows for further analysis. It is possible to analyse how the reception of SoA's films has evolved, and to measure the artistic relevance of the filmic projects within the broader film community. Other variables are involved in the results: the quality of the students that enrolled, the public notoriety around the SoA and a distribution strategy. But ultimately, film festivals are nowadays the most relevant part of the system of recognition in contemporary artistic cinema.

It's clear there was a general increase in selections and awards in 2018, and it's visible that the number of films selected and awarded grew substantially, specially in 2019. While variation in number of awards might be dependent on the intrinsic talent of the students, the number of selected films and number of selections gives us a better impression of the general impact of tutoring sessions. It doesn't exclusively mean that the quality of the films improved. A complementary explanation is that the contact with artists demystified the distribution processes and increased their access and participation, and allowed them to engage more directly with the most relevant issues of contemporary cinema.

Therefore, the data suggests that the impact of tutoring sessions was significantly positive. It's important to note that 2019 saw one film – *Casa na Praia*, by Teresa Folhadela – being selected for the FIDCampus section of FIDMarseille, one of the most important documentary film festivals in the world. This achievement is unique in a very long time in the SoA. Likewise, several other films were present in the most important student competitions in the Portuguese festival circuit with *Simulacro* being awarded with a notable mention in doclisboa 2019. At the moment of

"HIGHER ARTS EDUCATION FACES SPECIFIC CHALLENGES RELATED WITH THE SUBJECTIVE DIMENSION OF ART, CONCERNS WITH ORIGINALITY AND INNOVATION AND ART'S NATURAL TENDENCY TOWARDS TRANSDISCIPLINARITY. FOR THAT REASON, IT'S IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE THE STUDENTS WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF APPROACHES, AND TO FOSTER ENGAGEMENT WITH IMPORTANT SOCIAL DISCUSSIONS"

writing this paper, we could not get comprehensive numbers for the selections of SoA's films in 2020, however, the trend seems to be positive. The highlight goes to two awards in some of the most relevant student film competitions in Portugal: *I don't like 5 PM*, by Francisco Dias (2019/2020), won the *Take One!* Competition at the International Film Festival Curtas de Vila do Conde – where SoA was represented with three films; and *Há Alguém na Terra*, by Francisca Magalhães, Joana Tato Borges and Maria Canela (2018/2019), won the Cinema Novo Competition at Porto/Post/Doc 2020 – SoA was also represented with three films.

Conference Programme 2019 – Art & Ecology (February-May)

In 2018 the programme consisted of 12 sessions. It was mostly dedicated to cinema and featured the filmmakers Lucrecia Martel (her last film *Zama* was included in several lists of the best films of decade)[3], Diogo Costa Amarante (Best Short film in Berlinale 2017), Salomé Lamas (in the context of her residency) and the photographer David Bate, among others. Given that in its first year the Conference Programme was not thematic, we will not analyse it in detail.

In 2019, under the premise of Art & Ecology, the programme was dedicated to "debate the way art has problematized urgent ecological and biodiversity issues"[4]. Departing from the "unquestionable observation that our planet lives a critical moment of threatened ecosystems" (ibid.), the Programme focused on artistic practices, discourses and investigations that evince "a critical consciousness" (ibid.) on the current transformations of the planet, provoked by human action. Curated by professors Nuno Crespo and Daniel Ribas, the programme consisted of 13 sessions. Unlike its first edition, Art & Ecology gathered a broader range of artistic practices – besides cinema, some of the guests worked on the fields of curatorial research, sound art, performance, computer music – and two guests coming from a scientific background – Molecular Biology and Geography.

The programme opened with a presentation of Nuno Crespo, where he presented a paper on the relation of art and nature throughout History. Providing context to the contemporary situation, where scientific disciplines grant artists a deeper understanding of natural processes, he stressed how the artistic field is prepared to question the place of the humankind within the ecosystems it inhabits. In the same session the filmmaker Ana Vaz joined Professor Crespo in a conversation, after screening three of her films. The talk further developed some of the key aspects of her films. Inspired by the construction of Brasilia, *Idade da Pedra* [Stone Age] (2013) imagines the construction of a dystopic and out of proportion city (or is it a ruin?) in the middle of the savannah, proposing a representation of the civilization's eagerness to disrupt ecosystems and dominate nature. The other two films – *Occidente* [West] (2015), and *Há Terra!* [There is land!] (2016) – take the shape of ethnofiction to, respectively, portray the arrival of Portuguese colonialism in Brazil and imagine the reverse migration, a sort of inverted colonialism. In both of the later, the intricate connection between colonialism and ecosystemic disruption is laid bare. Another filmmaker, Susana de Sousa Dias, proposed a similar scenario. She presented excerpts of *Fordlandia Malaise* (2018), a film that revisits Henry Ford's model city in the Amazon jungle. The establishment of a city in the middle of a jungle represents here the industrial phantasy of Henry Ford. It would be defeated by the strength of amazonic nature, leaving behind the ruin of an industrial ruin.

On the same track, Sandro Aguilar's conference was centred around two of his films that reflect on the dominance humans have over other species. False

[3]Notably Toronto International Film Festival and the magazine Film Comment placed it on the top of their lists.
[4] For more information, see https://www.porto.ucp.pt/pt/central-noticias/lancamento-programa-arte-ecologia-aulas-abertas-na-escola-das-artes (accessed: March 8th, 2020).

Twins (2014) is shot in a zoo and in a lab, under a post-apocalyptic mood. Here the curiosity to study and collect animals portray them as jailed and oppressed beings. Similar feelings come from Jewels (2013), where a collection of bugs conserved in amber is minutiously examined under a strong light.

On the other hand, we can draw a parallel between the artistic practice of Nuno da Luz, who made a conference in March, with Jorge Gaspar's in May. The geographer presented his research on the moor landscape and how it is deeply connected with human activity. What both presentations showed is that art and science are complementary but autonomous. Whereas science describes rationally determined phenomena, through immersion art brings an irrational understanding of ecosystems with a complexity broader than the capacity of our reason.

Likewise, the debate between the artist Carla Filipe and the molecular biologist Margarida Silva, despite their common interest on urban gardens, evinced their different perspectives. Margarida Silva has become a well-known eco-activist that sees in urban gardens a tool to pursue sustainability. Carla Filipe appropriated this practice to create several artworks. One in particular, *Migration, Exclusion and Resistance* (developed for the São Paulo Biennale 2018), is an installation comprised of industrial concrete structures and truck wheels that the artist repurposed to host unconventional edible plants.

Other conferences were more abstractly connected to the theme. The curator Luiz Camillo Osorio presented a study-case of an exhibition curated by himself, to discuss censorship and participation in art: in 2018, after misunderstanding one performance, the audience actively rallied for its cancelation. The artist Jonathan Uliel Saldanha described the process to create his exhibition with SoA professor Pedro Monteiro and science philosopher Álvaro Balsas – a work rooted in physics, the cosmos and the formation (and deformation) of bodies. Filmmaker Leonor Teles presented her film *Terra Franca* (2017), a documentary that follows the life of a fisherman while waiting ashore for the renewal of his fishing licence, to portray the place of community and family, as human ecosystems.

Panorama 2019

Following the Art & Ecology Conference Programme the finalists of all courses were invited to develop their artistic projects around this theme. Many didn't follow this path, but many others did. All the works were presented on 14th and 15th of June in the event Panorama. It included 26 films (5 animation films), 13 installations, 13 concerts and the piece Crude (Music for



FIGURE 3. VIEW OF PANORAMA
Source: School of Arts at Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Walls), performed by sound students guided by Nuno da Luz.

This was the moment of activating the knowledge they acquired throughout a year of tutoring sessions, visiting exhibitions and assisting to conferences. While in cinema most students chose other issues, the students working with sound, music and animation were very engaged with the topic. A series of concerts and sound installations featured the representation of ecosystems and soundscapes, evincing a strong understanding of the topic. The event was open to the community that participated in great numbers – about 500 people participated each day.

Discussion

Higher Arts Education faces specific challenges related with the subjective dimension of art, concerns with originality and innovation and art's natural tendency towards transdisciplinarity. For that reason, it's important to provide the students with a wide variety of approaches, and to foster engagement with important social discussions. The model proposed by the SoA aims at promoting a methodology characterized by positive aesthetic infection, participation and informality. By presenting some of the activities that took place within the SoA between 2018 and 2020, this article provides a set of examples that evince the diversity of artistic approaches and discussions that can coexist within this model, and the diversity of activities that complement each other. The environment proposed by the SoA is one where symbiotic collaboration and critical dialogue foster artistic development. The model follows other developments felt at large within academic institutions towards project-based learning methods, in which theoretical knowledge and technical skills are taught in dialogue with the resolution of 'real life' situations and problems.

The three fundamental concepts of this model complement each other. The idea of aesthetic infection guarantees that the students contact with new aesthetic approaches and artistic methodologies, that will be beneficial to the development of new forms and languages. Through participation, such development is contextualized within the reality of the communities that surround the SoA, overcoming the risk of the production of 'academic art' – art produced within the 'bubble' of particular concerns of academies of fine arts. Finally, the reconfiguration of teaching hierarchies through informality can foster the emancipation of the students' thought – and while this is important across most disciplines, it is essential to the development of relevant artistic practices. Art is not only a discipline of depiction and description, but it can create new forms of critically thinking the world and its possibilities. Radical transformation demands a deep understanding of the tissue of reality – that goes beyond the recognition of discreet data. Critical artistic practices can provide a platform to redefine the configuration of the possible.

This model is implemented through the articulation of different activities. At its core, the artistic residencies provide a platform for a strong presence of the artist throughout some months. During this period, the artist develops his project working with the students, they present it publicly in an exhibition and a conference, and they mentor the students in their project. This means that not only the students are stimulated by contacting with the artist's work, they develop an informal relationship with them, by working side by side, and finally they participate in the life of the cultural community by taking part in the public activities of the SoA. Regarding participation, it's important to mention that the effort taken in organizing a yearly Conference Programme is directed at fostering the students' engagement with the issues that occupy the wider communities (artistic, social, alumni).

The increase in the distribution of the students' films, in particular in relevant film festivals, suggests the strategy has been positive. It is unclear and debatable whether that is due to an improvement of the artistic quality of the films, to a higher visibility of the SoA or to a more complete education around networking and application preparation skills. Parallel to the wider visibility and acknowledgement of the students' work, the SoA saw an increase in its social visibility and relevance, within Porto's and Portugal's artistic communities. The exhibitions presented are visited by members of the broader community and are often presented in other venues. The SoA is playing an important role in defining a framework of relevance and quality of artistic works. The SoA guarantees its students privileged access to relevant artistic practices and a platform that acknowledges the relevance of their own work.

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Genius loci: between handcrafts, cultural heritage and local development

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ABSTRACT

From a cultural perspective, handcrafts are among the few resources that can be mobilised locally and play a key role in defining a place. In fact, they may help to delimit, structure and identify a place within a network and/or social and cultural system. Handcrafts can therefore play a significant contribution in strongly characterising places and their genius loci. This paper aims to define the role of handcrafts in the process of place construction and how it can contribute as a resource in the creative milieu to support local development, by using the contributions of two phenomenological authors, Norberg-Schulz and Binswanger. In our approach, handcrafts as cultural capital are considered to be a product (output) and a resource (input). Without neglecting the former, through which the craft of the place is directly exploited, we will focus on handcrafts as part of the production process along two different lines. Handcrafts, as an asset - participating in the production process of a good - are used to achieve a specific goal and have a precise cultural, social and economic value. Therefore, it is important to understand how this resource - the specific know-how of a place - becomes an asset. Secondly, handcrafts affect and influence other resources to generate new activities and values of a different nature.

Keywords:

Genius loci

Cultural heritage

Handcrafts

Local development

Phenomenology

Introduction

Commonly, at the institutional level, "culture in its larger sense can be considered as the totality of spiritual and material, intellectual and unique emotional elements that characterise a society or a social group. This includes not only the arts and letters, but also lifestyle, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 2003: 121). Culture gives sense to societal life by creating the limits that form territories and subsequently characterise a place. In this context, two conventions must be mentioned: the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, published in 2003 and 2005 respectively. The first in particular defines intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and know-how as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with them. This intangible heritage is often recognised to be part of a place or a community's cultural heritage. Transmitted from generation to generation, intangible heritage is recreated in perpetuity by the community in proportion to their relationship with the place, the history and their interaction with nature (Cominelli & Greffe, 2013; Vecco, 2007, 2010). This secures a sense of identity and continuity, allowing cultural diversity and human creativity to be respected. Within the field of expressed intangible cultural heritage, the knowledge and know-how tied to handcrafts play a central role. This approach, favourably accepted at the international level, has been enriched by Claval (2003) with the proposed three guiding ideas for cultural geography:

- culture is a collective creation, renewed by man. It gives mankind codes by which it can adapt to changing conditions and innovate;
- culture gives mankind the means to orient himself, learn and then utilise the space;
- and culture changes with the times (UNESCO, 2003).

Since the 1980s, this geographical approach has been combined with the emergent concept of territorial economy. The economic crisis and the limits of the post-Fordism model of development contributed to the recognition that development is not merely tied to the economy, but that it also mobilises cultural, social and environmental factors that affect the actions taken by development agents and the manner in which territorial and spatial resources are utilised (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005). Is it possible, then, to affirm that we are participating in a cultural and economic renaissance in which cognition and culture find their status as factors of production in the territorial context?

According to the same definition by UNESCO, resources are "the totality of spiritual and material, intellectual and unique emotional value[s] that characterise a society or a social group" (UNESCO, 2001), that is to say, all the tangible and intangible tools at the disposal of a given community. Among these resources that can be mobilised at the local level to define a place, handcrafts - in their tangible and intangible dimension - play a key role. In fact, handcrafts can assist in delineating, identifying and structuring a place into a network and/or a system and to characterise it in relation to other places.

The question on the role of handcraft culture in the process of identification and mobilisation of territorial resources has its continuity in developmental politics: "Could we not go beyond cultural economics as one that explains the economic implication of cultural choices to a cultural economics that demonstrates that the cultural development of a country reinforces its creative and innovative ability within the economy and vice-versa" (Greffe, 1990: 25). Cultural economics also have a growing relevance within the creative economy thanks to the impact of digitalisation. "Like other sectors of the creative industries, where access to digital tools for both production and distribution are fundamentally changing creative-content's business models, we need to re-visit how these wider shifts are impacting the contemporary craft economy" (Luckman, 2015: 53). Moreover, as noticed by some scholars, today's political interest in handcraft is no longer limited to a creative industry agenda and 'demands' specific to the creative economy (Mignosa & Kotipalli, 2019). It has a wider outreach as the practice of handcraft is increasingly associated with progressive agendas of emancipation, individualisation, environmental sustainability and locally rooted ethical production and consumption (Jakob & Thomas, 2015).

In our approach, we will use the contributions of two phenomenological authors: Norberg-Schulz and Binswanger. Both scholars belong to the phenomenological and existentialist tradition, describing the features of space using this approach and referring to the thoughts of the same authors, such as Heidegger. They differ, however, in the perspective they adopt in the description of the space. Norberg-Schulz describes the architectural space as a space acted by the subjects in what we would call a third

"HANDCRAFTS ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY A PRODUCT (OUTPUT) AND A RESOURCE (INPUT). APPLYING BOURDIEU'S APPROACH REGARDING THE SYMBOLIC FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC PHENOMENA (2005), WE CAN ALSO ASSUME THAT BOTH PRODUCTS AND RESOURCES ARE CHARACTERISED BY A DUAL TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE NATURE, NAMELY A JOINTLY ECONOMIC AND SYMBOLIC DIMENSION"

person perspective (Gallagher & Zahavi, 2013), while Binswanger focuses more on the description of the space assuming a first-person point of view. Both these applications of phenomenology contribute to the description of the peculiarities of handcraft in the creation of a place.

In our analysis, handcrafts are simultaneously a product (output) and a resource (input). Applying Bourdieu's approach regarding the symbolic foundations of economic phenomena (2005), we can also assume that both products and resources are characterised by a dual tangible and intangible nature, namely a jointly economic and symbolic dimension. In the handcraft economy, as in an economy of singularities (Karpik, 2010) and of symbolic goods, "the work of material fabrication is nothing without the labour of production of the value of the fabricated object" (Bourdieu, 1996: 172).

Without overlooking the first aspect - the product - through which local handcrafts are directly exploited, the accent here is placed on the process of handcraft production via two differing axes. As a contributing asset in the production processes of a good, handcrafts are used to attain specific objectives with value. It is therefore important to understand how a local resource of "know-how" becomes an asset. Secondly, handcrafts affect and influence other resources. How do handcrafts operate to mobilise and transform these resources in order to generate new activities? Two different hypotheses are presented in this article. The first considers handcrafts as an essential element in the process of innovation and employment creation. The second presents the profession as a root quality specific to a place. Upon recalling the role of handcrafts in the process of positioning a place, the same question will be addressed in terms of local economic development. The objective is to demonstrate that handcrafts are simultaneously the product of a specific place and a resource that is convertible into an asset and that can also identify and develop new resources. Furthermore, we aim to show that they can significantly contribute towards the characterisation of places and their genius loci.[1]

The space between definition and its characteristics

Place has been defined by Norberg-Schulz through the expression of the genius loci. Norberg-Schulz takes this expression from the Roman tradition, in which a spirit or god protects a specific place. The choice of a place, made under the guide of the genius loci, was of fundamental importance not only for settlements and the construction of a city, but also for the choice and construction of any building. Taking its cue from this expression, Norberg-Schulz, in his dedicated essay, defines a place by introducing the notion of genius loci as the set of "the meanings which are gathered by a place" (1979: 12).

The author also discusses further the features of the genius loci which is

> *an area with distinct characteristics. Since times of antiquity, genius loci has been considered a concrete reality faced by mankind in daily life. [...] ... a set of all things concrete with their material substance, form, texture and colour. All these elements combined define "environment", the essence of a place. Generally, it is the natural landscape or the "atmosphere" that defines a place. A place is thus a 'global' phenomenon that cannot be reduced simply to one of these characteristics; for example, that of its spatial relations without losing site of its concrete characteristic. [...] While space suggests a three-dimensional structure, its 'character' denotes the general 'atmosphere' that represents the most relevant property of a given place. [...] we must recognise that in general all places have a*

[1] For an extensive analysis of the concept, Vecco, M. (2019-2020). Genius loci as meta concept. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*. Vol. 41, 225-231.

> *character and that character is, theoretically, the principle mode of "production" of the world. The character of a place is also in part a function of time. It changes with the seasons, through the course of the day and the changes in weather (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 6, 8, 11, 14).*

This definition proposed by Norberg-Schulz above is full of analytical ideas that highlight the importance of tangible and intangible dimensions in the notion of a place. A place is defined by concrete characteristics or structures and also by abstract features or meanings: both are aspects of the same reality (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 166). The notion of structure is characterised by "the formal properties of a system of relationship" (ibid.). A meaning can "consist in its relationship to other objects, that is, it consists in what the object gathers. A thing is a thing by virtue of his gathering" (ibid.).

This dialectic between two components is necessary for the definition of culture that for Norberg-Schulz is nothing more than "the ability to transform given forces into meanings that can be moved to another place" (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 170). For this scholar, then, culture therefore has both abstract and concrete features (ibid.).

All features of the genius loci can be also compared with the layered phenomenological description of space given by Binswanger (1932) which confirms, develops and crosses Norberg-Schulz's theory; both scholars belong to the same phenomenological tradition (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 8).

Binswanger describes different spatial modes of existence; the natural space, the thymic space, the aesthetic space, the technical space and the historical space. The first two definitions of space can be helpful in order to understand the importance of objects in the creation of a particular place. For Binswanger the natural space is conceived as the space of natural science or an oriented, geometric and physical space (Binswanger, 1932). It can be found also in the concrete characteristics or structures evoked by Norberg-Schulz, which are formal properties by which the objects can gather.

Binswanger adds to this type of objective concrete-structural spatiality the description of another spatiality, which is important to understand the abstract or intangible dimensions of a place as a whole (Binswanger, 1932). In this regard, the author introduces the thymic space as a mode of lived spatiality that represents intangible characteristics. Thymic space is a natural space, though not in the same sense as the space of natural sciences, as described above. It is an original/fundamental/primordial kind of space that brings together the subject and the world. The thymic space is the space of the heart as the centre (from the Greek tymos, whose etymology refers to the heart), the essence of the human being that is, at the same time, in direct connection with the natural space (Binswanger, 1932). It is also described by Binswanger as "the subject's ability to be touched by objects" (ibid.).

According to Binswanger, the natural space includes not only plains or mountains, therefore natural landscapes, but also all the places that have expressive qualities, such as churches, factories, workspaces or living spaces, that is, all places that can correspond to an attunement of the soul (Binswanger, 1932: 88).

Objects have a fundamental role as catalysts and creators of a thymic space. They make possible the interaction and resonance between the subject and the external world. This is put forward by Norberg-Schulz, who states that "A thing is a thing by virtue of his gathering" (1979: 166), and in particular by its ability to gather worlds. In other words, some places and the objects that are within them can resonate with the subjects, and this constitutes the thymic space, which is understood as a space created by the encounter between the subject and the natural world.

Objects have the power, in one hand, to gather together different places and different "worlds", and in the other, to be a vector between subjects and places, capable of fostering the process by which a natural place became a thymic space.

Place can be defined as a constructed concrete entity while also being intangible with a multi-dimensional character that is based on natural, geographical, historical, cultural and architectural as well as economic and social coherence. The interaction of these dimensions characterises the uniqueness that distinguishes different places. The common element of many places is of being an ecosystem. The ecosystem's existence is based on the following principles:

- *principal of interdependence*: all members of an ecological community are connected in a vast and complex network of relationships. They derive their essential properties and, indeed, their very existence from their relations with other members;
- *principle of cooperation or partnership*: the cyclical exchange of energies and resources in an ecosystem are sustained by general cooperation. The tendency is to associate, forge, and live one amongst the other or attached to the other;

- *principle of flexibility*: the flexibility of an ecosystem is a consequence of its multiple feedback loops that, due to evolving environmental conditions, tends to restore the system to equilibrium when deviated from its norm; and
- *principal of diversity*: in an ecosystem, the complexity of the network is a result of its biodiversity. A diversified ecological community contains many species whose ecological functions overlap and complement each other so that it remains elastic, resilient, resistant and adaptable to disruptions.

Seen through the lens of an ecosystem, we can affirm that place is an autopoietic system (Iba, 2010; Luhmann, 2003; Maturana & Varela, 1973, 1980) or unit, whose organisation is distinguished by a particular network of production processes. It constantly redefines itself, is internally sustained and reproduces itself. Moreover, it is a system in which each component is conceived to participate in the production or transformation of other components found within a multi-dimensional network that is based on geographical, historical, cultural, architectural and economic coherence. This coherence marks the distinction, uniqueness and significance of a place.

In this way, place, understood as an ecosystem, perpetually builds itself, produces its components and in turn the products. This reproduction has firstly its objective in resilience both in time and space. Resilience is to be understood as the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganise itself according to social systems (Walker et al, 2004). Secondly, reproduction also has its objective in the innovation and evolution of a place. As Holling (1973) pointed out, resilience - besides this capacity of absorbing shocks and maintaining functions - also includes a second aspect concerning the capacity for renewal, reorganisation and development, to be taken into consideration when redesigning a sustainable future. Thanks to its resilience, a place regenerates itself with new significance to reinforce its importance and specificity (genius loci).

From an economic perspective, we can attribute the following characteristics to the notion of place:

- uniqueness,
- irreplaceability,
- non-reproducibility,
- non-homogeneity,
- significance,
- duration and irreversibility (when damaged or destroyed, a place cannot be restored or reconstructed in its original form. It follows that, to continue to benefit from it, it is necessary to conserve it. To preserve is not a question of will but of necessity for 'the need to conserve what, because of its age, is subject to decay' (Vecco, 2007: 45). It is a question of an evident need to maintain an anthropological perspective),
- an extended life compared to the duration of economic goods (in this case, the notions of short, medium and long term must be considered through a different but common angle (Vecco, 2007). It is a matter of a good characterised as non-exclusive (once produced none can be excluded from consuming the good), and non-rival (the consumption of the good by one person cannot prohibit the consumption by another).

"PLACE CAN BE DEFINED AS A CONSTRUCTED CONCRETE ENTITY WHILE ALSO BEING INTANGIBLE WITH A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CHARACTER THAT IS BASED ON NATURAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND ARCHITECTURAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COHERENCE"

Cultural heritage also has some characteristics:

- it is an experience good whose quality can only be judged once consumed;
- it is a multi-dimensional and "multi-value" good in that it can belong to many dimensions (economic, social, cultural etc.) and receives differing values from these;
- it is a cultural capital "which embodies the community's value of its social, historical, or cultural dimension", and which represents "the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset" (Vecco, 2007). Where economic categories and traditional tools are insufficient, this notion is useful to our understanding of the concept of place that allows for the expression of complex values from an economic prospective (Fusco Girard, 2000:

62). This notion is the link between the economic system and the cultural system;
- the double nature of tangible and intangible: a physical site has intangible characteristics linked to the values and meaning it transmits.

Handcrafts as a constitutive element of a place

These elements of the definition of genius loci are also useful to help us understand how handcrafts contribute to the creation of a place's identity in its various phenomenological facets, going beyond mere location. Handcrafts are first and foremost considered direct products that have a fundamental role in the process of specifying and denoting a place.

On one hand, their role in the connotation and creation of a place is made possible by their tangible, or concrete and structural, characteristics. On the other hand, handcrafts have a role due to their abstract characteristics or intangible meanings, as introduced by Norberg-Schulz.

First of all, they constitute the identity of a place or their genius loci because handcrafts are part of the concrete structure of a place, according to the definition of structure given by Norberg-Schulz. In addition, handcrafts - being objects that have the ability to gather together the meanings (Norberg-Schultz, 1979) - help to create the identity of a place according to the deepest definition of genius loci. As mentioned before, genius loci is defined not only as a concrete or tangible place, but also by its intangible dimension, as the set of "the meanings which are gathered by a place" (Norberg-Schultz, 1979: 12). Handcrafts, as "things", have the virtue to "gather together" the elements of a given place, to embody the place and to constantly refer back to the place where they were produced. They are central to Norberg-Schulz's definition of culture, that is, "the ability to transform given forces into meanings that can be moved to another place" (Norberg-Schulz, 1979: 170).

Secondly, comparing the role of objects in the creation of thymic space, we affirm that handcrafts are particularly suitable to describe this process of catalysis and creation of a thymic space, the latter being the space of connection between the subject and natural world. Handcraft constitutes the most significant example to describe the role that objects have not only in the constitution of the identity of a place but also in the preservation of this identity beyond the tangible dimension. Handcrafts, as a particular type of objects, are able to catalyse or activate the creation of a thymic space. In other words, handcrafted objects are able to create a connection between subject and place, and make the subjects resonate with the place to which the handcrafts belong.

Handcrafts are so important in the definition of the identity of a place that it cannot only connote that place but even evoke it in its absence. They are a cultural vector capable of "transform[ing] given forces into meanings that can be moved to another place" (ibid.).

The thymic space is therefore the watershed that distinguishes handcrafts from other types of product, precisely because handcrafts are able to embody the place itself and to activate or catalyse the resonance of the place within the subject. In this sense handcrafts can reconnect the subject to a natural place (unlike other products, for which this connection does not take place directly).

Within the afore-discussed coherent multi-dimensional context, often one element tends to be privileged over another. For example, handcrafts can be mobilised to explain the support of a place's identity. For instance, some indigenous societies can be identified simply by their space. It is through reference to their place of residence that their existence is affirmed. The site must be characterised with a double nature: material and symbolic.

To this end, Guy di Meo's definition of a territory can be used and well adapted to such a place where

> *[the territory is] first and foremost a social construction […]. Its fundamental virtue resides without a doubt in the fact that its construction mobilises all the records of human and social life. Its edification combines concrete and material dimensions as well as ideal dimensions of representation and power (Di Meo, 2001: 273).*

Culture contributes to a place's distinction in relation to another and can also contribute to its limitation. Three types of territories have been identified by a study on the role of culture in territorial reorganisation projects:
- "pertinent cultural territories": territories that are highly characterised by places with strong historic and cultural connotations;
- "titled" cultural territories: places whose names act as a strong brand. They are indicative of the history of the region and show a strong anchorage in local traditions. The topography reveals the methods of construction in the place;

- "structured territories": culture generates the networks that structure the territory. The structure is based on the relationship between the place that characterises and structures the territory. This structure manifests itself concretely (for example by creating a thematic trajectory based on local productions) and symbolically by associating the experiences that the place of heritage reveals and the meaning it suggests (La Soudière, 2004).

Handcrafts as products specific to a place

In the context of cultural economics, following the recognition of certain cultural industries at the international level, the development of handcraft products as well as generic cultural products can be found. For example, traditional music, though it is a local product rooted in a specific cultural context, presents the characteristics of a generic cultural product whose techniques and processes of production and diffusion allow for its global distribution:

- the necessity of great means;
- it adopts series reproductions;
- it services the market;
- it is organised in a capitalist work organisation model that transforms the creative and cultural worker into a cultural product (Warnier, 2002).

Space thus becomes a place of diffusion in which the objective is to facilitate exchange. Another approach consists of creating cultural products specific to a place, generated by a collective know-how, culture and history. The products will later illustrate the particular characteristics of the place and their preservation will be organised at the local level.

For instance, we can name the production of woodcraft in the Aosta Vallee, the tradition of violin production of Cremona, the leather tradition in southern Italy, the textile manufacturing cluster of Martina Franca, Murano's glasswork tradition, and the know-how of leatherwork in Florentine. They consist of handmade products that are based in intangible heritage transmitted from one generation to another. Across these examples, we can uphold the specifications of handcraft products:

- the products created are rooted in cultural references specific to a place;
- they are part of the materialisation of a specific locally based cultural know-how that is transmitted from one generation to another;
- the means and resources utilised require strong participation by local actors;
- finally, a specific spatial organisation (cluster or creative milieu)[2] is created to reinforce and maintain this local attachment.

Thus, handcrafts emerge as a resource to create other activities.

The resource of handcrafts as an economic asset

If one considers handcrafts as a product, it is also possible to consider them as a resource. The difficulty of the analysis is dependent on the nature of their intangibility. In order to grasp the intangible, we should commence with the tangible dimension of the cultural heritage.

Handcraft heritage can be considered as a sensor or metonymy of a place's handcraft resource since it permits us to identify and characterise the cultural resource that has contributed to the construction of a place. This handcraft heritage can be characterised with a dual process. The first is one of transmission that allows for the inter-generational transfer of this heritage in the medium and long-term. A selection process that is under the influence of contemporary cultures accompanies the transfer of this heritage. This process of selection consists of many steps: abandonment, identification, protection, conservation, restoration, exposition, valorisation by new users and in some instances, destruction. This transformation was analysed by Barel (1981) on the basis of the comparison between capitalist and heritage logic. Heritage management does not concern nor is it too concerned with maximisation or optimisation. Heritage management is the transmission of practically an entire stock of opportunities to future generations and thus the possibility to create new ones. To maximise a future generation's choice capacity, conservation involves the minimisation of the present generation's consumption choices; a noted *impasse* that is part of the inter-generational resource scarcity.

Conservation policies are fundamentally based on protecting the interests of future generations who are unable to give clear input on how they would choose to enjoy in the future the cultural heritage produced in

[2] Given the extensive literature on creative and cultural and for purposes of brevity, neither discussions nor definitions on these concepts are provided.

previous centuries. Without knowing the preferences of future generations, the tendency is to conserve the entire stock of past heritage so that the future offers the greatest choice possible. This is an extension of the conservation principle devised by Krutilla and Fisher (1985) in reference to environmental assets in which it is stated that, although there is no actual demand, society is expected to foresee the needs of future generations. The principle of sustainable development - or the principle of constant capital - foresees the adoption of a specific position regarding the equitable transfer of goods between people over time. The ethical reasoning is that future generations have the right to a heritage that guarantees them a level of well-being that is no less than that of the present generation. We require an inter-generational social contract that is founded on the premise of "justice as an opportunity" and that can guarantee the same opportunities in the present as in the future.

This reasoning can only stand if one assumes that the conservation of cultural heritage is a value that is felt by all generations that does not change over time. Likewise, in conditions of uncertainty, the present generation chooses its own path between conservation and whether the other uses of cultural heritage are more important than the possibility of the option being transmitted to future generations. If these two suppositions are removed, conservation can paradoxically be a cost for the current generation that sacrifices alternative uses of public resources without producing the expected benefits for future generations.

The principle of intra-generational equity has been discussed in terms of the influence of public policy (Baer & Snickars, 2001), economic valuation of heritage (Throsby, 2002) and sustainability (Cassar, 2003). Throsby (2002) defines it as follows: "the intra-generational equity dilemma is a classic inter-temporal allocation problem - that is, a choice between present and future consumption". Both present and future consumption entail costs with respect to preservation and maintenance, but is it possible to define the first or second best option within this scenario? The point is to decide how far the principle of intra-generational equity and its authority should be applied, and what exactly the impact on the present generation is. As Taylor (2013) points out, the problem that arises in any intra-generational consideration is whether an action or resource will be valued in the future. Is it possible to understand the needs of future generations that are not concurrent with our own? And should we accept that inter-generational equity should be limited by the intra-generational one?

There is one more matter to deal with: how important is cultural heritage compared to the satisfaction of a society's basic needs, or compared to any financial operation on this heritage? What could the substitution terms of an investment between the protection and destruction of heritage be?

The fact that an individual generally tends to prefer well-being in the present to well-being in the future is rational, but it might prove unequal on the basis of the principle of equal treatment that imposes an "agent-neutral behaviour" that is impartial between the diverse figures who benefit. In a cooperative scheme, nobody has the right to act so that they themselves are advantaged, whilst damaging others: "The futures of ourselves are something similar to those of future generations. We can damage their destiny and as they do not yet exist, they are unable to defend themselves. Just like the future generations, the futures of ourselves have no right to vote and their future interests need to be protected" (Parfit, 1984: 45). Inter-generational and intra-generational equity must be established.[3]

The objective is to protect the diversity of cultural heritage so as to avoid the problem of its irreversible destruction. This process allows us to propose a specific placement of heritage in relation to culture. The first can be considered as a stock accumulated over time that transforms under the influence of cultural factors that are constantly developing in accordance with the evolution of the place and the relationship between the actors involved. Heritage is therefore the realisation of a permanently held flow that is subject to its appropriation by certain local actors to the service of the spatial construction of a specific place. Heritage, however, is not only a stock but also a resource whose specification is to be the collective composition of knowledge and past tangible and intangible assets.

[3] "[…] the inter-generational equity principle requires the interests of future generations in the project outcomes to be acknowledged. This might to be pursued in several different ways. In quantitative terms, respect for inter-generational concerns might suggest adoption of a lower discount rate than might be otherwise accepted on time-preference or opportunity-cost grounds in the process of reducing both economic and cultural benefits streams to present value terms. In qualitative terms, the issue of fairness itself should be explicitly considered in terms of the ethical or moral dimensions of Taking account of the likely effect of the project on future generations. […], the principle of intra-generational equity would recognize the welfare effects of the heritage project on the present generation. Consideration might be given to the distributional impacts of the capital costs of the investment project under study, to identify whether any regressive effects might be present" (Throsby, D. (2001), Economics and Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 87). See also: Turner, R.K., Pearce, D.W., & Bateman, I.J. (1994), Environmental Economics: An Elementary Introduction (pp. 47-48). Baltimore: Harvester Wheatsheaf and John Hopkins University

It is not simply the "transformation of the digestive resources into stock products but includes the creative capacity of humans [...] to renew their relationship with culture and nature" (Barel, 1981: 34).

Heritage as a resource undergoes a double evolution. On the one hand, we assist in the continuous extension of the application and definition of the field. It includes, other than monuments, natural heritage, sceneries, and systems of representation (Vecco, 2007: 37). On the other hand, the extension movement is dependent on concerned actors and institutions, from heritage specialists to conservators through to institutions such as local authorities and associations. This evolution of heritage can "be compared to that of a place. The expansion is accompanied by all use of heritage as a producer of meaning that informs either the forms of sociability, or their relationship with industrial, political and economic forms" (Vecco, 2007: 37). A heritage resource structures itself in a given territory by allowing for the representation of the history and symbols of a place. A useful example to help us understand this logic is the Canal Midi. Classified as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1996, it holds different stages of representation. It is a symbol of XVIII century commerce in the south of France, and the relationship between Toulouse and Languedoc. Still in use today, especially in the context of tourism, this canal gains a supplemental value in relation to its initial value due to tourism exploitation. This example shows heritage as a resource, for it does not exist unless it is "perceived to have use value. It must be socialised. In this sense, a resource is a social relation" (Brunet, Ferras & Therry, 1996: 433). This evokes the notion of value as well as communication and education exchange. Heritage as a transmitted object can be selected for its use in satisfying the construction and development of a place. Its status is characterised by its evolution from a given object to a common good (Klamer, 2003). It is not exclusive: its use by one actor does not prohibit the use of another actor with different objectives. Cultural heritage can represent an economic resource that qualifies and characterises the benefiting place. In the following section we analyse this resource as a product and as a means of valorising other products.

Handcraft as a driver of resource valorisation

It is important to understand the role of handcrafts in the process of specification and connotation of territorial resources. This supposes the understanding of what a place or space reveals to the actors implicated in the process of coordination (Colletis & Pecqueur, 2004). With this perspective, the notion of local rootedness signifies the results of productive reunions that have lasted due to the coordination of established memories. We can therefore identify different potential forms of coordination:

- handcraft as a component in the mobilisation of new resources;
- handcraft as a component in the link between a territory's different resources;
- and finally, handcraft as a component in the attractiveness of a territory (Colletis & Pecqueur, 2004).

The example of the Prealps Mediterranean Zone, where typically lavender and its bi-products are derived, illustrates the first form of coordination. Over the years, a complete industry was established with distillers occupying a role at the technical and economic level due to their capacity to stock and destock lavender as required. During the 1980s, the sector was affected by an unprecedented crisis caused by the importing of lavender essence from China and Bulgaria and by the introduction of chemically transformed scented goods in the hygiene industry. This culture faced a strong decline and no public aid was given to stabilise the market. Despite the difficulties faced, the urbanites that arrived in the region in the 1960s had integrated into agricultural life and embraced traditional agricultural methods. Amongst them was a Dutch couple that used their linguistic skills and urban connections to seize the opportunity of increasing demand in the well-being industry and started cultivating herbs such as thyme and lemon balm. Production was characterised by challenges but the commercialisation of these products was not. To overcome production obstacles, they created a cooperative that regrouped local producers who had the knowledge of collection and conservation techniques. Over time, a complete channel was established; upstream based on local know-how and downstream based on a viable commercial plan for market penetration.

Economic analyses suggest that what the notion of territory and by extension place have in common is that they do not consider space to be an administrative or physical reality but one that is a result of human action and based on social relations. As a result, space is not a receptacle or a measure of distance, rather a collection of "technical reports, economic and social relations between agents located in various areas"

(Aydalot, 1986: 361). This implies something more than empty spaces that can be modelled by the actions of enterprises, but rather regions, villages and places with their unique histories and genius loci. These spaces, more or less rich in interactions between agents, give rise to processes of collective learning. These characteristics define the notion of place, a privileged space of non-commercial relations between agents (Benko & Lipietz, 2000: 346).

A final approach proposes placing handcraft as an element of territorial attraction. Although competition between territories expresses itself most often through criteria of economics of available natural resources, some territories have constructed a positioning based on their handcrafts.

Conclusion

This article proposes to better define the role of handcrafts in the process of constructing a place and defining its genius loci, with the goal of understanding the conditions in which handcrafts can become a resource as well as a product. The entry-point to this process is represented by the features characterising a place that permit the transformation of a potential resource to an asset. A region rich from a cultural and handcrafts perspective will not function without territorial organisation by its people. On the other hand, a strong territorial organisation cannot function without a solid cultural/handcrafts base.

The present article takes into consideration the relationship between the heritage of a place and local handcrafts. The first acts as a stock of opportunities, not simply there to be mobilised but to continually transform under the effect of a double process of transmission and selection. Local handcraft cultures are expressed through local actors who also determine this process of selection and at the same time, intervene in order to make these territorial/local heritage resources. Finally, handcrafts can also function to mobilise other resources. It allows us to distinguish between a specific and generic resource and to make use of them anew.

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