ISCTE IUL
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

IUL School of Sociology and Public Policy

Culture and Urban Development Policies

Beyond Large Metropolis

Elisabete Caldeira Neto Tomaz

Thesis specially presented for the fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor in Sociology

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It is about culture as a means to happiness, as a weapon to civilisation, as a way of peoples understanding that I want to talk about.

Helena Vaz da Silva (2001)

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ABSTRACT

In a changing world, the role of culture in promoting development has become widely recognised as a means and resource for revitalising places, strengthening the identity and communities' sense of belonging, boosting the culture economy, and legitimising the action of cultural and political elites and the implementation of new forms of governance. Alongside, the intrinsic value of culture has been discussed, associated with subjective and aesthetic experience and the improvement of individual and collective well-being.

The vast literature, on this subject, focuses mainly on the processes that take place in large metropolises due to the concentration and diversity of resources, neglecting the initiatives undertaken in smaller cities. However, the interest in understanding the challenges of these urban centres has increased in the pursuit of a more sustainable and cohesive development in the European context, where they have a significant expression and a central role in urban-rural and centre-periphery relations.

This research reflects on the values and roles attributed to culture in the urban planning strategies and development policies of four European small and medium-sized urban centres, situated in intermediate and rural regions, namely, Český Krumlov (Czech Republic); Jyväskylä (Finland); Óbidos (Portugal) and York (England).

Given the complex nature of these processes, this study examined through a comparative and relational approach the dominant political discourses and practices, observing the structural conditions and developmental trajectories that shape and are shaped by the actors' agency. This should allow broader conclusions about the political action and cultural processes, and even about how we perceive the transformations that we are living.

KEYWORDS

Culture; cultural policies; urban development; small and medium-sized urban areas; comparative approach of case studies; relational analysis; discourse analysis; context-sensitive approach; public action; cultural and creative industries.

RESUMO

Num mundo em mudança, o papel da cultura na promoção do desenvolvimento passou a ser reconhecido amplamente, como meio e recurso para revitalizar os lugares, fortalecer a identidade e o sentido de pertença das comunidades, promover a economia da cultura, bem como, legitimar a ação das elites culturais e políticas e a implementação de novas formas de governança. Paralelamente, tem sido discutido o valor intrínseco da cultura, associado à experiência subjetiva e estética e à melhoria do bem-estar individual e coletivo.

A vasta literatura sobre este assunto foca-se principalmente nos processos que ocorrem nas grandes metrópoles devido à concentração e diversidade de recursos, negligenciando as iniciativas empreendidas em cidades de menor dimensão. Contudo, o interesse em compreender os desafios destes centros urbanos aumentou na prossecução de um desenvolvimento mais sustentável e coeso no contexto europeu, onde apresentam uma expressão significativa e um papel central nas relações urbano-rural e centro-periferia.

A investigação apresentada reflete sobre os valores e os papéis atribuídos à cultura nas estratégias de planeamento urbano e nas políticas de desenvolvimento de quatro centros urbanos de pequena e média dimensão europeus, localizados em regiões intermédias e rurais, designadamente: Český Krumlov (República Checa); Jyväskylä (Finlândia); Óbidos (Portugal) e York (Inglaterra). Dada a natureza complexa destes processos, este estudo procurou examinar, através de uma abordagem comparativa e relacional, os discursos e práticas políticas dominantes, observando as condições estruturais e as trajetórias de desenvolvimento que moldam e são moldadas pela ação dos atores, permitindo deduções mais amplas sobre a ação política e os processos culturais, e mesmo sobre o modo como percecionamos as transformações que estamos a viver.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Cultura; políticas culturais; desenvolvimento urbano; áreas urbanas de pequena e média dimensão; abordagem comparativa de estudos de casos; análise relacional; análise do discurso; abordagem sensível ao contexto; ação pública; indústrias culturais e criativas.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CoE	Council of Europe
DG REGIO	EU Directorate General for Regional Policy
EC	European Commission
EEC	European Economic Community
ERICarts	European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective (EU)
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observation Network (EU)
EU	European Union
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross domestic product
GVA	Gross Value Added
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IFACCA	International Federations of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies
IFCCD	Coalitions for Cultural Diversity
LAU	Local Administrative Units
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NUTS	Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics
R&D	Research and development
UK	United Kingdom
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	UN Development Programme
WCCD	World Commission on Culture and Development
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

INTRODUCTION

1. Theme and relevance

In the last decades, a series of technological innovations, political, economic and social events, as well as environmental changes have marked the development of cities and regions. The ongoing processes of urbanisation are the stage where economic, demographic, social and cultural relations continuously interact, contributing both to shape development patterns and the nature of social relationships (Knox and Pinch, 2010). In this sense, cities are understood as a product and a condition of the processes of social change (Harvey, 1989), and therefore, becoming a fundamental object of study to apprehend these ongoing transformations in contemporary societies. Moreover, in recent times, international organisations and governments had consecutively recognised their importance as sources of economic growth and job creation.

Despite the diversity of trajectories, many European cities, testifying the legacy of earlier modes of the economic and social organisation, have shifted to a production and service system predominantly based on technology and knowledge, and which reflect the growing global interdependence and competitiveness. Reinforced by the processes of change of political power from the national to lower administrative levels, as well as by the political action of European Union, local authorities have actively sought innovative approaches to development and new forms of governance.

In this framework, culture has gained a central role in urban sustainable development agenda, being especially mobilised for regeneration projects, revitalisation of local economies, promotion of social cohesion and innovation, foster intercultural dialogue and in response to environmental demands.

Notwithstanding the vast literature about this theme, there is some ambiguity in the role and utilisation of culture in different contexts. Development strategies and culture merge in public policies under several arguments and power relations. These discursive strategies are constructed through multiple references and meanings continually influenced by the ideas and concepts, material experiences and representations of place – imagined and lived – which are mobilised in governance processes (Healey, 2007). Many of these policy ideas and models are disseminated by a diversity of agents from elected officials, consultants to academics, influencing and reshaping the strategies of policy-makers worldwide, many times without considering local specificities and adequate methodologies of analysis.

In the definition and implementation of local development policies and strategies, there are a variety of factors that shape and constrain them. In addition to the external pressures and contextual circumstances that have impact in localities, it should be considered the agency and power of the different actors involved in urban governance.

Speaking in personal terms, my interest in increasing the knowledge about the cultural world has been a constant throughout my academic career and professional experience in the creative and cultural sector. However, it was my participation in European networks and programs through collaboration with INTELI - a Portuguese think tank on innovation policies, and the involvement in "policy mobilities" processes (e.g. McCann, 2011, 2013, McCann and Ward, 2012, 2013; Temenos and McCann, 2013) that the request to understand how some policy ideas and models are developed and applied in different places and which factors influenced them became mandatory. At that time, at INTELI, we were involved in policy advice and the development of innovative and creative development policy models; hence we had the opportunity to observe and discuss the local development processes with diverse actors in many European regions and cities and at EU institutional level.

This research was developed over several years, enriched by several presentation and discussion in international scientific conferences, seminars and working groups. During this period, we were confronted with a poor understanding of the reality of small and medium-sized cities and towns and the lack of adequate policy solutions to their reality. Later, this interest gained greater recognition and space for discussion as I became involved in the research network COST Action "Investigating Cultural Sustainability" (2011-2015) where case studies were deepened and enriched[1].

So even aware of the enormous complexity of discussing such wide-ranging questions that can be analysed from so many different points of view and disciplines, and the difficulty in presenting so summarily all the aspects observed and questioned, especially in the case studies, I believe that this study contributed as a starting point for further investigations, some of which have already been initiated, and others to be conducted in the future.

Moreover, as the processes examined are dynamic, there is a need to locate them in their spatial and temporal context and to continue to observe them in the future.

[1] https://www.culturalsustainability.eu/

2. Research problem and questions

The overall purpose of this study is to analyse the contemporary policies and strategies designed for promote urban development focused on and led by culture. Research literature and theoretical models as well as policy documents tend to look predominantly to the processes that are taking place in large cities and metropolis due to the concentration and diversity of human, economic and institutional resources, and neglecting the initiatives experimented in many smaller cities and towns. Although, there is a growing interest in the potentialities and challenges of these urban centres, beyond large metropolitan areas and capital cities, and the way that they mobilised culture in local policies and strategies. More, there are substantial demands for attention on those urban centres in the context of a European sustainable and cohesive development.

Therefore, the research is centred on small and medium-sized urban centres located in distinct EU Member States. To further the purposes of the study, and because each country has its own typology and definition of urban areas and collects data accordingly, it will be employed thereafter the SMUA abbreviation. This designation wants to describe a set of municipalities with a population between 5,000 and 250,000 inhabitants, with a specific set of functional relations within the territorial system and among spatial scales - between the centre and the periphery, the urban and the rural, or the local and the global, with consequences for policy formulation and development, as described in next chapters. Plus, the study gives special attention to those localities, that according to the Eurostat urban-rural typology[2] are situated in European intermediate and rural regions. This focus, beyond large metropolitan areas and capitals, has to do with the need to observe more closely the dynamics that are occurring in these regions and their unique role for the objectives of sustainability and cohesion.

At first glance, it seems unquestionable that culture has a crucial role in urban development. However, what do we mean by culture and development? Which ideas of culture are mobilised in urban strategies and for what purpose? How do territorial characteristics influence the implementation of these strategies? Who are the main actors and what is their role? What are the success or failure factors? How to provide evidence about the impacts of the linkages between culture and sustainable development? These and many other questions are binding on everyone involved in this field.

[2] This classification developed by Eurostat for the NUTS 3 regions is explained in greater detail in the methodological chapter.

Thus, this thesis aims to provide better knowledge about these issues, attempting to describe the significance of their different socioeconomic and political circumstances, as well as the dynamics between structural forces and governance capacity (Healey, 2007; Reimer & Blotevogel, 2012).

After that, the following guiding questions to steer the research were identified:

- What are the values and roles attributed to culture in urban planning strategies and development policies, particularly, in European SMUA located in intermediate and rural regions?

- How is culture involved in policy discourses and practices in different socioeconomic and political contexts?

3. Brief presentation of the theoretical and methodological approach

To answer the questions posed above a transdisciplinary approach and a multi-level analysis is needed, given the multidimensionality of the concept of culture but also the complexity of contemporary urban development processes and related policy-making, that occur in diverse and overlapping scales (Amin, 2002; Hubbard et al., 2002; Martin et al., 2003; Healey, 2007).

Thus, this research appealed to a set of theoretical and analytical contributions proposed by different disciplines: from sociology to economics, geography and political science, given the interest and interpenetration of the various fields. The global research process seeks to balance a deductive approach based on strong conceptual and methodological reflections and inductive thinking, which allows for the collection and analysis of specific data, the emergence of new forms and possibilities of interpretation and knowledge.

The thesis begins by presenting the revision of some of the main theoretical and analytical contributions regarding the notions of culture and development and how they, in the contemporaneity, were operationalised in urban politics. Then, it examines the ongoing processes taking place in European cities and towns that influence their development, management and planning as well as daily social, economic and cultural interactions and practices.

There are several key theorists, philosophers and urban thinkers who are alluded to during this study to forge a suitable way of reading the case studies. However, it is not our intention to question the theoretical work of any author or study profoundly. Such attempts are more thoroughly accomplished elsewhere.

The legacy of thinkers such as Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin, Pierre Bourdieu or Henry Lefebvre is central in the study of urban themes linking the sociological study of cities to cultural studies (see, for example, the work of Hall, 1997a; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1994; Miles, 2007; Zukin, 1995, among others). But also, the perspectives on cultural political economy by academics such as David Harvey, Sharon Zukin or Neil Brenner which drew our attention to the way that culture is involved in everyday political-economic practices as well as to the restructuring processes of the urban spaces and identities (McCann, 2002).

In this sense, some authors such as Bob Jessop and his colleagues defend the need to carry out an "integral analysis" that includes the "discursively mediated, socially constructed character" of economic categories (Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008: 1168). This approach helps to stress the relation between meaning and practices and exams the selection, retention and reinforcement of specific imaginaries as objects of economic, political or social action (Jessop, 2010; Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008; Jessop and Sum, 2010). Accordingly, the analysis of discourse as the "specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995) has a central place, theoretically or empirically, in this research.

In turn, theories of governance and planning shape urban politics thinking and contribute to exam the relationships between institutional and the new political arrangements (Le Galès, 1998; Pierre, 1999, 2005; Sellers, 2002; DiGaetano and Strom, 2003; Swyngedouw, 2005; are few examples) and the way they are determined by the specificities of each sociocultural contexts, namely their history, attitudes and values, as well as political and legal tradition, i.e. planning cultures (e.g. Nadin and Stead, 2008; Young, 2008; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009).

As explained with more detail in the methodological chapter, due in large part to the far-reaching nature and dynamism of the core concepts and of the urban processes, the dissertation develops a comparative analysis of case studies as a methodological strategy. The option for this type of research is to attempt to develop knowledge, understanding and confirmation of hypotheses about what is common, but also what is singular to each case. In the design of the research project and in the definition of the model that guided the empirical analysis, it was explored a reciprocal relationship between theoretical and empirical work.

For this purpose, four cases were selected in distinct European countries: the cities of Český Krumlov (Czech Republic); Jyväskylä (Finland); York (England, United Kingdom) and the town of Óbidos (Portugal). The selection criteria are also further elucidated in the explanation of the methodology.

4. Chapter organisation

After the introduction, the Chapter I analyses the main understandings of the concept of culture, especially in the sociological field and its relation to the political domain. This relationship is approached either from the viewpoint of the way the culture shapes and determines the political action, but also from the perspective of the administration and regulation of cultural affairs. Then, it is presented briefly the evolution of cultural policies in contemporary as well as the values and interpretations related to different cultural conceptions. In the same sense, a brief reflexion of the development policies is proposed and about the central importance that culture gained in urban planning and development policies marked by the discussions leading by international organisations.

Chapter II aims to explain the major changes that are occurring in cities and the events that are influencing the urban political agenda. And, given the focus of the research, is described in particular the challenges and potential of the SMUA. Finally, it is described how cultural strategies have become one of the most popular trends in contemporary urban politics.

After having outlined a broad theoretical framework that frames the current research work, the principal objective of the Chapter III is to discuss the main methodological issues in comparative research and case-oriented studies. In this sense, it is explained the case selection criteria and the design strategy for the empirical research - the dimensions of the analysis, as well as the main techniques of data collection and processing. These methodological options led to the elaboration of a three-dimensional research model to structure the analysis and description of the case studies. Accordingly, the key findings are presented, followed by a comparative view.

Finally, the last chapter contains the conclusions of the essay, seeking to answer research questions by re-reading the empirical analysis in articulation with the revised theoretical framework. It also seeks to synthesise some critical points of these strategies that may be useful for political advice and future reflections. It is also pointed out the main strengths and limitations of the research project and suggest some lines of research that need to be further developed.

CHAPTER I - INVESTIGATING CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT POLITICS AND POLICIES

> Few things in human life are more powerful than ideas and concepts, and culture is one of the most influential in all walks of life (Graham Fairclough, in Joost Dessein et al., *Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development.* Conclusions from the COST Action IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability, 2015: 58).

1. Regarding culture

The relationship between culture and urban development lies at the intersection between research theories, politics and policy development, being addressed by multiple disciplines from sociology, geography, economics to political science. Distinctive conceptual understandings are dependent on historical circumstances in which they are formulated and pronounce different approaches. This Chapter reviews some theoretical and analytical contributions considered useful for the research of this relationship.

Culture is a very complex and polysemic concept[3] which has been revised over the years from different theoretical perspectives in social sciences. From the etymological study of the word, rooted in the agricultural metaphor to indicate the "cultivation" of human capabilities, its meaning has transformed over time. It is evidenced its conceptual expansion in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment ideas to include the shared knowledge and formative values historically established, along with the concept of "civility" or "civilisation", evoking the collective progress in an evolutionary perspective (Crespi, 1997; Cuche, 1994; Schoenmakers, 2012).

One of the first attempts to explicitly state a scientific meaning of culture was formulated by Edward B. Tylor (1871), proceeding from the ethnological analysis of so-called primitive societies in the nineteenth century. In its universalistic notion, Tylor described culture as a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871: 1). Later, some authors

[3] Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) provided an extensive compilation of 164 descriptions in "Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions". See also Raymond Williams ([1976] 1985); Terry Eagleton (2000); Denys Cuche (1996); Franco Crespi (1997); William H. Sewell, Jr. (1999); among others.

like Franz Boas developed a critique of early evolutionary approaches in favour of a particularistic idea of culture (see, e.g. Stocking, 1966). He argued that cultures are produced by specific historical processes which emphasised their relative value (Cuche, 1994)[4]. These approaches of cultural or ethnological tradition were developed by different social scientists such as Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Alfred Kroeber, or Ruth Benedict, among others, who, in turn, influenced the use of the term among diverse academic disciplines.

In the sociological field, the examination of culture is linked to the analysis of society, and it was developed occasionally or indirectly from the founders of the discipline such as in Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber or Georg Simmel. However, their thinking allows us to understand better the evolution and uses of the concept, interconnected with the reflection of modern society and the transformations resulting of the fundamental historical processes such as industrialisation, the formation of the nation-state, etc.[5]

Drawing on these early authors and assimilating influences from other theoretical disciplines such as literary studies, history, philosophy, anthropology or sociolinguistics, new directions and theories were elaborated, particularly in the post-war period in Europe and North America that shaped a new understanding of culture as a core concept of sociology.

Given the impossibility to describe all contributions in the sociological field, we depart from one of the renowned culture's conception presented by Raymond Williams. Founder of British cultural studies, he refers to culture as "a whole way of life" synonymous to everyday life that encompasses the "meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (Williams, 1961: 57; cited in du Gay, 1997). More recently, Helmut K. Anheier and Michael Hoelscher proposed a more systematic conceptualisation. For them, culture should be understood socially as a "system of meanings and values"; or in an economic perspective while a "system of creation, production, and consumption"; or in a political interpretation correspondingly to a "system of power difference, presentation, participation" (Anheier and Hoelscher, 2015: 18–19).

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[4] Franz Boas (1858-1942) best-known essays are "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" *Science*, 4, 1896: 901-908; "The Aims of Anthropological Research" *Science*, 76, 1983: 605-613; "The Methods of Ethnology", *American Anthropologist* 22(4), new series, 1920: 311-321; among others. Boas inspired a generation of American anthropologists, notably Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Alfred Kroeber.

[5] To an in-depth analysis of the use of "culture" in social theory see for example Tim Edwards (2007) or Philip Smith and Alexander Riley (2011).

In an alternative way, the notion of culture has been used across many branches of sociology in a more restricted and specialised way, focusing on the analysis of a single or a set of cultural activities and practices that involves a certain level of aesthetic and semiotic attributes - from fine arts, music, performing arts, etc. to creative activities such as design, or publishing (Costa, 2002a: 102).

Taking an interdisciplinary approach, this study will try to congregate these interrelated dimensions that mediate and are appropriate in development and planning processes of the territories. To clarify the approach adopted, we reviewed some analytical and interwove frames to outline what are the most useful aspects of undertaking our research.

2. Relation between culture, politics and policies

Regarding culture and politics relationship, it is implicit that both are mutually dependent considering that culture has a political dimension, in the same way, politics has a cultural dimension (Hall, 1997b). Most of the literature that discusses the relationship between culture and political realm focuses, on the one hand, how culture shapes and determines the political action and, on the other hand, the administration and regulation of cultural affairs.

The first point of view refers to the set of values, beliefs and behaviours of individual or groups that influence the political action or the socio-cultural context in which this takes place. The study of culture in the understanding of political processes was an object of attention since the classic thinkers and, notably, in modern social science with the Max Weber's analysis of the relationship between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism in Western society (Weber, 2002 [originally published in 1930]).

In the field of comparative politics, the study of political culture has become an important theoretical tradition, particularly after the 1960s and 1970, to explore the cultural changes in terms of political arrangements and economic progress. One of the renowned formulations of the concept of political culture was expressed by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) and refers to "specifically political orientations – attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system" (1963: 13). Most political culture research assumed that there is a set of values shared by the members of a nation-state or group that reflect their political culture and that allowed meaningful comparisons.

By the end of the 1980s, these approaches were challenged by more cultural and contextualised perspectives about politics, recognising the dynamic nature of culture and the

importance of the meaning-making practices – language and symbols – in political analysis (Wedeen, 2002; Janoski et al., 2005). In this case, actor's worldviews and identities become pertinent to understand the political interests, arrangements and practices in specific contexts and time periods (Somers, 1995; Ross, 1997).

Particularly relevant to theses research lines are discourse theories inspired by the linguistic and structuralist/post-structuralist thinkers. Policy discourses encompass specific ideas and values expressed by actors and the associated interactive processes of policy formulation, communication and legitimisation in different institutional contexts (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004; Barbieri, 2012). These analyses examine questions such as power, governance, knowledge, mediation, among others, which offer new insights into the nature and evolution of the relation between politics and culture.

Confronted by various opponents to the use of cultural explanations for social change (e.g. Moore, 1966; Wallerstein, 1974; Tilly, 1975; Skocpol, 1979), authors like Marc Ross defend their relevance in comparative political analysis, in the following terms:

1) culture is the context in which politics takes place;
2) culture defines the links between individuals and collective identities;
3) culture distinguishes groups and coordinates actions within and between them;
4) culture is the framework for understanding the actors' actions and motivations;
5) culture offers resources for political organisation and mobilisation (Ross, 1997: 139–141).

In the second place, the relationship between culture and political realm can be comprehended from the point of view the process of negotiation aimed at decision-making on the administration and regulation of cultural affairs. This approach implies to describe the cultural policies, that is, the set of public decisions that concern with the cultural sphere that establish the goals and resources to be mobilised, which in turn are determined by power relations (Costa, 1997; 2007, 2000; Vestheim, 2009). A cultural policy begins when it is given recognition of the relative autonomy of the cultural field, i.e. the actors, their positions and relationships, being more than an inventory or a summation of detached actions (Lopes, 2000, 2003). Once more, the analysis of policy discourses on culture can reveal the rationales and concepts that are mobilised not only in the cultural field but also in other spheres of public policy as well as the changes in practices and actors' role.

Thus, notwithstanding the risk of oversimplification, we will try to summarise the institutionalisation and the main developments in the evolution of cultural policies in most European Union countries. Bearing in mind that governments' intervention in this area is

contingent of other factors such as the developments in other policy sectors and broader changes in society (Gray, 2007; Barbieri et al., 2012; Barbieri, 2014)

Therefore, it was reviewed the principal literature about how political power has been exercised historically by states and other government bodies focusing on the type and the degree of public intervention to which correspond specific rationales (D'Angelo, 2000; Depaigne, 1978; Dubois, 1999, 2013, 2016; Menger, 2010; Mulcahy, 2006; Pyykkönen, et al. 2009; Throsby, 2010; UNESCO, 2015).

The recognition of culture as an autonomous field of public intervention, in most democratic countries of Europe, is commonly associated with the period after the end of Second World War[6]. At that time, the link between culture and politics was seen as a condition for social progress for welfare state regimes (Depaigne, 1978; Dubois, 1999, 2013; Menger, 2010; 2013; Pyykkönen et al., 2009; UNESCO, 2015). Two major competing cultural policy government positions are primarily distinguished (e.g. Matarasso and Landry, 1999; Skot-Hansen, 1998). The first "framework" under the principle of *democratisation of culture* or a *humanistic rationale* assumed as a priority the enlargement of people access to culture for educational purposes and citizenship. Here, culture was broadly understood as an aesthetic concept and a way of promoting the dissemination of "high culture" forms and heritage protection. Besides, in that period there was substantial public support for cultural infrastructures (libraries, museums, theatres, etc.) and the "monumentalisation" of public spaces (Barbieri, 2014).

The second "framework" emerged in the result of the above position, and demands for a more comprehensive definition of culture based on the principle of *cultural democracy* or a *sociological rationale*. A greater diversity of groups and forms of expression were supported by governments: from minority groups to everyday practices. There was also a consolidation of cultural policies of local and regional basis and the rise of a set of non-state cultural actors, such mediators and associations, involved in community development (e.g. Barbieri, 2012; Dubois, 2013).

Changes in the following years have transformed the concepts and practice of cultural activity and therefore public intervention in the cultural domain. The economic slowdown in 1970/80s in Western countries that caused many restrictions on the implementation of the

[6] The existing dictatorships in Portugal and Spain to the years 1970 and the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe until 1989 are some of the European cases that are distinct in the development of cultural policies in this period.

welfare state model or the enlargement of the European Economic Community (EEC) – today EU – to the established democracies of the UK, Ireland and Denmark and the beginning of accession negotiations with post-authoritarian states: Greece, Portugal and Spain, had significant implications in public action and correspondingly in cultural field.

In addition, technological innovation, globalisation dynamics and the embracing of a neoliberal thinking in many Western countries have produced profound changes in cultural policies that gradually came to include new conceptual understandings, activities and modes of governance (on this subject see, e.g., Tomlinson, 2003; Belfiore, 2004; Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2006; Gray, 2007, 2010; Menger, 2010). These processes had led to homogenising trends but also make visible a variety of cultural expressions and identities in conjunction with hybrid forms of culture (Hall, 1992).

The development of cultural policies was vastly shaped by the implementation of a neoliberal agenda in post 1970s period – with the election of Margaret Thatcher government in the United Kingdom and the Ronald Reagan Administration in the United States, and commonly associated to adoption of privatization, fiscal austerity and deregulation principles along with the cutting of government spending, the primacy of market-oriented practices and strengthening of private sector role (see, for example, Jessop, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Harvey, 2005; McGuigan, 2005; Leitner et al., 2007).

New understandings about culture and cultural policy are linked to the deconstruction of the traditional hierarchy between high and popular culture and the extent of the cultural field beyond the traditional subsidized forms – visual and performing arts, museums and galleries, and through the inclusion of popular culture practices and, further, of those industries that combine the creation, production and commercialization of cultural contents (e.g. Santos, 2003; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; O'Connor, 2007; UNDP, 2008; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Menger, 2013).

Policymakers around the world have increasingly undertaken an *instrumental approach* or *market-oriented rationale* (e.g. Skot-Hansen, 1998; Belfiore, 2002; Holden, 2004; Gray, 2007; Johannisson, 2008; Gibson, 2008). In this case, non-cultural arguments were used as reasons to intervene in cultural field stressing the contribution of culture to other policy areas' outcomes, such as economic growth, social inclusion, health, education, participation, and so on.

More, in a competitive global framework, there is a growing interdependence between culture and economy. This relationship, classically seen as opposite, derives from the increasing economic valorisation and commodification of goods and services with aesthetic or semiotic

attributes, and, in turn, the assumption that economic processes and activities became more "culturalised" (e.g. Lash and Urry, 1994; Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]; Castells, 1996).

This period was characterised by a reduction or reorientation of state intervention, justified by the need of cutting public spending, the introduction of a managerial logic, with a focus on resource efficiency for accountability and based on evidence-based assessment; as well as decentralization or devolution of cultural responsibilities to lower levels of government, along with a greater involvement of non-governmental actors in the management and sponsorship of cultural affairs.

In the sequence of the critical thinking about industrial reproduction techniques for massive dissemination of cultural works, the developments in communication and broadcasting media, and the debate around the transformation of cultural goods into commodities, contingent to supply rules and market demand, the term "industry" became associated to culture. The expression "cultural industry" developed by theorists of the Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in the essay "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (1944)[7], gave rise to the notion of "cultural industries"[8] in the early 1980s in order to overcome the criticisms of the original term and describe the diversity arrangements and labour markets in production and distribution industries of symbolic forms – especially in film, television, radio and publishing. The same is part of the debate on the liberalization of public service broadcasting, and the control of production and distribution circuits by a few large companies, and regional and international agreements on trade on cultural products (Miège et al., 1984; Garnham, 1987, 2005; Cunningham, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002, 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; O'Connor, 2007).

This discussion gained prominence with cultural industries policy initiatives of UNESCO, namely with the publication of the report "Cultural industries: a challenge for the future" (UNESCO, 1982a), the working documents of the Council of Europe and the research work of Grenoble School directed by Bernard Miège, that supported the French cultural policy of the early 1980s (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). At European level, the Commission has also published several documents that became relevant in the design

[7] The term "cultural industry" has been first used by these authors to replace the expression "mass culture" used in previous studies and to explain the industrial character that culture acquired due to technical changes and subjection of culture to the principle of commodification.

[8] The term "cultural industries" has been discussed in a vast literature (for example, Tremblay, 1990; O'Connor, 2000, 2007; Towse, 2000; Flew, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; and numerous others).

of funding programs, such as the Green Paper "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries" (EC, 2010a), as well as the Parliament with the "Resolution on the role of culture in the development of European regions" (EP, 2009) or the "Resolution on cultural industries in Europe" (EP, 2008).

From then on, cultural policy rationales started to reflect a new understanding of the relationship between culture and economics, in connection with industrial and economic policy. Beyond traditional arts subsidy policies, European governments increasingly identified cultural industries as core domain of cultural policy and applied protectionist policies and regulatory mechanisms to safeguard local expressions and corporations confronted with cultural homogenisation trends.[9]

In the 1990s the term "creative industries" have gained popularity with the political program of the British Labour Government in the context of the emergence of a "knowledge economy" where intangible assets such as creativity have become determining factors of competitiveness (Garnham, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). Some governments followed the British model of creative industries in terms of definition and policy orientation but others opted by cultural industries concept.

Despite the terminological preference, the promotion of cultural and creative industries has become a core component of cultural policy, in the context of the emergence of the so-called cultural or creative economy specially in urban development field, as I will discuss latter. However, the shift to a discourse oriented to cultural and creative sector reveals a constant tension between commercial and industrial logics and elitist and protectionist approaches, but also between the characteristics of artistic work and careers and the nature of cultural/creative labour market (see, for example, Primorac, 2006; Oakley, 2009).

The evolution and characteristics of the cultural policy subsystem is also pertinent in the cultural policies development as described below.

a. Cultural policy models in Europe

In addition to the discussion of the logics of cultural policy, is commonly distinguished two main approaches in comparative cultural policy literature. They are identified as a reference in

[9] The idea of implement measures protecting national cultural industries – under "cultural exception", and subsequently "cultural diversity" arguments were developed in the context of international trade negotiations and agreements conducted by international bodies as the GATT, WTO or UNESCO.

the institutionalisation of cultural policy in Western European countries[10]. In the first place, the French approach or Continental model, usually characterised by a long tradition of direct state intervention and the establishment, in July 1959, of a Ministry specifically dedicated to cultural affairs. The design of cultural public policies aspired to strengthen national identity values through the development of large-scale cultural institutions and the support of artists and creators as ambassadors of national culture. Later, in the 1980s, under the same rationale, but taking a broader definition of culture and expanding the activities eligible for cultural support, they created a strong regulatory action to encourage domestic production and the expansion of the media sector. Hence, the preservation of cultural specificity becomes a central axis in their cultural policy (e.g. CoE, 1954; Dubois, 1999; European Commission, 2000; 2016).

On the other hand, the British approach founded on the "arm's length principle" and usually described as a system with limit interference of State, the existence of independent or quasi-autonomous agencies to manage public subsidies – that begin with the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1945; and the peer assessment decision making processes (c.f. Madden, 2009). Afterwards, culture became more accessible to the intervention of civil society and private actors with special relevance for voluntary organisations (charities), foundations (trusts) and private sponsors (Gattinger and Saint-Pierre, 2008; Menger et al., 2010). Moreover, the doctrine neoliberal in public policies with the introduction of the language of economics and markets and the instrumental use of culture in other policy areas increasingly define the cultural policies of Anglo-Saxon influence.

Despite these modes of intervention[11], that influenced or questioned the design of cultural policies, each European country developed its own approach according to its historical, political, economic and cultural peculiarities.

For instance, the type of policy pursued, on the whole, by Nordic countries – Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden, which share a broad range of features, intensify by ample cooperation particularly through the Nordic Culture Fund (established in 1966) is also referred

[10] National patterns can be defined as "cultural policy regimes". They reflect the historical, political and institutional configurations of each country and describes its cultural field, to be more precise "their socio-economic structure, their internal hierarchies and the conceptions of art and culture that prevail within them" (Dubois, 2013: 1).

[11] Other well-known typologies in cultural policy were developed, for example, by Cummings and Katz (1987) that distinguished four main administrative models: Patron; Market manipulator; Regulator; and Impresario. In turn, Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) defined four alternative modes of state intervention: Facilitator, Patron, Architect, and Engineer.

as a particular case. Cultural policy, as part of the welfare system, had as main objectives to ensure both individual liberty and equal access to culture (Duelund, 2003, 2004; Heikkinen, 2003; Mangset et al., 2008). In general, and despite the recurrent debate around cultural economics and State's role in the cultural field, there has always been some resistance to the influence of market forces with the intention of ensuring greater cultural diversity and artistic freedom (Duelund, 2008). Accordingly, the State has always directly supported individual artists, as well as artistic production and distribution in comparison with other countries, such as the UK, which is more concerned with the protection of producers' rights (Duelund, 2004, 2003).

Widely disseminated was the idea of an "experience economy" introduced by Pine and Gilmore (1998) and developed by several Nordic authors (e.g. Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Marling et al., 2009; Lorentzen, 2009; Smidt-Jensen et al., 2009; Sørensen et al., 2010; Bille, 2012). This new categorisation emphasises the practice of consumers that invoke subjective reactions, instead of focusing on the production side (Nielsén, 2004; Power, 2009). In this vein, Nordic cultural policy model that is known by its tradition in make partnerships between public cultural institutions and civil society is been pursued to establish new public-private enterprises in the service of the experience economy. In general, national governments adopted an instrumental logic in defining cultural policy, using economic arguments and evaluations to intervene in the cultural sphere. National strategies, such as in the Finnish case, increasingly emphasise the importance of placing culture and creativity at the centre of areas such as well-being, innovation and trade policy. Besides, there is renewed attention to reinforce the principles of democracy by introducing a participatory culture agenda by increasing the involvement of users in public culture and institutions (Fischer, 2006; Krivý and Kaminer, 2013; Tomka, 2013; Sørensen et al., 2016; Virolainen, 2016).

Given the case studies under investigation, in this section, we also highlight the specific characteristics of the intervention that marked the development of cultural policies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as in Southern Europe.[12]

After the fall of Communism, the trajectory of East-Central Europe countries of the Warsaw Pact is marked by profound transformations from totalitarian political systems and centrally planned economy to a market-oriented economy and pluralistic political systems.

[12] F.G. Castles refers to these "family policy" to describe "policy similarities between groups and their differences from other groups" in consequence of the history and culture (Castles, 1993: xv).

Notwithstanding some national distinctions, until then the state was the principal financier and provider of public services. These post-communist countries – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia – begun a transition process in the stream of modernization and gradual proximity to other EU countries[13], conducting reforms in political and economic system, but also in culture and societal values and structures, with some gradations in terms of scope, rapidity and outcomes (Balcerowicz, 2002; Bozóki et al., 2014; Potůček, 2009). The core values of democracy, secularism and individualism are increasingly incorporated but, in general, still persists lower levels of political participation and social trust (Bozóki et al., 2014).

In the development of cultural policy also can be identified common trends in these transition countries. Starting from an ideological hegemony framework, under the control of the central state and political propaganda objectives, they initiated efforts to improve the autonomy of culture. Besides, they launched administrative reforms and legislation for cultural sector, promoted the delegation of powers to decentralised local agencies and the privatisation of cultural infrastructure, as well as, the introduction of market models for the development of culture, even if central governments maintain an interventionist role in the field (Şuteu, 2002; Katunarić, 2003; Švob-Đokić and Obuljen, 2003; 2005a, 2005b; Švob-Đokić, 2006; Ratzenböck et al., 2012). New financing mechanisms have been explored as well as the development of intercultural activities and cooperation through EU programs (e.g., Culture 2000) and regional bodies and programs. The affirmation of national identity symbols, the promotion of the countries' image externally, the preservation of heritage and support of the tourism economy has been common issues covered in cultural policy in these states.

In the context of European politics, some authors also refer to the socio-political and cultural specificity of the Southern European countries (Ferrera, 1996; Pedaliu, 2010; Rhodes, 1996; Torcal and Magalhães, 2009). Notwithstanding the controversy generated by the range of situations that this aggregation comprises, it tries to describe common political-economic developments in Portugal, Spain, Italy[14], Greece, and which diverge in some way from the continental model and northern Protestant countries. The development path of these countries is marked by some historical particularities, such as the late industrialisation, the subsequent transformation of an agriculture base in a service economy, the search for consolidation of the

[13] These countries became EU Member States in May 2004.

[14] Usually Italy is inclued in this group despite the industrialized north part of the country (Pedaliu 2010; Torcal and Magalhães 2009).

democracy and institutional modernisation after times of authoritarianism. This affiliation has gained special attention with the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain to the ECC, and analysis of the structural difficulties of the entitled "semi-peripheral" countries (originally by Arrighi, 1985; 1985, 1979). A distrust regarding political institutions characterises usually the political culture of democracy in Southern Europe, besides the low levels of social confidence and the reduced participation of citizens and the persistence of clientelism practises (Andreotti et al., 2001; Rhodes, 1996; Torcal and Magalhães, 2009). These attributes are necessarily revealed in the governance of culture and included in the challenges to overcome through cultural initiatives. The state remains the central figure in terms of cultural policy with greater responsibility in the preservation and protection of national heritage, even in the most decentralised states (as in Spain). However, local authorities have a crucial role in the provision of services cultural and supporting cultural activities.

Looking more closely to the case of Portugal, during much of the twentieth century, the existent dictatorial political regime carried out a centralised cultural policy, controlling artistic expressions and cultural activities and supporting the dissemination of certain aesthetic and ideological values. After this period, cultural policies, strongly influenced by the French model, came to be seen as a path for democratisation and affirmation of national identity, with a primary focus on support for the artistic creation and heritage conservation.

The accession of Portugal to the EEC in 1986 and the access to structural funds has favoured the socioeconomic restructuration of the country. Important public investments were made in the cultural field, under the second Community Support Framework (1994-1999), mainly in the recovery and improvement of the historical and cultural heritage, primarily for national monuments and museums, and to increase the access to cultural goods. As part of a democratisation strategy of cultural production sphere, it was established a national network of libraries, museums and archives and theatres (Silva, 2004; 2007; Klamer et al., 2010; Gomes and Martinho, 2012; Pinto, 2012; Silva et al., 2013). Along this time, the management of cultural affairs was made primary by the Portuguese government, although some power devolution was attempted through the establishment of partnerships between central and local government and allocating more responsibilities to municipalities (Silva, 2007; Silva et al., 2013). In addition to more widespread access to cultural goods and diversified events – encouraged mostly by local authorities, whose cultural budget expanded substantially, and with the aid of local associations – the political discourse incorporated, gradually, a broad conception of culture and the discussion about the cultural economy in the decision-making and

legitimatisation processes. These improvements will be developed in the analysis of the Portuguese case study.

Thus, as noted above, European cultural policies followed different directions in various European states. However, in the period of institutionalisation of cultural field, there was a general trend to create infrastructures and support cultural institutions to extend the cultural offer according to the principles of cultural democracy. This support was delivered, most of the times, through direct forms of financing, namely the public budgets attributed to national institutions controlled by the State, or through grants to individual artists or non-profit arts organisations. There were also indirect ways, such as social security benefits paid to artists, support for private companies in the cultural industries, or tax incentives for the patronage of the arts.

It is important to remember the historical influence of international organisations and networks that operate in the cultural arena, both in the theoretical field and in policy formulation. Some of the milestones result of the work of organisations such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Union.

For instance, UNESCO was crucial in providing a transnational space for cultural policies discussion and its institutional practices are recognised as legitimate orientations in the field of public action (Maurel, 2006; Bustamante Fajardo, 2014; Silva, 2015; UNESCO, 2015). Since the Round Table Meeting on Cultural Policies (Monaco, 1967) and the subsequent report "Cultural Policy: A Preliminary Study" (1969), this organisation assumed a chief role in the development and evaluation of cultural policies around the world.

During the 1970s, UNESCO was prolific producing over 50 studies on national cultural policies entitled "Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies". It also organised a series of intergovernmental meetings that culminated in the second World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico City, 1982) – known as MONDIACULT, that helped to define culture as a category of international intervention.

Since then, UNESCO has introduced different concepts such as multiculturalism, cultural diversity, cultural rights or sustainable development in the public discussion. Particularly meaningful to the configuration of cultural policies, was the edition of the report "Our Creative Diversity"[15], by the World Commission for Culture and Development (WCCD, 1995), that presented the concept of "cultural diversity" as a global public good. As the subsequent UNESCO World Reports, it motivated international reflection about cultural differences

[15] http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001055/105586e.pdf

between people and the demands of globalisation on cultural diversity and provided knowledge for public policies. Later, this concept was consolidated through the adoption of the "Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity" (2001)[16] and the "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions" (2005). These documents were adopted by the Member States of UNESCO, building legal instruments related to these issues. In this framework "culture refers both to the creative diversity embodied in particular 'cultures' and to the creative impulse at the heart of that diversity of 'cultures'" (UNESCO, 2009).

Also essential was the launching in 1985 by the Council of Europe of a national cultural policy review project. This project gave rise in 1998 to the production of the "Compendium Cultural Policies in Europe" (in partnership with the ERICarts) and to the development of transversal or sectorial reviews that investigate specific cultural policy issues or sectors. Despite the complexity inherent to the data collection and analysis in diverse countries, the information revealed have contributed to a better knowledge about decision-making and administration of cultural policy (Myerscough 1997; Gordon and Mundy 2001; Mitchell 2002; Kleberg 2016)[17].

Despite that European Union had not legal competences to intervene directly in cultural affairs, culture was intrinsic to the strategy of construction of the European political project and the promotion of "European identity" including of bringing Europe "closer to the people" (Bennett, 2001; Littoz-Monnet, 2010; Mitchell, 2002; Mokre, 2006; 2013, 2006, 1993; Tindemans, 1976). Since the 1970s, the main EEC bodies - the European Parliament and the European Commission - affirmed the need of assuming a more explicit action in cultural field to complement legal and economic integration.[18] Some emblematic initiatives were launched

[16] unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf

[17] For additional information see http://www.coe.int/culture/

[18] See the "Declaration on European Identity" (Copenhagen, 1973) and the "Tindemans Report" (1976). Some of the early policy documents on culture are following the resolutions of European Parliament: (i) 13 May 1974 on the protection of the European cultural heritage (OJ C 62, 30.5.1974); (ii) 14 September 1982 on the protection of the architectural and archaeological heritage (OJ C 267, 11.10.1982); (iii) 28 October 1988 on the conservation of the Community's architectural and archaeological heritage (OJ C 309, 5.12.1988); and (iv) 12 February 1993 on preserving the architectural heritage and protecting cultural assets (OJ C 72, 15.3.1993). The EU Commission also published two Communications that are considered landmarks in the development of the EU cultural policy: Commission communication to the Council COM (77) 560 final, 2 December 1977. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 6/77) and "Stronger Community action in the cultural sector", Communication to Parliament and the Council COM (82) 590 final, 16 October 1982.

to foster a common sense of belonging such as the "European City of Culture" (an intergovernmental action established in 1983 and started in 1985), European prizes in diverse areas, a new ritual calendar, besides the restoration and preservation initiatives of monuments and sites, among other prestigious initiatives (European Commission, 1992; Sassatelli, 2009; Shore, 2006).

The "Treaty on European Union", signed in 1992 in Maastricht, includes officially for the first time an article devoted to culture as a European competence[19] under the subsidiarity principle[20]. This item addresses to each Member States the competencies for developing national, regional and local cultural policy and gives to the EU predominantly the role of funds' allocation through its programmes. After that, and according to some authors, the logic of EU cultural policies started to emphasise the principle of "unity in diversity", the promotion of a common cultural heritage structured in the diversity and dialogue between national cultures (Delanty, 2002; Sassatelli, 2009; Shore, 2006). That article became the legal basis for the design of specific community programmes[21]. Major goals in this respect have been the promotion of cultural exchanges, mobility of creative artists, and the creation of long-term networks, as well as the development of innovative methods of expression and working (Sievers and Wingert 2012, apud Bruell, 2013).

The 2007 Lisbon Treaty marked the beginning of a consistent EU cultural policy with the active participation of private stakeholders. The signing of the agreement was followed by the "Communication on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world" (EC, 2007a) and the respective Council resolution, which symbolises the EU's direct involvement with culture, although it has not defined effective cultural policies. It is commonly recognised as the first strategic document that clearly expresses the EU objectives for the sector and its integration with other policies, namely:

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[19] The article 128 defines that "the Community 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 heritage to the fore" in "Treaty on the European Union", Official Journal C 191, 29 July 1992. This article was reiterated as article 151 in the "Amsterdam Treaty" (1997), and recently confirmed in the article 167 after the "Lisbon Treaty" (2007).

[20] About this principle in EU law see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.2.2.pdf

[21] For an inventory of EU programmes and policies see, e.g., the EC staff working paper "Inventory of Community actions in the field of culture". Available at http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/2/2007/EN/2-2007-570-EN-1-0.Pdf

> the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; the promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity in the framework of the Lisbon strategy for growth, employment, innovation and competitiveness; and the promotion of culture as a vital element in the Union's international relations.[22]

The Lisbon Agenda proposed the application of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC)[23] that became the main process for defining the European Union's work plans for culture, since 2008, in the discussion of policy priorities and in the definition of the recommendations to intervene in the field. In fact, the effects of these work plans are mainly at the level of development of knowledge and exchange of experiences "rather than any far-reaching effects on key national policy issues and improved policy making at national and EU levels" given the high degree of subsidiarity (ECORYS, 2013: 50).

Since 1989, the European Structural Funds contributed extensively to support several cultural projects that range from the preservation of heritage, the creation of infrastructures and services, the fostering of the local attractiveness and urban regeneration processes to the promotion of cultural and creative industries. These interventions are shaped by the logic of the policy framework to which they belong[24] and conditioned by the actors' capacity to established networks and fulfil the programs requirements and efficiency of the national systems (EP, 2012; KEA European Affairs, 2012). In this sense, the EU cultural approach is frequently understood as instrumental, concerning in achieving results in other public policy areas, covering from innovation and social inclusion to economic growth and external relations policies.

Thus, the early concerns of EU intervention in the field of culture were related above all with the protection of European cultural production, preservation of the cultural heritage and the strengthening of European citizenship and identity in the face of global challenges and building the European project. More recently, given the economic potential of the cultural and

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[22] "Resolution of the Council of 16 November 2007 on a European Agenda for Culture". Official Journal of the European Union (2007/C 287/01). Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:287:0001:0004:EN:PDF

[23] The OMC is a "governance mechanism for transnational coordination in European Union (EU) policy-making" (Borrás and Radaelli 2015: 129) that institutionalised "novel forms of consultation, participation, and representation" (Barnett, 2001). It establishes a working method to set up OMC Working Groups composed by experts of the Member States to carry out studies and reports to the EC.

[24] The cultural sector has benefited of the Structural Funds programs INTERREG, LEADER, EQUAL and URBAN to contribute to sustainable development and reduce imbalances between the regions.

creative sector in Europe, it has become a priority area in cultural policy programs and in other areas of EU policy, as indicated by the replacement of the Culture Program with the Creative Europe Program.[25] This new funding instrument for the period 2014–2020 aims to foster the capacity of the cultural and creative sectors to the Europe 2020 strategic objectives of promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (EC, 2011b).

Summing up, since the recognition of the field of culture as public policy, new justifications and instruments have accompanied the emergence of new institutions of governance, especially as a result of structural changes, but also of the actions of political actors and their ideas, values and interests, expressed in political discourses (Gray, 2007, 2009; Barbieri, 2012). Alongside, the on-going democratization of culture and cultural democracy rationales, cultural policies began to incorporate new management models under an economic and neoliberal logic. This change is explained by Clive Gray (2009, 2007) by the expectations and pressures of commodification of politics and the structural weakness of the cultural policy sector.

The path taken by democratic European countries to manage their national cultural policies is built on narratives and representations, influenced by the interactions of the actors involved and by more comprehensive ongoing changes, such as the digital revolution, as well as by various discussions and resolutions of international and non-governmental organisations.

b. The value of culture

To talk about the different conceptions of culture is also to review the values that are assigned to them and how these values are produced socially. This debate has gained special prominence with the growing interdependence between culture and economic realm. Although this discussion involves distinct and controversial aspects, it also can be useful to clarify how culture has been understood in the public domain but also in contemporary cultural production and consumption practices.

Moreover, considerable literature distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental value. The intrinsic value of culture is often associated with ideas of subjective and aesthetic experience (Holden, 2004, 2006) and to the generation of inherent benefits enhancing individual lives but also promoting spill-over effects to the wider society (Holden and Baltà, 2012;

[25] The creative and cultural industries with revenues of €535.9 billion, contribute to 4.2% of Europe's GDP and employ nearly 7 million workers, are seen as central to Europe's economy and competitiveness (Ernst & Young, 2014).

McCarthy et al., 2004).[26] More, the intrinsic value of culture comprises the diversity of collective ways of life.

The difficulty of finding a language capable of translating the nature of individual experience or the benefits of the enjoyment of art and culture makes that their intrinsic value neglected or used in an unclear way. Despite that cultural expressions have "value in their own right", it is possible to point out some significant contributions of culture that come precisely from people's experiences. For instance, the development of the individual capacity to innovative and creative practices; the involvement of citizens in cultural activities for the revitalisation and cohesion of communities and neighbourhoods; therapeutic effects for personal health; etc. Thus, beyond the private value, culture in intrinsic terms have valuable public repercussions.

In turn, "instrumentalism" has become embedded in discourses about culture trying to find ways to capture and describe the value of culture for policy appraisal and resource allocation, employing a range of instrumental arguments, such as education, crime reduction, economic growth, etc. An attempt to go further in value evaluation is based on the development of public value theory in the USA in the 1990s which had a great influence in the reforms of the New Labour government in the 2000s (Coats and Passmore, 2008; Talbot, 2008)[27]. In general, it tries to find ways to engage the public and deliver services and to measure the performance and benefits of arts and cultural organisations in order to mobilise public legitimacy and support investment. This approach was taken by many cultural institutions to respond to the production of evidence directives, at the same time, that recognises their own institutional goals (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; O'Brien, 2010).

Therefore, acknowledgement of culture benefits or positive externalities, is today a key feature of cultural policy in western countries. Many of those involved in the public policy

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[26] Some philosophers such as John O'Neill (1992) and Shelly Kagan (1998) discussed about the senses in which the term "intrinsic value" is used. In general, they distinguished the intrinsic value as a synonym for non-instrumental value, i.e. the value that has "in itself.". This value is apart from any instrumental usefulness for human purposes and it is independent of all other objects. It also refers to the value that an object has for "their own sake" in virtue of its relational features, such as uniqueness (Kagan 1992: 184) or rarity (O'Neill, 1992: 124).

[27] It is commolly mentioned the work of Mark H. Moore in "Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government" where he defines public value as "the difference between aiming for an arbitrarily defined performance target to give the appearance of accountability and performance, and developing a shared understanding of the important values that citizens, taxpayers and clients want to see achieved by and reflected in the operations of government" (Moore, 1995).

defended increasingly economic conceptions to guide implicitly or explicitly public action regarding culture, assuming that economic prosperity goal should surpass life-enhancing qualities of art and culture. Taking this logic to the extreme, cultural policy is understood just a means to a non-cultural end in the sense of a simple subject to the impositions of other political actors and intentions of other sectors (Holden, 2006, 2004; Selwood, 2002). Therefore, the importance of culture as a tool to achieve other broad policy objectives is promoted using measurement systems based on quantitative data and evidence that are often considered inadequate due to its inability to adequately translate the value of culture (e.g. Holden, 2004, 2006, 2015a; Gray, 2007; O'Brien, 2010; Allan et al., 2013; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; Dodd et al., 2014). A merely instrumental view has also implications in the processes of public financing and increases its vulnerability to exogenous pressures, and on the other hand, it does not show the specificities of the sector (Gibson, 2008). As John Holden argues, cultural activities goals are "often expressed in terms of efficiency, cost-per-user and audience diversity, rather than discussed in terms of cultural achievement" (Holden 2004: 14).[28]

For some researchers, the discussion about the intrinsic/instrumental value of the cultural policy that has been much debated in the last decades is too simplistic, since all policies are instrumental in achieving specific ends (Gibson, 2008; Hadley and Gray, 2017). As Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett concluded: "'Instrumentalism' is, as a matter of fact, 2500 years old... The arts have been used as a tool to enforce and express power in social relations for as long as the arts themselves have been around" (Belfiore and Bennett, 2007: 140).

Parallel to this discussion, there is also readings that examined the hierarchies in the cultural field and legitimisation processes around cultural production and market relations. The blur of the opposition between high and popular and mass media culture, goes beyond a romantic and elitist conception of culture, which led to the legitimisation of a variety of popular and marginal forms, and mass-mediated culture (see, for example, Costa, 2002).

The intensification of the relationship economy-culture is widely recognisable in the broad range of economic activities that are involved in the production and marketing of goods and services whose aesthetic or semiotic attributes overlap the utility functions (Lash and Urry 1994; Molotch 1996; Baudrillard 1998 [1970]). The sign-value became ubiquitous in our lives and an essential component of commodity production and consumption, transcending the exchange value and use value of goods and services (Jameson, 1984; Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]). Furthermore, the cultural realm has become more commodified. Most cultural products are

[28] This discussion will be also taken in methodological chapter.

provided by for-profit institutions in decentralised markets, for a growing number of consumers who benefit from the increase in available income and the expansion of free time in modern society.

In this framework, the notion of "cultural value" has been especially used in the cultural economics literature and tries to capture the essential characteristics of culture and, at the same time, proposes a framework for assessing its economic aspects. Instead of deliberating about the intrinsic and instrumental values, authors like David Throsby evaluated the connexion between cultural and economic principles. For him, the cultural value (inherent in cultural goods and services as part of a cultural capital[29]) encompasses the aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic and authentic components of culture, and the economic value derives both from market transactions and from non-market sources (Allan et al., 2013; Throsby, 1999, 2001, 2003; 2010). In a posterior work, Throsby included an additional feature: the locational value, when "cultural significance attaches to the physical or geographical location of a heritage item" (Throsby, 2010: 113). Furthermore, he distinguished between tangible and intangible forms of cultural capital. The first form exists in "art-works and artefacts such as paintings and sculptures, and heritage buildings, locations and sites" and, the second one consists of "artworks which exist in their pure form as public goods, such as music and literature, and the stock of inherited traditions, values, beliefs and so on which constitute the 'culture' of a group" (Throsby, 1999: 167–168). Besides, the stock of cultural capital produces flows of capital services which can be consumed directly, or which may be combined with other factors of production to produce further goods and services that have both economic and cultural value (Throsby, 1999).

In turn, John Holden and other authors involved in DEMOS essays[30] proposed to consider the institutional value of culture to capture the way that cultural institutions act about their mission and their publics, and how they contribute to a more effective role of culture in society (Hewison, 2006; Holden, 2004, 2006, 2015a; Holden and Baltà, 2012). They join the instrumental, intrinsic and institutional values in an equilateral triangle model to which correspond divergent interests and expectations from the politicians and policy-makers, professionals and the public (2006a, 2004). The institutional value is express in the capacity of

[29] A broadest use of the "cultural capital" term is in sociology and cultural studies following Bourdieu, who identifies individuals as possessing cultural capital if they have acquired competence in society's high-status culture (Mahar et al., 1990).

[30] Demos is Britain's think-tank.

foster engagement between cultural organisations and the public; on providing a service of quality and interest, and finally in generating a sense of trust between the organisation and its stakeholders, becoming a symbol of a collective identity and local distinctiveness (Hewison, 2006).

These different categories of value, exposed here, are just a few of the most mentioned in the literature. From the personal enjoyment and development to the wider effects on all society and in public domain, the different types can be seen as complementary and not exclusive (Costa, 2015; Holden, 2006, 2015b). The language of cultural value gives us the opportunity to consider culture as something more than a system of shared meanings and behaviours to emphasise the value that different stakeholders and their interests draw in policy-making.

c. From art and cultural activities to cultural and creative industries

In addition to value judgment analysis, it is important to note that culture has been increasingly subject to an economic or industrial interpretation, especially for economic development reasons. This approach involves the perception of culture as a product, commodity, subject to an economic process of production, distribution and consumption (Melo, 1994). As also regarded by the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics, the "common set of economic and social activities that are traditionally recognised to be cultural", essentially, "embody or convey cultural expressions" and "are involved in the production and distribution of cultural goods or services with high aesthetic and semiotic attributes" (UNESCO-UIS, 2009)

David Throsby, in his book "Economics and Culture" (2001) defined cultural activities as those "undertaken by people and the product of those activities, which have to do with the intellectual, moral and artistic aspects of human life". In this sense, culture is linked to activities that are based on "enlightenment and education of the mind rather than the acquisition of purely technical or vocational skills" (Throsby, 2001: 4). Then, the author described three characteristics of such "cultural activities or products", which are related to:

1) some form of creative work;
2) creation and communication through symbols;
3) some aspect of intellectual property rights (e.g., copyright, industrial design rights) (Throsby, 2001).

Pedro Costa established a typology of the cultural activities with implicit implications for the development of territories built on four large and interpenetrated categories (Costa, 1999, 2002):

1) *The "core" of cultural industries* – audio-visual and cinema; book and record edition; and increasingly, those activities borders on ICT, and the entertainment and leisure industries in general.
2) *"Cultivated", "institutional", "legitimated" culture* – generally associated with "erudite" or "high" culture (most of the performing arts – mainly in the fields of opera, dance, classical music and theatre – and visual arts – big museums and galleries, etc.), matching with the core of traditional and conventional cultural politics.
3) *Popular culture, based on urban forms of sociability* – primarily concerned with some form of expression of popular culture, but also more independent or marginal movements to the established "high culture" mass culture industries.
4) *Preserving and increasing the worth of a particular cultural heritage and identity* – all memory spaces and registers – from images and sounds to monuments, handicrafts, gastronomy, etc.

Given the technological advances and the growth of global trade and distribution of cultural products - which comprise goods and services - is inevitable here to understand those activities that are related to the cultural and creative industries and that gained particular prominence in academic and policy literature. Numerous conceptual and methodological approaches are followed to delimit the field and that helps us to question the distinctive characteristics of cultural activities (see, among many others, the contributions of UNESCO, 1982a; 2000; Scott, 1997, 2004, Pratt, 1997, 2007, 2008; Eurostat, 2000; KEA, 2006, 2009; Gordon and Beilby-Orrin, 2007; O'Connor, 2007; UNDP, 2008; UNESCO-UIS, 2012; UNESCO and UNDP, 2013).

Historically, the association of a notion of industry with culture begins with the concept of "cultural industry" coined by the social theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in the essay "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979 [1944]). Originally used in a critical sense, as a result of the commodification of culture under capitalism and the production of cultural goods on an industrial mass scale, the term was revised shifting to "cultural industries". The change was due to the pejorative connotation and the inability to translate the complexity and the diversity of forms that coexist in cultural production in modern life, in consequence of technological innovations (e.g. Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). A group of French researchers headed this approach presented in the book "Capitalism and cultural industries" (Huet et al., 1978) in the context of

the protectionist French national cultural policy[31]. This viewpoint was followed by other scholars and policy-makers as well as policy initiatives from UNESCO and the Council of Europe since the 1970s, and other international organisations associated with the growing recognition of the potential economic and cultural value of the cultural industries (Cunningham, 2002; Garnham, 1987; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; 2010, 2007; Segers and Huijgh, 2007).

The "cultural industries" have been defined in diverse ways and can be associated with broader approaches to culture and cultural policy (as I noted previously) as well as certain local development policies. For example, Nicholas Garnham in a document to the Greater London Council elected it as a "descriptive term" to refer the "industrial corporations" involved in "producing and disseminating symbols in the form of cultural goods and services" (Garnham, 1990: 156). Otherwise, Ruth Towse proposed that those industries should be related to "mass-produce goods and services with sufficient artistic content to be considered creative and culturally significant. The essential features are industrial-scale production combined with cultural content" (Towse, 2003: 170).

A more operational definition is present by David Throsby (2001) which incorporated both the economic and cultural sides of the cultural industries. According to the author, these activities 1) involve some form of creativity in their production; 2) are concerned with the generation and communication of symbolic meaning; and 3) their output embodies, potentially, at least some form of intellectual property.

In the 1990s, the term "creative industries" emerged as a comprehensive concept that seeks to describe the conceptual and practical convergence of the creative arts (individual talent) with cultural industries (mass scale), in the context of new media technologies and within the so-called knowledge economy, for the use of interactive citizen-consumers (Hartley, 2005). According to David Hartley, the notion of "cultural industries" was unable "to combine art and

[31] Some authors stand out with the contributions that developed for cultural industries theory, such as Mattelart (1979); Bernard Miège. (1979; 1987; 1989); Auguste Girard (1972; 1978; 1982); Patrice Flichy (1980), among others. Also worth mentioning in this initial period the contributions to the construction of the theory of cultural industries, for instance, the work of Jean-Guy Lacroix (1986) and Tremblay Gaëtan (1990; 1997) in Canada; Enrique Bustamante (1988, 2004) and Ramon Zallo (1988) in Spain; Nicholas Garnham (1990), Andy Pratt (1997), Allen Scott, (1996; 1999; 2000) and David Hesmondhalgh (1996; 2002) in UK; Dominic Power (2002) in Nordic countries; and the seminal work of Maria de Lourdes Lima dos Santos (1985) in Portugal; among numerous contributions around the world.

culture, culture and creativity. It failed to take advantage of social, technological, and cultural changes" (Hartley, 2005: 14).

The creative industries policy approach was generated in the framework of Australia Creative Nation policy in 1994[32] that sought to stimulate cultural activities – including both traditional arts and popular culture –, through the emerging digital technologies. But, it was with the new Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) of the elected British Labour government[33] that the concept was popularised and disseminated over the world carrying on the belief that these industries generate employment growth and export earnings (Garnham, 2005). The DCMS was responsible for the renowned "The Creative Industries Mapping Document" (1998, revised in 2001), produced under the "Creative Industries Task Force" and the promotional campaign "Cool Britannia" (for a history of the term see, for example, Cunningham, 2002; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006; Glow and Johanson, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; O'Connor, 2007). This was part of the mapping strategy of new competitive areas to economically repositioning the UK for an increasingly globalised world. The cited report described the sector as "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 1998: 3, and 2001). In the mapping exercise, thirteen domains were considered: advertising, architecture, arts and antique markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, television and radio, performing arts, publishing and software.

Afterwards, Stuart D. Cunningham (2002) identifies the main features of the creative industries model in opposition to the cultural industries:

> Here, technological and organisational innovation enables new relationships with customers and the public that are not reliant on 'mass' models of centralized production (media) and real-time public consumption (the arts). Interactivity, convergence, customization, collaboration and networks are the key. Creative industries are less national, and more global and local/regional, than is typical among public broadcasting systems, flagship arts companies and so on. Their characteristic organisational mode is the micro-firm to small-to-medium-sized enterprise (SMEs) relating to large established

[32] This approach was formulated by Paul Keating's Government (Australian Prime Minister between 1991–1996), see DCA-Department of Communications and the Arts (1994) *Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy*, Canberra: AGPS.

[33] The "New Labour" government was headed from 1997 to 2007 by Tony Blair.

> distribution/circulation organisations. And while many creative enterprises remain identifiably within the arts and media, it is the case that creativity inputs are increasingly important throughout the services sector. In the same way that enterprises in general have had to become information intensive, so are they becoming more 'creativity intensive' (Cunningham, 2002: 59).

Other models and methods have been used that reflect different ways of interpreting the characteristics of these industries (see, for example, UNDP Creative Economy Report 2008 and the analysis of mapping exercises, also in Higgs and Cunningham, 2008; or, Bakhshi, Freeman, and Higgs, 2012).

At EU level, the report "The Economy of Culture in Europe" (KEA, 2006) differentiates three circular groups of activities. The first one comprises what is called "core arts fields" (visual arts, performing arts and heritage) and the "cultural industries" (media, publishing and music). The second group is where culture acts essentially as an input into the production of non-cultural goods and contains the "creative industries and activities" (design, advertising and architecture). It is still considered a third circle to portray the economic sectors that are "related" to the activities of the previous circles, such as ICT or tourism.

Later, the "Green Paper - Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries" in the context of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions defines those industries as follows:

> "Cultural industries" are those industries producing and distributing goods or services which at the time they are developed are considered to have a specific attribute, use or purpose which embodies or conveys cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have. (…)
>
> "Creative industries" are those industries which use culture as an input and have a cultural dimension, although their outputs are mainly functional. They include architecture and design, which integrate creative elements into wider processes, as well as subsectors such as graphic design, fashion design or advertising (idem).

Recently, the European Commission published a study to map the different creative value chains of cultural and creative sectors, from creation to consumption, in the digital age (particularly for visual arts, performing arts, cultural heritage, artistic crafts, book publishing, music, film, TV, broadcasting and multimedia) (imec-SMIT-VUB et al., 2017).

By the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the benefits of these activities were widely disseminated and explored in numerous policy-oriented studies and used to formulate cultural and economic policies. Both expressions are used, sometimes together as

"cultural and creative industries" according the context and the objectives. As Garnham observed they are used as a slogan for "a range of supporting theoretical and political positions" (Garnham, 2005: 15). And, despite the contradictions and weaknesses, they mobilise a wide range of interests around the need to intervene politically in this field of activity (idem).

Alongside this debate centred on production and sectoral side, a vast body of the literature has been devoted to the study of the artists, cultural and creative workers that give voice and are a critical element of this new cultural economy and overall society[34].

From the romantic stereotype of the artist-genius to the idea of creative talent as a source of ideas and images that are "taken into a wider production context" (Throsby 2001: 113), there are many differences in nature and cultural work conditions with implications for development policies.

In general, in the context of public discourse, persists an idealistic notion about the artistic work, where the self-expression intention overlaps market purposes, which should be supported by government financing systems or patronage.

However, as part of the transition from traditional industrial systems - characterised by the mass production of products and services, standardised in rigid organisational frameworks, to a new productive system - marked by diversity, flexibility, innovation and knowledge, the set of cultural and creative occupations in the diverse economic sectors received increasing attention. Creators, artists and cultural workers have been then relocated from a peripheral position to the centre of social and economic revitalisation and regeneration strategies (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2005; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). As noted by Elizabeth Currid, they have transformed "warehouses and blighted neighbourhoods into bohemian enclaves that become destinations for the well-heeled, simultaneously bringing redevelopment and reinvestment" (2009: 368). By linking technical and artistic skills, their work is seen as capable of having positive effects in various sectors of economic activity, as well as promoting social inclusion and cohesion in the communities to which they belong. It is, especially, emphasise their "ability to think laterally, to communicate… to challenge traditional solutions and visions" (KEA, 2009: 26). However, many of them contest the enormous responsibilities that are assigned to them in comparison with the lack of reflection on their social condition. More, even if many noted the relative freedom and autonomy or even a "bohemian" image (Neff et al., 2005; Ross, 2008),

[34] See for example, Becker, 1982; Beckmann, 2001; Greffe, 2002; Markusen and King, 2003; Menger, 2005; Primorac, 2006; Lazzarato, 2007; Ross, 2008; Taylor and Littleton, 2008; Oakley, 2009; Davies, 2010; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010.

their work conditions and careers, in the many forms that they take are markedly challenging in result of the flexibility of the labour markets of the cultural and creative industries. They are mostly characterised by uncertainty, precariousness and irregular income, relatively inadequate social security coverage, multiple job-holding (Beck, 2003; Banks, 2007; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2010; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010, among others). Individual artists and cultural and creative professionals are increasingly pressured to act as entrepreneurs and to developed certain skills in networks and project-based work which are balanced by new job opportunities and a greater visibility of their work.

In academia, a growing body of research has been focusing on studying these workers. Going back at least to the Peter Drucker's seminal theories on "knowledgeable workers" (1989) to Jane Jacobs' writings on geographic clustering of diverse and talented in cities (1961, 1969) and the many theorists on human capital as Robert Lucas (1988) or Edward Glaeser and his colleagues (e.g. Glaeser, 2001; Glaeser et al., 2002; Glaeser and Saiz, 2004), there are various theories that began to look at the importance of attracting a highly-qualified workforce and skills instead of focusing on the role of companies and industries. The concentration of these workers can positively affect economic growth in the form of entrepreneurial and creative dynamism, high levels of innovation and expansion of technology-based sectors.

In recent years, one of the most popular occupational theories among urban planners is the Richard Florida's creative class (2002; 2003; 2005) in an alternative to the traditional measure of human capital based on education level (Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick, 2008). This author proposed that to attract and retain a "creative class" is central to the regional economic growth and prosperity (Florida, 2005, 2002; Stolarick and Florida, 2006) seeking to understand how these people make their location decisions. The "creative class" notion includes a group of professionals in innovative and artistic occupations, from "science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and/or new creative content", but also "the creative professionals in business and finance, law, healthcare and related fields" (Florida, 2002: 8).

Moreover, as noted before about the definition of cultural and creative industries, the identification of this workforce is also a complex task. Authors such as Ann Markusen (2010, 2004) emphasised that cultural and creative work involve a range of relationships, ranging from purely commercial industries to public non-profit sectors and community organisations. Thus, there is a variety of challenges when we try to understand who these workers are. For example, there is a significant proportion of volunteers in non-profit organisations as well as artistic and creative occupations that are second jobs, which are not considered. There are still non-

cultural/creative professionals who are calculated as part of cultural and creative sectors as well as a set of artistic or creative occupations that do not count because they occur outside these fields.[35]

Moreover, digitalisation has profound impacts in this sector not only in the forms of production, distribution and access to culture but also in the new ways of organisation and work besides the emergence of a new class of creators, the "users".

Hence, the displacement of the discourse around the artistic production for the analysis of the economic sectors of cultural and creative production as well as of the artists for the cultural and creative occupations, confronts an idealist and restricted notion of culture for a more broad and instrumental interpretation.

To conclude about the relationship between cultural politics and political culture and as Frederick F. Ridley claimed "to understand the cultural politics of a country, one must first understand its political culture. State policies toward the arts are shaped by wider beliefs about how government ought to be conducted and what it should try to do" (Ridley, 1987: 225 in Mulcahy, 2006). Moreover, the opposite is also valid. Cultural policies reflect broader principles of government action, but also on the power relations and social resistance of different actors and their understanding of the world.

3. Changes in development policy discourse

> "Although development has been a constant concern of government policymakers, economists and other social scientists – and has touched the lives of more people than ever before – there has been little agreement on what constitutes development, how it is best measured and how it is best achieved. One reason for this lack of agreement is that dissatisfaction with the pace and character of economic and social change has instilled a desire to redefine the aims and measures of development" (UNDP, 1990: 104).

As in the case of the concept of culture, the variety of approaches and theoretical perspectives over time makes the task of clarifying what is understood as development extremely difficult. Therefore, considering recent changes in Western societies, we sought to

[35] See, for example, UNESCO-UIS (2009): Framework for Cultural Statistics, UIS, Montreal; ESSNET-Culture (2012), "European Statistical System Network on Culture, Final report", Luxemburg.

understand how culture has been embraced in the field of development from the main political discourses and related events. Given that, as Nicolás Barbieri points out, they "are used as guides to action by defining the concepts and norms to be applied, identifying the problems to be solved, developing the policy instruments to be used and framing the national policy discussion within a given policy arena" (Barbieri, 2015: 453).

Particularly, since the end of World War II, development in its modern sense is usually identified with the economic growth model of industrialised nations of North America and Europe. In the 1970s, this Western-centric vision focus on economic development benefitting from industry and science progresses to increase productivity became object of growing criticism. The development framework has enlarged to incorporate new goals that range from reducing poverty, inequality and unemployment to human and environmental purposes, in addition to explicit recognition of the importance of political, social and cultural factors (e.g. Seers, 1979; Sen, 1988; Pieterse, 1998; Goulet, 2003; Szirmai, 2005; Capello, 2009a; 2010; Willis, 2011). Further, if the post-war period was characterised by wide economic prosperity in most advanced industrialised countries, at the end of the 1960s and, even more intensively, during the 1970s began a phase of economic stagnation and increasing social inequalities. Events such as the energy crises, the decline of the Fordism model of development and Keynesian welfare state, along with technological advances, gave rise to greater decentralization and flexible forms of production; organisation and labour processes; and a redesign of the welfare policies (e.g. Pierson, 1991; Jessop, 1992; Amin, 1994; Lipietz, 1997; Rodríguez-Pose, 1998; Burrows and Loader, 2003)[36].

Concepts like post-Fordism, post-industrial society, knowledge economy, cognitive capitalism, or the cognitive-cultural economy were used in a tentative to designate this period. But independently of the term choose to describe it, it was a time particularly challenging for the territories. Namely, the exposition of local economies to global forces, the rising of unemployment in regions suffering from the collapse of manufacturing or traditional industries, and rescaling state processes. In response, during the 1980s, new ideas and forms of intervention have emerged supported by a set of innovative initiatives and theoretical contributions from authors as John Friedmann and Clyde Weaver (1978), Walter B. Stöhr and D. R. Fraser Taylor (1981), Michael Piore and Charles Sabel (1984), the Research Group GREMI (Aydalot, 1986), or Allen J. Scott and Michael Storper (e.g. Scott, 1988; Scott and Storper, 1986).

[36] We will develop these transformations latter at urban level.

In general, these perspectives focused on the local in relation to global and followed a territorial orientation, where socio-spatial relations are organised, be it a region, a city or neighbourhood. As Pedro Costa explained "in the context of the globalisation process, in which we live, it is widely recognised that the competitiveness of each space relies heavily on its territoriality" which implies the capacity of these territories to "offer a specific character, to value their own assets in an economic and social reality that works globally" (Costa 2002a: 102).

In the definition of territories' competitive advantages, the fundamental role played by local supply-side factors, beyond the traditional production factors, to explain positive local and regional development paths (e.g., capital, labour and infrastructures) was progressively stressed. The mobilisation of local attributes and assets – especially those immaterial and relational nature – hardly reproduced in other places and with great attractiveness potential gained prominence, in conjunction with the necessity to improve new mechanisms of governance and measures – of economic but also sociocultural nature – to stimulate the interaction and cross-fertilization between actors and sectors. In turn, it was stressed the importance of attracting externally capital and/or skilled labour to the localities, or even the access to external knowledge and innovation to guarantee the sustainability of these processes (about this theme, see for example, the analyses of Coffey and Polèse, 1984; Camagni, 1991, 2008; Nijkamp and Poot, 1998; OECD, 2001a, 2010a; Pike et al., 2006; Capello, 2009b, 2011; Rowe, 2009; Monteiro et al., 2011).

Local development theories confirmed new understandings around the concept of space, equivalent to the notion of territory – understood as a diversified and relational category –, where economic and social relations are shaped. As explained by Roberta Capello the territory is a system: 1) of localised technological externalities; 2) of local governance around a community of private actors and local institutions; and 3) founded on economic and social relations – the relational or social capital that exists in that place (Capello, 2009a).

Thus, as an alternative to a functionalist perspective, the territory became an active subject of development, understood not only as a base in which economic forces operate and are located but also a source of distinct social, political, environmental and cultural resources.

In the search for a new model of regional development, and in consequence of the success associated with some localised clusters of economic activity, diverse academic "territorialised" approaches have arisen. Under the generic name of "Territorial Innovation Models", it has emerged a variety of reflections trying to explain the local innovation capability and competitiveness of firms and region (Moulaert and Sekia, 2003; Asheim et al., 2006; Lagendijk,

2006; Moulaert et al., 2007; Crevoisier, 2014). For example, the analysis on "industrial districts", initiated with the seminal papers of Giacomo Becattini (1975, 1990)[37] and followed by the works of authors such as Bagnasco (1977), and Brusco (1980) underlined the innovative capacity of small scale enterprises in the same or related industrial sector geographically located.

In the same vein, the studies developed by the GREMI - Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs, drew up the concept "milieu innovateur" as a socio-territorial space that supports collective learning dynamics (Aydalot, 1986; Maillat and Perrin, 1992; Maillat et al., 1993; Ratti et al., 1997; Crevoisier and Camagni, 2000; Camagni et al., 2004).

Also essential are the contributions around the concept of "cluster" popularised by Michael Porter stimulated the debate about the importance for innovation process localised in a geographic area and among a "group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complementarities" (Porter, 1998, 1999, and 2000: 245).

Others scholars opted by the concept of "local and regional innovation systems" to define which firms and other organisations engaged in interactive and innovation-based learning economies existing on the local/regional "local and regional innovation systems" to define which firms and other organisations engaged in interactive and innovation-based learning economies existing on the local/regional (Asheim and Isaksen, 1997, Asheim and Gertler, 2005; Cooke, 1998, 2001), or the notion of "learning region", that reinforces the role of knowledge and collective learning as specific resources for regional innovation.

In these theory-led development models and policy concepts, the performance of the territory dependent not only on the creation of an adequate physical infrastructure and labour market policies but also relied on localised innovation, local specific resources, regional actors' interaction and collective tacit knowledge capacity. Some researchers argued for the necessity to consider the specific role of extra-regional networks and institutions such as generation mechanisms and knowledge circulation (Doloreux, 2004; Hommen and Doloreux, 2004; Cumbers et al., 2003; Mackinnon et al., 2002; Bunnel and Strain, 2001).

Despite the limits appointed to these models, they provided "a narrative on the intangible dimension of local economic development and the processes of knowledge circulation and

[37] The studies of Becattini retaken the socioeconomic thinking of the English economist Alfred Marshall (1842-1924).

learning" (Doloreux and Parto, 2004: 7). They can be seen as a theoretical basis for exploration of particular forms of sub-national intervention.

Some studies followed a more cognitive perspective making use of the concept of "capital" enriching the research and understanding of the processes of change and development. For instance, some studies focus on the "human capital" (e.g. Becker, 1964; Lucas, 1988; Romer, 1989) and its role in development processes, whereby the presence of educated people and skilled workers can generate formal and informal knowledge exchange and positive externalities. In a globalised world marked by the expansion of the knowledge sectors, the human capital was progressively and in a broad sense regarded as crucial to the economic growth of cities, regions and countries. Others opted by using the "social capital" notion, in a variety of ways, but predominantly to emphasise the social ties or relations networks as well as the shared values and rules in socio-economic performance to construct a learning environment that fosters human capital (e.g., Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993; Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2001). In the same vein, some scholars used social and institutional embeddedness[38] to explain the differences in the dynamics of local economies. They tried to analyse how firms and workers, inserted in formal and informal relations shaped the actors' action and the creation of an appropriate environment to drive development (Rodríguez-Pose and Storper, 2006).

On the other hand, the OECD (2001) embraced the concept of "territorial capital", subsequently adopted in European policies within the European Territorial Agenda (EC 2006), to describe the unique combination of local assets and conditions, from natural resources to physical assets and socio-cultural attributes to be activated in local development strategies. More, it is also considered that those intangible factors of the territories often stated as "something in the air" and the "environment" which is a blend of "institutions, rules, practices, producers, researchers and policymakers that make a certain creativity and innovation possible" (ibid.). Thus, the "territorial capital" may be seen as the set of localised assets – natural, human, artificial, organisational, relational and cognitive – that constitute the competitive potential of a given territory (Camagni, 2009).

[38] Attributed originally to Richard Thurnwald, this was taken by Karl Polanyi and become central in the new economic sociology by authors such as Mark Granovetter (1985), or later by Sharon Zukin and Paul DiMaggio (1990).

This focus on local development approaches is coherent with the reduction of central governments investment and the processes of decentralisation[39] pursued by many developing countries as part of the structural adjustments in order "to restore markets, create or strengthen democracy, and promote good governance" (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007: 4). The devolution of many responsibilities to lower administrative levels was complemented by the emergence of new governance arrangements with the involvement of actors and institutions, often absent of public affairs, and justified by the improvement of effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery and to provide the flexibility to ensure adequate and innovative responses to local needs and demands[40]. These measures also reshape the power relations among governments, local leaders, civil society and all the others implicated in the decision-making process. In this sense, the role of factors such as culture, leadership, trust, participation became more and more an object of analysis.

Local development initiatives are very diverse in nature and depend largely on the development stage, locality-specific problems and resources. From this point of view, it was signalled the "one size fits all" character of central government development programmes based mostly on supply-side and State-aid investments for the provision of infrastructure which became insufficient to change local and regional development paths. In alternative, bottom-up development policies, or more recently "place-based approaches" became increasingly discussed. They are built on the embedded local knowledge, the specific economic and socio-institutional conditions, and through the involvement of local actors (Barca et al., 2012; Pike et al., 2006). Policy investments depend on the policy goals defined (e.g., the rise of employment, competitiveness or technological capability levels), but commonly they include the implementation of tailor-made support measures to foster the development of firms, particularly small and micro businesses and entrepreneurship through subsidies and tax credits, start-up and incubation facilities and technical advice, and other types of advantages. Another sort of measures implemented locally to stimulate the innovation process comprised educational, training and research investments. Also, it was commonly encouraged the formation of cooperative networks between individuals, sectors and collective actors and new forms of

[39] Decentralisation may take various forms. Robertson Work for UNDP distinguished four main types: devolution, delegation, deconcentration and divestment (1999).

[40] A huge amount of literature talks about this major shift in territorial governance with important repercussions to development initiatives at different scales (see, for example, Healey, 1997; Epson Tango reports; Lidström, 2007; OECD, 2001).

governance such as partnerships among public and private actors, international agencies, or non-governmental organisations. Further, the creation of an attractive socio-cultural environment to live, produce and visit was also another aspect experimented on local development policy.

Briefly, after a phase where external factors were considered the main development engine, it follows a period in which the endogenous perspectives gained predominance in regional political literature. Today, it is widely recognised the need to link these two perspectives of territorial development "based on the idea of the combination of endogenous and exogenous factors in promoting competitiveness, thereby articulating the local and global dimensions of development (Costa, 2002: 103).

The balance between these two categories is also found in the concept of place-based development. Named the "new paradigm of regional policy" by OECD (2009) and disseminated in its reports, this approach was taken by Fabrizio Barca for the EU in the "An Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy" (2009). These development policies - founded on efficiency and equity rationales, locally design, along with external interventions and multi-level governance; aims to encourage the supply of integrated goods and production services tailored to contexts as well as to produce institutional changes (Barca, 2009).

Finally, these ideas influenced the political debate about the concept of "smart specialisation" related to the idea of a process of "entrepreneurial discovery" of distinctive and original areas of specialisation at the regional level (Foray, 2009, 2014; Foray et al., 2012; McCann and Ortega-Argilés, 2015). This rationale become central in the discussion of smart growth policies in the reformed European Union cohesion policy and the current funding cycle (2014-2020) seeking to developed tailored policies and strategies to promote innovation capacity based on each region's specificities and established innovation patterns (e.g. EC, 2010b, 2014; Foray et al., 2012).

To recapitulate, the emergence of new approaches in development discourse, arise from the discussion on ongoing changes on the macro level which has provoked several impacts on the local level and influencing the governments' responses. Although most of the ideas and practices in development give primacy to the economic dimension and quantitative and exogenous factors. In recent years, alternative perspectives and paradigms have emerged. The role of agglomeration and proximity on the location of the agents and on logics of interaction established between them, the specificities of local attributes and assets, besides non-economic and intangible factors to create a diverse and sustainable development of cities, regions and countries have gained strong notoriety in development studies.

The approaches summarised above influenced politics and practices in all kinds of regions and localities, however, it is at the urban level that these changes get more relevance in result of the processes that we will address in the next section.

4. Setting culture in development framework

It was also in this changing framework that a "cultural turn" is signed in most social sciences, based on the assumption that "the cultural" is a central constituent of social existence and, therefore, it constitutes an essential object of social analysis. In the development field, and despite that culture has always been a central dimension of it, only recently has been explicitly recognised as either cause or explanatory variable to the success or failure of development interventions[41].

One reason that explains the greater visibility of culture in this field of action has to do precisely with the criticisms made to the aforementioned development models such as the predominance of Western European and North American visions; and the primacy of economic growth theories and performance indicators, rather than in political, social and cultural processes (Radcliffe, 2006; Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006). Regarding structurally deterministic positions of economic change, different theoretical approaches were proposed that include socio-cultural, relational and contextual aspects as well as new research methods and reflexive strategies in development analysis. A range of studies contributed to this change of focus, namely, the studies developed in poststructuralist, postcolonial, postmodernism and gender theories.

Furthermore, it became irrefutable how culture influences the processes of development in its multiple dimensions: from the economic, social equity, environmental quality, civic participation, identity expression and, consequently, to the promotion of quality of life and well-being at various scales (Costa, 2002b).

Some authors as Jan Nederveen Pieterse observed that the growing centrality of culture in social sciences is associated with the transfer from structural and macro approaches to micro and actor-oriented approaches (Pieterse, 2009). This emphasises the individual agency, the

[41] About the "cultural turn" in development field, see for example, Pieterse, 1995, 2009; Tucker, 1997; Harrison and Huntington, 2000; Rao and Walton, 2004; Bezanson and Sagasti, 2005; Preston, 2005; Radcliffe, 2006; Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006; Ilmonen, 2009; Flew, 2009.

nature and meaning of actors' interactions on a small scale instead of centred on broad and regular patterns of social structure - class, parties, education, economy, etc.

However, the increasing visibility of culture in development discourses cannot be disconnected from major contemporary economic, socio-cultural and related political transformations. Among them, we highlight the dynamics of globalisation, principally, its cultural dimension which became clearly perceptible in the intensification of cultural flows, the interdependence between global forces and local forms, as well as the development of new forms and channels of cultural expression, mediation, dissemination and consumption, which go beyond the spatial and time constraints (Robertson, 1992; Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 2003, 2008; Radcliffe, 2006; Singh, 2010; Grodach and Silver, 2012).

Another related reason that is pointed out is the interrelationship between the cultural and the economic field, and the emergence of a so-called "cultural economy" (Scott, 1997; 2000; Pratt, 2007; Amin and Thrift, 2004; 2009). This turned our attention to the commodification of culture and the part of economics that deals with the production of cultural goods and services, but also to the way that culture configures the processes of economic practices. (Du Gay and Pryke, 2002; 2009, 2007; Warde, 2002). In development policies, the increased connectivity and competitiveness between locations, has made culture win a communicational value and become a source of differentiation and competitive advantage in global markets (Costa, 2002b; Cooke and Lazzeretti, 2008).

Among the cultural theories of globalisation that become manifestly acute with the shift in emphasis of socio-economic occurrences for cultural phenomena, and that have relevance to the study of development policies, we schematically underline the following positions. Firstly, the homogenisation thesis that advocates a convergence towards a global culture and a homogenisation of local cultures, as a result of the dissemination of standardised cultural patterns (Giddens, 1990; Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1999, 2008; Lull, 2000). Secondly, and in contrast, the theoretical approaches that note that local cultures have gained greater visibility in the global settings, allowing them to affirm their differences and distinct identities, so give them greater expression and power. There is also a greater perception of the "otherness" and the desire for interaction with diverse cultural experiences. Based on this view, some sustain that globalisation actually promotes cultural heterogeneity.

In addition, some authors argue that the cultural elements circulating in global flows are always apprehended and reinterpreted locally, through assimilation and rejection processes, constituting what the sociologist Roland Robertson (1992) classifies as "glocalisation" – – the intertwining of local and global contexts and scales which originated complex new innovative

cultural forms and multiple identities (see also Robertson, 1992; Friedman, 1994; Swyngedouw, 1997, 2004; García Canclini, 2005). On the other hand, the "space of flows" (Castells, 1999; 2004) revises the nature of time and space considerations. Time is simultaneously compressed and non-linear, and the space of places, a geographical and delimited category in which historically the human experience is rooted, is covered by flows. In them are manifested new processes of production, experience, representation, power relations and culture.

In view of the globalisation processes, it has intensified the debate concerning the role of state and the traditional hierarchical model of government. Besides, it has emerged reflections around the governance concept and their multiple scales and spaces of action[42] linked to the impact of supranational institutions, public administrative reforms, new public management ideas (Treib et al., 2005; Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999; Kohler-Koch and Rittberger, 2006; Haughton et al., 2010, among many others). This approach stressed the need to develop interactivity and cooperation, formally and informally, between the State and private actors and other non-governmental agents in order to generate consensus and common strategies of action (Kooiman, 1993, 2003; Rhodes, 1996; 1997; Healey, 1997, etc.). Thus, among the new governance arrangements present in the administrative reform of the various European countries, it has been fostered the establishment of public-private partnerships, the organisation of networks and multilevel policy coordination; and the institution of informal interaction in decision-making and implementation processes. Governance ideas are also associated with decentralisation practises, defined as the transfer of power, responsibility, and resources from the centre to lower levels of administration (Rondinelli et al., 1983; Work, 1999; OECD, 2003; Schneider, 2003; Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007; Dubois and Fattore, 2009; CEMR, 2013).

By taking the concept of governance as an analytical concept to describe political processes, culture is the context and a resource managed by local governments and mobilised in the development process. It is also an indispensable tool for political negotiation and steering, foster trust among stakeholders, enhancing participation, establishing accountability and legitimacy, and empowering communities and civil society actors to influence governance processes and outcomes. Participation as a cultural strategy should also be understood as the possibility of questioning the nature and the conditions of these processes happen.

[42] The term "governance" is used in a variety of ways and has a variety of meanings (see for example Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998; Pierre, 2000; Kooiman, 2003; Treib et al., 2005).

According to with Nancy Duxbury (2014) three main interrelated dimensions should be discussed within the framework of sustainable development:

1. the necessity to develop sustainability governance processes and structures that are necessarily culturally sensitive.

2. the inclusion of a cultural framework or lens in all public policies and plans.

3. the improvement of a "sustainability approach" to cultural policy, planning and governance (Duxbury, 2014).

Once again, in governance culture for development, the state and its agencies are no longer the only protagonists, artists and civil society' groups involved in cultural field are called to intervene (Cliche, 2001). As an alternative to a more vertical and "bureaucratic" policy style, cultural governance asks for flexible and opens forms through networks, forums, and other forms of consultation and participation of various cultural stakeholders and users. Hence, the participatory culture agenda has gained special attention in urban politics, implementing measures that can increase the involvement of users in public culture and institutions but also in policy-making (Sørensen et al., 2016; Stevenson, 2016; Virolainen, 2016).

Besides, the growing awareness of culture has arrived at planning discourses and practices. Planning[43] can be described as the set of requirements and measures of territorial governance that aim to regulate the distribution of people and activities, but also to define the objectives and strategies for the socio-economic development of territories (Othengrafen, 2012; UN ECE, 2008). The specificities of each cultural framework, that is, the history, attitudes and values, as well as political and legal tradition, i.e., its "planning culture", are arguably fundamental to understand and guide planning practices and to set up development objectives and strategies in different contexts and scales (e.g., Healey, 1997; Albrechts et al., 2003; Nadin and Stead, 2008; Young, 2008; Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009).

In addition, many authors suggested an evolution in planning policies: a change in its traditional regulatory role to include a more strategic approach (see, for example, Albrechts, 2004, 2006; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2009; Ferrão, 2011; Todes, 2011; Othengrafen and Reimer, 2013). Despite the persistence of a vision focused mainly on land use management,

[43] Planning is understood and practised differently from country to country, in agreement with historical traditions and countries' contextual singularities, and using different terms. For instance: in English is used the term "spatial planning"; in German "raumplanung"; in French "aménagement du territoire"; in Portuguese "ordenamento do território"; in Dutch "Ruimtelijke Ordening"; and so on. However, these are generally recognised as common points in the evolution of planning thinking at European level.

concerned with the regulation and configuration of physical infrastructures and their activities, through "hard" policy instruments and derived from hierarchical structures, the new dynamics and scales of governance and the inclusion of non-economic considerations require a more integrated perspective. As Patsy Healey showed, planning is progressively understood as a socio-spatial process marked by the relations between the actors involved (or excluded) in several networks, conflicts of power and interest, as well as about the discursive strategies built on multiple references and meanings, that are influenced by places experiences and representations mobilised in governance processes (Healey, 2007), in other words, shaped by culture.

The strategic and integral use of cultural resources emerged in the evolution of cultural planning approaches mainly in the framework of urban regeneration strategies of post-industrial cities[44]. Local authorities, informed by consultants and theorists like Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini[45], adopted cultural planning strategies interconnected with physical and town planning to achieve key development objectives in areas such as community development, place branding and marketing or industrial expansion (Ghilardi, 2001). It can also encompass the use of planning regulations to encourage investments that generate cultural development and vitality and, in turn, could trigger spill-over effects in other areas.

New approaches to governance and planning also benefit from contemporary development thinking that exams structure-agency relation. Development is defined not only in economic relations but also as regarding people's freedoms and capacities to improve their social and economic situation (Sen, 1999). It recognises the role of human agency in social change to overcome the limitations of objective material constraints. Moreover, its capacity to think creatively about the world and actively modify the course of events (World Bank, 2006). The agency, as the "transformative capacity", involves the exercise of power in social interactions and depends on the ability of agents to mobilise resources and to influence others to achieve

[44] Numerous studies tried to define what constitutes cultural planning, and several toolkits were produced to support urban policy making (e.g. Bianchini, 1999; Evans, 2001; Ghilardi, 2001; Gibson, 2004; Stevenson, 2004; Gray, 2006; Mercer, 2006; Evans and Foord, 2008; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; Othengrafen and Reimer, 2013). The next chapter will discuss further the outline of cultural planning in urban context.

[45] Charles Landry founded the think-tank COMEDIA whose research affected the development of cultural studies and urban planning. Many individuals like Phil Wood, Jonathan Hyams, Fred Brookes, Ken Worpole, Dave Morley, Franco Bianchini, Peter Hall, Geoff Mulgan, Liz Greenhalgh, John Montgomery, Francois Matarasso, and many others contributed to a vast number of planning projects and research across the globe.

certain purposes (Giddens, 1984). Likewise, a new culture of planning through participatory and network governance mechanisms is claimed, pushing "decision makers, planners, institutions, and citizens out of their comfort zones and compels them to confront their key beliefs, to challenge conventional wisdom, and to examine the prospects of 'breaking out of the box'" (Albrechts, 2010: 1115).

In development processes, the analysis of structure-agency equation is often related to the understanding of the connection between structural conditions (the socioeconomic and cultural framework) and the actors' actions involved in the formulation and implementation of policies (e.g. Healey and Barrett, 1990; Healey, 1991; Adams, 1994). It includes the analysis of the way that actors, individuals or groups carry out their strategies, interests and actions in development processes. There is also an interest in the study of power relations and the role of dominant actors, such as political leaders, "agents of change", local elites, etc., namely, their influence to set local policy agendas and to coordinate their implementation, and then, to modify the course of events.

Looking at the central role of culture in development, one of the recurrent themes is related to the issues of identity and cultural diversity. Thus, we look to "culture, as a source of identity" (UNESCO, 1997) and this is very much related to the articulation of the identification and differentiation processes. Among other things, we could say that identity is, simultaneously, what defines us as members of a group or community and, also enable each one to affirm as unique and singular individuals.

In this sense, cultural identity reflects the personal identification with a set of frameworks and meanings associated with one or multiple collective identities. Cultural identity is a social construction or a set of symbolic representations built, and continuously rebuilt, by the various social actors.

The question of identity can be related to places beyond the means of defining the self and the other. People's identity of, and with, place comprises the promotion of a subjective expression of a sense of belonging and, on the other hand, the perception of the others regarding a place with distinctive qualities. Edward Relph identifies at least three components of people's involvement with places: the physical configuration, activities, situations, and events, as well as the meanings, created through people's experiences and their intentions regarding that location (Relph, 1976: 47). Identity issues are explored in development processes through the uniqueness of local cultures and cultural identity of groups and places, as a resource and a basis for development. This advocate the preservation and maintenance of cultural identities and specificities in the face of homogenising forces, celebrating or reinventing the diversity of

cultural traditions and lifestyles or strengthening the identification of communities and places of culture. Furthermore, identity concerns are used as an argument for mobilisation and participation of local communities and acceptance of cultural differences. In 2001, in the "Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity", UNESCO stated that cultural diversity is more than just the right but also a prerequisite for policies to promote dialogue among peoples (UNESCO, 2001). Finally, the identity of places is mobilised in governance processes, making use of images, representations and narratives, often constructed or imagined by elites and legitimated in practices and social relations.

To summarise, looking at the different uses of culture in development discourse and policies, we underlined two main ideas. First, culture is often understood as a *means* and an *end* of development (e.g. Throsby, 2001; Sen, 2004; Streeten, 2006; Soini, et al., 2012). This approach in which culture is an instrument for development purposes presents it, respectively, as a *resource* – in the sequence of modernisation theories; or as a *commodity* with market value - based on neoliberal theories use culture for development goals (Yúdice, 2003).

The second point of view, and which has been largely discussed in human development approaches, conceives culture as *a development end in itself,* a development priority in its own right that gives people the liberty to choose (e.g. Hawkes, 2001; UNDP, 2004; Maraña, 2010; IFACCA et al., 2013), i.e. "the process expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Sen, 1999: 3).

From the point of view of sustainable development theorists, culture is the foundation of sustainable development, but also its transformative capacity for the reason that development implies the transformation of norms, values and behaviours (Soini and Birkeland, 2014). In this sense, local governments in many countries have sought to implement a culture of sustainability in urban development planning firmly rooted in local identity and history as well as in the aspirations and needs of the local community while at the same time seeking to ensure principles of equity, inclusiveness and diversity. Thus, cultural sustainability can be seen as "a social process created through narratives that connect the past with the future, and the local with the global (Birkeland, 2015: 165).

A strategy for sustainable development based on culture has in the awareness and motivation of local actors an essential accelerator for a "change from the inside out" (O'Brien, 2013), and contributes to new ways of thinking and acting for the durable use of common resources.

5. Culture in international development agenda

Much of this conceptual discussion around development and culture has taken place within international organisations, particularly the United Nations. In the mentioned UNESCO's World Conference on Cultural Policies (1982) was established the idea of development as a "complex, global and multidimensional process". Beyond economic growth, this definition includes "all of the life's dimensions and all of the energies of the community, whose members are called to contribute towards and share in the benefits". Hence, the achievement of a "balanced development" should integrate cultural factors into its strategies (UNESCO, 1982b).

Subsequently, UNESCO proclaimed the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997) with the aim of promoting the acknowledgement of the cultural dimension in development processes and "stimulate creative aptitudes and cultural life in general"[46]. The edition of the World Commission on Culture and Development "Our Creative Diversity" report (1995b) and subsequent UNESCO World Reports motivated international reflection about cultural differences between people and the demands of globalisation on cultural diversity providing knowledge for public policies.

Further, the annual reports of UNDP, the United Nations Development Programme initiated in 1990, were a decisive contribution to the reflection on the human dimension of development which has implicit a cultural logic. They stressed the role of people's freedom and capabilities to improve their condition of living (Anand and Sen, 2000). Together became published the Human Development Index in an attempt to change the way of measuring progress beyond mere indicators of income levels and trends in GDP growth and highlighting the importance of human wellbeing.

An important milestone in this discussion was the introduction of the sustainable development concept. Although this theoretical framework has begun to be developed earlier, it was with the publication of the Brundtland Commission report "Our Common Future" (1987), that the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) introduced the idea of sustainability as a desirable goal of development. In it, development should "meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987), embracing the principles of social equity and ecology responsibility in addition to economic matters. In this early approach, cultural considerations are mainly

[46] World Decade for Cultural Development, 1988-1997. Plan of Action. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000852/085291eb.pdf

mentioned as a part of social dimension (Soini and Birkeland, 2014; Joost Dessein et al., 2015). As a result, many researchers, leaders and professionals claimed in many studies and forums, the consideration of culture as a "fourth pillar" in the model of sustainable development, considering that it is well recognised from the outset that culture influences the conception and practices of development (Hawkes, 2001; Nurse, 2006; UCLG, 2011).

Other events contributed substantially to the promotion of culture in the framework of sustainable development policy. For example, the UNESCO published the book "The Cultural Dimension of Development. Towards a Practical Approach", in which is recognised the distinctive and integral role of culture detached from the social domain (UNESCO, 1995). Later, in 2000, the World Bank co-sponsor with UNESCO the influential intergovernmental conferences "Understanding Culture in Sustainable Development: Investing in Cultural and Natural Endowments" and "Culture Counts: Financing, Resources and the Economics of Culture in Sustainable Development".

Along the years, these events had important repercussions of engaged culture in development discussion (see some of the main landmarks that shaped the international agenda since 2000s in Table 1).

YEAR	AGENCY	EVENT OR PUBLICATION
2003	UNESCO	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage – ratified by +150 countries
2004	UCLG	Agenda 21 for Culture
2005	UNESCO	Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions - ratified by +130 countries
2007	UN	UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
2007	Fribourg Group	Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Right
2009	UN Human Rights Council	Established a post of Independent Expert in the field of cultural rights for a 3-year period (extended)
2010	UN General Assembly	Resolution re: connection between culture and development"
2010	UCLG	Policy statement on "Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development"
2011	UN General Assembly	Resolution 2 re: connection between culture and development"
2011	UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape
2012	UN Conference on Sustainable Development, endorsed by UN General Assembly/High-level	Outcome Document of the UN Conference on Sustainable Development

2013	UNESCO International Congress 'Culture: Key to Sustainable Development'	Final declaration "Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies - Hangzhou Declaration
2013	UNCTAD, UNDP and UNESCO	Creative Economy Report 3: Special Edition – Widening Local Development Pathways
2013	IFACCA, IFCCD, Agenda 21 for Culture and Culture Action Europe	Culture as a Goal in the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Launched of the #culture2015goal campaign
2013	UN General Assembly	Resolution on Culture and Sustainable Development A/RES/68/223
2014	UN General Assembly	Thematic Debate on 'Culture and Sustainable Development in the Post-2015 Development Agenda' (NYC); Panel Discussion 'The power of culture for poverty eradication and sustainable development'
2014	3rd UNESCO World Forum on Culture and the Cultural Industries: 'Culture, Creativity and Sustainable Development'	Forum concluded with the adoption of the "Florence Declaration" - recommendations on maximising the role of culture to achieve sustainable development and effective ways of integrating culture in the Post-2015 Development Agenda.
2015	UCLG	Culture 21 Actions: Commitments on the role of culture in sustainable cities - first UCLG Culture Summit (Bilbao)
2015	UNESCO, UNFPA and UNDP	Post-2015 Dialogues on Culture and Development
2016	UNESCO	Culture: Urban Future - Global report on culture for sustainable urban development

Table 1.1 International landmarks in culture and development agenda discussion. Adapted from Joost Dessein et al. (2015: 15)

Despite all that has been said, it seems surprising why the culture was not part of critical international statements and summits, such as the Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2000) set by world leaders during the UN Millennium Summit. However, in the process of revision of these Goals, the UN published the resolutions N. 65/166 (2010) and N. 66/208 (2011) on "Culture and Development" that recognised the role of culture as an important factor of social inclusion and poverty eradication. They make a special reference to the inclusion of culture in the post-2015 UN development agenda.

The need of integration culture in this agenda is corroborated by several actors in events such as the Rio+20 Conference (2012) and the "International Congress Culture: key to sustainable development" held in Hangzhou, China (2013). The UN agencies and other organisations requested a more explicit inclusion of culture, whereas one aspect of sustainability or even as a pillar in the development model (Hawkes, 2001; Nurse, 2006).

Since then, there have been other attempts. For example, in 2014, the "UNESCO World Forum on Culture and Cultural Industries" produce the "Florence Declaration: Culture,

Creativity and Sustainable Development. Research Innovation, Opportunities" (UNESCO, 2014). Later, at UN at the Habitat-III Conference in Quito, Ecuador it was adopted the "New Urban Agenda. At the same event, a Global Report on culture for a sustainable urban development called "Culture: Urban Future" (UNESCO, 2016) was launched to provide a policy framework to support governments in the implementation of the "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Urban Development" and the "New Urban Agenda".

One of the international organisations more active in the promotion culture in sustainable cities is the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). In 2004, they adopted the "Agenda 21 for culture" establishing the principles and commitments by cities and local governments for cultural development (Committee on Culture - UCLG, 2004). Some years after, they approved a policy document "Culture: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development" (Committee on Culture - UCLG, 2011). The "Agenda 21 for culture", in partnership with different international organisations, launched in 2013 the campaign "#culture2015goal" to include culture in the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals. A new updated version of the "Agenda" was available in 2015 on the first UCLG Culture Summit called "Culture 21 Actions: Commitments on the role of culture in sustainable cities" (UCLG, 2015).

At European Union level, culture and development relationship is largely linked to the above examination of the evolution of culture meaning and cultural policy in EU in the post-Maastricht period. This debate was primarily promoted in the framework of Cohesion Policy through initiatives such as "Cohesion Policy and Culture: A Contribution to Employment" (CEC, 1996)[47], or the so-called "Lisbon Agenda"[48], that aimed to foster a competitive and knowledge-driven strategy centred on the creation of employment and the promotion of social cohesion. The investment in culture-based development was seen as a way to contribute to convergence, regional competitiveness and employment objectives. From the analysis of the first two programming cycles, 2000-2006 and 2007-2013, the projects funded by the EU Structural Funds varied mostly from tourism development to the cultural and creative production (CSES, 2010), reflecting a change in the development priorities. It became recognised the importance of cultural and creative industries in regional and local development strategies through the:

[47] COM (96) 512 final, 20. 11. 1996.

[48] "The Lisbon European Council – An agenda of economic and social renewal for Europe". Contribution of the European Commission to the special European Council in Lisbon on 23-24 March 2000.

> promotion of cultural heritage for business use; development of cultural infrastructure and services to support sustainable tourism; clustering of local businesses and partnerships between CCIs and industry, research, education and other sectors; setting up of innovation labs; development of cross-border integrated strategies to manage natural and cultural resources and revitalise local economies; sustainable urban development (EC, 2010a).

The present 2014-2020 programming period, complemented by programmes such as the Creative Europe Framework Programme, the Programme for the Competitiveness of Enterprise and SME (COSME), the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation (Horizon 2020), or Erasmus+ Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport, aiming to ensure the implementing the Europe 2020 development goals of sustainable, smart and inclusive growth. Within this agenda, there is special emphasis on the promotion of cultural heritage and the support of cultural and creative sector as well as cultural and creative skills to improve jobs, growth and investment.[49]

As demonstrated concisely here, culture became prominent in political discourses especially under the action of international organisations agenda. More, culture - in all its diversity - is acclaimed as "a prerequisite for peace, a source of intellectual, emotional and spiritual well-being and as a resource for socio-economic development and environmental sustainability" (UNESCO, 2010). But, after decades of development thinking, there are still considerable difficulties in translating all merits of culture to policy makers, beyond the expectations placed on the creative economy (De Beukelaer, 2014). These questions have been mainly posed in the context of urban development and in the set of requirements and measures that constitute planning practices that we will try to develop in next section.

[49] For more information consult http://www.cal-xl.nl/media/uploads/files/structuralfundsstudy.pdf; https://www.welcomeurope.com/european-grants-2014-2020-programming-period.html; http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/culture/

CHAPTER II - CITIES IN CHANGING TIMES: BETWEEN LOCAL AND GLOBAL

> The city has long been complex but incomplete, and in that mix of complexity and incompleteness lies the possibility of those without power to make a history, to make a culture, to make an economy (Saskia Sassen at *Future of Places III Conference*, 30th June 2015, Stockholm, Sweden)[50].

1. The urban agenda in multi-scalar politics and planning practices

In the last decades, the city emerged as a critical issue for the analysis of the dynamics and transformations that are occurring in the contemporary world. As stated by Manuel Castells the "urban problems" were becoming "an essential element in the policies of governments, in the concerns of the mass media and, consequently, in the everyday life of a large section of the population" (Castells, 1977: 1). More recently, John Wilmoth, director of UN DESA's Population Division underlines the importance of the urban agenda for the challenges of 21st century development, and that it falls on "success or failure in building sustainable cities" (UN DESA, 2014)[51].

The importance of the urban agenda arises primarily from the empirical evidence of the expansion of urban areas and the demographic growth of their populations and, of course, the associated economic, political and social implications. However, the urban phenomenon is marked by substantial differences in terms of scale, speed and spatial distribution.

According to the 2014 revision of the World Urbanisation Prospects, 54 per cent of the world's population lives in urban areas (UN DESA, 2014). Its distribution and size is quite variable between countries. The highest levels of urbanisation are in North America (81.5% of urban dwellers), Latin America and the Caribbean (79.5%) and Europe (73.4%), but most urban growth is occurring in Africa and Asia. More, about a half of the world's urban inhabitants reside in relatively small settlements of less than 500,000 inhabitants, while only about one in

[50] https://www.pps.org/article/report-final-future-places-meeting-stockholm

[51] For the purpose of this study, the term urbanisation follows the formal definition of the United Nations and designates the proportion of the total population living in urban. In this way, the urbanisation process refers to an increase in the level of urbanisation, which in turn is indicated by the percentage of a population living in urban areas, and the rate of urbanisation represents to the growth rate in the level of urbanisation.

eight live in 28 mega-cities, most of them in global South[52] (UN DESA, 2014) (see Figure 1.2)[53].

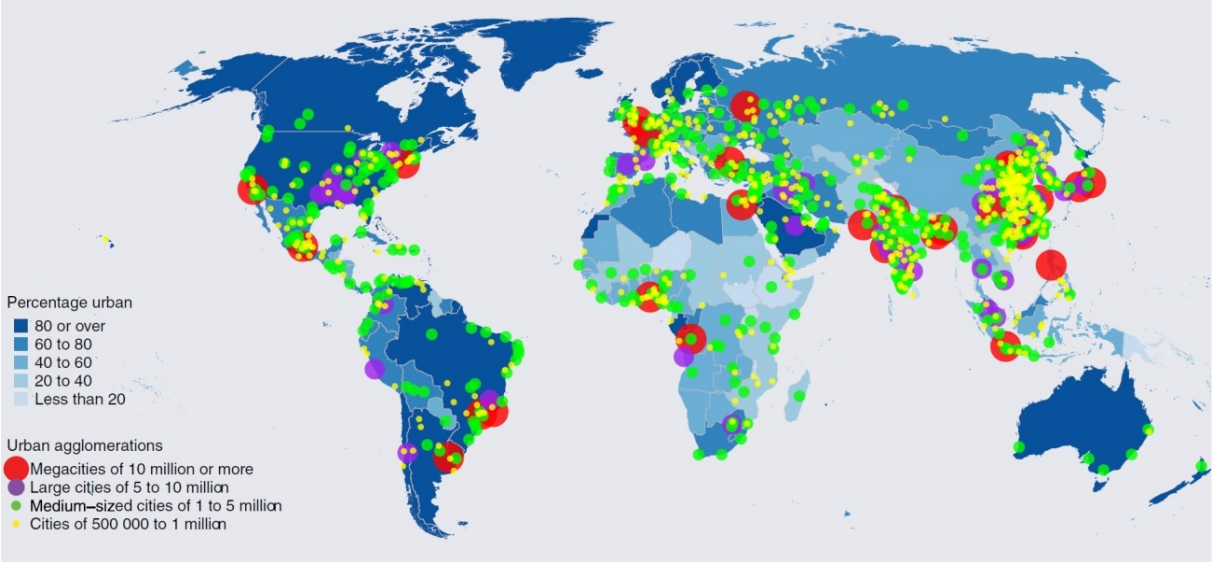


Figure 1.2 Percentage urban and location of urban agglomerations with at least 500,000 inhabitants (UN DESA 2014: 9)

The territory of the European Union today is highly urbanised, due to the widespread population movements from rural to urban areas, which increased the number of people living in urban localities and consequently the expansion of their areas[54]. Approximately 73 per cent of its population lives in a variety of urban settlements, from small to medium-sized cities to global cities with different characteristics, interdependencies and development paths (Eurostat, 2016). In comparison with, for instance, the USA or China, EU has a more polycentric and less concentrated urban structure.

The spatial pattern of development of EU is based on several relatively small towns and villages, as we will describe more precisely afterwards. There are only two megacities[55], London and Paris (12.5 million inhabitants and 11.8 million inhabitants, respectively) which

[52] Of the world's 28 mega-cities with more than 10 million inhabitants, sixteen are in Asia, four in Latin America, three each in Africa and Europe, and two in Northern America (UN DESA 2014).

[53] The criteria and methods used in the categorisation of cities for comparative purposes are dependent on the institution that proposes them and have recognised problems, which will also be discussed in the methodological chapter.

[54] European urban areas have expanded on average by 78% since mid-1950s. Even in countries like Spain, Portugal or Italy where the population is decreasing, there is an expansion of urban areas (EEA, 2006).

[55] The United Nations defines a megacity as having more than 10 million inhabitants.

have a prominent role in global flows and their national economies and urban systems, accounting for very high shares of total population and overall GDP, as well as the highest levels of GDP per person employed.

Aside from the classification by size, cities are interlinked in systems that combine distinct functions and hierarchies, which marked the territorial development of EU. In general, and despite the dynamism of these processes, a core-periphery model has prevailed in the development of the EU. The central area, called the "pentagon"[56], is characterised by a high concentration of people and wealth achieving and includes the metropolises of London (UK), Paris (FR), Milan (IT), Munich (DE) and Hamburg (DE) (CEC, 1999; ESPON 2013 Programme, 2014). In turn, the European periphery is less densely populated and has a more dispersed urban system, namely some Northern European countries like Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Baltic States as well as some areas on the Iberian Peninsula, and in Southeast Europe (Greece, Romania, Bulgaria). This model has been discussed given the diversity or specialisation of functions and the complex interdependencies that the various urban centres have developed at different scales and networks, and which became fundamental in the policy formulation. For example, cities like Brussels (BE), Strasbourg (FR), Luxembourg (LU) and Vienna (AT) stand out from other European cities because they congregate many important organisational and political functions supported by high-quality transport infrastructures, good accessibility and exchange knowledge and information (e.g. Göddecke-Stellmann et al., 2011). In the tourism sector, after London and Paris, the historical "cultural routes" highlighted the weight of cities such as Rome (IT); Prague (CZ) or Athens (GR). However, other destinations upsurge as Barcelona (SP) or Glasgow (UK). Moreover, the region of Munich (DE), followed by London and Paris, has the best performance in production, R&D and innovation in ICT in the EU. Other cities in European core also became noticeable as Karlsruhe (DE), Cambridgeshire (UK), Stockholm (SE); Darmstadt (DE); Uusimaa (FI); Zuidoost-Noord-Brabant and Groot-Amsterdam (NL) and Leuven (BE) (Nepelski and De Prato, 2013).

Urban areas are often considered development engines because of their high concentrations of economic activity, employment and wealth, but they also present enormous challenges

[56] In spatial research and planning policy field, at European Union level, it has been used several images and analytical concepts to describe the position of cities within different networks (Davoudi, 2003; Ipenburg and Lambregts, 2001).

regarding sustainability, namely in solving problems concerning traffic, unemployment, segregation, poverty, crime, pollution, among many others.

This outlook is a consequence of the many transformations that occurred in Europe in the post-war period, namely the expansion of industrialisation and modernisation processes. As referred by Henry Lefebvre "the urban revolution" is about:

> the transformations that affect contemporary society, ranging from the period when questions of growth and industrialisation predominate (models, plans, programs) to the period when the urban problematic becomes predominant, when the search for solutions and modalities unique to urban society are foremost (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]: 5).

Urbanisation is not a recent phenomenon, but many aspects of the transformation into a predominantly urban society are unprecedented[57]. In general, the advent of the industrial era, with the development of new sources of energy, led to the consolidation of the Nation States and the capitalist system as well as the emergence of large metropolises in the twentieth century. The introduction of Fordism and the mass production system promoted the migration of a high number of people from rural areas to cities in search of job opportunities and to improve their living conditions. This, in turn, generated a rapid growth of cities in Great Britain, North West Europe and North America. These events represented a historical turning point in urban development evolution.

The cities' progress has been the subject of varied analyses and interpretations. Some authors established typologies based on the trends observed in urban growth patterns in many countries of Western Europe, over the post-war period (see, for example, Klaassen et al., 1981; Van den Berg et al., 1982; Cheshire, 1995; Champion, 2001). This could be useful to understand demographic and socio-spatial transformations in European cities but also the implications of consonant development policies and planning interventions.

In general, it is acknowledged that after the first phase of urbanisation, characterised by the movement of people from rural areas to cities; there was a period of suburbanisation, in which many city centres lost population that moved to peripheral areas (rings) or commuter areas. Gradually, also, the jobs followed the people to the suburbs. The patterns observed towards concentration or decentralisation depend mainly on the type and organisation of the dominant industries, the existent infrastructures and government measures. The third stage called counter-

[57] As we had previously noticed, the level of urbanisation in the world is unprecedented, due to the rise of urban proportion of the total population and the migration of the population from rural areas to cities, but also the increasing number of large metropolises in the world.

urbanisation represented a decline in the growth of the urban region and is often related with deindustrialisation processes that occurred first in many western and then in eastern European countries. In this stage, the loss of population in the city centres exceeded the demographic expansion of the suburbs, and sometimes the peripheries also presented a decrease of the number of residents, contributing to the decline of all city region. In some European urban regions, there is a reversal in net migration flows, with the movement of migration from the city to the countryside. Finally, some cities have gone through a phase of reurbanisation - also known as "urban revival", "revitalisation" or "renaissance". The term reurbanisation is used in many ways, but mainly to portray the return movement to the inner city, which may imply a "back-to-city" of the inhabitants of the suburbs. It is often associated to gentrification processes, where the residential neighbourhoods occupied by low-income groups within the cities are converted to attract the middle and upper classes.

Urbanisation does not only represent the expansion of urban areas and the growth of its population, but it is necessarily linked to an idea of urbanity as an expression of urban life and cultures[58]. Cities are living and dynamic spaces. Plus, they always played a central role in cultural and social transformations of European society, the processes mentioned above introduced many changes in everyday activities and many other aspects of the social and individual life of urban dwellers. Other factors were determinant to transform urban lifestyles, such as the development of ICT and transport; the improvements in living conditions (schooling, literacy, health assistance, etc.); the reduction of working time and consequently the increase of leisure time; the rise of mass production and consumption and increasing media exposure; the growth of middle-class and female employment; changes in the role and structure of families; among others (Hall, 1997a; Costa, 2002b). For Nigel Thrift and Paul Glennie "new consumption practices were closely linked to particular kinds of urban settings, rather than to mass production, and indeed were associated with the revival of the notion of urbanism as a distinct way of life" (1993: 35).

Some scholars, at the turn of the 20th century, have examined more acutely those transformations. In general, they discussed the spread of patterns of consumption and lifestyles as a result of the mass production and media diffusion and the adaptation to a market-oriented and consumer economy. This is patent, for example, in the reflections of the German thinkers Georg Simmel, Max Weber or Walter Benjamin, and in the Chicago School research, mainly

[58] The concept of urbanity in Western sociological theories is used in diffuse ways, profoundly marked by the historical, political, social and economic evolution of cities.

with Robert E. Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess. The urban sociologist Simmel was one of the earliest scholars to examine the emergence of new forms of sociability and social interaction in modern metropolis. In his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (Simmel, 2002 [1903]) argued that life in modern cities was marked by the money economy, which in turn challenged the preservation of autonomy and individuality. The constant exposure to a multiplicity of stimuli motivated the individual to assume a reserved, detached, and blasé attitude but, otherwise, it offered more opportunities for the development of the intellect and freedom of the individual. Weber's most important ideas on the city are in his essay "The City", published posthumously in 1921 (first English translation 1958). Unlike Simmel, Weber considered size as an inadequate basis for conceptualising the city and selected as criteria the principle of anonymity, the existence of an established market system and partial political autonomy. Otherwise, Benjamin in "The Passagen-werk" or "Arcades Project" (1999 [1982]), initiated (but unfinished) in 1927 during his stay in Paris, made remarkable descriptions of modern city that contributed to the analysis of new urban consumption spaces associated with the development of new kinds of sociability, identities and lifestyles.

Later, Park and Burgess, and their colleagues at the Chicago School, developed an approach called "human ecology" in an analogy with natural ecosystems to explain the process of city development and what determines the spatial location of different groups and activities within it. Confronted with population growth and its expansion outside the central area, these sociologists presented a theory of concentric zones in which the poorest people settle in the central circle and the outer circles by successively more prosperous social groups (Park and Burgess, 1921, 1925; Park, 1936). Looking acutely to Wirth' approach in "Urbanism as a way of life" (1938), he designates urbanisation as a distinctive "way of life" associated with the rise of cities in the modern western world, concomitant with "the emergence of modern power-driven machine technology, mass production and capitalistic enterprise" (Wirth, 1938: 5–8). He concluded that differences in social patterns between urban and rural areas are the result of their size, density and heterogeneity.

Further readings in urban studies were developed about the transformation and diversification of modes of life and socialisation in consequence of the ongoing processes that affect cities. However, it must be also considered that the extension of contacts, exchanges, mobility, consumption patterns, etc. progressively transcended the boundaries of cities and contaminated the so-called rural lifestyle or rurality.

After the 1970s, many cities experiment a phase of deindustrialisation of labour-intensive industry, the relocation of production facilities and the widespread of structural unemployment

and increase social polarisation. In the last decades, the process of urbanisation has been particularly marked by the dynamics between global and local, technological innovations, as well as socio-cultural and economic developments in the current phase of capitalism. This trajectory of capitalist restructuring was influenced by the expansion of neoliberal political ideas and strategies towards deregulation, capital mobility, trade liberalisation, and commodification fostered by some national governments and supranational institutions (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 2005; Peck et al., 2009).

Despite the nuances and diversity of local circumstances, the changes that have taken place in this period with the mobilization of policies towards the development of market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors, led to a greater decentralization and flexibility of production and new ways of organizing the division of labour (about this theme, see for example, Piore and Sabel, 1984; Schoenberger, 1988; Scott, 1988; Jessop, 1992; Amin, 1994; Lipietz, 1997; Castells, 1996; Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 2005; 2008). In this "new economy" (Beyers, 2003), also called as "knowledge economy" (e.g. Cooke and Piccaluga, 2004), "cognitive-cultural capitalism" (e.g. Scott, 2008), among other terms, new growth fields are emerging in sectors like technology-intensive production, financial and culture, focus on unstandardized products and differentiation.

During the 1960s and 1970s, several other scholars attempted to trace out the contours of a society under the above-mentioned structural changes. Alain Touraine described the transition to a post-industrial society as the result of the increase in the production of symbolic goods in detriment of the production of material goods or even services (Touraine, 1971 [1969]). Other scholars such as Daniel Bell (Bell, 1973, 1976) in the analysis of post-industrial society theorised about the central role of information as the drive for a new social reality framed by the decline of manufacturing employment and the rise of service sector employment and informational workers. Similarly, Manuel Castells (1996) describes a new economy as "informational", in which the production, processing and transmission of information changed the relations of production, power and experience. The new media significantly transformed the social forms of space and time and, along the economic crisis of capitalism and collapse of the Soviet Union as well as the developing of new social movements produced a new social structure. This new social structure is designated as "a network society", considering that networks structure all its dimensions, including territorial dynamics and contemporary forms of urbanisation. It also created a new culture a "culture of real virtuality" defined as a system in which "reality itself... is entirely captured, fully immersed in a virtual image setting, in the

world of make believe, in which appearances are not just on the screen through which experience is communicated, but they become the experience" (Castells, 1996: 373).

The conditions that shaped the development of urbanisation in that period breakdown with the usual forms of urban life associated with Fordist-Keynesian capitalism and emphasised the emergence of "consumer society". Theorists like Guy Debord (1994, originally published in 1967 as "La société du spectacle") introduced in the analysis of this society, the idea of "spectacle" defined as the forms of social practice mediated by images, associated with a new stage of urbanisation. He argued that our society is saturated by images – where power relations are inscribed – that increasingly define and shape the urban life. In line with this approach, Henri Lefebvre in "Critique of Everyday Life" (Lefebvre, 1991, translation of "Critique de la vie quotidienne" 1947) associated the relations of production of capitalism and processes of urbanisation to the alienation concerns and the extension of the commodity form into everyday life. An interesting point is the Lefebvre's view about the production of space, which comprises 1) the perceived space - the material spaces of daily life where social production and reproduction occurs; 2) the conceived space - the discourses, signs, and meanings of space that are socially constructed; and 3) the lived space – the material dimension of social life combined with the symbolic experience (Martin and Miller, 2003). He also reflected on globalisation as a process of worldwide spatial restructuring where geographical scales and scalar hierarchies are being profoundly rearticulated, reorganised and redefined (e.g. Swyngedouw, 1997, 2004, Brenner, 1999, 2000)[59].

Like post-industrial theories, postmodern literature emphasised the primacy of information and the emergence of a distinct type of society and city[60]. One of the starting points for this discussion was the essay of Jean-François Lyotard "La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir" (1979, translated in English as "The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge", 1984). He used the word "postmodern" to describe the status of knowledge which "is altered as societies enter what is known as the post-industrial age and cultures enter what is known as the postmodern age" (Lyotard, 1984: 3).

Among others, David Harvey (1989b) and Fredric Jameson (1991) designated postmodernism as "cultural logic of late capitalism". The new regime of capitalist accumulation

[59] Lefebvre devoted special attention to the notion of scale, for example in "La production de l'espace" (1974) (in English: "The production of space").

[60] For further discussion see, for example, Krishan Kumar "The Post-Modern Condition (1997) or my own master's thesis (Tomaz, 2007).

and technologic advances provided new space-time experiences, transforming relations between subjects and the world. These emergent forms of experience are related to the transition to a "postmodern aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and commodification of cultural forms" (Harvey, 1989b: 156).

Many postmodern works accentuated the use of images, signs, aesthetics and culture in the transformation of post-industrial cities that are intimately linked to changes in urban cultures and lifestyles (see, for example, Harvey, 1989b; Featherstone, 1991; Jameson, 1991; Watson and Gibson, 1995; Zukin, 1995, 1998). As Harvey added "the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in" (Harvey 1989a: 9). These ideas have been introduced in narratives and strategies of urban to the processes of economic regeneration of many cities across Europe during the 1980s and 1990s – for instance, Montpellier, Nimes, Grenoble, Rennes, Hamburg, Cologne, Glasgow, Birmingham, Barcelona, and Bologna –, in order to attract mobile capital and workers (Hall, 1988).

In general, it is recognised that one of the major features of society in second half of the twentieth century is the shift of emphasis from production to consumption manifested in the diversity of lifestyles and spaces (Lefebvre, 1974; Harvey, 1989b; Lash and Urry, 1994; Urry, 1995; Castells, 1996, 1998; Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]; Bauman, 1998). Not only is the city considered a privileged place for consumption; but also, became the object of consumption.

In a context of intensification of globalisation, technological change, neoliberal ideology, and capitalist restructuring, cities are increasingly influenced by the form and intensity with which they participate in global networks of production, information, investments, consumption, etc. In this new framework, some cities stand out as hotspots by the intensity and density of connections that they establish in different scales. They are at the core of the geopolitical, cultural, and economic world dominated by flows of capital, people and goods, and an entire infrastructure of transportation, telecommunications, energy and water. Manuel Castells' theory of a "space of flows" drew attention to the way in which cities are interconnected worldwide in an economy that is "informational, global, and networked" (Castells, 1996: 77). According to this author the "urban constellations scattered throughout huge territorial expanses, functionally integrated and socially differentiated, around a multi-centered structure" (Castells, 2004: 83) demonstrate the emerging of a new type of metropolis. Diverse terms are used to designate this new urban form, for example, "world cities" (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Friedmann, 1986); "global cities" (Sassen, 1991, 2001); "postmodern metropolis" (Soja, 2000); and "world cities network" (Taylor, 2004).

Globalisation has linked dispersed geographical places, but also locations within the various hierarchical territorial scales, aside from the urban centres and their surrounding places. Although, not everyone benefits equally from the global exchange circuits and access to goods and services, people's movement and cross-border investment (see Figure 2.2).

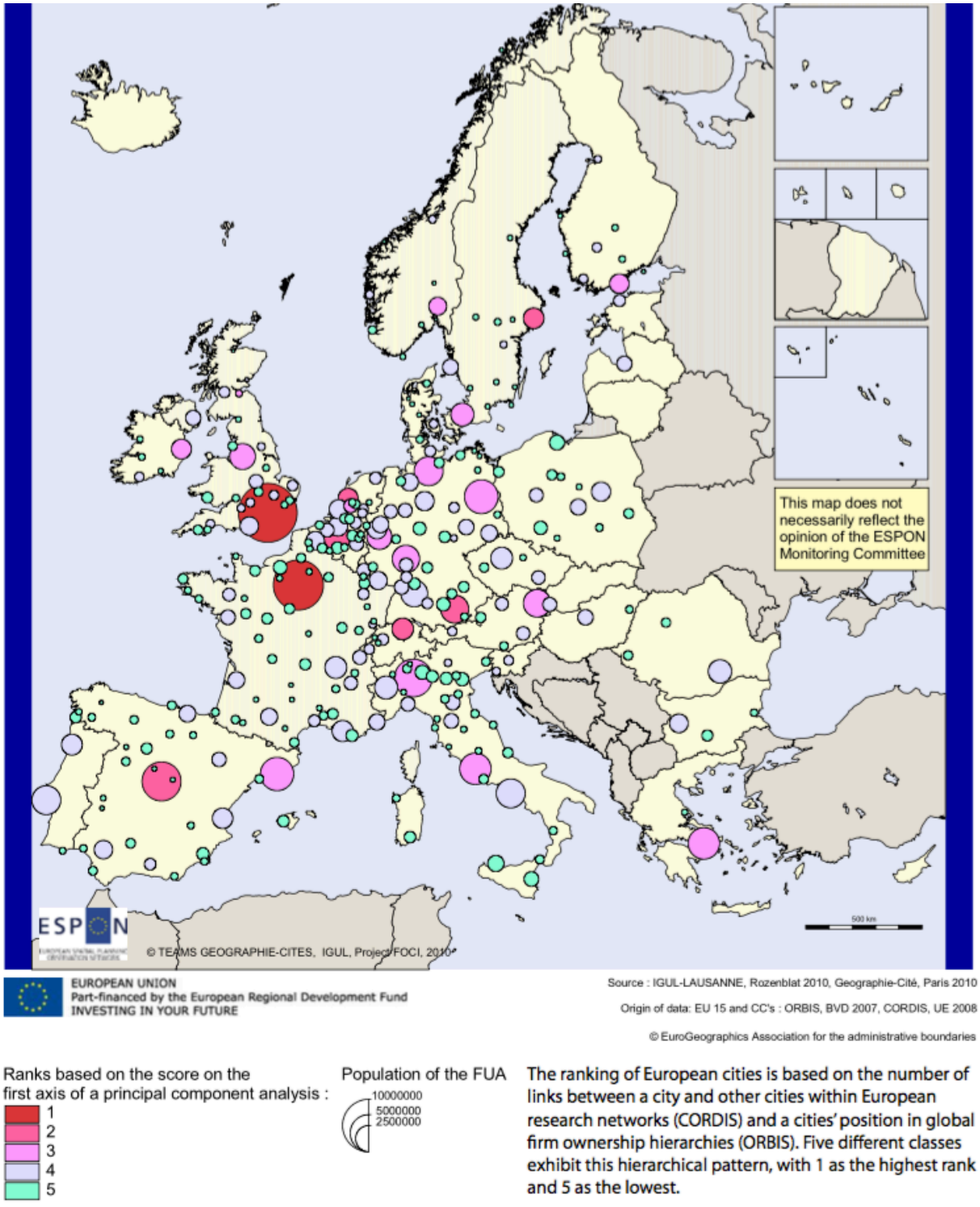


Figure 2.2 Cities' participation in global and European networks (ESPON 2013 Programme: 8)

The way in which urban settlements interact in these dense inter-scalar networks is often conditioned by their size, functions, resources, infrastructures, and institutions. In addition, global-local dynamics caused powerful repercussions on the development of cities, especially in their structure, built environment, and social and political organisation. Impacts also vary and define differentiated city's zones, not only in terms of property rights and land use but also lifestyles and demographic profiles, as has already happened in the past. The spatial configurations of the city and neighbourhoods have become a product of diverse relational networks and the way different groups participate in the social and economic life of the city. Cities are no longer seen as coherent and homogenous but fragmented, interdependent and splintered entities located in broader global-local connections, but also urban-rural and core-periphery ties (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Hall and Barrett, 2012).

The formation of large megacities and polynuclear metropolitan regions, it is one of the most visible expressions of the current urbanisation phase. On the contrary, capitalist urbanisation "hinges upon and continuously produces differentiated, unevenly developed sociospatial configurations at all scales" (Brenner and Schmid, 2015: 175). New uses, functions, and activities reconfigured the relationship between urban and rural areas, as well as the centre-periphery hierarchies and pre-defined urban centres.

The urban and rural, traditionally seen as two opposite social entities, with distinct functions and sectors of economic activity, as well as specific social reference groups and landscape type have been redefined by the development of infrastructures and connectivity -physical and digital-, changes in employment patterns, and increased mobility. However, people in many countries tend to move out the inner cities to suburban, peri-urban areas, and other spatial configurations. The boundaries between the urban and rural are increasingly blurred, influencing each other in a variety of issues including employment, markets, lifestyles, transport, education, environment, etcetera. On the other hand, many of the goods produced and consumed in the city and rural areas are incorporated into regional but also global value chains, diminishing the interdependence between adjacent places along with the promotion of new possibilities to cooperate as well as diversified local economies and labour market (see, for example, ESPON, 2006a; Copus, 2013; Berdegué and Proctor, 2014).

Driven in large part by global competitive forces and technological innovations, urban development has been increasingly shaped by the shift from manufacturing to technology- and knowledge-based system of production and services (Knight, 1995; Castells, 1996, 1998; Rondinelli et al., 1998; Mayer, 2006; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008; Yigitcanlar, 2009; Sarimin and Yigitcanlar, 2012; among many others). The competitive advantages of urban regions are not

exclusively grounded on natural resources or low-cost production but progressively in intangible assets as knowledge, skills and creativity (Begg, 1999; OECD, 2001b; Turok, 2004; Yigitcanlar, 2014; Yigitcanlar and Velibeyoglu, 2008). Many cities and regions invested in the development of specialised activities and function in certain locations, from science and technological parks to innovation and cultural districts. As we will observe later, they aimed to attract knowledge and creative workers and firms, promote linkages with Higher Education Institutes and R&D centres as well as to foster a distinct image externally (Van Winden, 2010). As opposed to public investment in factors of competitiveness such as infrastructure, transport, international events, large urban regeneration projects, etc., increasing cuts in public spending led many European cities to decline their intervention in measures of social protection and inclusion.

The overall productivity slowdown of the European economy, also emphasised the need for countries and regions to specialise in a particular set of activities or sectors, especially in knowledge-intensive industries, driven by the capabilities and strengths of each territory (e.g. Asheim et al., 2011; ESPON, 2012; Boschma, 2013; Tödtling et al., 2013; Dhéret and Morosi, 2014). This can be linked to some recent approaches proposed in European policies such as those related with the concept of place-based development (Bachtler, 2010; Barca, 2009) and smart specialisation (Foray et al., 2009, 2011; Foray, 2015; McCann and Ortega-Argilés, 2015).

Furthermore, there is a vast literature that has focused on the benefits and costs of agglomeration economies as a driver of various contemporary urban dynamics. Empirical research has attempted to identify the nature and role of agglomeration in reducing costs, improving production, and gaining efficiency. According to neoclassical economics literature, it is argued that the spatial concentration of firms and workers in cities can contribute to foster productivity and innovation and, then, produce externalities and increasing returns to scale. Two major types of agglomeration economies are referred. The first focuses on location economies is based on Alfred Marshall's specialisation externalities approach (1920 [1890])[61]. It emphasises the importance of proximity and interactions obtained through the agglomeration of firms or producers belonging to the same -or related- industry increase efficiency. More, the co-location or clustering of firms favours input-output linkages, the existence of skilled labour pool and facilitates the transmission of knowledge between workers and companies. The second

[61] Marshall's work on industrial districts has influenced diverse literature in economics and geography such as the research about “Territorial Innovation Models”.

type based on the potential of urbanisation economies is informed by Jacobs' diversification externalities approach (1969)[62]. It seeks to describe how the high density and diversity of industries promotes cross-industry spill-overs of knowledge and technology (e.g. Martin, 2003; Capello, 2004; Turok, 2005; Frenken et al., 2005; Quigley, 2009; Glaeser, 2010; 2011; Combes and Gobillon, 2015).

More recently, there is a strong emphasis on "urban network externalities" (Capello, 2000; Boix and Trullén, 2007; Meijers et al., 2016), which relates the interactions in city networks with the performance of places. What Simona Iammarino and Philip McCann points out as the "capability of individuals, firms, organisations and institutions to interact, engage, take initiatives and make decisions across different locations and within networks" (Iammarino and McCann, 2013: 318). These theoretical ideas influenced many economic development strategies, as the concentration and diversity of resources, activities and relations in urban settlements are considered capable to induce innovation, economic growth and productivity.

Therefore, the development of attractiveness factors, the consolidation of specialisation and functional profiles to compete in the international arena, together with the management of tensions and internal imbalances, became major concerns in local political agendas. Many governments assumed a "proactive role" or "entrepreneurial approach" implementing progressively a neoliberal agenda, that involves the approval of regulatory arrangements oriented to market rules and commodification to capture the global flows of capital. In addition, urban actors stimulated extra-economic conditions to sustain competitiveness in areas such as education, public-private partnership, relations between industry and finance, intellectual property regimes, corporate culture, and so on (Jessop and Sum, 2001, 2006). As observed by Neil Brenner, Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore (2010) these neoliberal policy ideas have been disseminated across transnational webs of knowledge and global and supranational institutional arrangements, that promote policy transfer and policy prototype experimentation. However, these processes are path-dependent and assumed place-specific forms with diverse impacts within cities and city-regions (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

Furthermore, the processes of urbanization perform a rethinking of urban governance associated with the discussion of the changing role of the State, the multiple scales of politics and the legitimation of new modes of intervention in urban political arena (Brenner, 2000, 2004;

[62] Jane Jacobs' theory of urban growth has supported further research focus on importance of diversity in the local economy to improve competitiveness such as the Richard Florida theory of the 'geography of talent' (2000).

Borraz and Galès, 2010; Eckhardt and Elander, 2011; Brenner et al., 2012). Despite the different forms of national organisation of each Member State, whether in centralized unitary states or federal states, most have initiated reform processes to improve the efficiency of public action. Although the different forms of national organisation of each Member State, whether centralised unit states or federal states, most have initiated reform processes to improve the efficiency of public action. In general, they sought to reduce the public authorities' direct intervention gradually and to involve other sectors of society. New governance models have been introduced, creating agencies and departments to manage urban policies and establishing public-private partnerships and inter-sectoral collaborations. The reconfiguration of urban governance was due in large part to the processes of rescaling in most European countries, where the national scale lost its predominant role in the coordination of policies (Brenner, 2004). It comprises a movement upwards to the international and supranational organisations, whose actions had a growing influence in urban agendas, but also downwards movement, given the decrease of financial resources and the enlargement of responsibilities in consequence of the politico-administrative reforms undertaken in many Western countries (Brenner, 2004). But as Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell argued "in the asymmetrical scale politics of neoliberalism, local institutions and actors were being given responsibility without power, while international institutions and actors were gaining power without responsibility" (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 386).

It should be noted that the policies and strategies adopted at the level of cities are the result of processes of transfer that some authors designate of "political mobilities and assemblages" (McCann, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2012b; Temenos and McCann, 2013). The transnational networks where cities are increasingly involved, disseminate knowledge, models and practices, entailed and mediated by political experts and officials, and after that, end up having great influence in setting local political agenda (Temenos and McCann, 2013).

A richer understanding of the processes embedded in contemporary urban politics should comprise an analysis of Europeanisation through the implementation of EU legislation and the allocation of Structural Funds under the European Regional and Cohesion Policy, in addition to the development of transnational networks by municipal actors and institutions (Guderjan, 2012). Looking at the direct and indirect impacts of European integration, particularly since the 1990s, it is widely recognised that this process has a significant impact on cities across Europe. Europeanisation processes -as the mechanisms of European integration- include "the reorientation or reshaping of politics in the domestic arena in ways that reflect policies,

practices or preferences advanced through the EU system of governance" (Bache and Jordan, 2006: 30; Bache, 2008: 8).

According to the Committee of the Regions, around 70% of EU policies and legislation are implemented at local and regional level[63], being recognised more and more the potential of cities as political actors to improve changes, manage local resources and contribute to policy legitimacy and appropriateness[64]. On the one hand, local actors have to adapt and guide their action and structures to fulfil the eligibility criteria or specific objectives of the funding programs. On the other hand, European programmes offer many opportunities for cities to implement their strategies of local-level development and to participate in transnational networking with other cities or regions as well as disseminate the "successful cases" internationally. Also, cities are increasingly doing direct lobbying at EU institutions or pressuring their national representatives to influence European policy-making to incorporate local experiences and promoting their interests.

The analysis of urban political leadership is also considered relevant due to the growing complexity of political decision making in the multi-scales of politics and the factors that influence the cities' transformation. It also offers some insights into agency-structure relation. Political leadership must be understood as the exercise of 'hard' and 'soft' power (Nye, 2008) that creates the conditions that drive political changes. This includes the formal activities taken by local executive, such as the directly elected mayors, and the informal relationships established among local stakeholders, such as regional authorities, chambers of commerce, civil society organisations, etc. (about the theme see, for example, Borraz and John, 2004; Goldsmith and Larsen, 2004; Keating and Frantz, 2003; Masciulli et al., 2009; Nunes Silva, 2009).

An interesting study is the analysis of 14 countries led by Paul Maurithzen and James Svara (2002) which resulted in a typology of four ideal types government forms in correlation with leadership:

1. Strong-mayor form – the elected mayor has all executive functions and controls local administration. In this form is emphasise the political leadership principle (South European countries).

[63] Report on the urban dimension of EU policies (2014/2213(INI)) by the Committee on Regional Development.

[64] For a review of EU approach to urban policy (see, e.g. Van den Berg et al., 1998; Atkinson, 2001, 2008, 2015; Atkinson and Lane, 2007; Parkinson, 2005).

2. Committee-leader form – executive powers are shared between the political leader and collegiate bodies (council, committees, community board) (Denmark, Sweden and UK).

3. Collective form – a collegiate leadership of an executive committee of locally elected politicians and presided by the mayor (Belgium and Netherlands).

4. Council-manager form – all executive functions are held by a professional administrator -the city manager- appointed by the local council with considerable influence on local policy making and implementation (Ireland, Finland and Norway) (Mouritzen and Svara, 2002: 55–56).

It is important to remember, once again, that the trends above succinctly described differ from country to country and from region to region. For instance, the successive phases of EU enlargement reflect *a priori* unlike conditions and asynchronous in the institutional reforms performed by the member's states that integrate the European project. But, notwithstanding the diversity of situations, and running the risk of generalizing we also observe a certain degree of convergence towards an increasing relevance of the urban, market-oriented economies, rescaling state processes and the emergence of new actors in development policies.

For example, a common distinction is made between North-Western European countries vis-a-vis post-socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe, and how each historical institutional structure determines current approaches. However, some authors mention a correspondence between post-industrial urban forms and those developed in the post-socialism period. The reforms after the 1990s, led to many post-socialist cities to develop, in a short period, processes in which they have adapted capitalist characteristics such as reestablishment of private property rights, reintroduction of real estate market, expansion of commercial spaces including the commodification of historical centres, reduction of State intervention in planning practice, and growing diversification of architectural and cultural styles (Hirt, 2005, 2008; Stanilov, 2007). In Eastern Europe, most contemporary cities experience a decline of their population and intense process of suburbanisation. Some attractive historical cores and certain selected inner-city districts are experiencing gentrification processes.

The same can be observed regarding the countries of southern Europe. Largely, as consequence of the late industrialization, population growth of cities followed different paths in terms of time and speed, with strong tendency of suburbanisation. The need to adjust their economies to increase competition, the integration of EU single market, led to the transformation of their economies in relation to northern Europe.

More recently, the financial and economic crisis has accentuated the challenges and highlights social, economic and spatial polarisation, both within and between many European

cities. As European Commission states: "the economic crisis has further amplified the effects of globalisation and the gradual retreat of the welfare state in most European countries" (EC, 2011b: 22). The reduction of public budgets and austerity policies combined with the rising need for social expenditure have brought an additional number of cities closer to a similar situation (especially in Southern Europe). It has also renovated urban social movements in protest about injustice, destructiveness, and unsustainability of capitalist forms of urbanization.

At the beginning of the 21st century, most people live in a changing urban condition, shaped by global interdependencies and technological innovations that result in different urban forms and require new commitments and strategies to achieve economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability. As Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid affirmed: "The urban is a collective project -it is produced through collective action, negotiation, imagination, experimentation and struggle" (Brenner and Schmid, 2015: 178).

Moreover, if the "urban question" is clearly multifaceted and multidimensional, its analysis should include explorations and discussions on the different types of cities, not as an attempt to be comprehensive or to make comparisons, but rather to illustrate the diversity and specificity of the phenomenon. Also, the examination of the urban should go beyond political-administrative boundaries and in articulation with suburban zones and rural agricultural and non-agricultural areas in broader functional urban areas.[65] This point of view is particularly relevant for the diagnosis, definition, planning and implementation of integrated and sustainable development strategies.

2. The place of small and medium-sized cities in European territory

Despite the recent urban explosion in many parts of the world and the emergence of large megacities, the long-urbanized European territory has an urban pattern where smaller cities predominate (see Figure 3.2). Around 40% of the urban dwellers live in small urban areas (from

[65] There are different definitions of Functional Urban Area (ESPON, 2005) in general it refers to agglomerations of municipalities joined according to their functional orientation to reflect the actual daily operations of people, enterprises, and community organisations (Antikainen and Vartiainen, 2002).

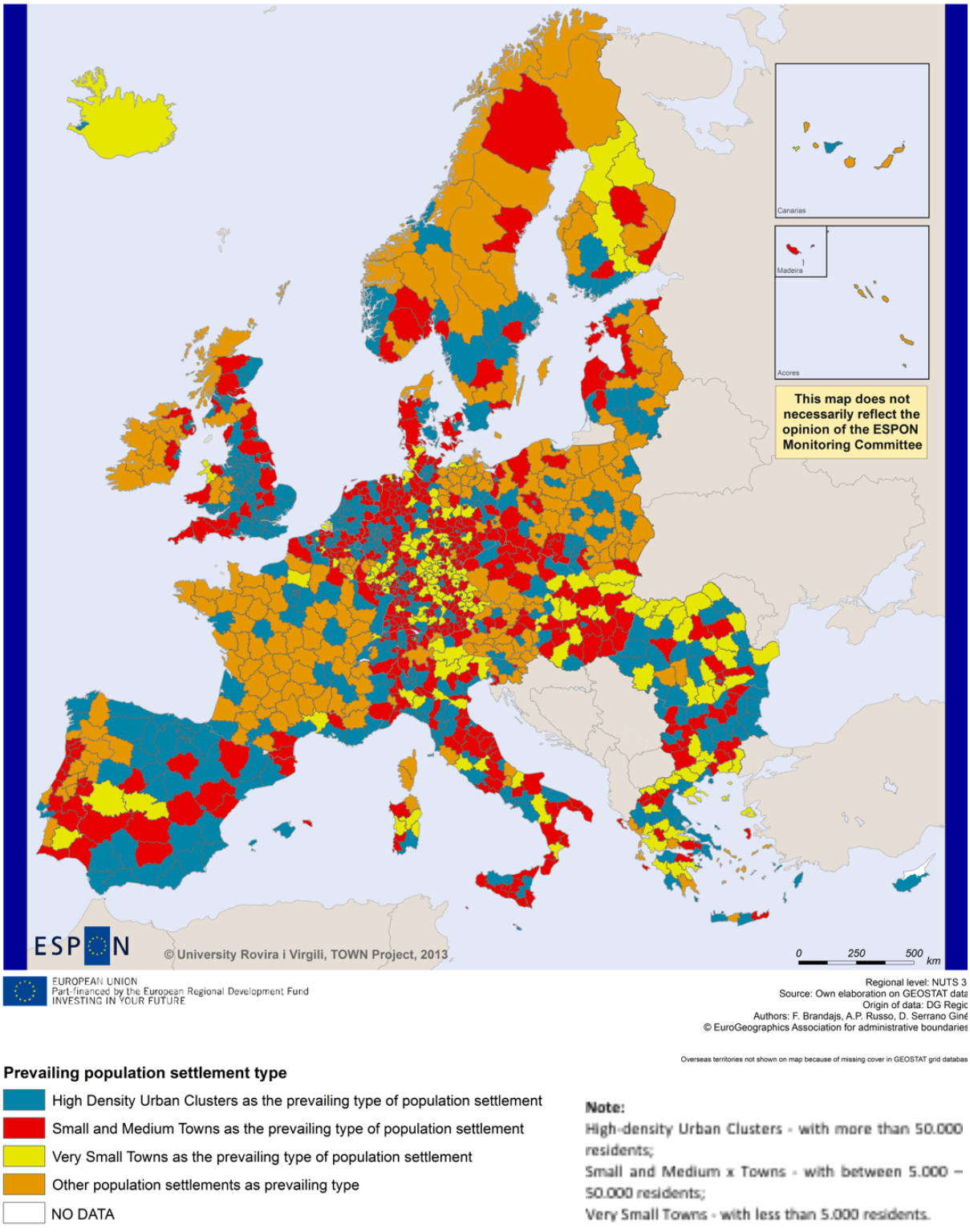


Figure 3.2 Prevailing population settlement type. Source: ESPON 2013 Programme (2015).

10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants) and 20% in medium-sized cities (between 50,000 and 250,000 inhabitants), in comparison with the more than 20% that live in large conurbations (more than 250,000 inhabitants). Also, in the European spatial system there are nearly 1,000 urban centres

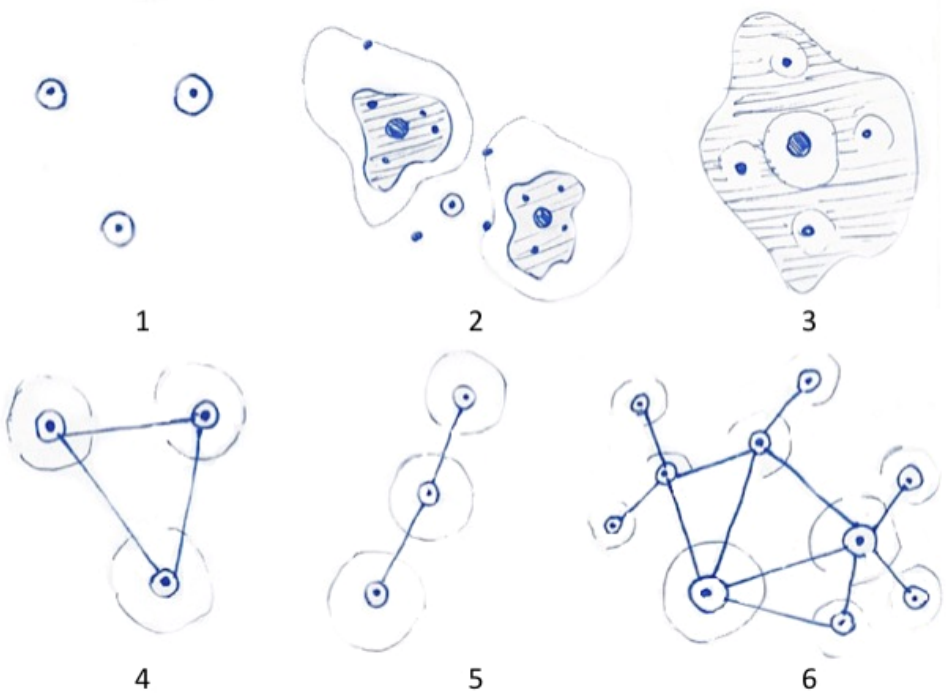
with above 50,000 inhabitants and about 5,000 towns that have between 5,000 and 50,000 inhabitants (EEA, 2006) These towns play an important role both in central Europe as well as in regions with a wider distribution of population, e.g., in Central Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, middle Spain, and large parts of Italy. Countries like France, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway and Slovakia have a higher proportion of population living in smaller settlements than the EU average.

Notwithstanding its significant presence, there has been relatively little political attention and research about smaller cities. They tend to focus on the major urban centres and metropolises, given their scale, diversity and density of resources relationships, and potentially their greatest ability to compete and grow economically. As argued by Anne Lorentzen and Bas Van Heur (2012) this leaves an enormous gap in our knowledge on the contemporary urban change and about the "spatial and scalar dynamics of these economies" rooted in political governance and social equity issues that are critical to delineate sustainable urban strategies.

However, more and more studies have focused on the importance of these cities for a more integrated and sustainable development (see, for example, Bell and Jayne, 2006; ESPON, 2006b; Allingham, 2009; Selada et al., 2011; Duxbury, 2012; Servillo et al., 2014; HESPI and EUKN, 2015).

Because the EU Member States have adopted different criteria and methods for categorising their cities, as we will discuss in the methodological chapter below, we have chosen to focus on small and medium-sized urban centres with less than 250,000 inhabitants. There is, however, a vast heterogeneity of situations, depending on factors such as physical connectivity and geographical context, but also the historical, social, administrative and cultural circumstances of each territory. It is also crucial to analyse the functional relations that each city establishes with other scales (see, for example, some representations of different SMUA' situations in Figure 4.2).

At EU level, the discourse about SMUA has gained relevance with the idea of polycentrism as an alternative to a model of concentration around megacities. This approach aims to overcome disparities between regions, by strengthening the advantages of competing nationally and internationally, as well as creating conditions for regional socio-economic development (CEC, 1999; Davoudi, 2003; ESPON, 2005; Green, 2007; Meijers, 2007).



1) Disperse and isolated urban centres; 2) In-between major centres; 3) in the fringe or commuting space of metropolitan area; 4) in a polycentric structure of centres of similar sizes; 5) in a corridor at inter-city level; 6) in a hierarchical polycentric network of cities.

Figure 4.2 Types of SMUA

The European Spatial Development Perspective – ESDP (CEC, 1999)[66] established the policy framework, where SMUA are considered as focal points for regional development, in the development of industry and service-related activities, such as ICT, research and tourism, in extension to their traditional economic base. After that, the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON) took the concept of polycentrism as a central policy concept and defined it in morphological terms, as the presence of multi-nodal urban system, as well as the process of urban networking and cooperation, based on local assets and specificities to regional development and economic growth (ESPON, 2005).

In conformity, the term "functional polycentricity" has been discussed in urban studies in opposition to a monocentric urban structure. It designates the functional relations between different centres within the urban system (not necessarily in the same category) but also as the balanced distribution of flows within this system (Vasanen, 2013). The term was used in different scales of analysis: the intra-urban scale, focus on the socio-economic relations

[66] The approval of the ESDP has resulted from a long process of work with two earlier important communications from the European commission "Towards an urban agenda in the European Union" (CEC, 1997) and the "Sustainable urban development in the European Union: a framework for action" (CEC, 1998).

between a centre in a determined region and its sub-centres, and the inter-urban scale, refer to the intensive connexions between different but adjacent cities, without a clear dominant centre (Vasanen, 2013).

The ESPON programme has contributed significantly to understand the specific role of small and medium-sized cities and towns for a more balanced spatial pattern of development and a higher level of competitiveness. Several publications such as "Urban-rural relations in Europe" (ESPON, 2004), "The role of small and medium-sized towns in Europe" (ÖIR, 2006), "Territory Matters for Competitiveness and Cohesion" (ESPON, 2006a), or "TOWN, small and medium sized towns in their functional territorial context" (Servillo et al., 2014) offered an outlook of the challenges and importance of these urban centres as nodes of a polycentric system.

Furthermore, in the formulation of a territorial dimension in overall EU policies numerous seminal documents were published such as the "Territorial Agenda of the European Union" (EC, 2007b), the "Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion" (CEC, 2008); the "Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020" (EC, 2011c) and, recently, the report produced on behalf of the Latvian Presidency of the Council of the EU "Challenges of Small and Medium - Sized Urban Areas, their economic growth potential and impact on territorial development in the European Union and Latvia" (HESPI and EUKN, 2015). In pursuit of cohesion objectives, those documents emphasised the need to integrate all regions and localities regardless of the scale, including the SMUA, recognising the interdependence between them and their rural surroundings.

Thus, in accordance with the documents presented here summarily, it is underlined the functional approach that describes a city or urban centre as an urban settlement or municipality placed in a wider socio-spatial system, determined by administrative, economic, educational, cultural and other functional relations. Depending on their position in the territorial system, these towns can take advantage of synergies, complementarities, and competition between adjacent cities at regional level but also in global networks, develop economies of scale and relevant critical mass. They can act as poles of development for the surrounding areas, providing resources, administrative support, labour market, infrastructures for knowledge and innovation, and other important functions. Further, smaller towns can ensure better health and well-being conditions, and livelihoods not only for their populations, but also for those living in the surrounding areas. As summarised in the EC report "Cities of tomorrow", some common attributes are generally recognised in these cities "particularly their human scale, liveability,

the conviviality of their neighbourhoods, and their geographical embeddedness and historical character – in many ways constitute an ideal of sustainable urbanism" (EC, 2011b: 4).

However, some limitations and challenges are also ascribed to most cities of smaller dimension, including loss and ageing of the population, migration of young and educated people, declining economic activity, contingent to a limited range of economic activities, insufficient connectivity and difficulties in supply and access to public services. Moreover, in the current definition of urban policy agenda, profusely influenced by globalisation and Single Market integration process, competitiveness has been a panacea for economic and employment growth[67]. In general, cities compete to attract business, investment and people and, at same time, they try to improve resilience; developing "cultural and social vitality; social capital and innovative capacity; high-quality environment; low levels of poverty; amenities; participatory governance; and political stability" (Douglas, 2012: 60).

At the outset, SMUA seem to be at a disadvantage if we consider the physical size and degree of diversity and density of resources and links to inter-urban competitiveness as determinants. However, some factors have contributed to increasing their attractiveness vis-à-vis major European cities. Many large metropolises faced severe problems, such as industrial restructuring demand, restrictions on land availability and planning regulation, especially in historic centres, as well as, a greater incidence of negative externalities, for example, traffic congestion, high levels of pollution and crime, cost of living, real estate prices expensive, among others. To increase the appeal of SMUA, it has also contributed the improve access to services, transport infrastructures and ICT, often with the help of the European Structural Funds.

The relative size and density of SMUA cities should be counterbalanced with the developing of "city network externalities" (Camagni and Capello, 2004; Johansson and Quigley, 2004). The embeddedness in networks can provide to firms and people access to a greater diversity of resources, connections and opportunities beyond the obvious cities' limitations (Onsager, 2010). The importance of agglomeration externalities –specifically specialisation and diversity– to innovation, productivity and urban employment growth is

[67] Theoretical literature about city competitiveness issues is vast. The most known competitiveness model was developed in Michael Porter's "Theory of Competitive Advantage" (1990). But many others can be identified in different fields, for example, at urban and regional level, see the work of Begg, 1999; Bristow, 2010; Camagni, 2008; Martin, 2003; Rondinelli et al., 1998; 2005, 2004b.

acknowledged, but their benefits "may be shared in networks of cities. A good position of cities in networks may allow them to 'borrow size'" (Meijers et al., 2016: 4).

Some recent reports also sustained that many European regions with smaller urban centres, despite a lower performance regarding population growth, experienced overall higher economic growth rates and lower poverty levels than the EU average (HESPI and EUKN, 2015; Servillo et al., 2014) (Table 2.2).

	Mean Population Growth	Mean per Capita GDP growth
Regions with SMUAs	0.55%	41.63%
Intermediate Regions	3.84%	42.46%
Highly Urbanised Regions	3.38%	20.74%

Table 2.2 Average per capita GDP and population growth of NUTS 3 regions as classified by the degree of urbanisation in EU context (2001-2011) (HESPI and EUKN 2015; Servillo et al., 2014).

Regarding unemployment rates, which have increased in all EU Member States during the financial crisis, but especially in Greece and Spain, there is a variety at the regional level. However, in some countries, there are small urban and rural regions with lower unemployment rates than large ones combined with good economic performance (Eurostat, 2016) (see figure 5.2).

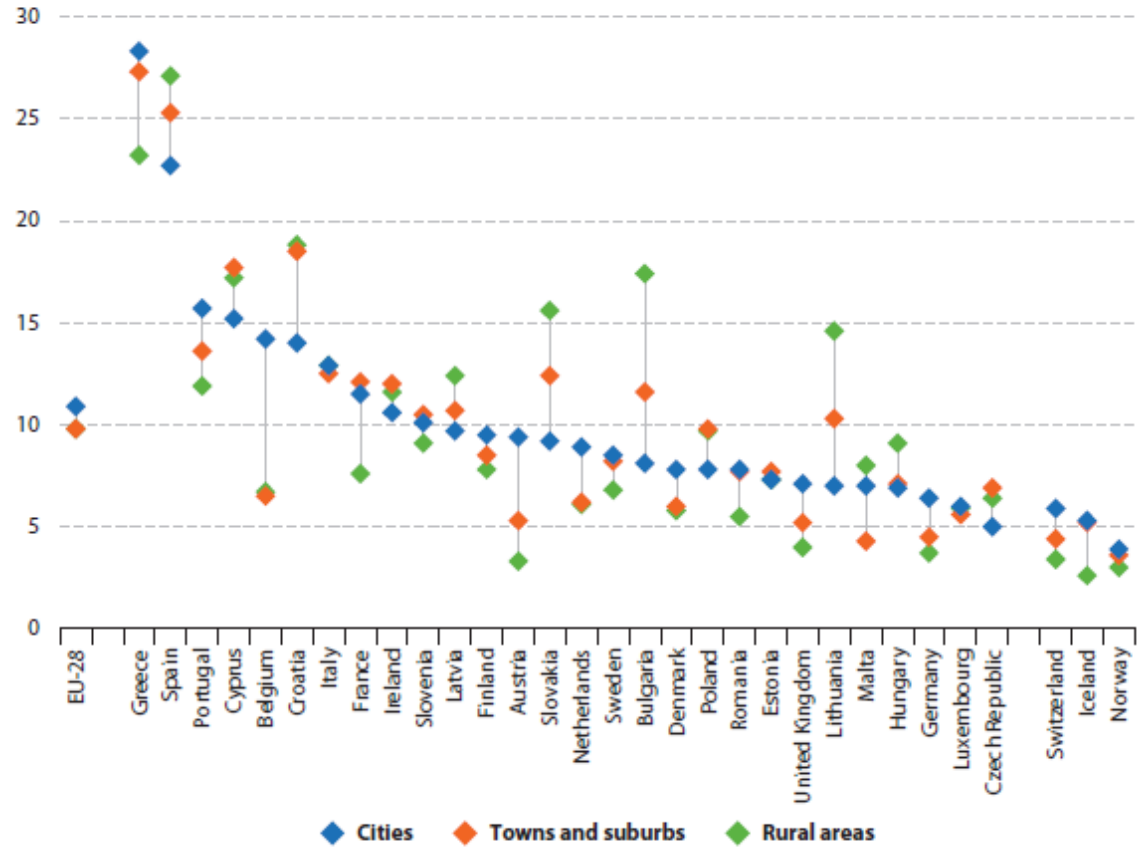


Figure 5.2 Unemployment rate (persons aged 15-74) by degree of urbanisation (%), 2014 (EU, 2016)

Further, not all industries, workers and cities benefit from agglomeration economies. Many researchers point out that the features of industries but also of the product or industry life cycle stage and the characteristics of the professionals, particularly in terms of skills, together with, the diverse circumstances of the cities, have different results in terms of economies of agglomeration (about this theme, see for example, Combes and Gobillon, 2015; Duranton, 2015).

Thus, looking at the productive system, many SMUA have a profile where economic activity predominates from agriculture and derived activities to manufacturing, business, and traded services. The agglomeration of small producers and specialisation in specific sectors or market niches based on the exploitation of endogenous assets is a strategy commonly chosen to revitalise the economy of these small economies (Giffinger et al., 2007; Bell and Jayne, 2009; Costa et al., 2011). Activities related to the high technology industry, higher education, tourism or cultural and creative industries can be located in the SMUA with an appropriate infrastructure, and then providing jobs and income to residents as well as contributing to the innovation in more traditional sectors.

Likewise, the capacity to attract and retain human capital, especially in the form of an educated, creative and mobile workforce, is also identified as central to the "new urban economy", as discussed earlier in Chapter I. Diversity, tolerance, and vitality of the city and its cultural scene, are some of the characteristics considered essential to attract these professionals (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002, 2005). Given these attributes, smaller cities and rural areas could hardly compete with large metropolises. However, liveability perceptions, i.e., the considerations about place's attributes such as environmental quality, security conditions, health provision, leisure and cultural activities can be a factor of attractiveness.

For example, in the high urbanized England, dominated by the global city of London, a study of the Independent Commission on Economic Growth and the Future of Public Services in Non-Metropolitan England shows that 56% of England's economic output comes from non-metropolitan areas and these are responsible for creating a large number of jobs and maintaining a skilled workforce as well as attracting the headquarters of globally competitive companies.

Some authors like Richard Florida (2005) highlighted that bohemian lifestyle attracts these professionals when choosing the place to live and work. Other authors, though emphasised the influence of family reasons and the desire to pursue more peaceful or unconventional lives. According to McGranahan and Wojan (2007), despite the affinity of creative class and similar professionals for bohemian lifestyles, given their work characteristics they also have more flexibility to choose where to work and live. Moreover, many times, quality of life

considerations have an impact on these professional's mobility towards high-amenity locations. In this sense, the comparative advantages of SMUA is often founded on well-being, sustainability and quality of life as well as the manifest "character" of the place and strong community ties.

The relevance of urban environment features and predominantly of amenities has been analysed by several scholars in the definition of urban policies and how they simultaneously affect population growth and employment among cities. These approaches started by looking at the value of natural amenities, climate and landscape (e.g. Ullman, 1954; Graves, 1976), to later focus on urban amenities such as museums, theatres, conference centres, consumer conveniences, sports facilities, artistic spaces, etc. (e.g. Florida, 2000, 2002; Glaeser et al., 2001; Clark et al., 2003; Markusen and King, 2003; Lönnqvist, 2015) (Table 3.2 presents a proposal for a typology of amenities).

AMENITY TYPE	EXAMPLES
NATURAL	Climate conditions, geomorphological diversity., etc.
HISTORICAL-CULTURAL	Cultural facilities (e.g., museums, cultural centres, art spaces, artistic residences and ateliers) Historical, archaeological and architectonical heritage, etc. Traditional activities, oral histories, lifestyles, etc.
SOCIAL	Community groups, associations, social networks, etc. Educational, health and social services Public and recreational spaces

Table 3.2 Typology of amenities.
Adapted from Inteli (2011)

An amenity-based development approach opens opportunities for smaller cities and rural areas that enjoy unique, authentic and sustainable environments. These are particularly appealing to retirees and young families seeking healthy, enriching and serene lifestyles, but also to highly skilled or career changers, artists and creative people looking for alternative lifestyles to those of the major cities (Mathur and Stein, 2005; Markusen, 2006; McGranahan and Wojan, 2007; Duxbury and Campbell, 2009; Lewis and Donald, 2010; INTELI, 2011). Amenities-driven strategies can also be useful in attracting visitors in search of urban and rural distinctive experiences. As Bell and Jayne argued relocation decisions "are a result of a complex

set of considerations often bundled together in concepts like [...] 'liveability'" (Bell and Jayne, 2010: 211).

However, many studies suggested that even though amenities may be important to population change and for people's mobility, other factors assume greater importance namely job opportunities and personal social relations (Hansen and Winther, 2010) as well as public policy options (Mulligan et al., 2005).

It is also commonly stressed the need for the existence of a minimum critical mass and density which will determine the availability of the basic services necessary for the population, which can come from the dynamism of the surrounding towns or regions or from the proximity to a relevant urban centre[68]. Many towns in the area of influence of large metropolis have a greater chance of attracting daily commuters and families by providing them more suitable infrastructures and housing conditions, as well as setting up industries that require extensive and cheaper properties (e.g., retail or industrial parks). Others attract a set of services and infrastructures and specialised labour in function of their administrative or economic influence in the region in which they are located. Besides, the strengthen of rural-urban cooperation present opportunities for balancing economic activity and quality of life aspects in those cities and surrounding areas.

In small communities, the greater proximity and facility in face-to-face contacts, the ease identification and involvement of local partners, and community sense are considered as important social capital resources that strengthen collective action for common purposes and coordination policy. This capital, among other factors, encourage the implementation and the legitimation of development projects and the process of transformation.

Therefore, it is necessary to develop specific public policies that take into account the characteristics, potentialities and challenges of small cities and towns in European context, rather than uncritically look at best practices and pursue the "metropolitan imaginaries" (Van Heur, 2010). As highlighted in the report "Cities of tomorrow - Challenges, visions, ways forward" (EC, 2011b) we shouldn't underestimate the role and significance of small and medium-sized cities.

Hence, we emphasize that the analysis of SMUA is not only a question of absolute size or of their position in the territorial system and urban hierarchies. It should be stressed the

[68] Proximity to an important urban centre is pointed out as being a competitive advantage of low density urban areas in the attraction of talent (anyway, it is one of the characteristics of almost all European intermediate regions).

importance of contextual factors, adopting a "relational approach" (Graham and Healey, 1999; Healey, 2006, 2007; Lorentzen and Van Heur, 2012), which emphasises interdependencies and interactions between spatial and functional scales and the dynamics of actors within these relational contexts. These urban centres, particularly, those in intermediate and rural regions, could be seen as mediators between the centre and the periphery, urban and rural, or local and global.

3. Culture and urban development

As announced by Henry Lefebvre, the ongoing urban revolution is concerned with the transformations that affected contemporary societies where the search for solutions to urban problems became central in development (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]). Since the 1970s, as reviewed before, a series of political-economic events alongside technological progress has outlined the current stage of development of European cities and regions[69]. Many of them, confronted with the decline of their older industrial capacity enter in a period of economic breakdown with high unemployment and depopulation rates. Moreover, the decline of the Welfare State model and the expansion of the neoliberal agenda put the entrepreneurial cities at the forefront to implement public policies for market-oriented economic growth to face competitive challenges of globalization, and in the European case, the process of integration.

If some of these cities and regions remained vulnerable, others have initiated trajectories of change to remaking themselves in the transition to a knowledge-based economy. Many local and regional authorities played "a critical role by mobilising resources, exercising policy choices and bargaining over capital investment" (Savitch and Kantor, 2002: 25–26) based on public-private partnerships for the "active production of places" (Harvey, 1989b: 295).

In this framework, and especially since the mid-1980s, culture has received increasing attention as a priority area for public intervention, revealing a conceptual enlargement and the dissipation of traditional distinction between high and popular forms of culture, as well as

[69] Regeneration policies began in North America in the 1970s with projects such as the redevelopment of Baltimore's Inner Harbour, and Boston's Faneuil Hal and shortly after in Britain (Couch et al., 2011; Doucet, 2007). The British regeneration programs were at the forefront of this type of urban policy in Europe, followed by the initiatives of German and French cities. Gradually they spread throughout the world.

between intrinsic and instrumental value. Many European cities have placed culture and cultural policy at the centre of city's strategic planning and broader development policies, namely in promoting competitiveness, stimulating economic growth, jobs creation and, at same time, improving quality of life. The need to adapt to the socio-economic changes resulting from the deindustrialization processes motivated many cities to seek ways to reinvent themselves and find alternative ways to diversify their economic structure and improve social inclusion and community development, in short, a more sustainable urban development. For this, it has contributed largely the growing economic relevance of the symbolic and aesthetic value of goods and services, as well as the spaces where they are created, produced and consumed, the so-called cultural economy of cities (e.g., Lash and Urry, 1994; Zukin, 1995; Scott, 1997; 2000). As stated by Susan Zukin "with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and the periodic crisis in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities" (Zukin, 1995: 1–2).

Also, the entrepreneurial attitude taken by cities in the face of new socioeconomic circumstances (Harvey, 1989a) had a major impact on the cultural sector. In the context of the rescaling of governance processes, as explained earlier, the cultural sector and policymakers have frequently to justify public funding and adopt management measures based on a variety of performance indicators, as well as to search private funds to increase labour income and supplement state subsidies.

There is a vast amount of literature on the role of culture in urban development and how culture-led strategies have become one of the most popular trends in contemporary urban politics[70]. However, there is also an enormous difficulty in demonstrating its real relevance and long-term impacts. It is for this reason that is a source of dynamic complexity that challenge our understanding of contemporary experience (Sacco et al., 2014).

In an initial period, culture was predominantly used in the framework of urban regeneration strategies of post-industrial cities. The processes of urban regeneration have spread across Europe supported by different government's levels and European programmes. They have been defined in many ways and comprehend different forms in practice. For example, Chris Couch described it as the process in which "the state or local community is seeking to bring back investment, employment and consumption and enhance the quality of life within an urban area"

[70] Only to cite a few of them, e.g., Evans, 2005; Evans and Shaw, 2004a; Keating and De Frantz, 2003; Landry, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Scott, 1997; Urry, 1995; Van der Borg and Russo, 2005.

(Couch, 1990: 2–3). Graeme Evans underlines that it describes the "transformation of a space that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline breathing new life and vitality into the area [and] bringing sustainable, long-term improvements to local quality of life" (Evans, 2005: 967).

Local authorities across the EU, informed by planners like Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini started to integrate culture in town planning to achieve key development objectives. Many of these plans are primarily concerned with the physical and economic regeneration of obsolete or under-utilised industrial sites or harbour areas; derelict inner cities or neighbourhoods; neglected waterfronts and old water canals; the requalification of public spaces; and so on (e.g. Bassett, 1993; Couch et al., 2003; Moulaert et al., 2004; Evans, 2005; Couch et al., 2011). Progressively, during the 1990s, more integrated approaches to urban redevelopment were adopted, linking the stimulation of economic activities and environmental improvements with social inclusion, cultural vitality and quality of life concerns.

A number of cities, which have converted culture into a central element of their development model, were widely publicized as success stories by a diversity of political actors, consultants and academics embedded in various networks of communication and communication. Among the most disseminated European cases are the Scottish city of Glasgow; the Basque city of Bilbao; followed by Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield in North of England; Essen, in the German Ruhr region; Lille and Marseille in France; Turin in Italy; the Dutch city of Rotterdam; among many other experiences (see, for example, the work of Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Landry, 1996; Couch et al., 2003; Evans, 2005; Doucet, 2007; Couch et al., 2011; Kühn and Liebmann, 2012).

Many of these approaches were copied and translated into many municipalities, to the extent that some authors, and even us, described a strange sense of familiarity in some cities while "sitting in a café looking out on a 'regenerated' streetscape of new-old cobblestones and luxury boutiques patrolled by private security guards, or listening to a mayoral candidate outline her vision for the future of the local economy, or reading a blog extolling the virtues of a new planning model" (Temenos and McCann, 2013: 344).

In this framework, culture has collected several understandings with different impacts at short and longer term. The Graeme Evans and Phyllida Shaw's study about "The Contribution of Culture to Regeneration in the UK" (Evans and Shaw, 2004; also in Evans, 2005) distinguish three approaches:

1) "*culture-led regeneration*" – in which culture is considered a catalyst and engine of regeneration, through landmark buildings or art projects, among others;

2) "*cultural regeneration*" - it involves the total integration of culture in the regeneration process, alongside environmental, social and economic components.
3) "*culture and regeneration*" - cultural activities or projects, often of small-scale, are included in regeneration plans, but aren't an integral dimension of the overall project.

Analysing the above typology, Jonathan Vickery (2007) suggests a fourth category to this typology: the "artist-led regeneration", to distinguish those processes of urban regeneration that occur with the emergence of artists' scenes, that gradually change the face of neglected spaces or declined neighbourhoods, contributing to create a certain lively atmosphere, frequented by a cosmopolitan population and attractive to new business[71]. The establishment of artists, cultural and creative producers in degraded or abandoned spaces often start informally in search of cheaper and more flexible spaces to work and live. As asserted by Ann Markusen "increasingly, artists, rather than arts institutions, are providing the impetus for making and remaking a city" (Markusen, 2006, 2013: 8; see also Markusen and King, 2003). In consequence, top-down strategies promoted by municipal authorities and/or private investor increasing integrated the allocation of deactivated spaces for cultural activities or creative businesses or the invitation for interventions in public spaces to artists.

Many of these strategies remind us of the discussion about the practises of this post-modern era, as we reviewed before, associated to the celebration of pastiche, ephemerality and spectacle and that have become a feature of urban policies where culture is commodified and experienced.

Seeing culture as a driver, a catalyst or a key component in urban development (Evans and Shaw, 2004) there are some factors that determine the choices of urban regeneration strategies, such as Ron Griffiths (1995) summarises: 1) the position of the city in urban hierarchy; 2) recent experiences of economic and industrial restructuring; 3) the city's political culture; 4) the political priorities as result of changing social structure of the city; 5) the pattern of artistic and cultural organisation; and 6) the opportunities and funding sources available.

The processes of (re)imagining the city are part of the competitive strategies developed by cities' authorities to improve urban change. From promotional campaigns to broader place-

[71] See, for example, the analysis of Sharon Zukin of the SoHo district of Manhattan, a process of conversion by artists of former industrial buildings and, subsequently, the attraction of a higher income middle class seeking to enjoy a "loft-living" lifestyles (Zukin, 1989). See also the analysis of Mariangela Lavanga about redevelopment projects of four European cities: Amsterdam, Birmingham, Milan and Helsinki (Lavanga, 2013).

making processes, culture has been deliberately manipulated in the context of these new entrepreneurial modes of urban governance which "attempts to reconcile leisure, business and community demands and aspirations, in a competitive environment" (Evans, 2003: 428). "Selling" the city as a cultural resource has become a scheme developed by urban elites to obtain economic gains and consensus among residents (Kearns and Philo, 1993). Hence, culture was used as a means to communicate and develop an attractive and distinctive image of places to enhance the position and the liveability's perceptions of the place, which determine where people want to live or the places that desire visit. Place-making approaches is also a way of influencing the representations of the individuals and the communities that inhabit them as well as to engage citizens in decision-making (Murray et al., 2007; Duxbury, 2014).

In the same vein, many cities have adopted strategies oriented to consumption as a catalyst for urban renewal and increased tourism activity. Cities started to compete for holding mega events of international reputation such as exhibitions, festivals, expositions and sporting events, etc. as well as to attract investments that support the construction of cultural infrastructures, usually emblematic projects such as prestigious arts centres, theatres and concert halls (see, for example, Harvey, 1989a; Bassett, 1993; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Costa, 1999, 2002b; Kong, 2000; Scott, 2004; Vickery, 2007). Other cities turned to community rituals or festive events (historical events, gastronomic fairs, religious festivals, etc.) based on heritage and local traditions, but also on contemporary cultural practices such as in art and music field. These events as symbolic performative practices in the public domain are often used as levers for economic regeneration but also for community development. Examples of these events proliferate in European urban cultural policies: from the Christian Easter celebrations in Braga (Portugal), the Angoulême International Comic Festival (France) to the Edinburgh Music Festival (Scotland). Most events are hosted to generate economic growth, improve the image of places, promote local products and resources, and developing tourism activities. But they also offer opportunities for socialisation and expression of the identities, values and history as well as the creativity of their communities (e.g. Getz, 1991, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2004; Quinn, 2005, 2009; EC, 2011d; Sassatelli, 2011; Lyck et al., 2012; Laing and Frost, 2016). There are, however, some negative impacts resulting from these events, especially of environmental nature due to the inflow of tourists, as well as the risk of loss of cultural authenticity with the "festivalisation" of traditions and heritage damage (Mccartney and Osti, 2007; Richards and Palmer, 2010; Richards and Wilson, 2007).

These cultural strategies used for urban development also provided more opportunities for artistic expression in traditional institutions and unconventional spaces of culture, as well as,

contributing to greater access and inclusion of art and culture in daily life, both individually and in a community. In addition, it is recognised that the presence of artists and creatives produces an aggregate economic impact on cities (Becker, 1982; Markusen and King, 2003). In addition to the direct revenues generated by the products and services that are consumed locally and exported, and the various spill-over effects generated in other sectors, organisations and individuals, it also acknowledged the entrepreneurship capacity of these professionals, not only their ability for self-employment but also generate jobs.

Cultural projects have emerged as modes to affirm and reinforce local identity and strengthen citizens' sense of belonging and pride. The identity of a place is socially constructed in the encounter with the residents' subjective perception and sense of belonging – internal image, combined with the others' representation of the city – external image (Evans, 2003; Govers and Go, 2009; Mccarthy, 2006; Miles, 2005). As Miles suggests:

> investment in culture is not simply about regenerating the local economy, but can actually serve to revitalise the identities of the people of a city and even of a region; (...) it can provide new ways for those people to look into themselves and out of themselves. In other words, it can reinvigorate the relationship between cultural, place and personal identity and offer a permanent legacy (Miles, 2005: 921).

The creation of a recognizable identity, commodified in urban communicative strategies is based on the valorisation of place distinctiveness, which is drawn on the re-creation of particular cultural and historical aspects that can hardly be reproduced in other places (Turok, 2004). As Allen Scott explains "culture is a phenomenon that tends to have intensely place-specific characteristics thereby helping to differentiate places from one another" (1997: 324).

However, as John McCarthy (2006) critically pointed out replicating hegemonic city images in marketing campaigns can lead to the homogeneity and erosion of its distinctiveness rather than context-sensitive adaptation. Else, local identities are multiple and sometimes divergent or conflictual, even within small localities and can be seen as a way to improve a sense of pride or exclusion.

One of the best-known cultural programs is the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC)[72], formerly known as City of Culture, which became object of intense competition and a way of promoting the "European project" (García, 2004). The city of Glasgow was the first European

[72] The European Capital of Culture programme is an initiative which started in 1985 as an idea of the Greek cultural minister Melina Mercouri and the French Minister for Culture and Communication Jack Lang.

city to capitalise on such landmark programmes to stimulate the urban regeneration which resulted in an ambitious cultural programme with an unprecedented level of funding from local authorities and private sponsors (García, 2004, 2005). Subsequently in 1988, it held the "Garden Festival", afterward the title of "European Capital of Culture" in 1990 and subsequent status as "UK City of Architecture" in 1998.

In the same vein, being part of UNESCO World Heritage List and related programmes is extremely desirable for cities that aim to contribute to urban development through the conservation and promotion of cultural and creative expressions.

Numerous studies have criticised some of the conflicts resulting from these consumption strategies that have had a major influence on cultural policies throughout Europe in the 1980s and early 1990s, notably between "old and new, social and economic, community and elite-oriented policies" (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993: 3) to obtain and sustain the long-term benefits. Among the major problems resulting of these policies is the occurrence of forms of gentrification associated with the valorisation of urban areas under intervention and subsequent real estate speculation, in which the local culture becomes a commodity to be consumed. Consequently, low-income people, traditional activities and community routines are gradually replaced by new activities, tourists and more privileged socio-economic groups (Costa, 2007; Costa et al., 2011).

Also, it is highlighted the used of culture to legitimise policy interventions, foster stakeholder involvement, including engagement and participation of the local community (e.g. García, 2004; Middleton and Freestone, 2008). Further, there is commonly a trend towards a performance dimension of urban and cultural experience as well as the adoption of international policy guidelines, many to respond to National and European programmes procedures without looking at the singularities of local contexts. Among the negative impacts, it is included the accumulation of large debts for host municipalities in addition to the difficulties of maintaining or reorienting infrastructures in the long term, the so-called "white elephants" (see, for example, the analysis of Rius-Ulldemolins et al., 2016).

Therefore, the principal challenge of those policies that combine physical renewal with the creation of cultural flagships events and facilities is to create a long-term social and economic base that can maintain the aspirations for all its citizens and economic recovery goals, international recognition and inward investment and economic growth[73]. Consequently, many

[73] For a critique to cultural mega events and schemes see, for example, Nemeth, 2010; Richards and Palmer, 2010; Foley et al., 2012; Lyck et al., 2012; Smith, 2012; Müller, 2015, among others.

local governments supported arts and cultural projects based on bottom-up and inclusive policy proposals and multi-stakeholder consultation that improve community engagement and participation and, therefore, to counter the gap between external perceptions and the reality of the place.

Over time, governments started to look not only at conventional urban cultural strategies, most of them based on consumption-driven activities, to focus on non-subsidized sectors of culture, encouraged by the development of sectoral or industrial approaches related to cultural and creative activities (Kong, 2000; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007; Costa, 2008; Barbieri et al., 2012; Tomaz, 2012).

Especially at the beginning of the 21st century, a vast number of papers discussed the role and relationship of culture and innovation in development processes, complemented later by the rising discourse on creativity. In this framework, the concept of creativity has gained particularly notoriety in public policies developed by numerous academics from diverse fields[74] and many organisations[75]. In addition, many countries and regions of the world have come to promote themselves as "creative", formulating strategies that advocate that culture, creativity and creative workers, innovation are the driving force behind their economies within a competitive global framework[76]. At European Union level, the creativity approach has gained wide acceptance. Diverse reports, communications and programmes stressed the importance of culture in supporting and fostering a creativity and innovation, which in turn, are drivers for economic prosperity, competitiveness and well-being[77].

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[74] It is impossible to refer all scholars particularly involved with this subject. Just to mention a few of them, see the work of Allen J. Scott, Charles Landry, Franco Bianchini, John Hartley, John Howkins, Klaus R. Kunzmann, Pedro Costa, Peter Hall, Richard Florida, etc.

[75] Especially OCDE, EC, UNCTAD, COMEDIA, NESTA, KEA, etc.

[76] To mention a few examples in Europe: "Creative Britain" (http:/www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/CEPFeb2008.pdf); "Creative Ireland" (http://creative.ireland.ie/); Creative Scotland" (http://www.creativescotland.com/); "Creative Finland" (https://tem.fi/en/creative-finland2); "Creative Brno" (http://www.creativebrno.cz/); "Creative Austria" (http://creativeaustria.at/); "Creative City Berlin" (http://www.creative-city-berlin.de/en/).

[77] Among them, we should mention the EC documents such as "Green Paper - Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries, COM(2010) 183 final"(2010a); "Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU", COM(2012) 537 final (2012b); "Boosting the competitiveness of cultural and creative industries for growth and jobs" (2016a).

The study of creativity has been developed from different perspectives[78] ranging from the individual genius, the source of inspiration and its artistic expression to the creative thinking that allows to generate innovative solutions - a vision, an idea or a product; contingent to socio-cultural environment in which it is produced.

In urban policy, the interest in the concept of creativity had different origins and configured different forms of intervention. Among them, there is the idea of a "creative city" (developed by authors such as Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2000; Hall, 2000; Cooke and Lazzeretti, 2008; Pratt, 2008), which constitutes the framework and a set of planning tools to address urban opportunities and problems. Charles Landry (2000) assumed creativity as an essential element to stimulate the urban fabric dynamics and defined the creative milieu as a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of "hard" and "soft" infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. Some cities and regions that have focused their development strategies on urban regeneration driven by impactful cultural projects found a new impetus in creativity that allowed them to engage a new range of economic sectors and partners. Others, because they have insufficient skills and resources to compete in the cultural arena, have seen creativity as a way to reinvent themselves.

Thus, the narrative about the creative city was developed in articulation with the urban policies designed to the development of the cultural and creative industries (e.g. Pratt, 1997; O'Connor, 2000; Cunningham, 2002; Flew, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2006). The potential of these industries to create socioeconomic growth, which combine arts, cultural and creative goods and services, has gained wide recognition in creative economy discourses (a concept popularized by John Howkins, 2001). The creative economy agenda has gained a strong influence in European Union, evoked as one of the most dynamic and resilient economic sectors of recent years[79]. Predominantly, it mobilises cultural policy for economic purposes, harnessed by the development of digital economy, and in interconnection with innovation policies. More recently, this debate underlines the role of cultural and creative spill-

[78] For an extensive review of the concept and theoretical approaches see, for example, Robert J. Sternberg (ed.) (1999), *Handbook of Creativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press; or Kerry Thomas and Janet Chan (Eds.) (2013) *Handbook of research on creativity*. Cheltenham: Elgar.

[79] According to the TERA Consultants report (2014), the CCI sector represents 6.8% of European GDP (approximately €860 billion) and 6.5% of European employment (approximately 14 million). More recently, the study developed by VVA and KMU Forschung Austria (2016) reveals that the sector, where is included high-end and fashion, represents 7.5% of all employment in the European economy and generate 5.3% of the total EU gross value added.

overs in various sectors of the economy, places and, more broadly, throughout society (Capello, 2009b; TFCC, 2015).

This interest on creativity is intrinsic linked to the notion of "creative class" (Florida, 2002, 2005; Florida and Tinagli, 2004). The economic performance and vitality of cities depends on their ability to attract a qualified and innovative workforce, the "creatives". In turn, Florida maintains that these professionals are attracted to places characterised by a "culture that's open-minded and diverse" (Florida, 2002: xvii). Numerous critiques have been written concerning this approach (e.g. Peck, 2005; McCann, 2007, 2008). As underlined by Allen Scott "the mere presence of 'creative people' is certainly not enough to sustain urban creativity over long periods of time. Creativity needs to be mobilised and channelled for it to emerge in practical forms of learning and innovation" (Scott, 2006: 11).

Cultural and creative activities in development process are strongly linked to the specific conditions of each territory. Several theoretical approaches and political strategies have been developed in recent years around localized production systems, based on the agglomeration of cultural and creative activities, in order to benefit from economies of scale and externalities (Costa, 2002b, 2008a, 2010; Costa et al., 2011). As Hans Mommaas argued "cultural clustering strategies" represents a different phase "in the on-going use of culture and the arts as urban regeneration resources" (Mommaas, 2004: 508).

Several terms have been popularized in the description of the various forms of agglomeration of cultural production and consumption supported by a set of cultural quarter policies for cities' development, urban regeneration or territorial competitiveness (Montgomery, 2003; Costa et al., 2007). Two major policy perspectives are generally recognised in the set of measures implemented (Sacco et al., 2009; Romein and Trip, 2009; 2010; INTELI, 2011):

- *a consumption milieu or people-oriented approach* – centre on the attraction and retention of artists or creative talents along with skilled individuals, emphasizing the qualities of cities and recreational facilities. This in turn, appeals to additional investments by companies and the emergence of start-ups, which will enhance job growth and contribute to rising incomes.

- *a production milieu or business-oriented approach* – focuses on the creation of measures and conditions favourable for the development of cultural or creative businesses as generators of jobs and wealth, such as subsidies or tax incentives;

These approaches are not exclusive and, in fact, most of the times, the political strategies tend to include both types of measures.

As observed by Graeme Evans (2005) culture was always seen as a critical aspect of the mediation and articulation of community needs with policy objectives of development strategies. As reviewed by Nancy Duxbury, namely in the analyses with M. Sharon Jeannotte (Duxbury and Jeannotte, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2012), the integration of culture into urban and community planning processes has been discussed for a long time, using arguments such as access, participation, diversity and social cohesion. It has gained more pertinence with the rise of sustainability concept that seek to reconcile economic goals with the social, cultural, environment purposes. Although, some development strategies promoted artistic and cultural projects as anchors for community building and neighbourhood revitalization, culture isn't sufficiently recognised as an integral facet of sustainable city policies and practices (see also Duxbury and Gillette, 2007; Duxbury et al., 2012; Duxbury and Jeannotte, 2012). In concordance:

> Within a sustainable development context, local cultural policies put community development at the core: culture is both a key tool and a core aspect of the social fabric, promoting cohesion, conviviality, and citizenship (Duxbury et al., 2016: 9–10).

The identification of the "storylines" of policy narratives can be seen as semiotic method to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena in discourse (Hajer, 1995, 2003). Drawn on this approach, Soini and Birkeland (2014) recognised the different uses in scientific discourse of "cultural sustainability" concept. They identified seven major types of "storylines" or narratives: heritage, vitality, economic viability, diversity, locality, eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilisation. This article was developed as a starting point of the COST Action "Investigating Cultural Sustainability" (2011-2015) aimed to contribute to the discussion and operationalization in academic and policy discourse of the cultural dimension of sustainability, emphasizing the role of culture in local planning.

It is important to focus here not only on practices but also on political discourses on culture in urban development. These discourses, which are undoubtedly cultural, describe "a specific set of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities"[80]. In them, specific imaginaries are selected, retained and reinforced as objects of economic,

[80] As noted by Teun Van Dijk, most political actions are largely discursive (Van Dijk, 1997; 2001; 2015). Thus, besides institutional forms of political discourse such as laws and regulations, there is also other forms, as political propaganda or advertising, political speeches, media interviews and talkshows, and so on (Van Dijk, 1997).

political, or social action (Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008; Jessop and Sum, 2010; Jessop, 2013) reflecting actors' power relations and interests involved in the governance process. Looking at the political discourses where culture integrated development strategies, materialised in the interventions and regulations approved, they reflect different meanings on both concepts and how the problems and opportunities of the city are addressed. These strategies also incorporated urban imaginaries, often selected or produced by urban elites interested in creating a positive and stereotyped image of the territories and thus omitting more uncomfortable issues (Stevenson, 2004; Healey, 2007).

The relation between culture in urban sustainable development process should be analysed in multiple dimensions. This includes economic efficiency, social equity, environmental quality, civic participation and cultural expression. As we already sustained, culture is perceived, concisely, as an instrument to city's economic growth; to a more inclusive and diverse society; and to promote sustainable lifestyles and, even industries. Additionally, this relationship can be enriched with the inclusion of a wider viewpoint that comprehends culture as a way to develop a sustainable society by "enhancing our cultural competence, our capacity for cooperation and critical thinking, our openness to diversity, our curiosity" (Culture Action Europe, 2014, see also Anheier and Hoelscher, 2015).

Despite culture has been acquiring an instrumental role being even more appropriate for non-cultural purposes in other areas of public political intervention, there is also claims for use of culture as an end in itself. In fact, "There is a dearth of studies and writing that articulate a cultural theory of a sustainable city in which (local) culture becomes a value of its own, not something merely seen as opposite to globalisation and responding it, or something of economic value, or treated a postmodern reading of a text"

Although the discourse on culture related to urban development is essentially dominated by the imaginaries of the big cities, as we have been referring, some authors recently attempted to reveal the ability of smaller cities, more peripheral regions or rural areas to develop their particular narrative in a cultural and creative economy (e.g. Markusen, 2006; Petrov, 2007; Bell and Jayne, 2009; 2009; Nuur and Laestadius, 2009; Waitt and Gibson, 2009; Lewis and Donald, 2010; Munoz, 2010; Van Heur, 2010; 2012; Selada et al., 2011; Tomaz, 2015). In general, they commonly criticised the measurement models and techniques that are based on criteria inadequate to the reality of smaller localities. On the other hand, as Bas Van Heur noted, many political leaders seem to continue to follow the socio-economic "metropolitan imaginaries" instead of concentrating on what he describes as the role of culture in everyday life (Van Heur, 2010; 2012). More, he underlines that:

> A more progressive take on culture-led policies for small cities [...] should aim to question these dominant imaginaries by experimenting with new strategies of selection and retention: by developing new understandings of what constitutes culture in the first place; by including new types of actors; and by developing different indicators to measure the cultural economy or the creative class. (Van Heur, 2012: 23)

Thus, throughout Europe, small towns and even rural areas, depending on the profile, location, and institutional arrangements outlined their culture strategies drawn on their distinctive qualities in order to attract visitors, residents and investments. According to Pablo Munoz (2010) we can identify some policy priority areas for these cities, namely: 1) education and talent development; 2) network capacity, concentration of interactions, community engagement and co-development; 3) quality of life; 4) sustainability; and 5) iconic and imaginative territories.

In fact, as we will analyse on the next chapter, some local governments are increasingly supporting initiatives of production and cultural consumption as instruments to guide or to influence local economic development. Despite the uncertainty of the returns, but looking to the successful stories, some of them have opted to invest through public funds or in partnership with private investors in the improvement of local amenities. These are used mainly as an instrument to attract those segments of the population who seek alternatives to those of large cities and the increase number of travellers, which consequently will eventually attract more investment, firms and jobs, at the same time, that enhances the quality of life of their communities. Among the most common investments are the creation of infrastructures and new forms of conservation and interpretation of local heritage and culture, such as museums, theatres, interpretation centres; the organisation of events that celebrate local history and traditions; the exploitation of natural resources and the construction of infrastructures to support tourism and recreational activities; and the hosting of renowned cultural foundations or educational institutions.

Sometimes, these cultural projects are part of the regeneration plans led by some smaller cities with a strong heritage component as in the case of UNESCO's programmes. They cover the whole city and transform it in a museum which sets diverse challenges between conservation concerns, tourism activities and the city's daily life.

On the other hand, following the increase awareness of the importance of skills offered by artists, cultural organisations, and creative professionals to strengthen local economies and as source of local knowledge spill-overs as well as lively neighbourhoods, many European local and regional authorities of SMUA included in their strategies specific measures and tools to

encourage cultural and creative production. As we will see ahead, they often offered creative spaces for convergence and experimentation, such as artistic residencies, live-work houses, incubators, meeting spaces, research labs. These spaces provide opportunities to collaboration, knowledge exchange, learning between different kinds of people, from the private and the public sector, that could foster innovative solutions as well as add value to local products and activities. Besides, it also includes the attraction and retention of talented people through the provision of artist residency programs, grants, innovative vouchers, among others.

To this purpose, as we said before, it can contribute particularly the potential of digital technologies, the increasing connectivity and the rise of new business models and flexible forms of work and live. They allow the emergence of new locations were specialized knowledge-oriented poles can be found (Van Oort and Raspe, 2005; Piccaluga and Cooke, 2007; HESPI and EUKN, 2015). Among the diversity of European SMUA, some explore these agglomeration benefits or cluster economy to obtain market scale (Knox and Mayer, 2009), using their tangible and intangible resources to create value added products and specialised services to niche markets (Van Heur, 2012).

The difference between cultural and creative activities developed in big cities and small towns and rural areas is not only a matter of scale (Duxbury and Campbell, 2009). They have distinctive characteristics because they happen in specific small communities which permit to push by strong communities' ties and civic involvement, identity and authenticity values. Besides, these non-economic dimensions of everyday life are also attractive to talents engaged in projects with a strong social component or sense of place. Moreover, as advocated by some authors the cultural and creative sector as well as many knowledge-based activities benefited of informal alliances and networking between public and private stakeholders "something that is easier to handle in simpler governance systems that are found in smaller cities" (Creative SpIN Final Report, 2015). Smaller cities can take advantage of people's proximity to foster interactions and collaboration between different local actors.

The European Union has contributed to the dissemination of culture and creativity-related imageries as engines of development by supporting diverse programmes and networks of learning and collaboration. They provided opportunities to SMUA develop joint projects with other cities and regions, mainly related to tourism and to strengthen its international profile, drawing attention to local resources and cultural identity as well as to develop learning experiences (Besson et al., 2007). Some examples of these networks are the European Cultural

Routes[81]; the Creative Clusters in Low Density Areas[82]; the HerO - Heritage as Opportunity[83], the Cittaslow International Network[84]; HISTCAPE: HISTorical assets and related landsCAPE[85]; the CreArt network[86]; or the Creative SpIN project[87].

The most commonly reported critical points are the difficulty in presenting hard evidence of the long-term contribution of cultural strategies and their multiplier effects on the socio-economic development of small cities. It is also often referred the disengagement between the "formula" created by municipal and other political agencies and the inherent "cultural character" and everyday life of local communities (Evans, 2001, 2011). The culture development policies and strategies, independently of the city size, are not exempted from conflicts "between residents and users, gentrifiers and traditional residents, new activities and traditional activities, night users and day users, and so on" (Costa and Lopes, 2015; also in Costa, 2008; Costa et al., 2010).

As it will be verified in the next chapter, the diversity of solutions depends fundamentally on the "initial" situation of each territory. Their historical development trajectory, the cultural and socio-institutional characteristics of each territory influence the economic performance and the attitudes of local actors (Scott and Storper, 2007; Costa, 2008; Ascani et al., 2012). As Allen Scott denoted "culture is a phenomenon that tends to have intensely place-specific characteristics thereby helping to differentiate places from one another" (1997: 234).

In general, culture offers a way of both understanding and boosting changes (Nylund, 2001) because it implies the transformation of our collective perceptions and behaviours (Duxbury, 2014). Afterwards, these trends are globally spread and overpass the urban world, although in an uneven and varied way.

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[81] Cultural Routes programme was launched by the Council of Europe in 1987. http://culture-routes.net/

[82] Urbact II project focused on creative strategies for low density areas. http://urbact.eu/creative-clusters

[83] Urbact II project for historic urban landscapes. http://urbact.eu/hero

[84] Movement of cities based on a philosophy of Slow Food. http://www.cittaslow.org/

[85] INTERREG IVC project focused on small historic towns and the preservation of rural historic assets. www.histcape.eu

[86] CreArt - Network of cities for artistic creation - project of cooperation and valorisation of contemporary arts in the framework of the Culture Programme (2007-2013). http://www.creart-eu.org/

[87] Creative SpIN project (2012-2015) supported by European Programme URBACT focused on spill-over effects of creative industries. http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/creative_spin_final_report.pdf

CHAPTER III - BEYOND CAPITAL CITIES AND LARGE METROPOLIS: ANALYSIS OF FOUR SMALL AND MEDIUM URBAN AREAS

> (…) knowledge is understood as a process of always incomplete knowing about conditions and potentialities affecting the relational lives of those in and around urban areas (Patsy Healey, *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies Towards a Relational Planning for Our Times*, 2007: 250)

1. Methodological issues in comparative research and case-oriented studies

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the experiences of recent decades in various cities and towns that call culture to the core of development policies have raised curiosity about the nature, conditions, and impacts of these. Therefore, there is a particular interested in how the political processes "through which collective action is imagined, mobilised, organised and practised to 'make a difference' to urban conditions" (Healey, 2007: 266) as well as in the multiplicity of interests, actors and resources that are mobilised in these projects and that marked different trajectories of these cities.

Existing research and theoretical models have been applied predominantly to processes that occur in major cities due to the greater reach and visibility of their strategies, but mainly to the belief that these centres have greater capacity of implementation new development paths as a result of the diversity of human, economic and institutional resources. However, as we mentioned, there is a growing interest about the reality of smaller cities beyond those larger metropolises and how they positioned themselves in an increasingly interdependent world.

In this sense, instead of making generalisations on the basis of historical and economic constraints, we should look at these cities not only in absolute terms but also consider additional factors for the analysis. For instance, the place of each within their territorial system and urban hierarchy, along with the interdependencies and functions between urban centres and surroundings, elements of attractiveness, distinct patterns of development, cultural identities, etc. In sum, the attempts to identify the SMUA's development circumstances and opportunities have been occasional considering the heterogeneity of contemporary urban change process.

Thus, rather than seek to make broader generalisations or construct a general theory, it was our intention primarily to examine the theoretical propositions that have importance or might influence the context of those urban centres outside the major metropolises. Hence, the preference for a case study research is due to the desire to understand and interpret in each of

the chosen cases regarding the specific historical, social and political contexts, the way that culture is understood in development politics and policies. This type of research allows to show in detail which institutions and actors whose agency has implications for urban governance and point out perceptions and conflicts of interest that emerge in these dynamics, and from here draw theoretical implications and lines of investigation for further analysis.

Further, nowadays, culture is increasingly intricate in political-economic practices, being necessary to examine not only the practices itself but also the discourses that give meaning and shape them (see, for example, Hajer, 1995). The relationship between the negotiated meanings and practices depend not only on the specificity of each place but also of the existing institutional arrangements. This means to look at the vision, strategies and governance modes proposed as well as the processes operating behind the same. Furthermore, it should be noted the importance of the case study for understanding the categories of space, as an expression of social relations as well as of place associated with the ideas of local, location and sense of place (in this regard see the reflection of Agnew, 2011).

Subsequently, the adoption of a comparative approach became understandable throughout this work despite the complexity of the same. In addition to the thick description of the various cases, we propose to identify similarities and differences between cases that can contribute to the theoretical hypothesis testing or causal mechanisms exposing in the political, economic and social change process. This knowledge may also help to inform policy recommendations and to establish a political agenda for small cities. As stressed by Jon Pierre (2005):

> An important element of comparative research is not just to isolate causal processes but also to present the cases as a set of interrelated economic, political, and social processes embedded in an institutional system. These contextual accounts—some would say narratives - have very much to offer in terms of the overall Verstehen of the individual cases" (Pierre, 2005: 456).

Although aware of the difficulties and critics that the kind of research produces, we will explain the main features of the methodology chosen, the options made in the design of the research strategy, the selection of cases and the types of data collected and analysed.

As discussed in earlier methodological article, the interest in resorting to comparisons is not new nor devoid of criticisms (Tomaz, 2013). These have been used since ancient Greece and are intrinsically linked to the very constitution of the sociological discipline, by the hand of its founders. However, the main reflection concerning it as a methodological strategy arises mainly from the late 1960s and early 1970s in the political science (see, e.g., Smelser, 1966, 1976; Teune and Przeworski, 1970; Sartori, 1970; Lijphart, 1971).

In general terms, comparative research refers to:

> (…) the evaluation of the similarities, differences, and associations between entities. Entities may be based on many lines such as statements from an interview or individual, symbols, case studies, social groups, geographical or political configurations, and cross-national comparisons (Mills, 2008).

One of most frequent methodological issues in comparative research is the discussion about the number of cases to include in the study. In an article recurrently referred of Arend Lijphart "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method" (1971), the author introduced Neil J. Smelser's thinking (1966) to argue about the differences between scientific methods. Lijphart distinguished the comparative method from the statistical method - *large-N analysis*, considering it especially suitable when there are limited research resources and the investigator decides to empirically discover relationships between many variables in a reduced number of cases and many variables - *many variables, small N*. But, the difficulty of monitoring several explanatory variables increases the degree of certainty in relations found, what sets up as one of the main methodological challenges pointed to the comparison method.

In general, is distinguished two types of comparative strategies: variable-oriented and case-oriented, depending on the kind of knowledge that is sought (Ragin, 1987; Ferreira de Almeida, 1994; Porta, 2008). The first approach aims to document generic observations to reach parsimonious explanations based on the analysis of relations between variables, or rather to recognize dominant configurations in order to test hypotheses derived from a general theory. The second approach purposes to develop in-depth knowledge focusing on a small number of cases. It seeks to comprehend complex units and identify similarities and differences through dense narratives and, afterward, to discover the causes of a given phenomenon (Ragin, 1981; Porta, 2008), or even to contribute to developing, validate or reformulate of hypotheses or theories (Collier, 1991; Sartori, 1994).

Given the object of study, the choice fell on case studies as a strategy for comparative analysis. Due in large part to the far-reaching nature and dynamism of the core concepts combined with the assortment of variables to consider which consequently hinders the search for the systematisation of information and a parsimonious appraisal. Moreover, the choice for transnational research increases this difficulty, particularly the construction of an analytical framework of common understanding of categories, concepts or variables that can be measured in all contexts (Kantor and Savitch, 2010). Although there are attempts to standardise information at European level, this objective is still far from being achieved, and it is very

difficult to obtain appropriate information for comparing different realities on the basis of more extensive methods, which often leads to incorrect readings.

Although, the case studies already contain implicitly a comparative perspective, they are increasingly recognised, principally in urban field, as a valid means for "cross-case comparisons within a single study or research program" (George and Bennett, 2005: 18). As Jan Nijman (2007) stated the comparative research at urban level aims to develop knowledge, understanding and confirmation of hypotheses about what is common, but also about what is specific to each city or urban process. In this essay, the study of urban policies, as we mentioned before, comprised the systemic analysis of the political processes where a diversity of social actors is engaged and whose actions have repercussions in the cities' development.

However, the degree of dissimilarity between the places requires also some reflection. Cities are unique entities, moving between local circumstances and trajectories defined by a system of values and practices, on one side; and the wider scales where are embedded, on the other side. Cities are part of institutional, national or supranational systems that affect local actions, which also allow some contextual control (Hodson and Maher, 2001; Sellers, 2002; Bache and Flinders, 2004). Further, European cities share a common agenda, as a result of the context of change and the need to adapt to an ever more global and knowledge-based economy.

The selection of cases is, thus, another huge task in conducting comparative research. It should go beyond the criterion of representativeness and be justified by a strong intent to capture variants with strong theoretical interest (Gerring, 2007). Two types of logics in cases selection are distinguished by Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune (1970: 31–46). On the one hand, the comparison between systems that are, as far as possible, similar to each other, i.e., share a large number of possible attributes - *Most Similar Systems Designs*. This option is based on the *Method of Difference* described by John Stuart Mill in "A System of Logic" (1843) and it seeks to achieve greater control of similar variables and, at the same time, isolate the differences that can point out potential causes. On the other hand, the comparison can be made between systems that contrast as much as possible - *Most Different Systems Designs*. This method is a variation of the *Method of Agreement*, also developed by Mill, to compare distinct cases where the same phenomenon occurs. Additionally, Charles Ragin uses Mill's *Method of Difference* to reflect the existence of "multiple conjunctural causation" on comparative analysis (Ragin, 1987: ix–xi). For this author, the complexity of social phenomena is due not only to the quantity of variables to consider but because distinct conditions causally relevant can be combined in various ways (Ragin, 1987: 26). Likewise, it is assumed that an outcome has multiple causes and a combination of different conditions, or causal factors, can produce similar

results in different contexts. Otherwise, distinct causal explanations can be the consequence of various combinations of conditions or the absence of any conditions.

In the case selection of the cities to compare in this study, we followed several additional criteria. First, the object of analysis is SMUA of EU member-states. The classification of these urban centres depends not only on the size and number of inhabitants, but it is mostly context-sensitive, conditioned by "the nature and history of its urban population, as well as its political and administrative structures for land-use control" (Eurostat, 1992). Criteria and terminology used differ between European countries, and not all cities and cities with this status have the same type of responsibility and autonomy. For example, in English nomenclature, there are several related terms *city*, *town*, *township*, *municipality* and *borough*. Instead, in Czech there isn't differentiation between city and town, using the term *město* for both. Similarly, in French is commonly used the term *ville* but the smaller local authorities of distinct sizes are called *communes*. In Portugal, cities' size may vary between 2,000 and 600,000 inhabitants, being that the status of a city, on many times, dependent on historical and cultural reasons and not of the legal and administrative functions. Even though, most of the local authorities and capitals of municipalities are cities, i.e. in Portuguese *cidades*. There are also some municipalities where such functions are provided by a *vila* (comparable to a town in English). Therefore, it is not only a question of nomenclature, but also of differences in the criteria used to designate a certain administrative category, in this case, the local administration and their attributions and relations with the different scales of governance within the structure of each country. In this study, it is considered a SMUA those urban centres between 5,000 and 250,000 inhabitants that correspond to the local administration.

Secondly, we must take into account the three-level hierarchical classification of the EU regions - the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) introduced by Eurostat adopted for statistical purposes and for the assessment of eligibility in the distribution of the Structural Funds. Although this classification attempts to create comparable units at all hierarchical levels, firstly based on population size, each level may contain regions that differ significantly in terms of geographic area, economic strength and administrative importance, and even socio-cultural and historical conditions (about this see Eurostat, 2011). Most regional policy is based on NUTS 2 and some indicators are only available at this level of aggregation and can mask significant differences between regions behind the global average.

Following the approach developed by the OECD, the Eurostat published a new typology for NUTS 3 regions (2010, updated in 2013[88]) that splits it in three types[89]:

1) *predominantly rural* - if more than 50% of the total population live in a rural grid cells it is called predominantly rural region;

2) *intermediate* - if the share of population living in rural areas is between 20% and 50%;

3) *predominantly urban* - the rural population is less than 20 % of the total population (Eurostat, 2010; see the distribution of EU regions types, Figure 6.3).

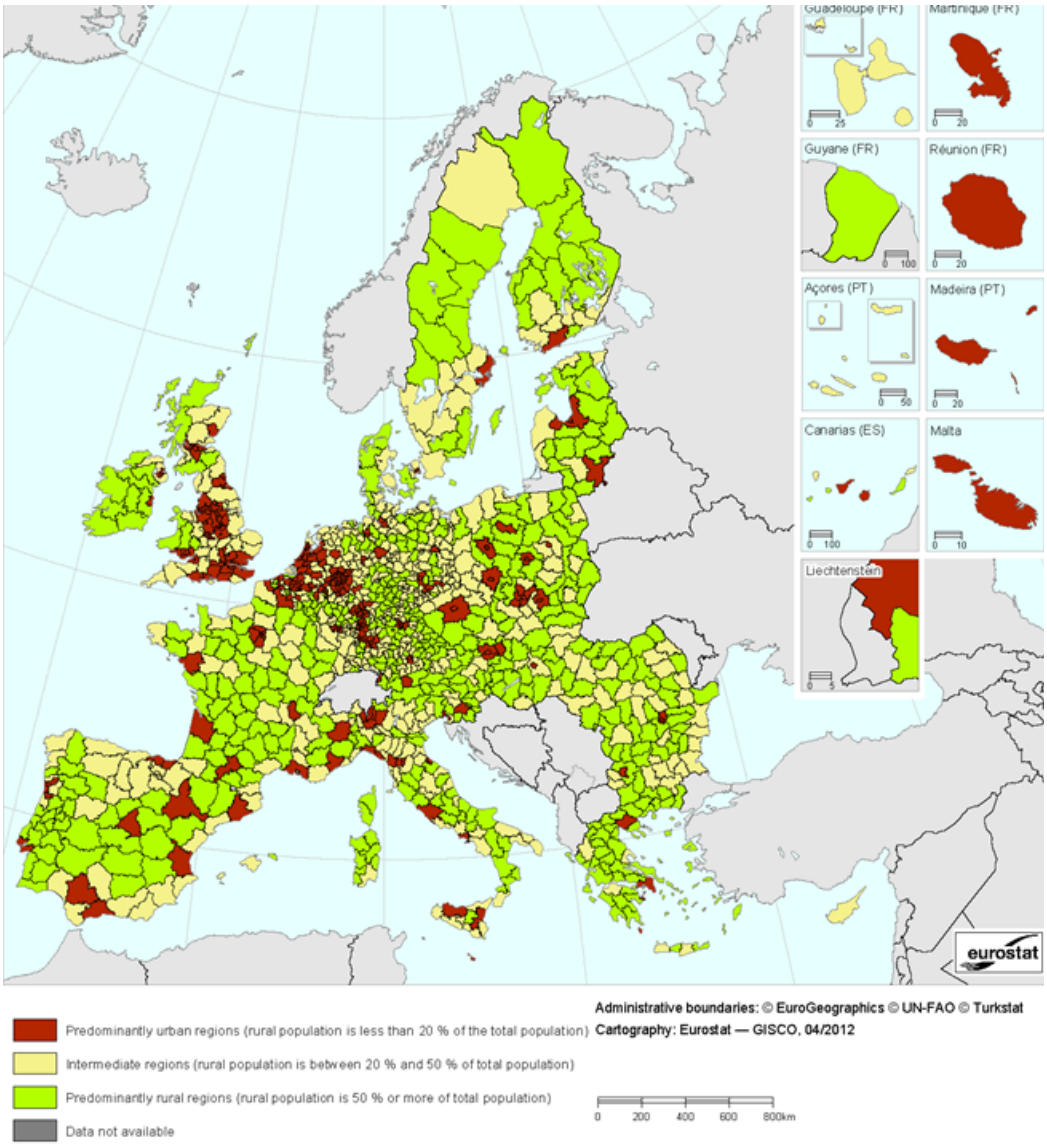

Figure 6.3 Urban-rural typology for NUTS 3 regions. (Eurostat, 2012: 197)

[88] Regulation EC No. 1319/2013 of 9 December 2013, used from 1 January 2015.

[89] This typology is based on the definition of urban in opposition to rural grid cells of 1 km² each. The type of region depends on the share of the regional population living in rural grid cells. Each urban grid cells have a minimum population density of 300 inhabitants per km² and a minimum population of 5,000. The population living outside these urban areas is considered as rural.

Taking the universe of European cities and towns, we decided to choose those located in intermediate and predominantly rural regions given their special function in European development and planning as mediators between the centre and periphery, the urban and rural, or the local and global. This location is also reflected in the kind of perspective to develop.

Thirdly, it is also useful to consider the spatial, political and cultural framework of SMUA to understand how certain conditions, such as the evolution of institutional and regulatory arrangements or cultural traditions in the Member States influence the elaboration of cities' strategies (Faludi, 2004; Healey, 2007; Getimis, 2012; Reimer and Blotevogel, 2012).

Thus, starting from the location of cities within a larger macro-regional context, different sub-regions can be distinguished in the European context, which corresponds not only to spatial classification but also to mental categories based on preceding historical and political sub-regions: Eastern Europe, Northern Europe, Southern Europe and Western Europe. Others consider five sub-regions that correspond to a spatial but also mental category of the historical and political division of Europe, namely: Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, Western Europe, Central Europe and Northern Europe (Avdeev et al., 2011).[90]

On the other hand, we can study the different types of political systems and models of governance existing in the EU Member States and in which urban actors and politics are integrated. According this, Farinós Dasí and others (2006) distinguished between two major groups:

1) Federal States; and

2) Unitary States.

Within this second group, they identified the following three types of models:

a) Centralised – where regional levels or authorities are defined for administrative reasons and are subordinated to Central Government;

b) Decentralised – in result of the devolution of competences and powers to local authorities or inter-municipal co-operation bodies;

c) Regionalised – characterised by regional governments with a certain degree of autonomy (Farinós Dasí et al., 2006, see the mapping of the different models in Europe in Figure 7.3)

[90] See the classification of ISO International Organisation for Standardization. www.iso.org/iso/country_codes/iso_3166_code_lists/english_country_names_and_code_elements.htm

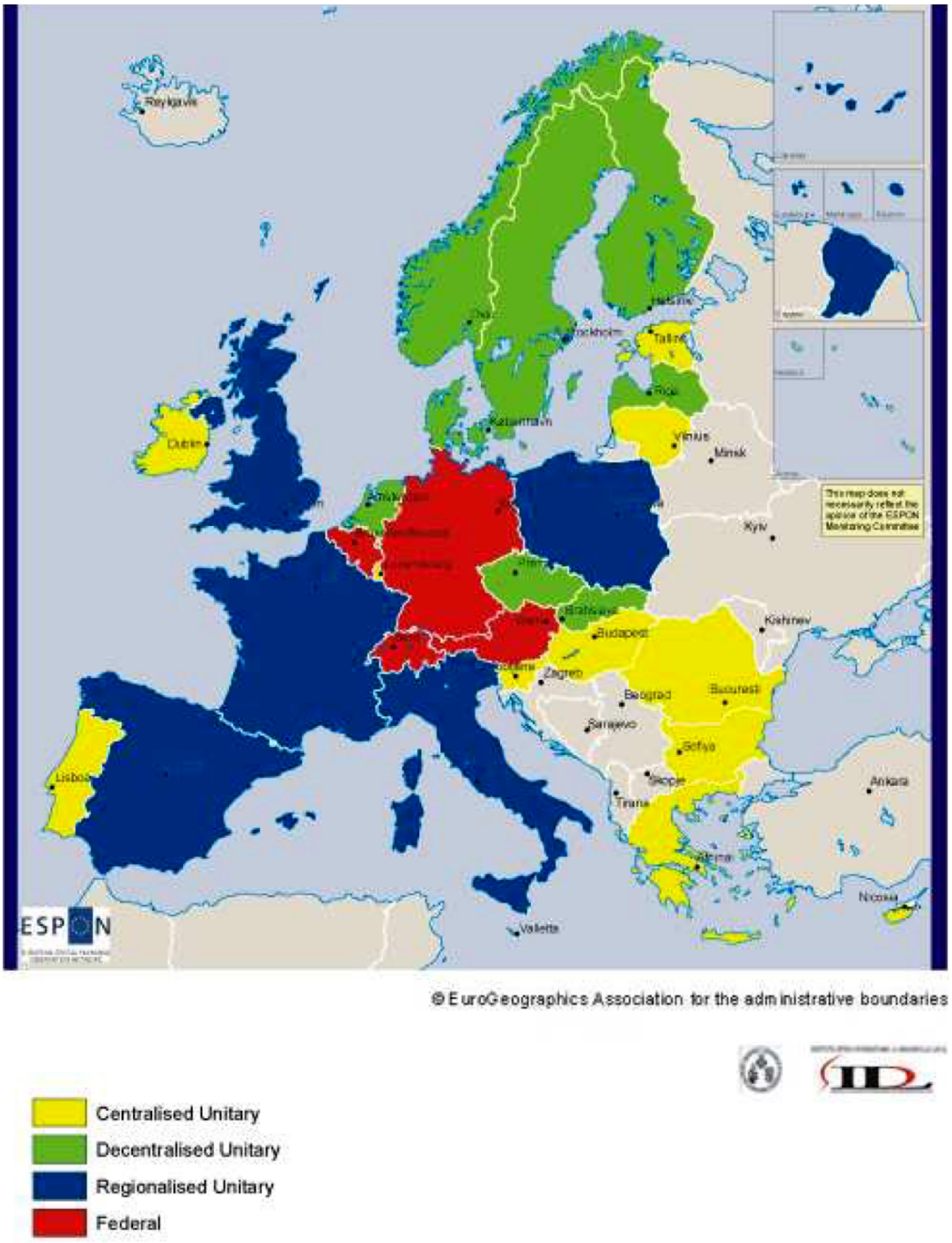

Figure 7.3 Models of State. ESPON Project 2.3.2 (Farinós Dasí et al., 2006)

In a different way, the research developed for Ismeri Europa and Applica (2010) offers a typology to verify the location of cities in national decision-making structure. Drawn from the classification of EU government systems, the typology establish in this research aims to describe the distribution of powers and responsibilities between government's levels relating to the financial dependency of local authorities (see Table 4.3).

Group of countries	CHARACTERISTICS	Local revenues & autonomy
Federal states (Austria, Belgium, Germany)	Central and regional authorities with independent legislative & administrative competences recognised by Constitution	Medium
Unitary 'Northern' states (Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway)	Local governments with wide range of responsibilities for economic development Rationalisation and unification of some local tiers	High
Unitary Regionalised states (Italy and Spain)	Intermediate government with wide set of competences and high degree of regionalisation	Medium-high and increasing
Other Unitary states – 'old' Member States (France, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, UK)	Central government dominant. Considerable variation in terms of decentralisation with more (UK, Netherlands, France) or less power to local government (Portugal, Greece)	Medium (high in France)
Other Unitary states – 'new' Member States (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta)	States undergoing restructuring; limited power to local government Re-establishment and reinforcement of local governments	Medium low

Table 4.3 Classification of EU countries according to state systems, competencies and local autonomy. Based on the study carried out by Ismeri Europa and Applica for DG Regio (2010).

But despite the assortment of models based on the type of State intervention, that oppose more or less centralised systems and higher or lower (in)direct State support, there has been in recent years a general trend towards decentralisation[91] and *désétatisation*, where other sectors of society are increasingly called upon to intervene, especially in cultural field (Klamer et al., 2006).

Connexions between national contexts and diverse traditional cultural policies approaches can also be established as observed in Chapter 1. In this field, we benefit of the information provided by the Compendium Cultural Policies in Europe, a jointly project of the Council of Europe and ERICarts[92] and official government documents. At the local level, statistical data available are reduced and more demanding to obtain.

This introduces the discussion of another challenging research issue. A more rational and systematic approach, through formal models and hard evidence, has been advocated by a range of political agents but also academic researchers to inform the processes by which public

[91] Decentralisation is a multifaceted concept. In general, designates a process of transferring authority and responsibility from central government to lower governments levels or quasi-independent government organisations and/or the private sector. Three types are commonly categorised: deconcentration, delegation, and devolution (Rondinelli et al., 1983, 1989; Schneider, 2003).

[92] See http://www.culturalpolicies.net

policies are formulated, and public investments are allocated. In contrast, other authors have criticised this type of approach by focusing mainly on quantitative indicators and the evaluation of results, rather than on the elements of the process, which are considered inadequate to explain how these policies or strategies are designed and implemented and omits the motivations behind policymaking and the premises in data selection.

In the same vein, this discussion has occurred in culture and development strategies research (e.g. Evans, 2005; Madden, 2005; Belfiore, 2009; Carnwath and Brown, 2014; De Marchi et al., 2014). On the one hand, it encourages evidence-based research and data collection that can quantify, for instance, the value of cultural projects and activities that can contribute to legitimising political action and public funding. On the other hand, some authors call the attention upon the difficulty of apprehending the complexity of cultural phenomena or contextualise development events. A more positivist approach alleges a hypothetic sense of objectivity that masks the embedded and intangible values and centres on indicators that can be measured and compared such as economic costs and revenues or audience attendance indicators. As a result, "social problems become decontextualized and simplified in order to generate unambiguous policy solutions" (Stanhope and Dunn, 2011: 277).

As identified by Madden (2005) this problematic is even greater when data are used for comparative purposes, raising questions related to 1) data production, availability and quality; 2) the non-standardisation of data collection across countries; 3) variances in the definitions, classifications and methodologies in diverse aspects of culture analysis across different national cultures; 4) structural inconsistencies, such as the policy and bureaucratic structures that shape and implement cultural policies; 5) the presentation of data without a well-defined context; amongst other difficulties.

Therefore, throughout this research, we sought to articulate the theoretical knowledge already produced with the empirical material collected and analysed with "sociological imagination" in the sense given to it by C. Wright Mills (1959) that emphasises that sociological practice must recognise the importance of seeing the connections between social structure and individual experience and agency.

In this study, we claimed as Anthony Giddens that social research "no matter how mathematical or quantitative, presumes ethnography" (Giddens, 1991: 219). Thus, the reflections made in each case derive in part from the observation of the social contexts during the study visits made in different periods, the formal and formal conversations and interviews, as well as the diversity of documents analysed. The study visits permitted to observe and participate in events, mapping and getting to know relevant institutions, maintain formal and

informal conversations with the local community and key informants that could provide some different aspects within the complexity of this research issue. In Óbidos and Jyväskylä it was also possible to participate in local groups' discussion, which was a requirement of the European URBACT programme (called Local Action Groups) as well as study visits integrated in conference meetings, events and reunions regarding local development.

The semi-structured interviews organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions were performed with a diversity of key informants and included from managers from public and private organisations, government officers to cultural workers (observe Table 5.3; see also the interview guide in Annexe A).

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	SCALE
Public	Member of a public department	National level
	Member of a non-departmental public organisation	
	Member of a public cultural	
	Member of an educational institution	
	Member of a public company or agency	
Private	Member of a private cultural organisation	Intermediate level
	Businessman or member of a business organisation	
	Member of an interest group	
	Cultural or creative entrepreneur	
Civil Society	Member of an association	Local level
	Opinion maker	
	Agents of change	
	Member of a community group	
	Artists or cultural worker	
	Citizen	

Table 5.3 Categories of actors

For reasons of privacy, many citations inserted in the text, taken from interviews conducted do not present the name of the interviewees, but only the category to which they belong, except in the case where they allowed it. Despite the difficulty of obtaining some interviews, due to the availability of some actors or the linguistic barrier (especially in the Czech Republic), we tried to cover a diverse group of interviewees that could support a wider vision and distinct perspectives. The formal interviews were recorded, transcribed and after that were analysed to

produce inferences about the same. Several informal talks were also held over the years with many individuals who could clarify some questions about the issues raised in each case (see Annexe B to more detailed information about the official interviews made in each country).

During these years, it was also possible to participate in several major meetings and conferences that allowed me to discuss and obtain more knowledge about development and cultural strategies and policies of the different countries and places, with a broad range of people.

These techniques were complemented by quantitative methods of data collecting provided mainly by official statistics aiming to capture structural features of each community and obtain measurable elements of its relation to other units and levels.

Other secondary data were also collected in the research project that range from printed and online documents (papers, books, journals, press releases, web pages, memoranda, etc.) to images and video materials or geographic data. Like others, these documents were reviewed and interpreted to synthesise data, produce meaning, improvement understanding, and develop empirical knowledge about the cases.

Certain information had increasing difficulties to get as we converge to the local level, especially regarding cultural statistics. Often these are insufficient, non-existent, or even questionable due to the methodologies used.

We are aware that the reflections and considerations made about the places, processes and actors are in part based on the viewpoint expressed by the individuals to which we add our own perception. This is informed by the theories reviewed, our interpretation of hidden meanings and as well as on what is just verbalised off the record.

As said by João de Almeida and José Madureira Pinto "there is no observation without categorisation of the observed and, therefore, without reference to (previous, albeit reformulable) elements of an ideological or theoretical nature, that the data are 'captured', i.e., that is not the reality itself nor its passive recording, transpose and impose significations and constitute results starting points of scientific practice" (1975: 382)

Finally, having in account these approaches and in order to compare local circumstances in different national contexts, inside European Union sub-regions, along with the ongoing processes of decentralization and local government autonomy, we selected four case studies: Český Krumlov (Czech Republic); Óbidos (Portugal); Jyväskylä (Finland); and York (England, United Kingdom). The following table summarises the cases selected and the main components of classification (see Table 6.3).

European subregion	Country	State model (Espon 2006)	State model (Ismeri and Applica 2010)	NUTS 3 regions	Urban/rural typology	SMUA	Total of inhab.
Central Europe	Republic Czech (CZ)	Decentralised Unitary State	Unitary State 'new' Member State Medium to low autonomy of local governments	Jihočeský kraj (South Bohemia) NUTS 3 code CZ031	Predominantly rural	Český Krumlov	13,290 (2012)
Northern Europe	Finland (FI)	Decentralised Unitary State (towards regionalised)	Unitary 'Northern' State High autonomy of local governments	Keski-Suomi (Central Finland) NUTS 3 code FI193	Predominantly rural	Jyväskylä	134,802 (2014)
Southern Europe	Portugal (PT)	Centralised Unitary State	Unitary State 'old' Member State Medium autonomy of local governments	Oeste (West) NUTS 3 code PT16B	Predominantly rural	Óbidos	11,763 (2012)
Western Europe	United Kingdom (UK)	Regionalised Unitary State	Unitary State 'old' Member State Medium autonomy of local governments	York NUTS 3 code UKE21	Intermediate region	York	198,000 (2011)

Table 6.3 Case studies selected according their political and administrative system

2. An empirical model for a relational analysis

To adequately investigate culture development strategies, it is proposed a relational analysis[93]. The relational approach attempts to capture the dynamic network of relationships at multiple spatial scales and timescales where localities are embedded and that shape urban development and policymaking.

The complexity of the object of study led us to the necessity of building an analytical model that puts in evidence the complex and intertwined web of relations where political processes, actors and contexts are embedded. At same time, this model creates a basis to collect and study the information that allow to clarify the specificities and variations in a comparative framework.

[93]See, for instance, Mustafa Emirbayer (1997), also with Ann Mische (1998); Stephen Graham and Patsy Healey (1999); Patsy Healey (2006, 2007); Kevin Ward (2010); Pierpaolo Donati (2010, 2013); Scott Eacott (2018); among others.

Thus, we will consider three broad dimensions of analysis, which in turn are constituted by a set of analytical categories considered more critical to the study (Figure 8.3, author's elaboration).

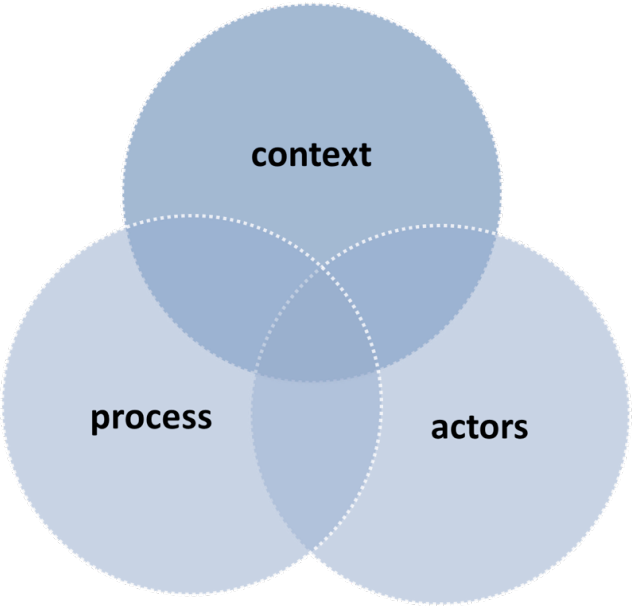

Figure 8.3 The relational model

As the different components under analysis are interconnected and overlap, it is extremely difficult to clearly distinguish their limits and to examine them individually. For example, it is not possible to describe the governance models without mentioning the actors and power relations involved, as well as to discuss the socio-cultural environment it involves mentioning the policy options and implementation models.

Firstly, to capture the contextual richness of each case study, it will require an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural, economic and political environment in which stakeholders operate and local strategies are designed (Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3 Context Analysis

It includes a description of the political-administrative system of each city or town which helps to understand the circumstances and constraints to political action, besides evaluating the resources and facilities to design the local development strategy. It also describes the main sectors and entities of production and exchange of goods and services given

that culture is increasingly used for non-cultural proposes in development strategies. It evidences the administrative organisation, leading institutions and legislation related to culture, urban development and planning policymaking, considering the relationship between State and markets. A special attention is given to the socio-demographic variables, the social and cultural organisations, the historical and cultural legacy, among other factors. It also takes in account the physical environment of the settlements (i.e., the geographic location, climate, landscape, accessibility, etc.) to contextualize the relationship between economic activity and socio-cultural environment.

Secondly, the analysis of policy processes should elucidate the ways and means in which the preferences of citizens are translated into effective policy choices (Kohler-Koch 1999). It includes the study of rules or principles that influence the management of culture and planning and development programs (Figure 10.3). Further, it exams the relation between policies and governance models, to appraisal the relationship between public authorities' intervention and the variety of other actors involved in both policy formulation and implementation. Besides, it should also consider the policy instruments, such as taxes and subsidies, in addition to the modes of coordination and implementation to achieve policy goals and outcomes. It enquiries about the power and resources of each actor/collective actor and the type of interactions performed, namely: hierarchical, market and networks ways of allocating resources and co-ordinating and implementing public policy (Kaufmann et al., 1986; Thorelli, 1986; Rhodes, 1996; 1997, etc.). In the hierarchy type, the political process is understood as the execution of authority and control mechanism by central government or local governments. In turn, market governance introduces market principles such as competition and price and private sector management methods in public sector. Alongside the market and the hierarchy, networks have emerged as a form of governance characterised by non-hierarchical and complex modes of collaboration, cooperation, and/or competition.

Figure 10.3 Process analysis

Once more the particularities of each political and institutional context influence the political orientations and practices. For instance, it is important to observe factors that could

put in question the continuity or the nature of interventions such as the political election cycle or political elite's commitment with development goals.

Thirdly, the analysis of the constellations of actors is a central factor of any governance perspective. It alludes to government actors but also all the private and civil society actors implicated and excluded from the political process. It also discusses the influence of political leadership, agents of change, interest groups, and experts, among others. Moreover, it scrutinises the discourses employed by the distinct actors – repertoires of meaning: how they are produced, negotiated and performed within power relations (Figure 11.3). Again, in the analysis of actors, factors such as a great State control or the involvement of private actors in the political decision-making processes, which play various interests and powers, affect the priorities and strategies chosen by actors. Also, they are influenced by the participation of civil society in decision-making which is related to the political culture of each country and with the experience of exercise of citizenship.

Figure 11.3 Actors analysis

Furthermore, given that contemporary process of development and policymaking that occur in multiple and overlapping scales (Amin, 2002; Hubbard et al., 2002; Martin and Miller, 2003; Healey, 2007) it was necessary to collect information and evidence that exposes the interplay between the following levels:

1) Local level – it includes the examination data obtained by the methods described above at municipal level.
2) Intermediate level – it covers the evaluation of programme documents and interviews and meetings with Managing Authorities and/or intermediary bodies, among others that were responsible for agenda planning and implementation of local projects at national/regional level.
3) Transnational level – it reviews EU policy and programs and other relevant data.

To sum up, the interest in comparing case studies lies in the possibility of combining more analytical interpretation, through dense narratives and using several variables (Landman, 2003; Porta, 2008). At the same time, discovering factors of change and possible causal relationships (Sellers, 2002; Pierre, 2005; Kantor and Savitch, 2010). Through the model presented here, it

is intended to guide the analysis in each case study in order to obtain those thick narratives that highlight the relations between the political processes, actors and contexts inherent to the cultural and urban development policies. And, in this way, to increase our understanding about the same and evaluate the specificities or regularities of the cases presented.

3. Case studies analysis and key findings

a. Český Krumlov, South Bohemia, Czech Republic

Context analysis

The Czech Republic is a parliamentary republic of Central Europe with 10,512,419 inhabitants (2014), bordering Poland, Germany, Austria and Slovakia.

During the more than 1,000-year history, these Czech lands suffered several significant political and societal changes with implications in the configuration of the politico-administrative system.[94] Restricting ourselves to the most recent period of history, the path to a modern and democratic Czech nation-state began to be traced after the end of the totalitarian communist regime, followed by the dissolution of the union with Slovakia on 1 January 1993 and the beginning of the negotiation process to join the EU in July 1997. The institutional and public administration reforms performed, attempt an increasing decentralisation of the political and administrative system and a free market economy, with the stimulation of private property and commercial activities (Sucháček, 2008; Hladík and Kopecky, 2013).

Today, the Ministry of Regional Development is the central state administrative authority responsible for the definition of the regional policy and spatial planning, among other issues. Until the accession to the European Union in 2004, the Czech Republic was divided up into regions (in Czech: Kraje) corresponding to the EU NUTS 3 level[95]. After that, they introduced

[94] The Czechs founded the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Premyslide dynasty, which ruled Bohemia and Moravia from the 10th to the 16th century.

[95] The last administrative reform operating since 2000 established 14 regions: Praha (Prague), Jihoceský (South Bohemian), Plzenský (Pilsner), Karlovarský (Karlovy Vary), Liberecký (Liberec), Ústecký (Ústínad Labem), Stredoceský (Central Bohemian), Vysocina (Vysocina), Královehradecký (Hradec Králové), Pardubický (Pardubice), Moravskoslezský (Moravia-Silesian), Olomoucký (Olomouc), Zlínský (Zlín), and Jihomoravský (South Moravian).

one more level between the country and the regional level that corresponds to the NUTS 2 level: the "cohesion regions"[96], which is the most used for the allocation of EU funds. Below the NUTS levels, there are two LAU (Local Administrative Units) levels which are: the LAU 1 corresponding to 77 districts (in Czech: Okresy) and the LAU 2 with 6,249 municipalities (in Czech: Obce).

Until the publishing of "Principles of Urban Policy" (2010), the urban policy was an integral part of the Regional Development Strategy of the Czech Republic. This document established the conceptual framework for the development of a sustainable urban policy in agreement with European key documents. It also underlined the importance of cities as development poles and the specific national settlement structure with a relatively small number of the major cities and a significant proportion of small and medium-sized towns (MRD CR, 2010).

In fact, the majority of the municipalities has a population of fewer than 500 inhabitants which made of smaller towns an essential element of development and coordination between urban and rural areas (Kašparová and Půček, 2009). In general, the "město" (city/town) corresponds to a municipality which historically has gained the town status (Sýkora and Mulíček, 2013) and which is responsible for local development on issues like management of municipal assets and the local budget, social work, public order and the municipal police, water supply, local public services, town and municipal cultural institutions, etc.

Evidently, Czech cultural policy has been shaped by the historical events, some of them described above. Until 1989, the dense network of the cultural facilities was controlled by the state due to ideological purposes (Petrová, 2015; Zaková, 2013). Today, the Ministry of Culture is the central State administrative body responsible for the arts; cultural activities and monuments; educational activities and related issues.

In the 1990s, a process of restructuring the cultural sector at the national level began with the adoption of a new set of regulations for cultural support in the Czech Republic. The principal government document in this area was the "Strategy of Effective Cultural Support ratified by Government Decree of the CR No. 401" in 1999. Later, the adoption of "Decree no. 1452" in 2008 delivers the guidelines for the "National Cultural Policy 2009-2014" where culture is described as "a sector that can play an essential role in the development of Czech society in the future and a sector where the economic, environmental and social development of the state is supported" (MC CR, 2009: 9).

[96] The Czech cohesions regions are Northwest, Northeast, Southeast, Southwest, Central Bohemia, Central Moravia and Moravia-Silesia region.

In the "Strategy of Regional Development of the Czech Republic 2007-2013" issued by the Ministry of Regional Development, culture is one of the seven priority areas chosen. These priorities are subscribed by regions in their development programs, as in the case of South Bohemia Region. On it, it is emphasised the objective of using their natural and cultural resources for tourism and foreign cooperation relations[97]. It is also stressed that: "(…) all strategies at a regional level or the national level should be the link to the European strategies and with EU definitions".

Thus, following the European agenda, cultural and creative sector became an object of the attention of the Czech Ministry of Culture, which together with the Art Institute - Theatre Institute (Institut umení - Divadelní ústav)[98] launched in 2011 some pilot projects in six Czech cities. The research findings were published in "Czech Cultural and Creative Industries Mapping (2011–2015)" (ATI, 2015) and helped to make more visible this CCIs conceptual framework. However, as referred by one of the interviewees "these projects are managed by the people from state organisations, and they are not prepared to deal with them" (Member of a non-departmental public organisation 1). Thus, at the regional and local level, the discourse about CCIs is still embryonic, and few cities choose to develop a strategy to support them.

More recently in April 2015, the government approved the "Resolution No. 393" which outlines the "State Cultural Policy for 2015–2020 (with outlook up to 2025)" (MC CR, 2015)[99]. This document states that regions should support cultural development from their budgets and meet the objectives of the special regulations. The guidelines proposed in this document, as exposed by representatives of some national and regional public institutions, did not produce effective strategic measures on regional and local cultural policies and are restrict to more traditional cultural fields, as observed in interviews:

> These documents are contingent of the political cycle (…) only the cultural heritage in connection with the tourism is supported and strategically considered (…). Nowadays, the state grant system for NGOs and independent projects in other cultural field is the main object of cuts (Member of a non-departmental public organisation).

[97] http://www.kraj-jihocesky.cz/foreign/eng/develop.php

[98] The main mission of the Art Institute - Theatre Institute is to provide the Czech and foreign public with comprehensive services in the field of theatre and partial services from other artist areas (music, literature, dance and visual arts). For more information see http://www.idu.cz/cs/

[99] For a list of cultural legislations: http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/czechia.php?aid=52&curln=100

The Czech Republic is constituted by 73-82% of rural land areas (depending on the criteria used) occupied by only 27.02 % of the total population. The region of South Bohemia (in Czech: Jihočeský Kraj, NUTS 3) - where the city and district of Český Krumlov are located - has a total of 637,460 people (2011 census) living in the region, and consists of seven districts. Classified as predominantly rural (according to the urban-rural typology applied to EU NUTS 3 regions, Eurostat, 2012), it shows the lowest population density in the country. Although more than a quarter of the inhabitants live in the České Budějovice District, which is also the regional and administrative capital (see Figure 12.3, see also Annexe C).

Figure 12.3 Location of South Bohemia Region and Districts

One of the smallest districts of that region and all country is Český Krumlov (LAU 2) divided into 46 municipalities and with a total of 61,065 inhabitants (2016).[100] The Český Krumlov District is characterised by its rural character and low-density urban areas counting with variable landscapes, from forests, lakes, fish ponds, meadows, crop fields and small towns and villages. The extended natural ecosystem includes the Protected Landscape Area Blanský and part of the Šumava National Park and Reserve, a national and UNESCO protected biosphere reserve. Throughout the district, we find many landmarks such as the Cistercian

[100] https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/home

monastery of Vyšší Brod or the Zlatá Koruna monastery, places of pilgrimage of the South Bohemia region.

The capital, with the same name, has the status of a "municipality with extended powers".[101] With only 13,290 inhabitants (Czech Statistical Office, 2012), it is categorised according to its urbanisation degree as an intermediate density area.[102] Situated 25 km south of the regional capital, at 220 km from Prague and just 70 km of Linz, in Austria. This geographical location, adjoining on the Austrian border, has shaped its history and its past and future development.[103] It is managed by the Municipal Authority which serves as an administrative tool of the local government representatives (Figure 13.3).

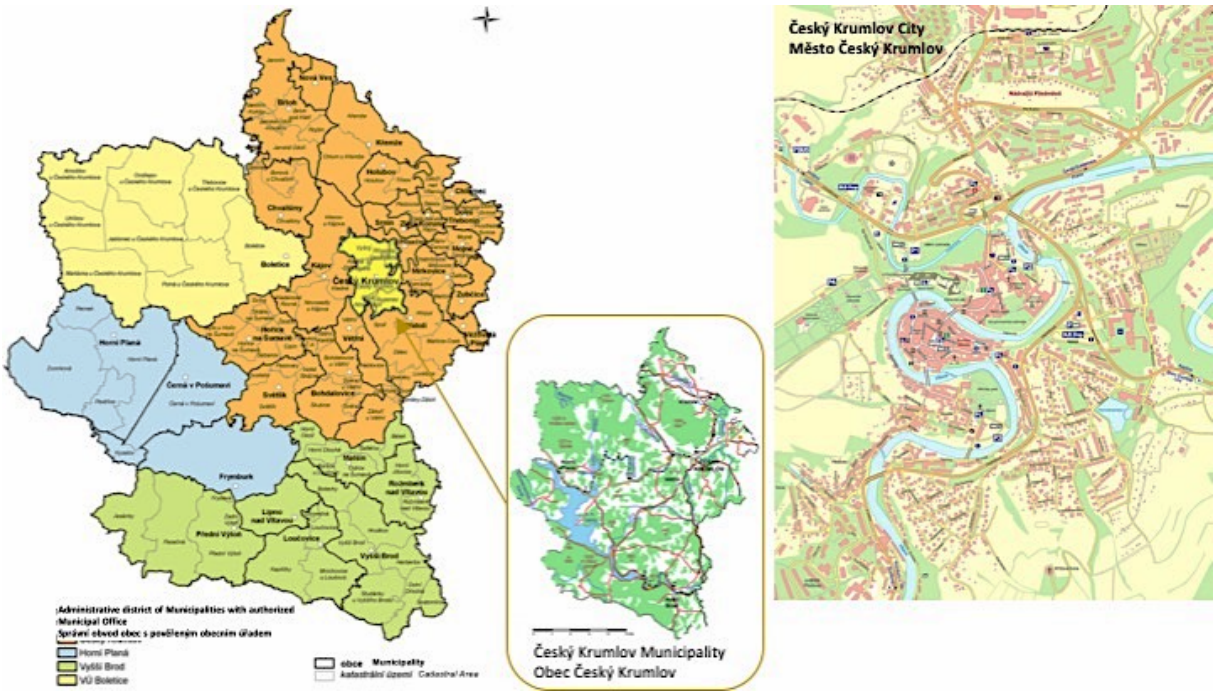

Figure 13.3 Český Krumlov District, Municipality and City

The medieval town grew mostly due to its privileged geographic location at a ford of an important east-west communication route, the Vltava River, that contributed to the flourishing of the region as an important craft and trade centre as well as a cultural reference.

[101] According to the Electronic Portal for Local Government: "Municipalities with extended powers perform state administration in delegated power in the territory of other municipalities as well, it means for municipalities, which belong to their administrative district". Retrieve from https://www.epusa.cz/index.php?platnost_k=&sessID=0&jazyk=en&pou=698

[102] Area: 1,615.08 km² – Density: 37.8 inhabitants/km². Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2015.

[103] According the new degree of urbanisation classification (see Dijkstra and Poelman, 2012)

At this point, it is important to refer, briefly, some of the most crucial periods in the history of the city with resonances in existing urban infrastructure and culture. The first owners of the town and castle were the Lords of Krumlov (up to 1253) that used the green five-petalled rose as their family crest. However, the major developments of Český Krumlov are connected to the Rosenberg family (in Czech: Rožmberk) who received this territory from the King of Bohemia Václav II in 1302 and made it its residency for 300 years. The previous Rosenberg generations conquered an influential social and political position among the noble families in Bohemia. Český Krumlov grew economically, and the social and cultural life has flourished having in its core the Castle[104], rebuilt in a resplendent Renaissance Style.

In the 15th century, the inner town already presented its current configuration and administrative organisation. Later, in the late 17th century, under the Eggenberg family authority, it was built the Castle Baroque Theatre. This was renovated almost a century later under the possession of the House of Schwarzenberg (1719-1947), purchasing their current appearance. Many renovations were carried out in the Baroque period (17th-18th), and many buildings in the city were decorated in Baroque style.[105]

A significant period of the city's history occurred after 1850 when Český Krumlov became the newly established district's centre of administration, economy and culture. The first elections for the civilian organs of the municipal council gave the victory of the liberal faction German that promoted the predominance of the German language and the privileges of the monarch family until 1949.

At the beginning of the 20th century, about 9,000 people lived in the city and the castle had been abandoned when the last owner, Dr Adolf Schwarzenberg went for exile in 1939. The Nazis occupied his possessions until 1947, the date on became a property of the Czech state, and later nationalised (Jakab and Bedrich, 2009). Hence, after the two "World Wars" in which the city suffered no major damage, the German population was expelled. The communist government largely ignored the city, and it was only after the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989 that the restoration of Český Krumlov became a priority for Czechoslovakia.

The remarkable Castle designated National Monument in 1989, the urban structure of well-preserved Renaissance and Baroque burgher houses, with exceptional layouts and architectural details led to the city to obtain of the highest national historic monument preservation status in 1963 (Figure 14.3).

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[104] About the Castle history see http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_oinf_histor.xml

[105] For more details see http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_himeck.xml

Figure 14.3 Details of the renovated facades of historic centre (author's photos).

The historic inner centre framed by the Vltava River and the surrounding natural landscape offers an inspiring and unique character atmosphere very attractive to many artists throughout the centuries such as the painter Wilhelm Fischer or the Austrian Egon Schiele. Even today some entities promote exchange programmes between Czech and foreign artists such as Arts and Theatre Institute, a national state organisation that organizes artist's residencies at the Egon Schiele Art Centrum[106], the Czech Ceramic Design Agency[107] and Milkwood organisation[108].

In 1992, Český Krumlov Historic Centre was also included in the UNESCO World Heritage List[109] after a process regeneration of two decades as we described later (Figure 15.3).

Perpetuation a long, rich theatrical tradition in the city there are many theatres such the Town Theatre[110] or the palace's Revolving Auditorium[111] in addition to other cultural facilities like museums and galleries (e.g., Regional Museum[112], Museum Photo Studio Seidel[113] or Museum of Puppetry[114]). Moreover, the city offers leisure and sports activities opportunities as

[106] http://www.schieleartcentrum.cz/en/

[107] http://www.virtual-gallery.cz/uk/index.htm

[108] http://www.milkwoodinternational.org/about.php

[109] Nomination No. 617. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/617/documents/

[110] Městské Divadlo Český Krumlov http://www.divadlo.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mdck.xml

[111] http://www.otacivehlediste.cz/?lang=en

[112] Regionální muzeum v Českém Krumlově http://www.muzeumck.cz

[113] Fotoatelier Seidel http://www.seidel.cz/docs/cz/seidel_home.xml

[114] Marionette Museum http://www.mozart.cz/muzeum-marionet-o-nas.php

Figure 15.3 Image of Český Krumlov with the castle and palace at the back (author's photo)

well as highly attended cultural events such as the Five-Petalled Rose Celebrations, and the Festival of Baroque Arts enrich the town social and cultural life.

Český Krumlov has never been an industrial centre and consequently did not suffer the resulting effects. Small industries began to develop about 1830s in paper production, spinning mill, graphite and furniture production. Today, the industrial sector, mainly composed of small firms in manufacturing, crafts and construction-related services, only represents 9,3%, and the key economic sectors the retail and service industries (MF CR, 2015). The increment of visitors (approximately 1.2 million visitors/year)[115] has made of the tourism sector indisputably one of the most important drivers of local development.

Process analysis

After a period when the centre of the city was devoted to a state of increasing abandonment, its restoration became a national priority. This process of urban renewal, which began in 1971,

[115] http://infoservis.ckrumlov.info/docs/en/ad2008022101.xml

accelerated in the 1990s after the fall of the communist regime and later with the bid for UNESCO's world heritage.

The elected democratically administration of Český Krumlov made huge real estate acquisitions in order to restore the destroyed city centre. The Mayor at that time, Jan Vondrouš, discarded attractive offers from German and Austrian developers who wanted to buy entire blocks of historic buildings, giving their residents low-cost loans for rebuilding their own homes and businesses (Vondrouš, 2008). In 1991, the Český Krumlov administration established a business company, the Český Krumlov Development Fund to manage the future developments. By 1995 and 1996, already 80% of the houses in the old town was rebuilt, and the town thrived off both the tourist industry and the paper mill.

The first strategic development plan of the city was initially developed with the help of external consultants[116] and later, further elaborated by representatives of municipal authorities, major institutions and companies. Since that time, the successive strategic plans in addition to the city plan and the city's budget have become the most important tools for defining the development vision and priorities. The last strategic development plan developed "Strategický plán města Český Krumlov" (MČKrumlov, 2008) presents the vision of the City based on its unique historical and cultural heritage in the perpetuation of the previous ones. It emphasises the quality of the cultural offer in addition to the already recognised heritage, to promote the city's image, tourism, economy and external relations. The plan also includes the development of infrastructure and services to address the needs of residents and visitors (MČKrumlov, 2008). But, it should also notice an absence of a well-defined culture concept in the definition of the priorities and cultural policies. As part of UNESCO programme procedures, the municipality, with a set of consultants, developed a "Management Plan pro historické centrum města Český Krumlov - Management Plan for the historic centre of Český Krumlov" (2010, 2009) which states the significance of its historical heritage.

Afterwards, these documents were updated in a strategic and developmental action plan for Český Krumlov[117] which established priority projects to allocate funds from the city budget or to apply for other funding opportunities as National or EU funds. The municipality is preparing

[116] This process started with the guidance in 1995 and 1996 of the American consultant Mr. Laurence A. G. Moss and continued in 1997 with the company VIp, s.r.o. from Prague that worked on the strategic plan of the city.

[117] Only in Czech, see about this in http://data.ckrumlov.cz/files/96-2009-12-management-plan-cesky-krumlov-en.pdf and http://obcan.ckrumlov.info/docs/cz/unesco_managementplan.xml

a new version of these key documents. In this process, new modes of participation are tested with the support of the EU to involve citizens, entrepreneurs, and others to better understand the direction to be taken given the socio-economic circumstance of the city[118].

The adoption of this continuous model of management and planning was a prerequisite of UNESCO for the preservation of classified heritage, in harmony with other local and regional planning instruments. However, it seeks to take into account not only the criteria established by UNESCO but also the specificities and the need for local development. For example, if, on the one hand, there are restrictions to the development of certain economic activities and practices of urban planning, as is the case in the rehabilitation of buildings, on the other hand, it is expected that preservation measures of heritage represent real social benefits and economic. Namely, through the creation of new businesses and employment opportunities to increase the self-sustainability of the municipal budgets of the municipality (Plzáková et al., 2015).

The city has been recognised by the preservation efforts developed. For example, the approach adopted on the south wall of the medieval castle received the Europa Nostra Prize, the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage. The jury justified their choice because it "transfers conservation ethics and methodology previously only used in the field of works of art, to the scale of a whole façade and even to that of an urban landscape in which the façade is a highly important element" (Europa Nostra, 2008: 7).

Therefore, at Český Krumlov, this new framework has brought substantial changes to the urban landscape, notably through regulations in the restoration of buildings, the construction of new tourist infrastructures and the recuperation of public spaces. Furthermore, the improvements carried out and the growth of the tourism sector have made the urban centre very attractive for investors and real estate developers and visitors. This, in turn, has increased the value of urban properties and promote processes of gentrification.

> Twenty years ago, it was full of local residents, but from UNESCO approval, the prices started to rise (…) and they began to sell their houses to rich people (…). The buildings around the square become only banks, inns, hotels (…) [It is necessary] to find a balance between heritage care and normal life (…) the city empty or full of life (Member of a non-departmental public organisation).

As part of the local strategy for urban revitalisation and tourism development, a strong cultural agenda is promoted by local authorities in collaboration with the Český Krumlov

[118] About this participatory process see http://www.krumlovsobe.cz/cz/krumlovsobe_o_projektu_201610/

Development Fund and various local institutions and associations. They take advantage of the historical and natural scenery with the aim of attracting different types of public, in addition to the crowds of tourists who invade the city for only a few hours on excursions en route to Prague. Among them, there are the festivals of great audience such as the Five-Petalled Rose Celebrations - recreating a Renaissance festival; the Chamber Music Festival - the elder festival of classical music in the town; and the Festival of Baroque Arts - held in the monastery church and the unique Baroque Castle Theatre; or sports competitions such as Rally Český Krumlov or the International Český Krumlov River Marathon (Figure 16.3).

Figure 16.3 Festivals in Cesky Krumlov. On the left: Opera Carmina Burana, International Music Festival Český Krumlov 6.8.2016, author: Libor Sváček; source: Auviex s.r.o.; on the right: Five-Petalled Rose Celebrations® 19.6.2016, author: Lubor Mrázek Available at: www.ckrumlov.cz.

Most of the local cultural projects, even from private initiative, are maintained with the financial support of the Municipality of Český Krumlov, the Region of South Bohemia and the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic. Some of these projects also benefited from other funding sources, for instance, European programmes, UNESCO Heritage Programme, and EEA and Norwegian Grants.

In the recent years, "tourism come to such an extent, running through the city from one side to the other. In three hours, they go to the castle, take a photo and return to the bus" (member of a cultural institution).

> In addition to the disturbing traffic and noise situation, there is the problem of the depopulation of the city center and the gradual alienation of the inhabitants about it. We are aware of the negative side of tourism and are looking for ways to reduce it (…) and

> find new tourists profiles. The historical center was in a state of abandonment before the requalification projects (…) we have tried to invest the money coming from the tourism in other projects (Member of a public department).

Maintaining the attention in the preservation of the existing architectural complex to continue to display the symbol of world heritage and to invest in its transformation into a tourist destination of high quality is today one of the top priorities of the city's administration. In his political speech, it is also stressed the need to provide better living conditions for its inhabitants.

In this sense, in 2013, the City Council approved the local approach to support culture as a public service in the document "Koncepce podpory kultury města Český Krumlov 2014-2020" (MČKrumlov, 2014), prepared according to the main strategic documents of the city and where the following medium and long-term objectives are established for public intervention in this field:

a. Strengthen the relationship between supply and demand of cultural activities for the residents and visitors of the city, even in specific areas or demanding cultural activities.
b. Maintain the cultural heritage of the city and present it appropriately to residents and visitors.
c. Complement, modernise and improve the effective use of infrastructures for cultural activities.
d. Stimulate the interest of residents and visitors to participate in cultural activities.
e. Support cultural activities efficiently and effectively (MČKrumlov, 2014).

As underlined by a responsible for the area of the culture of the Municipality:

> For a small city like Český Krumlov to be a UNESCO World Heritage is really a prestige [but] it shouldn't be only about conservation or preservation. Our culture (…) it's also our life, our style, our life expectations. You know, how we deal with our lives, with our heritage, with our future. (Member of a public department)

After twenty years of UNESCO classification, which has radically transformed the city centre, it is generally recognised by local actors that the city is at a turning point that must find a new strategy. Thus, everyone recognised the need of discussing a new strategy that should encompass a focus on creating better "conditions for jobs, for new jobs (…) especially for young people" (Member of a public department).

Český Krumlov is a city where, thanks to its natural and geographic qualities and the support of several actors and institutions, culture has always been part of its development path, with as especially attention to theatre, music and painting fields in consort with the historical and architectonic legacy.

Actors analysis

The Ministry of Culture of Czech Republic is the central State administrative authority for the arts, cultural and educational activities, cultural monuments, and other matters relating to religious groups, the press, radio and television broadcasting, for implementation of the "Copyright Act", and for production and trade in the culture area. The Ministry provides direct support to cultural heritage development and preservation from the state budget, being responsible for 30 state-funded institutions, including museums, galleries, theatres, and historical monuments. On behalf of the Ministry, the National Heritage Institute - and its Heritage Fund, plays a central role in the conservation and revitalisation of the Czech cultural and natural heritage.

The Ministry of Regional Development is who defines regional policy and land use planning as we have mentioned before. South-Bohemian Region as the regional authority execute not only their autonomous competencies but also delegated competencies of central administration. Among their competences are the coordination of territorial development and the approval and implementation of developmental and strategic documents. The Regional Authority ensures the performance of regions' competencies. Constituted by 55 elected members and which its independent powers are set by the constituent bodies of the region, the Regional Council (the executive body in matters of independent power) and the Regional Assembly.

The Regional Heritage Administration in České Budějovice (under the National Heritage Institute) is responsible for the listed heritage in South Bohemia like the Český Krumlov, Castle and gardens which is managed by the Český Krumlov State Castle and Chateau administration (hereafter Castle Administration). This a central player in the local development and the improvement of cultural initiatives in collaboration with local authorities and other institutions and civic associations in the region. In general, it aims to preserve and promote the memories of the past, at the same time, that offers leisure and education activities. The Castle initiatives had supported many business initiatives and specialised skills such as in restoration field, gastronomy or costumes design (Figure 17.3).

The role of the municipality representatives was decisive in the regeneration process promoted after the 1990s as we saw before. To manage more efficiently the properties in the

Figure 17.3 Business activities involved in Castle events and restoration
(photos cortesy of the Castle's Administration)

historical centre the municipality decided to create a business a company entirely owned by them, the Český Krumlov Development Fund. Its main mission was to secure the renovation of the relevant historical buildings, in agreement with other strategic objectives defined by the City's administration. Namely, the revitalisation of the functions and the economy of the historic centre, the attraction of investment, and the development and management of tourist activity in the city. To fulfil this last objective the Český Krumlov Development Fund created in 2001 a tourism department, the Destination Management[119].

The Municipal Authority is responsible for the Strategic Plan for the Development of Český Krumlov - the primary orientation of the city's development in the long term. This document should ensure within a specified timeframe the coordination of strategic activities that significantly affect the lives of the inhabitants of the city.

In general, there are weak community links and a certain alienation feeling concerning the historic city centre. Although residents express the proud of their heritage, there are many criticisms about the over-emphasis on mass tourism in the city's strategy and dissatisfactions

[119] It was also created the Infocentrum, the Official Information System and the Parking Project to develop tourism in the town and surroundings.

about the commercial offer brought by foreign investors that are based on low standards and value-added.

In recent years, they also witnessed the transformation of the original residential function of buildings in the historic centre in restaurants, hotels, souvenir shops, oriented almost exclusively to tourists. Subsequently, prices of real estate and consumer goods increased. The number of permanent residents in the centre has decreased as a result of the ageing and displacement of the population to the homes that have grown up in the surrounding suburban settlements and which allow a comfortable and modern lifestyle, especially for younger families. Young people are one of the segments of the population that feels particularly vulnerable to the lack of employment opportunities in the city, being tempted to migrate to larger cities as the capital of the region. As observed by locals:

> This town is for tourists. Many people who used to live in the centre moved outside the town (…) because it is difficult to have a normal life [here] (Member of an association).
>
> The high prices, the orientation to mass tourism, the lack of practical shops in the city centre (...) sometimes it's quite exhausting for normal people who are living and working here. It's complicated because everywhere there are crowds of tourists (Member of a public cultural institution).

Despite this, the city tries to support the development of essential civic services and to withdraw from the centre some tourist activities to other areas such as the meadow zones of the Vltava river. Also, some local actors in their activities focus mainly on the inhabitants of the district. An example of this may be the annual cultural festival (zažít město jinak - experience the city differently) organised in Cesky Krumlov, but also in other Czech cities. This event recovers parts of the historic downtown to the locals to keep the city alive and not just an outdoor museum or scenery.

In fact, the desire to restore daily life in the city while maintaining its identity is recurrent in conversations held with key informants, like the following:

> I think they would need to aim for local people in order to keep them living there (…) to have a living city (Member of a public cultural institution).
>
> I hope that we will try to preserve and to maintain our identity of this town because (…) the concurrence or the competition will be very hard in the future, and it will be necessary not to be as every modern European destination, but to have something new, something local, something unique (…) (Member of a public department).

Local authorities already acknowledge these problems. Long-Term research carried out from 1992-2008, by the Department of Cultural Theory of the Philosophical Faculty of Charles

University (Prague), "clearly indicates that residents are gradually losing their identification with the historic town core". In its place, "the surrounding villages and nature is constantly increasing" (MČKrumlov, 2009: 46-47) (these problems were also identified in the testimonies collected). However, as stated by a local official, tourism based on the city's historical heritage permitted to achieve a new development path for the city, formerly in an advanced state of abandonment. But it is also recognised the potential of natural landscape for leisure and recreation activities including for residents' quality of life (Member of a public department).

The sense of place and community identification are also concerns of local cultural institutions that attempt to offer exhibitions and community-oriented initiatives to improve the knowledge about the city's historical past as is the case of the Český Krumlov Municipal Theatre[120] and the Regional Museum[121]:

> We try to work for people living here (…) lectures, discussions and workshops for schoolchildren and adults to present the history of Český Krumlov region from prehistoric times (Member of a public cultural institution).

This is also the case for the city's new museum space, the renovated Seidel Photographic Studio Museum - Museem Fotoateliér Seidel, the home and photography studio of Josef and František Seidel family[122]. Its recovery offers an authentic and unique testimony of the social and cultural history of the region, since the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, including the turbulent period of the first half of the 20th century, between Czechs and Germans. The extensive and well-preserved collection comprises photos and notes of the surrounding rich landscapes, innovations in industry, architecture pictures as well as studio portraits and group photos that capture different local characters, moments of celebration and daily life of the local community, among many others. Recognising its quality, it awarded with the Gloria Musealis for the best Czech House Museum (2009).[123] Owned by CKDF, the museum was renovated with the revenues of tourism (for example from the municipals parks used by tourists) as well as grants obtained from the Czech Ministry of Culture European funds.

In the opinion of the local authorities, this museum is a good illustration of the local development approach and the tourism benefits. It is also considered an example of how to

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[120] http://www.divadlo.ckrumlov.cz/cz/divadlo_cesky_krumlov/

[121] http://www.muzeumck.cz/

[122] http://www.seidel.ckrumlov.cz

[123] Gloria Musealis is a national competition of museums launched recently by the Ministry of Culture and the Association of Museums and Galleries of the Czech Republic.

maintain with authenticity the material and immaterial collective memory of the town and its community. Many families returned to the studio today to find their ancestors or to take photos, permitting the museum to maintain the memory of families linked to the city.

> We continue the tradition of photographing or portray the people (…) there're a lot of families that comes with grandmothers and grandfathers who tell us: 'I was pictured here when I was five years old.' And now they [return] again to photograph with the new family, with the small kids (…) It's a way to keep the memory of the people who lived here (Responsible of the Museum Fotoateliér Seidel).

In fact, this institution anchored in a strong narrative about the community preserves a certain mystery and authenticity that we recognise when we explore the city beyond the crowds of tourists. There are other cultural institutions like the Baroque Theatre Foundation[124], Egon Schiele Art Center[125], Czech Ceramic Design Agency[126], among many others that are important to improve city's symbolic capital.

The educational system of the city dates from the middle of the 14th century, and its history included the foundation of one of the oldest music schools in the country, the Municipal School of Music in 1780, reflecting the long-term commitment to the artistic education of residents in Český Krumlov. From this school derives the Elementary Art School in Český Krumlov[127] which in addition to pedagogical work performs several concerts and is widely active in municipal events. Also, the St. Agnes of Bohemia Secondary School of Art and Design Český Krumlov[128] maintaining the town artistic tradition and trains several students in applied arts and restoration techniques (Figure 18.3 shows some examples of artistic and cultural entities and manifestations).

The artist learning and mobility is encouraged not only by the various programs of artistic residencies, scholarships and study trips but also by the many expositions and events (e.g. Magical Krumlov) that offer conditions for the presentation of his works, not only to professionals as amateurs from all over the world.

Non-profit organisations have always played a significant role in Czech civil society as it denotes the extensive list of cultural, artistic and educational associations in the territory. Their initiatives aimed to enrich and sustain a lived cultural scene and social groups. These

[124] www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_oinf_nadace.xml
[125] http://www.schieleartcentrum.cz/en/exhibitions/1/
[126] www.virtual-gallery.cz
[127] http://www.zus-ceskykrumlov.cz/
[128] http://www.supsck.cz/

Figure 18.3 Artistic and cultural spaces and events in the historical center. *Upper left corner*: Egon Schiele Art Center*: Bottom left corner*: Photographic Studio, Seidel Museum; *Center*: figures in terracotta, School of Elementary Arts in Český Krumlov; *Right*: Contemporary art exhibition on the river bank (Seidel Museum's photo - author: Svajcr; other photos: author's photo).

organisations function as semi-fiscal organisations of the State or Municipality or as not-for-profit organisations, assuming various legal forms, such as public utility organisations (now institutes), associations or some other legal form. Thus, they are partially supported by public funds but also collected donations or sponsorships from various sources. "Parents of our students are willing to help us, contribute financially and support shows and exhibitions" (Member of a public education institution).

Some of the local actors emphasised the small dimension of the town permits that "people are very intertwined and know each other", but notwithstanding there is a certain lack of civic participation and trust, except in those events, there are already well-standing, as well as some difficulties in establishing ties of collaboration between institutions. "People are just thinking about their own project; they don't cooperate" (Opinion maker).

Enquiring about the model of public-private partnerships promoted by many European governments, it was stressed that these "public-private partnerships it is rarely in the Czech Republic because, I think, we are quite inexperienced" (Member of a non-departmental public organisation).

Some key findings

The physical and symbolic image of Český Krumlov is dominated by the castle complex on the Vltava river, the medieval configuration of the well-preserved city and the renovated Gothic and Renaissance houses. The recognition of this unique heritage by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee has allowed for the sustainability of the renovation process of the historical urban centre. Besides, the region's natural landscape offers an inspiring ambience but also perfect conditions for leisure and nature tourism activities. The municipality created a public company for the management of the properties and tourism development in the historical centre. In parallel, they support a vast cultural offer, especially festivals and musical performances with the help of local cultural institutions that aimed to give new life to the town. With the growth of tourists and new investors, many buildings in the city centre lost a substantial part of their permanent residents for tourism and other related services.

The historical centre was transformed into a space of consumption invaded by tour operators and groups of tourists, especially in high season and for a few hours, which run through the numerous and identical souvenir shops and the main spots. Among the main problems mentioned by the community are the noise problems; the proliferation of tourism-oriented businesses, in contrast to the lack of retail stores for residents; the high prices of properties, goods and services, and the related gentrification processes.

Local leaders are aware of the need to create a quality and diversified tourism offer, consistent throughout the year, and that promotes the distinctive values of the place as well as a greater connection with the vast surrounding countryside to achieve higher economic, environmental and social benefits. The focus on tourism has resulted in a vital source of income for the municipality, but it has also brought many challenges, familiar to many World Heritage sites. It must find the balance between conservation and "museification" and the requirements of modern life and preservation demands; the rising tourism flows and the search for authentic and unique experiences (as in the case of the creative initiatives developed by the Castle or the photos taken in the Museum Seidel). In this sense, these initiatives that propose the contact with the unique traditions and memories of the community, connecting the visitors to the places have diverse potentialities for tourism development. In simultaneity, it fostered the emergence of new cultural and creative business and skills.

Local actors are here not just a component of urban revitalisation scheme but active promoters of place-marketing and development strategies. Within it, there are numerous organisations committed to preserve the city heritage and provide cultural and educational

activities of recognisable quality. Nonetheless, many of them had expressed some difficulty in establishing regular partnerships, as well as in obtaining support for projects focused on community development and disadvantaged groups. More, there is a fragile relationship between cultural and political elites and the inhabitants, revealed in some distrust discursive elements and deficit of public participation and engagement in the initiatives promoted by the local entities.

As stated in national policy guidelines, conservation and rehabilitation of heritage and traditional artistic and cultural practices, as well as, the organisations that promote them are the primary focus of local cultural policy. The non-material culture (traditions, habits, gastronomy, etc.) is insufficiently identified and its preservation depends considerably on the numerous activities of the third sector.

Regarding development policies, culture represents an essential resource for the tourism industry and the country's economy. It also has a central role in the definition of the local development strategy, namely in the construction of the image and identity of the place, in urban revitalisation and planning processes, as well as, in the valorisation of local knowledge and memories and the preservation of traditional artistic and cultural activities. In this sense, for a more sustainable development, it is imperative to look beyond the historical centre and perceive the ways of life of the community.

The district's cultural sector depends to a large extent on public support and the reduction of state support since 2009, justified by the economic crisis and the budget deficit is a huge test for the development of local cultural policy.

Another big challenge for this municipality is to maintain the locus genius and preserve the heritage that gave it world status, while at the same time seeking to meet the expectations of travellers, investors, but also residents. Despite all the questions and hassles, outside the peak hours of the excursions and walking on the renovated streets, Cesky Krumlov still gives us, a particular sensory experience that brings us back to the old aristocratic atmosphere, the same sentiment that attracted many famous artists and residents in the past. Besides, there are cultural actors in place capable of developed sustainable and creative experiences able to maintain the community alive and sustaining new development paths strong rooted in the valorisation of local culture and heritage.

b. Jyväskylä, Central Finland, Finland

Context analysis

Finland is a northern European unitary country with a parliamentary democracy. It has a total of 5,401,267 inhabitants concentrated mostly in towns and cities (in Finnish: kaupunki; in Swedish: stad) surrounded by vast sparse areas. Divided into two tiers of local self-government, it includes 19 regions (in Finnish: maakunta; in Swedish: landskap[129]), plus the autonomous province of the Åland Islands, and 320 municipalities (in Finnish: kunta; in Swedish: kommun).[130] Finland's municipalities are self-governing entities, which, under Finnish law, have the right to decide on their own matters inclusive local cultural policy and cultural services in their area.

From the 13th century to 1809, Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden, when became an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russian Empire. After the declaration of independence in 1917 was followed by several periods with military conflicts until the end of World War II. In this first phase, it was characterised essentially as an agrarian and hardly prosperous society with a small service and industrial sector grounded in the wood and paper industry. Since the 1950s, the rapid industrialisation and economic modernisation performed a structural shift from agriculture to a service-based economy. The creation of the welfare state brought administrative reforms that emphasised the role of municipalities increasingly as service providers and producers. After 1989, the emergent local autonomy was consolidated whereby the municipalities became responsible for the provision of social and healthcare services, education, cultural services and technical infrastructure.

However, in the period 1990-1993, the Finnish economy suffered one of the worst crises in its history, with serious socio-economic effects. The Nordic welfare state model was challenged by the economic recession and globalisation that led governments to promote a neoliberal approach to public policy increasingly. By investing in ICT cluster development, Finland turned to the knowledge-intensive economy while continuing to support well-being and employment policies (Castells and Himanen, 2002; Benner, 2003). When the country joined the EU in 1995,

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[129] Finland has two official languages: Finnish (88.67%) and Swedish (5.29%).

[130] In the Finnish regional division, Mainland Finland and Åland are NUTS 1 areas, major regions NUTS 2 areas, regions NUTS 3 areas. Sub-regional units are the LAU level 1 (NUTS 4) and municipalities LAU level 2 (NUTS 5).

and the European Economic and the Monetary Union three years later, its economy was already recovering, continuing to grow until 2007 (Holmström et al., 2014).

More recently, the 2008 global financial crisis produced in the Finnish economy a unique confluence of cyclical and structural shocks (IMF, 2015). The decline of the paper industry and the electronics sector with the collapse of Nokia, the Russian recession and the sanctions regime imposed on this country, the crisis in the Eurozone, the ageing of the workforce are factors that have contributed to this situation. Since 2016 there are signs of a slow recovery strengthened by domestic demand (EC, 2016b, 2017; OECD, 2017).

In the meantime, the country is becoming renowned for its education system; as a model of a knowledge society; and by the promotion of cross-sectoral networks between firms, universities, research institutes and public bodies that foster a new governance system (e.g. Tainio et al., 2000; Oinas, 2005; Sahlgren, 2015).

It shares a set of societal characteristics with other Nordic countries, but also particular features as a result of its own history (Oinas, 2005). The same can be said about cultural policy, which has been institutionalised about the 1950s in Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, mostly as an instrument for the promotion of national identity. During the 1970s and 1980s, the cultural sector was established as one of the public service sectors pursuing cultural democracy objectives, as well as, the democratisation of culture through a vast network of cultural institutions (Pyykkönen et al., 2009; Saukkonen and Ruusuvirta, 2013). From the 1990s, there was a reposition towards greater instrumentalisation of culture.

In Finland, the objectives of regional development policy are set in accordance with the Government's program and coordinated by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, but sectoral ministries also draw up their strategies at regional level[131]. The ministry works in coordination with the Regional Councils which are the authorities responsible for the strategic development of their regions.

The Town of Jyväskylä was founded in 1837 by Nicholas I, Czar of Russia at the northern end of the lake Päijänne at the crossroads of three major watercourses and a vast area of forests. It is located at 270 km north of the capital Helsinki with good transport connections (inclusive a regional airport).

[131] The targets, responsibilities of the authorities and programmes of regional development were determined in the Act on Regional Development and the Administration of Structural Funds (7/2014).

It is the main city and the capital of Central Finland region (in Finnish: Keski-Suomi, Swedish: Mellersta Finland), a region classified as predominantly rural (applied to EU NUTS 3 regions, Eurostat, 2012, see Figure 19.3 and Annexe C).

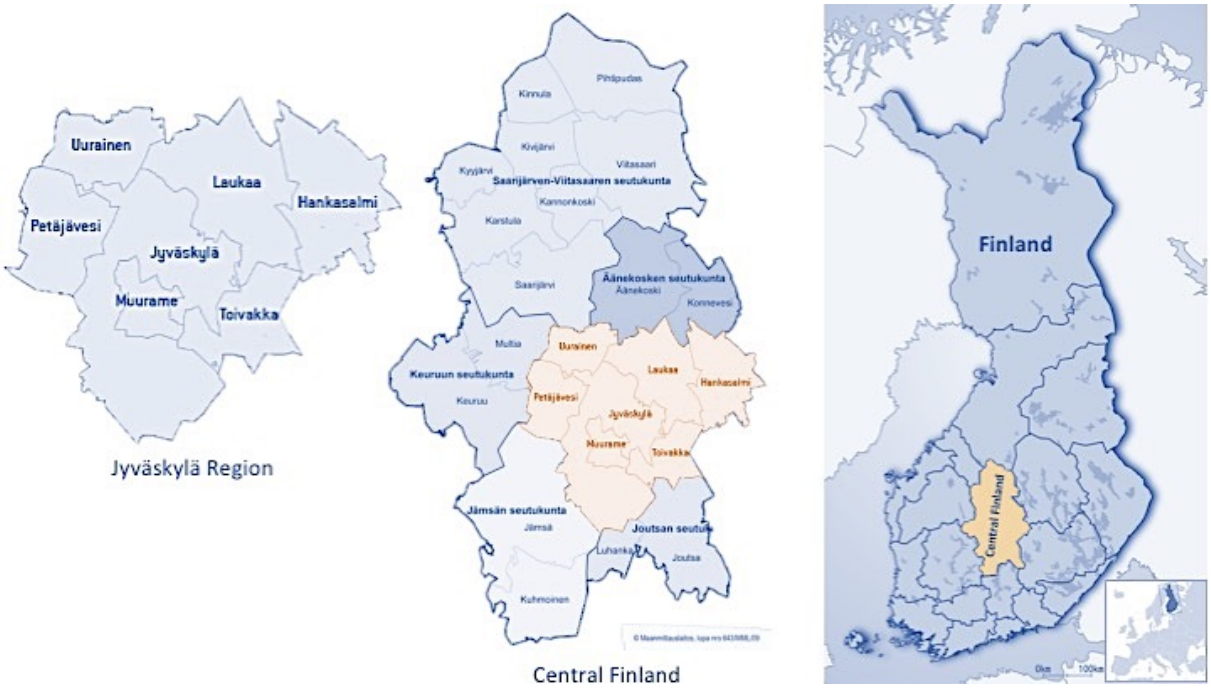

Figure 19.3 Locatisation of Central Finland Region and Jyväskylä region.

Like other Finnish municipalities (LAU 2), Jyväskylä underwent an administrative reform, merging in 2009 with the surrounding Jyväskylä Rural Municipality and the Municipality of Korpilahti, justified by the demand to respond more efficiently to local problems (OECD 2010). Currently, it covers a vast area of 1,466.5 km² (about ten times more than previously), which 1,171.0 km² are land area, with an estimated density of 118.58 persons per square kilometre (Statistics Finland, 2016). As local representatives emphasised, this reform represented an enormous challenge both regarding management and in combining communities' interests, especially in the provision of public services necessary to these more dispersed and distinctive populations as said by the City Planning.

Jyväskylä sub-region (LAU1) encompasses the adjacent municipalities of Hankasalmi, Laukaa, Muurame, Petäjävesi, Toivakka and Uurainen (see Figure 20.3).

An interesting data is that more than half of the population in the region lives in Jyväskylä and about 80% of its residents live at a walking distance from the city centre. The inner city *Kantakaupunki* counts only 27,750 residents and maintaining the atmosphere of a small town

(Statistics Finland, 2016) and maintaining the atmosphere of a small town. It has a very young population of which 45,000 are schoolchildren and students[132] fundamentally thanks to the existence of high-quality and diverse health and education providers, which is especially attractive to young people and families.

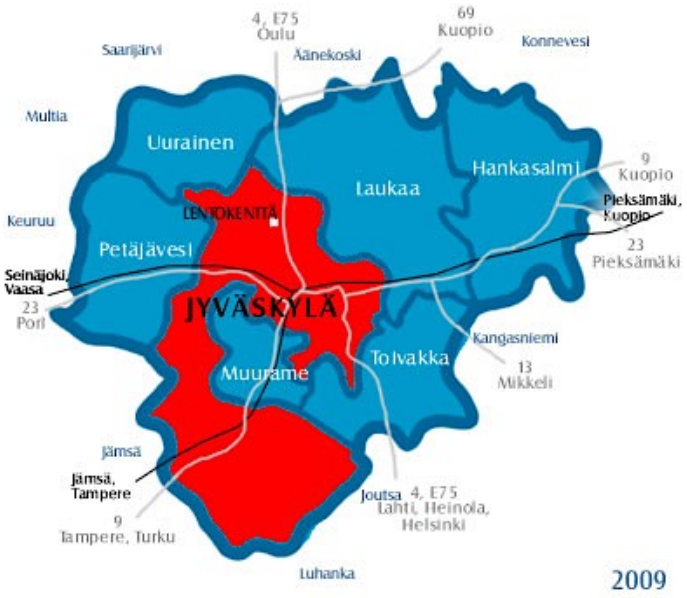

Figure 20.3 Jyväskylä sub-region and Municipality after 2009 administrative reform (http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/international/map)

The compact and small city centre is the functional core of a vast rural hinterland of lakes, forests and hills. Consequently, it benefits from all the natural surroundings with many amenities linked to the enjoyment of nature, practise sports and the experience of the traditional Finnish sauna (see Figure 21.3).

Figure 21.3 An aerial view of Jyväskylä center in summer 2014 (source: City of Jyväskylä, photographer: VideoDrone Finland Oy Juhani Mikkola)

[132] http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/international/facts/statistics

It offers very pleasant cold and snowy winters in which the lakes freeze and short summers where the temperature rises above +25 °C.

Advances and retreats characterise the evolution of the town. By the end of the 19th century, the city was increasingly recognised as the centre of the rising Finnish culture, hosting national teacher training meetings as well as popular annual song and music festivals. At the same time, its geographical location and natural resources induced the development and industrialisation of the region in forest products field and afterwards in machinery and equipment production, as in the whole of the Finnish economy (Statistics Finland, 2007; Sabel and Saxenian, 2008; Oksanen and Hautamäki, 2014). This prosperity throughout the twentieth century brought wealth to the region, and the population grew.

However, this development was interrupted by the recession of the 1990s which has severe repercussions on the economy and employment. The need to restructure the region's economy has made local and regional players bet on the development of an educational cluster with international visibility and reputation. After this period, the investment in ICT, the availability of skilled labour provided by the education institutions and the organisation of a Centre of Expertise Programme (Osaamiskeskusohjelma - OSKE)[133] has driven a long-term strategy focused on knowledge, innovation, creativity and well-being. The ICT sector grew in the region with large companies as Nokia (settled in the city in 1998). Other high-tech businesses in areas as electronics, energy, environmental, and more recently, wellness and nanotechnology, but also successful companies in traditional sectors have contributed to Jyväskylä region development.

The industrial structure of the region is dominated by the service sector (75% of jobs) which is concentrated particularly in the city area. More recently, in 2009 the closure of the Nokia Research Center in the city, which along with the contraction felt in other sectors had significant impacts on employment, and a new period of difficulties was expected. However, previous experience has led the City Council to take measures aimed at highly skilled labour then available, in cooperation with universities and the private sector.

Since the 1990s, there have been significant investments in infrastructures as the Jyväskylä Science Park, which comprises an incubator that merges research and development activities

[133] The OSKE is a national cluster programme initiated in 1994 and an instrument of Finland regional innovation policy. The objective of the programme is to benefit regional enterprises and develop competitive businesses around knowledge expertise focus mainly on IT sector. The programme has been funded by EU Structural Funds, state institutions and a few amount by private business sector.

with the needs of business life and the versatile Jyväskylän Paviljonki - Congress and Trade Fair Centre.

In addition to the landscape framing, the legacy of its most internationally famous architect, Alvar Aalto (1951-1971), defined the predominantly modern character and the urbanism of the city (see Figure 22.3). Among the 24 iconic buildings designed by the architect is the administrative and cultural in downtown or the Alvar Aalto Museum[134]. In the same vein, the city has promoted international architectural competition that seeks to foster the quality of the buildings.

Figure 22.3 Säynätsalo Town Hall, one of the most important works of Alvar Aalto (author's photo)

Other museums such as the Jyväskylä Art Museum[135], the Craft Museum of Finland[136], the Museum of Central Finland[137] and Centre for Creative Photography[138] contributed to the cultural scene along with local theatre companies, orchestras and several popular events, namely: the long-established Jyväskylä Arts Festival or the International Neste Oil Rally that contributed for the liveability of the city. In the region, there are also two UNESCO World Heritage Sites: the Petäjävesi Old Church and the Oravivuori triangulation tower, inscribed respectively in 1994 and 2005.

In Jyväskylä, the most significant cultural branches are printmaking and photography that benefited of infrastructures Centre for Creative Photography that runs, with the Jyväskylä Art Museum, the Ratamo Printmaking and Photography Centre[139] that includes a gallery and

[134] https://www.alvaraalto.fi/en/location/alvar-aalto-museum/
[135] http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/taidemuseo/english
[136] www.craftmuseum.fi/english/
[137] http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/keskisuomenmuseo/english
[138] http://www.ccp.fi/en/
[139] http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/ratamo/en/info/whatis

printmaking and photography studios. The Crafts Association of Central Finland[140] runs a Handicraft Centre, a shop and a craft school, providing opportunities for learning and developing individual projects. Among other creative and cultural spaces, these institutions provide training and support for artists and other creative people.

Process analysis

The 1990's crisis was a significant catalyst in the mobilisation of the development process and a generator of creative tension in the region. A new urban strategy was launched, and as denoted by the Mayor Pekka Kettunen at that time (1994-2004) it expressed "the urban utopia of a human-centred technology cluster on the lake shore right in the centre of the city" (Halinen, 2002).

For a long time, the development of expertise was the primary objective of development strategies of the Jyväskylä urban area (Linnamaa, 2002; Guidoum, 2010). Known as the "Athens of Finland" due to the quality of its education and research institutions, a new marketing strategy began around the 2000s to increase its visibility and as a way to look into the future. The rising of the technology sector in combination with the size of the city and the human-centred approach to technology led to the adoption of "Human Technology City" brand. The Agora Center[141] built in 2000 as an independent institute of the University of Jyväskylä was decisive to introduce an interdisciplinary research approach in the field of human technology in partnership with local business and the City that has been transferred to other fields.

As most of the interviewees recognised Jyväskylä education cluster is the best description of the region, and Higher Education Institutions (HEI) are indubitable critical drivers of the municipality strategy enhancing the city and sustaining long-term growth development and resilience. They are among Finland's leading research and educational institutions attracting youngsters and families as well as an increasing number of international students. Both are engaged in active collaboration with regional stakeholders, private firms, supporting services/agencies and intermediate organisations.

In response to the most recent structural crisis that began in 2008, the City Council of Jyväskylä has established an innovative program called the "Working Group on Structural

[140] http://www.aivia.fi/taito-aivia/in-english/

[141] https://www.jyu.fi/erillis/agora/en

Change". Together the University of Jyväskylä and the Ministry of Employment and Economics, they have developed a set of support measures and services for qualified people in unemployment but also to companies for creating new businesses to highly-skilled workers to continue their education through doctoral studies and participate in special research programs (Oksanen and Hautamäki, 2014; Yamina Guidoum, 2010). Also, to meet the new challenges, in 2009 the Agora Center with the Faculty of Information Technology and the University of Jyväskylä in close relation with the Nokia researcher centre developed an innovation ecosystem model "to create an environment in which resources in companies, among citizens and in the public sphere are put to good use to create genuine synergies" (Hautamäki and Oksanen, 2015: 96).

As in other Nordic countries, in Finland, the defence of wellbeing and the promotion of healthy lifestyles in connection with nature enjoyment is part of their traditions and community's aspirations. Apropos, in the Finnish language, there is only one-word "*hyvinvointi"* to express the idea of wellness and wellbeing. Thus, the cultural values associated with wellbeing and wellness principles are at the base of local and regional development strategy and help to design the city's image. As representative of this commitment, the Local Action Plan developed for the project European Creative Clusters network focused on "Culture and Wellness" idea[142]. In this project, produced by the city and local stakeholders, they sought to foster cooperation between the CCIs and the so-called wellness sector, comprising from the development of technologies associated with sports and health activities; to tourism and music therapy programs to combat depression or improve disease periods.

A demonstration of this inter-sectoral approach is the research created by the Interdisciplinary Music Research Centre, Department of Music of the Jyväskylä University (Finnish Programme for Centres of Excellence in Research 2008-2013) which has been used for experience in clinic practice in collaboration with other institutes, private companies and the Municipality (Figure 23.3).

Another example in the LYSTI project coordinated by JAMK University of Applied Sciences that brings art into the daily life of hospitals and homes for the elderly by providing carers with training and consultation, giving them tools to use art and culture as part of their basic treatment and therapy work.

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[142] Jyväskylä Local Action Plan –URBACT II programme. http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/instancedata/prime_product_julkaisu/jyvaskyla/embeds/jyvaskylawwwstructure/47489_Urbact_LAP_nettiin.pdf

Figure 23.3 Interdisciplinary Music Research Centre (author's photo).

Jyväskylä has become known as a tourist destination through the organisation of events but also international conferences, meetings, and fairs. This strategy was consolidated with the construction of the Jyväskylän Paviljonki - Congress and Trade Fair Centre[143] located in Lutakko area. This old harbour area was subject to a unique project of regeneration and transformed into an award-winning residential area. Without losing the image and memory of the industrial era, it integrated the construction of residences, offices, conference and events facilities, cultural amenities as well as a campus of the JAMK University of Applied Sciences (see Figure 24.3). This HEI coordinated a research project (2009-2012) in the area based on a Living Lab methodology. The objective was to test, in real life experimental environment, the user's involvement (residents and hundreds of students) in product and service innovations development together with a network of local stakeholders: universities, consultants and local authorities, and so on (e.g. Krawczyk and Ruuska, 2010; Krawczyk et al., 2011; Pirttiaho and Krawczyk, 2012; Pallot et al., 2013). This model under the Quadruple Helix label has been widely discussed in innovation literature, and particularly academia and in the political debate in Finland on regional innovation systems (Taloustieto Oy, 2009; Arnkil et al., 2010).

[143] It organises 1000 events yearly, which attract over 400 000 visitors and many exhibitors at the trade fairs organized (Hämäläinen and Ruuska, 2010; Ruuska, 2012).

Figure 24.3 Lutakko area (author's photo)

In the same vein, a major urban regeneration project is now being developed in the Kangas area where was a disused paper mill meanwhile acquired by the Municipality. In 2011, part of an EU-funded pilot project, the City of Jyväskylä and Jyväskylä HUB began an innovative planning strategy where they explored new participation methods, from *wiki* planning, digital storytelling to online forums methods[144]. Before the start of the project, they gathered the ideas of citizens and civic associations to be used in an architectural competition to co-create a common vision (City of Jyväskylä, 2011; Oksanen and Hautamäki, 2014).

For approximately 150 years, the factory area was closed to the citizens, and consequently the developers they sought to understand "how to reintroduce people to the area and how to use the old industrial brand and heritage in development and branding" (City of Jyväskylä, 2011). In this project, the governance model was implemented taking advantage not only of the social media but also of the organisation of cultural and creative initiatives, from festivals, art exhibitions and performances in order to foster collaborations and involve civil society in urban planning (Figure 25.3).

In the Kangas area, it was introduced a model related to urban development and creative cities. This model "the Percent for Culture principle" declares that approximately 1% of the

[144] Kaupungin Kangas - Inclusion of civil society in city planning, was a pilot case of the CLIQ project - Creating Local Innovation through a Quadruple Helix, Interreg IVC http://www.cliqproject.eu/

Figure 25.3 Aerial view of the Kangas area
(source: City of Jyväskylä, author: Suomen Ilmakuva Oy)

profit made from selling plots, development charges and building costs will be allocated to permanent and temporary art as well as to cultural events in Kangas (Pulkkinen and Hannus, 2015)

Therefore, in these regeneration project, culture was assumed as a central theme in this urban project discussion, testing a new vision of planning that overlaps the traditional land use management. They combine different daily uses to modern urban cultures as explained by the City Planning Department and the offer of spaces for cultural producers and creative business.

Furthermore, the region's natural resources and services (e.g., spas, skiing and holiday centres) provide competitive advantages for its promotion as a destination of well-being, in line with the strategy developed by the Jyväskylä region and Central Finland, but also by the Finnish Tourist Board (Hjalager et al., 2011; Konu et al., 2011). As part of this strategy to transform the region into an international innovation centre on sauna culture[145] has been developed the brand "Sauna from Finland" and an association to foster the collaboration and partnerships between players from different sectors (e.g., sauna manufacturing, tourism, wellness and creative industries). For the design and development of the products destined to this market niche, the agency collected locally users experiences, stories, and photos about sauna to provide

[145] "Sauna from Finland" is a concept started by the Jyväskylä Regional Development Company Jykes Ltd, which aims to create new service innovations about sauna.

tourists genuine experiences of Finnish culture (Hjalager et al. 2011). These creative experiences and products improved the attractiveness and competitiveness as a tourist destination and support the lifestyles and values of local communities principally in the countryside. As stated by the Regional Council officer, the interplay between the creative industries and tourism create opportunities for enhancing the attractiveness and support and adding value to traditional activities and way of living of the local communities.

Together with the promotion of leisure and wellness tourism, the development of a cluster where well-being, technology and culture are intertwined, is seen as key areas of local strategy and reflects the local way of doing things, combining different approaches to develop innovative solutions. In this field, there is already some business that grew in the region, such as Firstbeat, a leading company providing physiological analytics for sports, fitness and wellbeing[146].

Moreover, culture is increasingly understood a way to achieve economic goals through the development of talents and creative industries, in accordance with national and regional programmes, not only in the urban centre but also in the surrounding countryside. Following national and European discourse, the Central Region of Finland have been working in the awareness of cultural and creativity issues at the local level with city authorities.

> One of our priorities is promoting entrepreneurship or supporting companies. And creative industries can give an added value to these traditional industries. So, [it is] our task to show that (…). We have been working with [local] authorities for almost three years. We collect all these organisations together around one table, and we have been trying to develop a common vision about all of these organisations - supporting organisations and supporting creative economy and the creative industry (Regional Council officer).

A roadmap produced in the European project CREA.RE[147] reveals that among the 873 creative businesses that exist in Central Finland, 581 are located in Jyväskylä municipality. The most representative subsector is advertising and communication activities, followed by literature, publishing and book printing business, and next by crafts and design production (see Figure 26.3).[148]

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[146] https://www.firstbeat.com/en/

[147] European programme INTERREG IVC http://www.crea-re.eu/

[148] The data presented is based on official statistics of 2010. This information was provided by the representatives of Regional Council of Central Finland and responsible for the CREA.RE project interviewed.

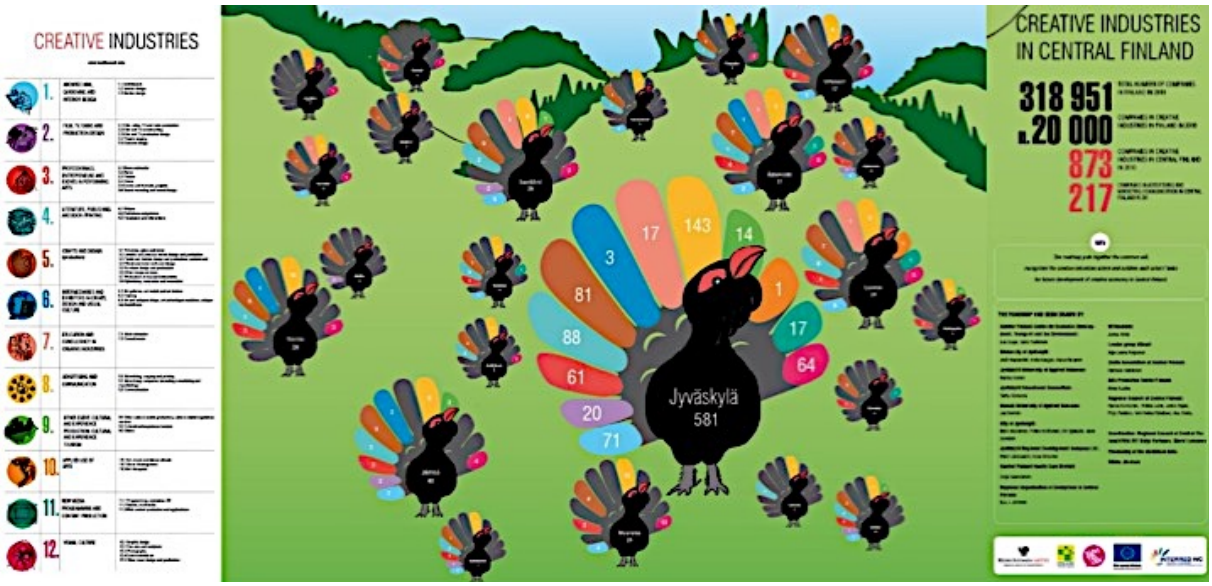

Figure 26.3 Mapping Creative Industries in Central Finland
(courtesy of Raija Partanen, Crea.re project manager)

Regarding cultural policy, like other welfare policy areas, public funding from state and municipalities plays a major role in supporting art and culture activities and institutions. The budget for arts and culture is under the Ministry of Education and Culture's main title of expenditure which defines the objectives that guide national policy and the lottery proceeds. This includes the support of art education and culture programs from early childhood education onwards as well as the improvement of conditions for students' participation in cultural activities. The rationales adopted by local authorities are influenced by a diversity of working groups and recommendations from the Ministry of Education and Culture, together with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health or the Ministry of Employment and the Economy (Kangas and Pirnes, 2015).

Besides the support of diverse artists and civic and cultural institutions, the city of Jyväskylä supports many projects[149] and events where local artists and institutions are central. An example is the recently renovated Veturitallit Youth Centre, a locomotive repair station built in 1896 and converted into a youth and community centre by the Cultural services of the City. It offers equipped rehearsal rooms and studio for music, theatre, performing or other cultural activities

[149] For example, the Cultural Unit Services developed the Kulttuuriaitta project to organise regular art activities for children and young people in schools and day care or the Osaattori - Art for Older People project the promotes the employment of artists and promote art and culture in elderly care units (see more information in http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/kulttuuri/palvelut/hankkeet).

for youngsters. At the same time, it encourages them to express their opinion about urban problems.

Despite the efforts to increase public participation, the interviewed talked about the necessity to continue to improve more cooperation between local stakeholders from different sectors, notably the collaboration between the cultural sector and city's authorities in the definition of the local strategy. As stated by the interviewees:

> [Jyväskylä] it is a very strong region of excellent museums, and I would say that probably the region has not made the best use of that resource (…). I think that the City of Jyväskylä has potential to create a stronger profile in terms of facilitator and service provider (...). It should be marketed in a stronger way (Member of a public department).

The recent structural crisis considerably due to downsizing in industries such as electronics and forestry presents major challenges regarding the long-term sustainability of the current levels of welfare, due to rapid population ageing, industrial restructuring and the loss of competitiveness in international markets (OECD, 2010b).[150] At the municipal level, declining tax revenues, growing demand for services and significant cuts in transfers from central government to local government mean that local authorities are under increasing pressure to reduce investment (AFLRA, 2014).

Therefore, alongside "hard" investments mentioned above, it is promoted "soft" development tools from social and cultural policies, with a broad range of cultural activities, citizen participation programmes and so forth, aimed at enhancing the attractiveness of the place and individuals' quality of life.

The most recent approved city strategy by Jyväskylä city council on December 2014 identifies three main goals for the city: active, healthy and happy citizens, wise use of resources, and a bold business policy (City of Jyväskylä, 2015). More recently, the aims of transform Jyväskylä "the best place to live, work and study" was reinforced in the city strategy for 2017-2021 founded on responsibility, trust, creativity, openness values (City of Jyväskylä, 2017).

Lastly, many local actors acclaim to foster a more comprehensive understanding of culture in local development strategy, implicated in city life and its citizens connected to the urban and natural landscape.

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[150] See also EC (2012a) Commission Staff Working Document. Assessment of the 2012 national reform programme and stability programme for Finland (SWD/2012/0312 final).

Actors analysis

As we noted earlier, the municipalities of Finland are autonomous entities with the capacity to decide on their own subjects, including the establishment and collection of taxes. The Council chooses members to the municipal board, in charge of municipal administration and financial management. It also elects the members to the municipal committees, which are responsible for providing a diversity of services to its citizens. Moreover, in the case of Jyväskylä, it is also the largest employer in the region of Central Finland.

In agreement with "Municipal Cultural Activities Act" (1992)[151], the municipality is primarily responsible for promoting, supporting and organising the cultural life of its residents. The City of Jyväskylä has a Cultural Services Unit that deals with cultural affairs but also with sports, leisure, youth work and education. Thus, their work includes to maintain local cultural infrastructures such as the libraries, museums, the City Theatre and Jyväskylä Sinfonia as well as the sport, recreation and civic activities.

The current Mayor of Jyväskylä is Timo Koivisto, who in the period of his predecessor (the Mayor Markku Andersson) was the deputy mayor responsible for Urban Planning and City Infrastructure; Culture and Sports; and Growth and Learning areas.

The City of Jyväskylä is also a majority shareholder of the Jyväskylä Regional Development Company Jykes Ltd., which was created to promote regional economic development boosting business opportunities and connecting public and the private sector. It also counts with the Jyväskylä Innovation Ltd., a development company that seeks to develop an innovation environment and "to make the Jyväskylä region a thriving international technological growth centre" (Manninen, 2009).

As highlighted in some studies and interviews, the role of some local and active persons was instrumental in leveraging change. In particular, it is mentioned the key role of Pekka Kettunen in charge of the municipality from 1994 to 2004 as a "symbol of the rise of Jyväskylä" (Linnamaa, 2002: 63). Followed by the political commitment of his successors, capable of managing the challenges and building a core of creative thinkers from different fields for the development of ICT and new models of action (Goddard et al., 2006; Linnamaa, 2002; Sotarauta, 2008). For instance, it is referred the leading role of Professor Pekka Neittaanmäki, vice-rector of the University at that time and co-founder of Agora Center that foster the

[151] Municipal Cultural Activities Act (728/1992, amended 1681/1992) Legislative basis for the Finnish central government support to non-institutional cultural activities in municipalities

interrelation between computational sciences with many human sciences not only at an academic level but also in regional or national public services. In 1995, it was constituted a *Forum* where people from the main organisations of the city and business life participated and which resulted in a huge programme of investments in the Lake area starting in 1999 (Guidoum, 2010).

Each region has a statutory joint municipal authority, which is responsible for regional development and planning as well as EU's Structural Funds programmes implementation. In the case of Central Finland, the Regional Council "collects the common desires and wishes of the region and put them together" (Regional Council officer). It was responsible for the approval of the "Regional Development Plan 2030" which defines the regional vision based on collaboration, entrepreneurship and expertise (Regional Council of Central Finland, n.d).

Regarding the in EU-funded cultural projects, the intermediary role between the municipal government and the central government is play by the Regional Arts Councils, foundations and regional authorities (MEC Finland, 2017). Participation in these programs and networks has benefited the region not only by allocating structural funds but also by exchanging knowledge and by increasing the relationship between urban and regional development regarding social cohesion and cultural policies (Kanerva and Mitchell, 2017)[152].

Among the diversity of research and education institutions, it is stressed the role of the University of Jyväskylä and JAMK University of Applied Sciences[153], as an essential anchor for regional development "raising regional competitiveness through innovation and enhancing the human, social and cultural capital of the region" (Goddard et al., 2006).[154] The multi-disciplinary University of Jyväskylä is traditionally oriented towards the humanities, and the Jyväskylä Polytechnic began to develop high expertise in ICT. The University also has an important tradition in culture, art and music research linked to leading topics such as digitalisation and technologisation, multiculturalisation, social polarisation, urban and rural development policy.

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[152] More information about the Arts Council of Central Finland available on http://www.taike.fi/en/web/keski-suomi/arts-council-of-keski-suomi.

[153] A university or polytechnic of applied sciences is an *ammattikorkeakoulu* in Finnish, abbreviated AMK. So, the Jyväskylä Polytechnic is a Finnish institution of higher education that uses the designation of JAMK University of Applied Sciences.

[154] Apart from these, there are also two smaller units of higher education in Jyväskylä region: Air force C3 Systems School in Jyväskylä Rural Municipality and the Korpilahti Unit of Humanities Polytechnic HUMAK.

As is the whole of Finland, the associative sector in Jyväskylä is very robust, representing different sectors, interests, and social movements. There are several voluntary associations and sports clubs which are fundamental to developing a community sense and local social capital.

A representative case about the importance of local and voluntary associations, and at the same time, of community resistance to the real pressures of the urban regeneration project is the recovery of the Tanssisali Lutakko (in English: Lutakko Dance Hall). This former bakery in the harbour area of Lutakko where Jelmu - Live Music Association of Jyväskylä promoted extremely popular rock concerts was intended for demolition in the City Plan. This non-profit organisation (founded in 1989 and officially registered in 1990), promoted throughout the nineties an active live music scene of national reputation. As stated by one of its members "the city hadn't any real suggestions for a live music venue… and the scene would die if Jelmu had no other place to organise such events" (Jelmu responsible). Finally, the building was renovated with an ERDF grant provided by State Provincial Office of Western Finland, and funds of the City of Jyväskylä and RAY (Finland's slot machine association). In addition to the organisation of events (about 120 to 150 shows a year), it also maintains training studios for local bands and provides opportunities for other related businesses. The work of the association is mainly done by young volunteers (about 100) encouraging an environment of citizenship and participation. The place is recognised as an important social and educational centre and a symbol of youthful and urban culture[155] (see Figure 27.3).

Figure 27.3 Tanssisali Lutakko by Jelmu - Live Music Association.
(photos courtesy of Teppo Laine)

[155] Alongside with Jelmu other associations use presently this space: the YAD (Youth Against Drugs) and the traditional dance association ISOn Tanhuujat ry. Most of the costs are covered by a loan taken out by the mutual real estate company that owns the building.

Cultural artists and actors play an essential role in the city's community development and wellness strategy. They are called upon to intervene in various initiatives of the municipality, especially in health and social projects. The artists interviewed while agreeing that culture is inseparable from personal and collective well-being and recognising their social role, claim for themselves better social protection and greater participation in political decision-making.

> I think that the City Council is beginning to understand the values of artists in this town (…). They have understood the meaning of a rich cultural life (…) but I think that the artists are a bit sceptical about local authorities (...). Artists are more concerned about doing art. But, some [of them] are very interested in what they can learn when they are, for example, working in the healthcare centre or wherever (Artists/cultural worker).

More, as a Jyväskylä Artists' Association member affirmed it is problematic handling the "essence of artist work [and the] request of political officers to link culture to innovation and business" (Jyväskylä Artists Association responsible).

The local cultural environment is nurtured by numerous cultural actors involved in various institutions and professional organisations as well as longstanding amateur activities, mainly emanating from drama companies not only in the centre of the city but also in the surrounding communities.

To conclude, as we noted earlier, the capacity of the local and regional public sector to promote partnerships with the private sector and the third sector in the implementation of cooperative initiatives is one of the main characteristics observed in the many networks in which the city is involved. As declared by Juha Hautanen, head of programme Wellness Technology of Jyväskylä Polytechnic: "The strength of the Jyväskylä Region is the ability of different players to bring down the barriers that usually separate them in order to achieve common goals. All parties are committed to carrying progress forward in an unselfish spirit" (Tervoja, 2004).

Some key findings

The municipality of Jyväskylä achieved with the last administrative reform a prominent position in the urban hierarchy of the country. Its location within a vast countryside and the compact urban centre makes it mostly a city of regional scope, with peaceful and healthy lifestyles. The need to restructure the region's economy has meant that the local and regional players are betting in a first stage in the development of an educational cluster with international visibility and reputation. Afterwards, development agencies have invested in the promotion of

innovation and ICTs, opening up opportunities for the emergence of new areas of investment and preparing the city to compete in the knowledge society. In this sense, the so-called Human Technology strategy developed by the Municipality combines the promotion of an innovative and learning region, human capital with technologic advances. Besides, the implementation of the local strategy is supported by new governance approaches to stimulate cross-sector collaboration between researcher centres, businesses, and public actors are crucial to the sustainability of local development policy and planning strategy.

Looking at the rural area of the municipality, the structural changes and the political administration reforms as in all Finland have changed the way of life and the rural landscape significantly. The difficulty of maintaining social and cultural services in less populated areas is pointed out as one of the major problems in the management of this vast area.

However, cultural resources and activities are undoubtedly part of development policies and planning strategies being exploited, namely, in the renovation of old industrial areas as a way to legitimise public action in these areas, but also as a way to promote an attractive environment for new residents and businesses and to engage local citizens.

The region has benefited from EU programs and structural funds which encourage the relationship between urban and regional development with social cohesion and cultural policies (Mitchell & Heiskanen, 2011).

Analysing discourse and strategies about culture, it is emphasis its relationship with the development of individual and collective wellbeing, being part of the welfare state policies. Many local actors also mentioned that culture is still examined in the strict sense, and the legitimacy of public funding of culture is increasingly justified by its contribution to other policies, requesting the need to look at the intrinsic value and autonomy of the cultural field.

Cultural activities are mainly supported by public funds from the municipality and National and Regional Arts Councils but also by Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Nordic Fund. For the most part, they focus on the traditional support of artist and performer practices, heritage safeguard, and cultural institutions (principally museums, libraries, theatre and music organisations). At the local level, there is a particular focus on initiatives developed for educational and social objectives especially for the elders and young people. In addition, the regional government has been actively disseminating the creative industries discourse following the national and European programs. They mapped the sector and promoted networks of cooperation among the different actors. Crafts, printmaking and photography are the domains with a long cultural and social tradition in the region, as well as architecture which is deeply rooted in Finnish planning and as well as in Jyväskylä.

The territorial capital, namely the human, social, cultural and natural features of this urban community in a rural region and low-density area is used in local development strategy as competitive advantages. For the quality of the urban fabric, it has contributed particularly the modern architecture of architect Alvar Aalto which attracts many researchers and curious about his work, but also a long-term planning tradition, strengthened by new governance approaches where the citizen is included. Further, the visibility of Jyväskylä as a tourist destination begun with the organisation of cultural and sports events as well as conference and meetings. The more recent branding strategy is based on sauna culture experiences, which is part of the everyday life of many Finnish. Moreover, the education institutions are one of the bases of local development, attracting not only numerous students and researchers but also business which take advantage of the existence of high skill workers and distinguished research centres.

As an artist stated, to be outside larger metropolis should not restrictive, because in a smaller city like Jyvaskyla they are not confined to the region they find forms to create visibility and improve networks abroad.

To conclude, one of the most cited development goals is to foster people's wellbeing and health; based on cultural and social values but also strong institutions. As in other areas culture is seen in a transdisciplinary way, connecting areas such as the arts, welfare, and entrepreneurship and fostering collaboration between different partners.

c. Óbidos, Centro Region, Portugal

Context analysis

Portugal is a small unitary state and Parliamentary democracy of 10,562,178 inhabitants (Census 2011) constituted by the territory on the European mainland (in Portuguese: Continente) and the Azores and Madeira archipelagos[156]. Local authorities are considered collective territorial legal persons with representative bodies, whose purpose is to pursue the interests of the population[157]. Three categories are considered for the mainland: the commune

[156] The Azores and Madeira are autonomous regions endowed with political and administrative statutes and self-government institutions.

[157] Article 235 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic.

(in Portuguese: freguesia), the municipality (in Portuguese: município) and the administrative region (in Portuguese: região administrativa)[158].

With almost 900 years of history, Portugal is one of the oldest nations in Europe. During the last century, significant political events marked its development, such as the transition from a constitutional monarchy to a republic under a parliamentary government system (October 5, 1910). Then, the First Republic gave way to a right-wing dictatorial regime (from 1926 to 1974). As illustrated by Boaventura Sousa Santos, Portugal at that time was located between the semi-peripheral head of its vast colonial empire and a semi-peripheral position in European context (Santos, 1985, 1991, 1993). The 1960s were marked by participation in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA); the beginning of independence movements in overseas possessions, the intensive migratory movement from the countryside to coastal cities and to several European countries[159].

The revolution of 25 April 1974, restored the democracy and put an end to its imperial and colonial past. However, the dictatorship left huge effects on the political culture and administrative organisation of the country. After a period of political turmoil and economic difficulties accentuated by the successive oil shocks (1973 and 1979), Portugal initiated the process towards the European Community integration. In 1985 assigned with Spain the Treaty of Accession to EEC with effect from 1 January 1986, which culminated in the adoption of the euro currency in 2002. The EU membership increased the pressure for the reform of public policies, concerning the modernisation of socio-economic structures, the reduction of State direct intervention and reduction of bureaucracy towards a more liberal policy.[160]

The difficult adjustment to the new monetary environment, the enlargement of the EU to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe; the development of emerging economies like

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[158] Article 236 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic. The former Portuguese administrative structure considered the following division below the central government: districts (in Portuguese: distritos), councils (in Portuguese: concelhos) and communes (in Portuguese: freguesias). The importance of the districts decreased in recent years and some administrative, financial and political competencies have been delivered to Regional Coordination and Development Commissions and municipalities.

[159] The EFTA was signed in Stockholm on 4 January 1960, of which Portugal was a founding member together with Austria, Denmark, Norway, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Switzerland. The exit of this organisation occurred with the integration in the EEC.

[160] An analysis of the consequences of European Union integration couldn't be made here given the complexity of the theme.

China; the 2008/2009 financial crisis followed by the 2010 sovereign debt crisis are some of the events which exposed the vulnerabilities of the Portuguese economy (Lourtie, 2011; Rodrigues and Adão e Silva, 2012). Subsequently, the requests for foreign aid and the austerity programs implemented posed numerous challenges for the country and the intervention and coordination of public policies, particularly at the local level.

As in other countries, after the constitutional reform of 1976, Portugal have tried, albeit in a discontinuous way, to move from a highly centralised and bureaucratic government to a more decentralised one[161]. Often, this process is only a process of deconcentration, by delegating powers to other entities, such as the Regional Coordination and Development Commission (in Portuguese: Comissões de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional – CCDR), which under the supervision of the Central Government are responsible for the implementation of the regional operational programmes provided for by the Community Support Framework for Portugal and supporting and monitoring regional economic development in their respective geographic areas (Keynes Srl, 2006; CoE, 2007; DGT, 2016).

The extension of the competences of local governments together with the reduction of funds transfers from the state budget and the reduction of local tax revenues led to the adoption in recent years of different organisational arrangements by the municipalities, such as public companies, inter-municipal companies, outsourcing, among other, for the provision of public services.

Territorial planning is an essential obligation of the State, and the definition of policies in this field is a responsibility of the Government, the Autonomous Regions and the Local Authorities. The directives for regional and local development are established in the National Spatial Policy Programme "PNPOT – Programa Nacional para as Políticas de Ordenamento do Território" (2007) which articulates with Sectorial Plans and Special Spatial Plans.

The instruments at the municipal level are called "PMOT - Planos Municipais de Ordenamento do Território" (Municipal Spatial Plan) that vary not only according to the area of intervention, but mainly according to the scale of intervention, namely: "PDM - Plano Diretor Municipal" (Municipal Master Plan), "PU - Plano de Urbanização" (Urbanisation Plan), and "PP - Plano de Pormenor" (Detail Plan). They establish the land use regime and regulations,

[161] The system of distribution of powers between the various categories of local and regional authorities was established by the Portuguese Law No. 159/99 and Law 169/99, the latter amended by Law 5-A/2002. It is based on the principles of decentralisation and self-government with the transfer of central government responsibilities to the local authority organs.

following the national and regional guidelines and specific strategic development options at the local level, which includes the conservation and enhancement of biodiversity and the natural, landscape and cultural heritage.

To perceive better the case here in analysis, we must look explicitly to the cultural policies in Portugal since the dictatorial regime of "Estado Novo"[162]. During this period, culture was dominated by propagandistic reasons in order to promote the nationalist and imperialist vision of the regime. And, to this end, an imagined community and a sense of identity were promoted through celebrations, exhibitions and symbols as well as an extensive program of public works where is included the classification and restoration of numerous historic buildings, monuments and traditional and historic urban cores (e.g. Lima dos Santos, 1998; Lira, 2002; Corkill and Almeida, 2007; Pedreirinho, 2013).

Following the democratic revolution of 1974, the State was progressively involved in the financing of the arts and culture, parallel to the consolidation of the welfare state. The objectives of its action in cultural matters focused on the principles of the democratisation of culture, based mainly on the generalisation of access to culture and cultural enjoyment through a model of decentralisation (e.g. Lima dos Santos, 1988; Anico, 2009). However, it was not until the 1980s that more consistent measures for the implementation of this model began to take place, in which municipalities assume a new role in the cultural and educational area (Silva et al., 2013). To this end, it has contributed the creation and recovery of cultural infrastructures organised in networks of libraries and archives, theatres and cine-theatres, and museums via partnerships between central and local governments (Silva, 2004). Cultural policies and services have turned more and more a responsibility of local governments, covering from the management of cultural facilities and provision of art education initiatives to the support of a wide range of practices, especially festive and popular manifestations, linked to the identity of places.

As Eduardo Brito Henriques (2002) points out, there have been increasingly perceptible signs of a change in the role of the State in the cultural field through the adoption of actions towards a) the de-monopolisation, privatisation and liberalisation of certain public services, especially in the media sector; b) strengthening public-private partnerships, looking for ways to manage and finance culture, for example through the creation of foundations; and c) the introduction of commercial criteria in the cultural activity of the public sector (ibid.). Despite

[162] Name given to the authoritarian regime installed in Portugal which with the entry into force of the new Constitution in 1933 enabled Salazar to build a New State (in Portuguese: Estado Novo).

these trends, there is a continuity in the model of public participation in the field of culture, in which the State continues to play an interventionist role, even in a paternalist way in some sectors of culture.[163] This position is justified by the existence of a notion of culture as a collective necessity to which the State must respond through its public agencies, even if in some cases it acts in collaboration with the private sector and civil society (Anico, 2009), simultaneously with a persistent disapproval of attempts at commodification and more elitist approaches to culture.

National cultural policies also revealed a growing internationalisation through participation in projects and networks and the promotion of Portuguese identity symbols, as well as the professionalization of the administration of the cultural sector and growth in public attendance (Lima dos Santos, 1998; Silva, 2007).

The funding provided by the European programs allowed a sustained investment in culture, however, and especially after the crisis of 2008, the subsequent governments reduced their cultural budgets (Silva et al., 2015; Garcia et al., 2016). This resulted in disinvestments and discontinuities in cultural action, and an increment of the asymmetry in the geographic distribution of cultural producers and in the access of citizens to the diversity of cultural goods (Garcia et al., 2016). These cuts have also affected municipalities, although, despite budgetary constraints, they are increasingly active in building and preserving cultural infrastructures, promotion of local heritage, regular programming of artistic and cultural events at national and international level.

In recent years, the potential of tangible and intangible heritage as an identity element and resource for the development strategies of the country and its localities has gained prominence. Following the global trends, the cultural and creative industries became part of the political discourse supported by several studies on the contribution of the sector to the economy and community programmes (Mateus, 2010; Pinto, 2012). [164]

[163] After the revolution, cultural affairs are under the responsibility of several ministries or under the tutelage of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. In 1983-85, the culture became an independent ministerial responsibility area, but only returned to be autonomous from 1995 to 2011 and finally since 2015 to the present day.

[164] The report of Augusto Mateus & Associados (2010) states that the CCI sector at national level represented 2.8% of the GVA and generates 3.7 billion Euros in 2006, which corresponds to 2.6% of jobs created.

Within the Oeste sub-region, Western Coastal Region of Portugal, a predominantly rural region according the EU classification applied to NUTS 3 regions (Eurostat, 2012) contained by the Centro Region of Portugal (NUTS 2) is situated the municipality of Óbidos (LAU 1) (see Figure 28.3 and Annexe C).[165]

Figure 28.3 Location of Óbidos Municipality, in Oeste sub-region and Centro Region (adapted from CCDRC, 2011 and Turismo de Portugal, 2013)

This municipality belongs to the district of Leiria, a short distance from the cities of Caldas da Rainha, Peniche and on the route to the pilgrim centre of Fatima. It is a short distance from Lisbon, the Portuguese capital (about 80 km north and less than an hour drive) and with fast connections to other major cities such as Coimbra and Porto. It covers an area of 141.6 square kilometre with only 11,689 inhabitants (Census 2011), representing an increase of population relative to Census 2001. It enjoys a diverse geomorphological environment, determined by a unique natural landscape dotted by several small rural settlements and a lagoon ecosystem that ends at the Atlantic Ocean.

[165] In the Portuguese case, there are three NUTS 1, the mainlaind (in Portuguese: Continente) and the two autonomous regions of the Azores and Madeira. They are subdivided in seven NUTS 2 regions: Norte (North); Centro (Centre); Área Metropolitana de Lisboa (Lisbon Metropolitan Area); Alentejo; Algarve; Região Autónoma dos Açores (Autonomous Region of the Azores); Região Autónoma da Madeira (Autonomous Region of Madeira). Each region is subdivided into 25 NUTS 3 sub-regions. The LAU 1 correspond to 308 municipalities and the LAU 2 to 3092 freguesias (civil parishes).

The "*vila*" of Óbidos, a small town in the Portuguese urban system, is the seat of the municipality currently divided in 7 civil parishes (Figure 29.3).

Figure 29.3 Óbidos Municipality
(adapted from http://www.cm-obidos.pt)

Óbidos is primarily distinguished by its iconic image: the medieval walled town with narrow streets and traditional white houses. From its foundation attributed to the Celts in 308 B.C., its strategic location gave it always a privileged status, having been the scene of significant historical events. After D. Afonso II, King of Portugal gave it to his wife, Queen D. Urraca, in 1210, the town became the property of the kings' consorts, with the title of "Casa das Rainhas" (in English: House of Queens). It became part of the traditional dowry of Portuguese queens when King D. Dinis offered the town as a wedding gift to his wife, D. Isabel in 1282. Hence, it was converted into a refuge of the nobility, which sponsored a set of civil and religious buildings central to local development (e.g., the aqueduct, the pillory, the "São João Baptista" church) and stimulated a unique cultural environment that attracted a set of artists such as Josefa d'Óbidos, one of the greatest figures of Portuguese Baroque painting of the seventeenth century.

In 1755, the Lisbon earthquake destroyed many buildings in Óbidos. Then, in 1833 the "Casa das Rainhas" was abolished due to political and administrative reforms which led to the abandonment and deterioration of the town.

The town was already mentioned in the XIX century British tourist itineraries interested in discovering the Portuguese architectural heritage. In the transition to the twentieth century, during the regime of the First Republic, several initiatives have been carried out in the village to promote the tourism industry, as the classification of Óbidos as a tourist resort (1928) by the "Comissões de Iniciativa de Turismo", the local delegation of the Tourism Office. In addition to the classification of the Castle as National Monument in 1910 and the extension of this recognition to the entire walled centre in 1951, many civil and religious buildings were intervened, along with the recovery of a set of civil and religious fairs and celebrations. The town became a reference for urban intervention for the rehabilitation and conservation of

historic centres, as part of the regime strategy of celebration of the past and national identity (to know more about the history of Óbidos, see for example, Garcia and Caetano, 2007; Prista, 2013; Soares and Neto, 2013).

The processes of re-creation and commodification of the historical core led to a reconfiguration of local economic and social structures. The intensification of tourists' flows did not prevent the exodus and the ageing of the population, and on the other, the growth of service activities.[166]

Located in a fertile area, agriculture has always been central to the regional economy, principally horticulture, fruit and wine production. The industrial sector, food processing, construction and furniture are also relevant economic activities. However, as already mentioned, tourism and related services acquired a preponderate position in the local economy being accountable for a large percentage of employment. The Óbidos Lagoon, a coastal lagoon system of about 6.9 square kilometres, is a privileged ecosystem for the observation of numerous water birds and migratory birds as well as for sports and recreational practices, crucial in the local strategy of tourist diversification. Besides, the natural resource is pointed by residents as an essential element for the quality of life of the municipality (Figure 30.3).

Figure 30.3 Óbidos natural and rural landscape (author's photo)

Process analysis

As previously mentioned, after the classification and recovery of Óbidos' castle and walled urban centre, local politics focused mainly on developed it as the tourist destination based on

[166] According to INE, the national statistical institute, in 1950 the municipality had 11,716 inhabitants and only returned to a close value in the last census of 2011.

the exceptional value of its artistic, cultural and historical heritage, supported by the nationalist policies of the "Estado Novo", while maintaining the rural matrix in the rest of the municipality.

Extensive interventions by Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (Directorate General of National Buildings and Monuments), followed a medieval scenographic ideal by cultivating the idea of a "museum town" as a reconstitution of a crystallised narrative of the past (Soares and Neto, 2013). In complement, the municipality executed urban improvements and measures of coercion to the realisation of works and other municipal regulations intending to harmonise the architectural image of Óbidos (Figure 31.3).

Figure 31.3 View of the walled town of Óbidos (author's photo)

They also focus on the creation and diffusion of an internationally recognisable image, the recovery of local traditions and celebrations; the inauguration of cultural facilities, such as the contemporary art gallery "Galeria Ogiva" and the Municipal Museum (1970). These measures were validated by cultural elites, who came to visit the village or even inhabit it, seasonally or permanently.

After the 1980s, the municipality maintained the strategies of "touristification", that is, the urban revitalisation process for tourism objectives. Among the investments made are the repurpose of some notable buildings as cultural facilities and in the organisation of events

dedicated to the arts and classical music; the creation of the Tourist Day; the support of some ethnographic customs as well as works of requalification (Garcia, 2001)[167].

The Óbidos Municipal Master Plan that should define the convenient use of natural resources, the environment and cultural heritage, making the zoning of the municipal territory was ratified in 1996. The approval of the Plan allowed the development of a new municipal strategy aimed at the development of residential tourism in the region[168]. Supported by demand from central and northern Europe and encouraged by national and regional plans, as well as well as National Strategic Tourism Plan, it was encouraged the construction resorts and the development of second home and golf tourism (Ferreira, 2011; Pardal, 2012; Patuleia, 2011).

This strategy has the objective to increase the supply of jobs and boosting local economic activities was maintained by the local authority after a change in political leadership, even though they defended the need to revise the Municipal Master Plan. The reduction of investments with the international financial crisis, besides the growing pressure and mischaracterisation of the natural landscape, reinforced the decision of local authorities to suspend the execution of the Master Plan (decision approved in 2008)[169] to reduce construction in areas closer to the sea and Óbidos Lagoon. To define a new territorial model, they amend this regulatory tool (entitled "Alteração ao Plano Diretor Municipal de Óbidos na área do Bom Sucesso") that finally came into force in 2013[170].

The territorial development model that supports the Master Plan review is based on the disruptive strategy defined by the local government team around creativity. As repeated by the former Mayor Telmo Faria[171] in many conversations, this strategic approach began by creating the perception that in Óbidos, despite its size "was possible to create, to give rise, to make happen. To achieve this, it was only required that innovation and the bet on differentiation were clear, audacious and visible to everyone" (Faria, 2009: 72).

This has been pursued since 2002 when the local authority has focused on boost an agenda of thematic events throughout the year supported by a network of municipal cultural facilities. Soon, Óbidos became recognised for its numerous events which attracted thousands of tourists

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[167] See also the General Chronology of the History of Óbidos available at the website of the Municipality (http://www.cm-obidos.pt/catalogs/?category=24&page=23)

[168] Resolution of Council of Ministers no. 187/96.

[169] Resolution of Council of Ministers no. 33/2008.

[170] Published in Diário da República, 2ª serie, nº 114/2013.

[171] The municipality was led by the Mayor Telmo Faria that completed a consecutive 12-year cycle, 2001-2013, and was succeeded by his vice-mayor Humberto Marques.

to the small town. The diversified agenda includes the "Medieval Fair of Óbidos", with large participation of the local associations; the "June for the Arts", a contemporary art event; the popular "International Chocolate Festival", or the distinctive "International Piano Week of Óbidos". The intricate organisation involved in their production has created a highly professional and specialised team in cultural animation in the Municipality.

This strategy led to the development of a distinctive territorial brand "Óbidos Criativa" (in English: Creative Óbidos). The aim was to affirm the territory linking the areas of culture, innovation and economy, not forgetting the rural matrix of the municipality and environmental sustainability. To manage some these initiatives the local authority opted for an organisational model based on two municipal companies: the "Óbidos Patrimonium" and "Óbidos Requalifica"[172].

Progressively, these events were an impetus behind the development of a set of new creative skills and the emergence of innovative businesses and activities, which creatively (re)interpreting local tangible and intangible assets and combine new and old traditions. An example of this is the "International Chocolate Festival of Óbidos" which offers tastings, workshops, presentations of producers and distributors of chocolate and derivatives, among other experiences related to chocolate. In addition to the direct revenues of the festival's ticket sales and sponsorships; the improvement of low season activity activities and the dynamisation of the region' schools; the Festival also stimulated the emergence of creative experiences and businesses based on endogenous products. An illustrative case is the Oppidum company that owns the "Ginja de Óbidos" brand. This local firm expanded the commercialisation of sour cherry liqueur and launched gourmet products derived from this fruit and combined with chocolate. More recently, it has registered the "Rota da Ginja" brand (sour cherry route), that provides visits and tasting experiences at the manufacturing site (Pimpão 2016).

The success of the events and the emergence of correlated innovative activities led the Municipality to think in the development a creative economy approach. As remember by Miguel Silvestre, Executive Director of Óbidos Technology Park[173]:

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[172] According to António Marques (2012) most public companies were created for Portuguese municipalities to release themselves from the legal constraints of public law and accounting, using private law instruments and forms to more effectively carry out their missions (about this theme see also Amorim, 2000; Rodrigues and Araújo, 2006; among others).

[173] The former Deputy Mayor of Óbidos City Council (2010-2012) and Coordinator of the Óbidos Criativa Municipal Company.

> It had a lot to do with the alignment that we had, in political and strategic terms, with the debate that was emerging at the time across Europe on the creative industries. The first conference we did with INTELI at Casa da Música generated a series of debates that gave rise to our application for Creative Clusters Network. From that point on, we became enmeshed in what was the discourse of this area and we were recognised by the chosen approach: the point of view of a low-density territory.

Assisted by the INTELI, a Portuguese think tank, Óbidos submitted a candidature for the URBACT programme to constitute a collaborative network with other low-density urban areas. The Creative Clusters network (2008-2011)[174] allowed them to identify good practices in other European cities and publicised the local approach internationally and in local community[175], consolidating the objectives of transform creativity in an essential vector of local development.

Following the national policy directives for the administrative and pedagogical (re)organisation of the school network, the Municipal Council of Education of Óbidos was created in December 2003[176] that led to the approval the local educational charter, entitled "Carta Educativa do Concelho de Óbidos" (CMO, 2005)[177].

The necessity of closing some primary schools[178] was seen as an opportunity to for investing in the construction of new school complexes (carried out in the period 2008-2010), but also to achieve greater autonomy in their management and the reformulation of the educational model. Although the former executive managed to lower the illiteracy rate from 27.7% (1981) to 14.0% (2001), this was still far above the national average of 8.9% (2001)[179]. Thus, one of the primary goals of the executive at that time was to reduce this severe social

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[174] Óbidos was the leader partner of the Creative Clusters network (Urbact II, 2008-2011) in a partnership with Barnsley (UK), Catanzaro (Italy), Enguera (Spain), Hódmezóvásarhely (Hungary), Mizil (Romania), Reggio Emilia (Italy), Viareggio (Italy) and the INTELI (Portugal).

[175] It was mandatory of the URBACT programme to constituted a Local Action Group (LAG) to involve local stakeholders in the city vision. As a programme outcome, it was produced a Local Action Plan (LAP) that summarises the strategy outlined by the executive.

[176] In compliance with the Decree-Law no. 7/2003 of January 15.

[177] It is a tool for planning and prospective planning of the education network of a municipality defined in Article 10, Decree-Law no. 7/2003 of 15 January.

[178] The Portuguese Law 35/88 of 4 February establishes the closing of the schools with ten or less students. Later in 2010 a new Resolution determined that schools with less than 21 students should also be closed on the grounds that they "limit students' academic success" and "present rates of school failure above the national average." (Resolution of the Council of Ministers n. 44/2010).

[179] Illiteracy rate, according to the Census Sources INE, PORDATA (2015) http://www.pordata.pt

problem further. Furthermore, as is clarified in the same document, the educational action should be progressively extended to a multitude of local actors beyond the school community, which constitutes a "new ways of thinking and acting on globalisation at the local level of educational activity, combining it with development strategies" (CMO, 2005). As corroborated by the responsible of the coordinator of Óbidos Municipality Educational Department interviewed:

> We had to build the local educational identity (…) a territorial education model based on creativity and innovation, what we called Óbidos Creative Approach [especially] in the transition between the pre-school and the first-cycle. (…) [This is] closely connected with the strategic vision of the Council on the development of the territory (...) in association with the economy and the events[180].

Subsequently, they consolidated this approach collaborating with local, national and international partners like HEI or the Óbidos Technology Park; and participating in networks, for instance, with the Italian Municipality of Reggio Emilia and the Danish Municipality of Gentofte. They also developed diverse intervention projects that transcend the classroom, namely the "Fábrica da Criatividade" (Creativity Factory), MyMachine or deCode academy (Figure 32.3).

Thus, the municipal educational project, developed in a predominantly rural community, is articulated with partnerships and projects in different social areas where local power has responsibilities such as health promotion, poverty reduction, elder care, etc. (about this topic see Canário, 1995, 2000, 2004; Godinho et al., 2011; Godinho, 2012). An example is the project Odesign that joins young designers and seniors, combining design and creativity with traditional techniques and skills.

Meanwhile, the local authority launched in 2005 a Network of Investigation, Innovation and Knowledge with the objective of investigating the territory of Óbidos in a multidisciplinary way. These monographs should form the basis for a UNESCO World Heritage application which was not completed but had provided technical and scientific tools to support the planning and management of the region[181].

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[180] The local educational concept called Óbidos Creative Approach is formally established with the presentation in 2012 of a Strategic Plan for Education in Óbidos (CMO, n.d.: 11).

[181] http://www.rede.cm-obidos.pt/Home/UI/HomeUI.aspx

Figure 32.3 “Fábrica da Criatividade” ateliers
(photos courtesy of Ana Sofia Godinho)

The participation in collaborative networks, commonly through European programmes, was always seen an opportunity to enhance the visibility and recognition of Óbidos and a way to achieve more scale and critical mass. More example could be listed as the national Creative Economy Network (REC - Rede de Economia Criativa); the “Creative SpIN” project[182]; or the ECOS – Energy and Sustainable Construction project in environment field.[183]

In 2009, the municipality launched an action plan focused on the attraction and qualification of talents, job creation, wealth growth and the improvement of the quality of life. As expressed by the Mayor Telmo Faria in Óbidos LAP:

> Creativity can be a concept of political intervention in the territory, but it must be more than that, it must be a real change in approach between generations, who interpret the same space differently. Creativity can be seen not only to regenerate cities and regions

[182] A URBACT Thematic Network that connects culture and CCI with other sectors of the economy and public/social services to stimulate creative spillovers and contribute to innovation. The partners are the City Council of Birmingham (UK), Rotterdam (NL), Mons (BE), Bologna (IT), Essen (DE), Kortrijk (BE) besides the Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (PL), Tallin Creative Hub (EE), Košice 2013 European Capital of Culture (SK).

[183] Submitted to the Program “Urban Network for Competitiveness and Innovation”, of the “Política das Cidades POLIS XXI” (urban policy strategy).

> to revitalize the economy, but also to raise a new relationship in politics, moisturizing an aging system and creating new actors (CMO, 2011: 3).

This document established a set of projects in some priority areas which were more oriented to creative production while maintaining their focus on a cultural environment of excellence and high-quality tourism.

Therefore, the municipality has bet on the coordination of existing resources in conjunction with investments in new attractions to attract a greater number of visitors with a differentiated profile, create an environment favourable to the development of new business and the fixing of residents. One of its strategic priorities was to attract creative and qualified individuals and companies through the provision of infrastructures and the promotion of a favourable environment to live and work (Rivas, 2008; Selada et al., 2011). As noted by INTELI's Head Cities Unit, Catarina Selada, this idea is informed by the "creative ecosystem" concept[184] delineated to stimulate the creative economy in a low-density urban area.

This model aims to underline the relationship between creativity and territory, interlinking three components: 1) Economy (cultural and creative companies and organisations); 2) Place (the spaces of cultural and creative production and consumption; 2) People (the creative talents, i.e., people with skills and personal abilities that nurture creativity, with an entrepreneurial spirit enhancing the creation of innovative businesses).

In this sense, new facilities and infrastructures were created in Óbidos. Such is the case of Óbidos Technological Park and a business incubator called ABC - Basic Support for Creativity. These answered to the lack of business spaces and the strategy of the last NSRF - National Strategic Reference Framework (2007-2013)[185] that incentives the establishing of scientific and technological parks. For its management, the municipality created an association called OBITEC that includes universities, training schools, business associations and companies. They also outlined a financial package of benefits to attract companies (e.g., tax incentives, microcredit, etc.).

Also, this framework it was created an urban policy instrument called "Urban Regeneration Partnerships" that has been implemented in several Portuguese cities. Supported by this program, Óbidos' municipality initiated the rehabilitation of a set of abandoned buildings in the inner centre to new creative uses: from "live and work" and "just live" houses; to spaces to

[184] Developed for the Creative Cluster Network by INTELI

[185] NSRF is the short term for National Strategic Reference Framework which determines the application of the Community's policy for the period 2007-2013.

"creative retail" and "events and performances" (CMO, 2011). Among those is the "Espaço Ó" (former EPIC – Space for the Promotion of Innovation and Creativity) that includes an area to hold events, conferences or exhibitions, a commercial area, spaces for studios and a Colab space[186] (Figure 33.3).

Figure 33.3 Colab at Espaço Ó (author's photo)

The later reflects the municipality's willingness to attract professionals and creative entrepreneurs, facilitated by the face-to-face and informal contact with the executive, as explained by one of the Colab founders, an old resident of the municipality who lived for a long time abroad: "this openness made it possible to implement quickly the project and at the same time [the de-bureaucratisation of the process] allowed us to experiment and mature a specific model for Óbidos". On the other hand, he pointed out the difficulty of affordable rent homes in the city for entrepreneurs who want to stay temporarily or settle there. However, he recognised that the creative spaces that are being built by the municipality are an incentive to boost this market.

Environmental issues have also been a central theme in the discourses about the local strategy. In late 2007, it was launched the Program "Óbidos Social Carbon" to improve initiatives that reduce carbon emissions, provide a lower release of carbon and protect the environment. This is an innovative initiative that brings together local authorities, environmental groups, business and community.

[186] Colab is a work platform that promotes the sharing of ideas and processes and space, tools and technologies to develop projects in co-ownership.

Recently, a new ambitious initiative emerged to shape a new perception of Óbidos. Urged to compete in the contest launched by the city to open a bookstore in the space of the old church of Santiago, "Ler Devagar"[187], a private entity proposed the implementation of a larger project "Óbidos Literary Town" with the opening of 11 bookstores and the creation of various events throughout the year aiming to mark the literary calendar This vision, which seemed "pure fiction" (as assumed in the slogan of project) turned out to gather the consensus of most people, and they already opened seven bookstores in such diverse places as museums, churches and markets.

In 2015, Óbidos held the first literary festival FOLIO (Óbidos International Literary Festival) reinventing itself once again through literature and all associated arts. This project was inspired by the literary festival FLIP held in the Brazilian city of Paraty and in the small Welsh city of Hay-on-Wye, which holds 40 second-hand bookstores and an annual literary, music and entertainment festival. The diversify program has the capacity to mobilise a broad audience including students and teachers from different levels of education (Figure 34.3).

Figure 34.3 Óbidos Literary Town: Bookstores and Folio 2017 (author's photo).

[187] The project "Óbidos Literary Town" is an initiative of Ler Devagar, a public limited liability company that manages editorial funds. It has the support of Óbidos' Municipality and the municipal company Óbidos Criativa.

Finally, this commitment culminated in the nomination of Óbidos as a Creative City of Literature by UNESCO in December 2015. The integration in this international network of Creative Cities can be of great value to its development congregating more actors and legitimising policy options.

The current mayor highlights some initiatives in local strategy and clarifies the path to be drawn in the future in which culture continues to play a fundamental role:

> The events allowed us to gain notoriety, the right of choice exercised by the Chamber in the purchase of real estate allowed us to launch the urban regeneration programme but also the growth of a community, which is the best guarantee for the sustainability of public policies (...) We tried to keep a low-density environment with good infrastructures, schools, etc. and high quality of life. However, we need to be able to set people, attract the best human assets. Culture is seen as a catalyst to attract this critical mass that can help us have a stronger community" (Meeting in Folio 2015).

To boost local development, it has been and remains extremely important to "foster relationships beyond the town walls" (Member of an educational institution).

Actors analysis

In Óbidos, the local authority is the main driver and the actor of development. More, as it is referred to "in a territory like Óbidos" a disruptive strategy like this, "is only possible with a politically strong leadership, although the municipality encourages other actors to be proactive" (Member of a non-departmental public organisation). Given that "there is a gap between the will of the Executive and the local society". Added to the "difficulty in involving people in the strategy because it forces them to involve them in change" (Member of a public cultural institution).

It is with Telmo Faria in the leadership that this change in local politics begins. The long-term commitment to the vision of the Mayor and his team, ensured by the current executive, was essential to achieving the goal of turning culture and creativity into a driving force for local development. As the current mayor, Humberto Marques confirmed (this opinion is unanimous among the interviewees):

> "When the former mayor took office, the patrimony was understood only in terms of contemplation, it was untouchable, lifeless, which resulted in the absence of urban and social regeneration. After that, the executive of which I was a part, has bet heavily on creativity and innovation as a way of reinventing itself" (Meeting in Folio, 2015).

The municipality was able to bring together in its team a group of qualified and open-minded people who have tried new paths, some with more success than others, and have built several fundamental networks for local development.

The municipal companies, the Óbidos Patrimonium and Óbidos Requalifica was the mechanism selected to manage the public initiatives. The first, established in 2004, was dedicated to the production of tourist and cultural events and the management of social and sports facilities. The second founded in 2006, focused on the urban regeneration, development projects related to alternative energy sources and management of the Technologic Park. Now they were joined by the public limited company Óbidos Creative.

The municipality is responsible for the management of a set of cultural facilities as the network of Municipal Museums and Galleries - constituted by the Municipal Museum; the Parish Museum, Abílio de Mattos e Silva Museum, NovaOgiva Gallery and Pelourinho House Gallery.

Despite that the Council had a crucial role in triggering local projects, they are aware that the sustainability of local development includes the involvement of diverse stakeholders in local initiatives: from educational institutions to business associations and social organisations. Partnerships enhanced local capacity and linked the different strategic dimensions. Among them stands out the alliances in the organisation of events, as is the recent case of FOLIO where the local executive, entrepreneurs, schools, museums and galleries, etc. are involved in carrying out this festival. As stated by the interviewees:

> Our scale is an added value because it's easier to move around because we are more easily identified in the community (...) it is easier to be with people, there is an emotional proximity (...) The territory is not an obstacle (Member of a public cultural institution).

The OBITEC – Óbidos Association for Science and Technology established in March 2010 is a local key stakeholder in the promotion of CCIs. It joins the local authority to some areas of partners and different skills such as educational institutions, technology companies and business associations in the management of Technologic Park and the incubator ABC[188]. The main business partners of this strategy are the regional business association named AIRO - Associação Empresarial da Região do Oeste[189] and, at the local level, the association of companies named Óbidos.com[190].

[188] For more information see http://www.obidosparque.com/

[189] http://www.airo.pt/

[190] www.obidos.com.pt

The intensification of the tourist flow with all the negative aspects mobilised the local intellectual elites to create an association for the heritage safeguard in 1989: the "Associação de Defesa do Património do Concelho de Óbidos". They are particularly involved in the revitalisation of the religious traditions that understood like the authentic component of Óbidos. The most famous are the Holy Week celebrations that are specifically geared towards the local community, but also bring numerous tourists to the city.

These local elites have been actively involved in local discussion groups on the future of the city, such as the creative network clusters, and are often quite reluctant to pursue the strategy. The lack of familiarity with the issues of creativity creates some resistance, considering that it introduces "a set of new words that a large part of the community has not yet managed to anchor and perceive in all these ideas" (Member of an association). Thus, the need to improve communication and increase community participation is recurrently mentioned as fundamental, not only regarding young people and elites but above all "it is necessary to involve other people in this image, particularly those who live in villages rural" (Member of a public cultural institution).

However, interviews and local discussion groups have shown the great difficulty of involving community members. Despite this, there has been an effort to take advantage of the numerous sports, cultural and recreational associations as well as the facilities to respond to children and senior citizens existing in various parishes. Many of these institutions have protocols with the Municipality and participate actively in the politics in local events such as the medieval fair or "Maiando o Maio", an ancient ritual with more than 2,000 years.

Most of the residents interviewed who moved to Óbidos pointed out the quality of life resulting from the existing natural amenities as the most relevant factor of the attractiveness of the municipality. The main criticisms are related to an excessive number of daily visitors attracted by the picturesque streets and mega-events as well as the inexistence of services of convenience to those who live in the walled village, turning it almost exclusively into a "scenario". However, residents in the surrounding villages have benefited from these dynamics, with new businesses and local products and infrastructure and projects for the community emerging.

> It is necessary to bring to Óbidos another dimension beyond the events. Transforming this inhabited space (...) strengthening the cultural component (...) to create a path of sustainability. The "Óbidos Literary Town" can be an array for the future of Óbidos, connecting it with the technological park and other spaces (Member of a public cultural institution).

As we have seen above, educational institutions are clearly one of the main actors and a pillar in the development of Óbidos' approach in all its dimensions. The municipal school network, close to the political power, establishes the fundamental bonds with the community, promoting not only its development but also the innovation and the sustainability of the creative strategy. In addition to the local institutions, cooperation projects with educational institutions at regional, national and international levels have been fundamental, filling the deficits or allowing them to gain scale and notoriety.

Finally, we highlight the role of change agents, people who have been challenged or challenged, local authorities for new projects and who have collaborated in local dynamics. This is the case of people like Mafalda Milhões, José Pinho or Pedro Reis, the first two involved in the project of the Literary Town and the third in the development of a space of collaboration and creative entrepreneurship. These agents who shared the rhetoric of creativity and innovation, have a great capacity for internal and external mobilisation, have discovered in Óbidos a space for the accomplishment of their projects, which in turn help to construct a new imaginary of the city.

Some key findings

Local identity and development path of Óbidos Municipality is strongly rooted in its historical heritage but also linked to its rural features. However, based on the knowledge acquired in the new model of culture-led development used in many cities for its revitalisation, local authorities decided to invest in creating strong place branding strategy to communicate its uniqueness to attract the visitors, residents, and investors. The “Creative Óbidos” strategy aims to translate in an innovative way the existing cultural and symbolic capital and, at the same time, promote a new imaginary linked to the creative economy. Contrary to the apparent impossibility of territories with the same characteristics of Óbidos - low density and mostly rural population - in participating in this type of economy as affirmed by many experts, local authorities staked on building networks to gain scale and visibility and opened informal approaches and collaborations that make possible to experiment innovative ideas. The long-term political commitment with these principles guaranteed the implementation of several initiatives. Alongside, the promotion of events, recreating the past but also creating of new traditions and experiences, the local authority has been betting in the realisation of the new municipal education approach; the construction of infrastructures and programs to foster the rise of businesses and to attract talents and entrepreneurs; among other initiatives.

Further, and as in precedent cases, local political options put a number of issues regarding authenticity and the sustainability of the strategy in environmental and community terms. The equilibrium of the community daily experiences and styles with the events and the characteristics of the most of its inhabitants are a challenge for local authorities. The municipality assumes itself as a test laboratory that can experiment easily solutions and make it able to pursue a new path by giving "many small steps".

Moreover, the Municipality is the main coordinator and inductor of the local strategy given the difficulty of most local actors to participate and improve new initiatives.

Rather than simply reproducing global receipts about the "creative city" and "the creative class", Óbidos seeks to take advantage of the features of its territory, the multiple partnerships and networks as well as the available funds for local development, in order to promote the creation of a sustainable ecosystem based on culture-creativity-economy. The future of this ecosystem has been supported mostly by the investments in a creative education system and several projects that promote innovation and entrepreneurship.

d. City of York, England, United Kingdom

Context analysis

The United Kingdom is a parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy. This unitary country is composed of England and three devolved administrations delegated by the Parliament of UK government: Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales. It has a total of 65 million inhabitants with 74% of its population living in predominantly urban areas.

The evolution of urban and regional policy in the United Kingdom follows the ideological changes of successive governments and persistent regional disparities. Over the past decades, institutional reforms with impact on the spatial development and the formulation of cultural policies were carried out in the UK. Notably, the reorganisation of local government in the allocation of certain public services to private sector and non-profit organisations through outsourcing, public-private partnerships and other policy instruments.

Recently, the UK Government in the pursuit for greater efficiency abolished the Regional Development Agencies and Regional Assemblies that constituted the sub-national tier of

government, which took place on March 31st, 2012[191]. In their place were created Local Enterprise Partnerships, hereafter LEP, which are described as "joint local authority-business bodies" (HMG, 2010) to promote local economic development. As a result, 39 subnational units were approved by Central Government that are not based on functional economic geography, but rather consortia of local authorities. They adopted different legal forms, institutional settings, funding forms, economic conditions and potential starting, among other characteristics.

This process was widely regarded as a certain re-centralization of central government power (Merloni, 2016) with a growing concern in England at municipal and local government level outside London with the absence of any clear political voice capable of speaking for their interests. This was exacerbated by the intensification over the past decades of the significant socio-economic disparities within and between UK regions (TCPA, 2006; Martin, 2015) which are complement with an unequal asymmetrical transference of power between the four UK countries (Merloni, 2016). Several organisations and thinkers drew attention to some concerns regarding this process (see, for example, Bolton and Coupar, 2011; Bently, 2012). In particular, the difficulty of setting up and developing LEPs is due to the lack of formal government guidance, unsatisfactory business commitments, insufficient resources and capacity in consortia, lack of long-term strategy in some of them (Pike et al., 2013).

The local government in England works under either a one-tier system - unitary authorities, or a two-tier system - county and district councils[192]. Some parts of England also have a third tier of local government which corresponds to towns and parish councils, responsible for smaller local services. Many large towns and cities and some small counties operate as unitary authorities as in the case of the City of York. They have only one-tier of local government and are responsible for public services such as education, highways, transports, social care, housing, libraries, leisure and recreation, environmental health, waste, strategic planning and local taxation collection. In addition to the current 55 unitary authorities, there are still other types that have only one tier of government: the 32 London Boroughs plus the City of London and the Isles of Scilly.

The British cultural policy, founded on "arm's length principle", characterised by the non-interference and limited support of state and the rising intervention of civil society and private

[191] These agencies were established in 1998 for development England's Government Office regions.

[192] About local government structure see https://www.gov.uk/guidance/local-government-structure-and-elections

actors (Gattinger and Saint-Pierre, 2008; Menger, 2010), shifted to a market-oriented and "managerialist" perspective where culture acquired an increase instrumental role. In this framework, the UK creative industries policy gained prominence that extended around the world. Local authorities always had an essential role in supporting arts and crafts and in the preservation of local heritage not only via culture budget but also indirectly through regeneration agencies and other statutory and strategic agencies.

In general, other sources of funding are mainly the Department of Culture, Media and Sport; the Arts Council of England; National Lottery; as well as support from various trusts, foundations and private donations. Apart from these there is still funding available through the EU initiatives for the promotion of culture. (House of Commons, 2011; ICAEW, 2015).

Looking to the case study, the City of York (NUTS 3) is positioned in the county of North Yorkshire (NUTS 2), the largest of the four sub-regions of the Yorkshire and the Humber region (NUTS 1)[193] in England. (Figure 35.3). According to the urban-rural typology applied to EU NUTS 3 regions is classified as an intermediate region (Eurostat, 2012; see Annexe C).

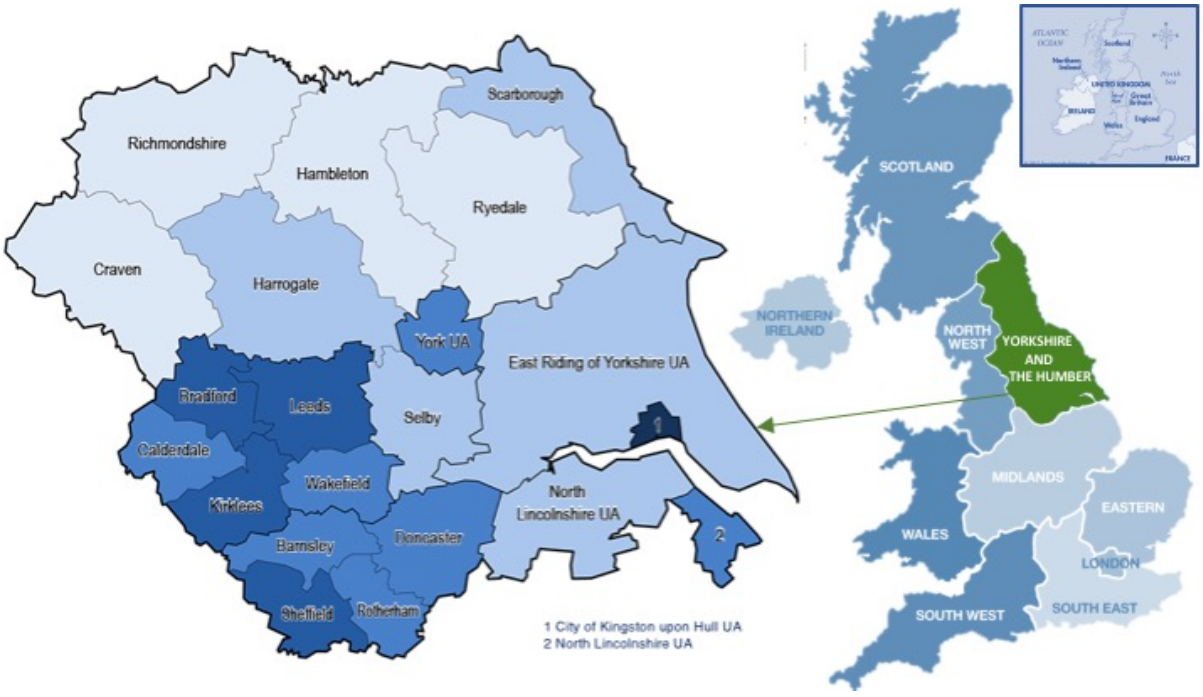

Figure 35.3 Location of the City of York in the Yorkshire and the Humber Region (adapted from http://www.ons.gov.uk/)

[193] Yorkshire and The Humber is one of twelve NUTS 1 areas in the UK. It is divided into the following NUTS 2: East Yorkshire and Northern Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and West Yorkshire. In turn, the North Yorkshire is subdivided into two NUTS 3 areas: York and North Yorkshire CC.

It is situated a less than two hours from London, near the large urban conurbation of Leeds and the important neighbours' cities of Hull, Sheffield and Bradford. It covers an area of about 272 square kilometres of distinct small settlements and a wide rural landscape enclosed by the Pennines, the North York Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds. From the spatial analysis of the city, we distinguish the relatively flat topography and a compact and dense urban centre, delimited by an external ring road built at the end of the twentieth century, in contrast to the surrounding rural area (Figure 36.3).

As a unitary authority of 198,051 inhabitants (2011 census) is subdivided into electoral wards and combines powers and responsibilities of a non-metropolitan county and district council. After the 2005 general election, the parliamentary representation in North Yorkshire was reviewed by the Boundary Commission for England, which recommended the re-drawing of the City of York Constituency boundary (Boundary Commission for England, 2007). In 2010, two constituencies were created, fully integrated into the City of York: York Central and York Outer.

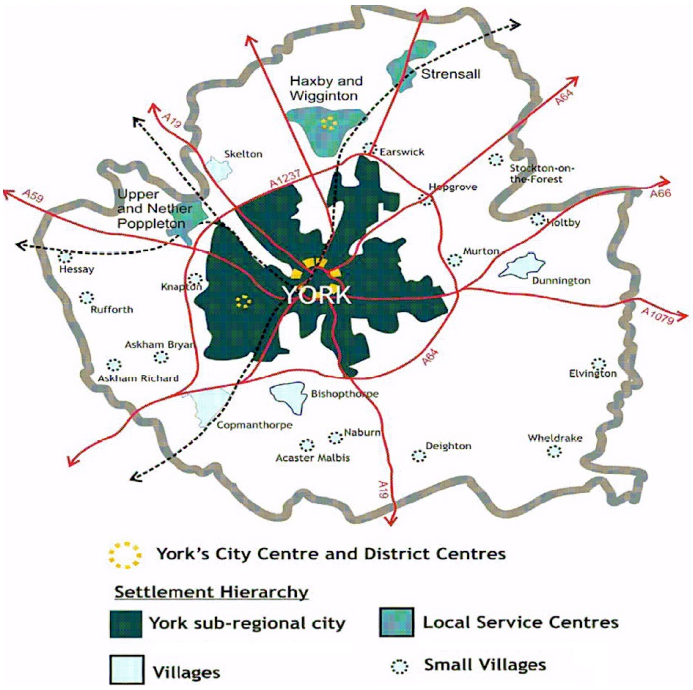

Figure 36.3 City of York Unitary Authority (York City Council, 2010)

York Central encompasses the main activities of employment, shopping, leisure and culture, while the encircling urban area is the first location for housing and related community facilities plus a range of local services. In the surrounding suburbs were built the large commercial spaces: Clifton Moor, Monks Cross, Naburn Designer Outlet and Northminster Business Park. There are also a number of villages surrounding the York urban area which vary in terms of their size and function.

Throughout the years, the City of York has been the scene of several remarkable moments in the history of England which has contributed by acquiring an increasing degree of autonomy of the central government. With a unique atmosphere accentuated by 2,000 years of urban settlement, the city centre contains well-preserved archaeological sites, ancient monuments and notable archives that reflect the history and culture of England and Europe. They show the

importance of the city over the centuries[194], from its foundation in the Roman period (71 AD), the Viking and Norman invasions (866 AD) and the prolific growth during the medieval period, strengthened by the foundation of the Gothic York Minster in circa 1220.

The history of York as a city began in 1212 when King John granted the first city letter confirming its rights. During the Middle Ages, York became an important cloth manufacturing and trading centre. Between 1296 and 1336, in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, it served several times as the capital of the kingdom, receiving various organs of central government. Given to its importance as a commercial centre, the rule of the town was in charge of a mercantile oligarchy. Another symbol of the its influence was the granting of the title Lord Mayor in the 1480s, a privilege only shared at that time by its counterparts in London.

In the late 15th and 16th centuries, the city had experienced an economic contraction, losing its prominent position in the national hierarchy. York regained its economic dynamism given its regional reputation and principally as a result of the development of railway-related industries and confectionery manufacturing in the 19th century. Like many other British cities, with the decline of its traditional industries at the end of the 20th century, the City adopted a conservation strategy for its historical core while searching for new ways of development. They have sought to become internationally competitive in research and development in the area of science and technology industries.

As recognition of the value of their heritage and to support its preservation and study, York was one of five historical centres of England to be designated as an Area of Archaeological Importance[195]. Subsequently, several attractions were created as the National Railway Museum (1975) complemented by an extensive year-round schedule of festivals as part of the attempt to attract more tourists and boost the economy. Today, the ambience of medieval and narrow street pattern of its inner centre is completed by a set of famous venues that represent the cultural prominence along the times. From museum's collections, archives, galleries and performance hall to lively interpretation centres as well as top attractions as the York Minster, the Castle Museum or the Clifford's Tower. "It's its history and well-preserved environment ambience that makes its character", emphasised various interviewers (Figure 37.3).

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[194] About York history http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/ or http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/

[195] Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1979/46/section/33

Figure 37.3 City of York aerial view
(author: Peter Czerwinski)

More recently, the city's profile was enhanced by the prestige of local HEI such as the University of York and York St John University College which attracts 22,643 full time students from all over the UK and overseas (Census 2011).

The economy of the city is predominantly based on services, generally in the public sector with about 35% of total employment in public administration, health and education services. Additionally, it has an extensive manufacturing, mining and energy industries sector, followed by the tourism and financial activities (Centre for Cities, 2012). The tourism industry is already responsible for 19,000 jobs for 6.9 million annual visitors and spending £564 million in the city (Visit York, 2015). The high-quality environment and housing offer contribute to attracting an affluent and highly skilled workforce, many of whom work in the wider Leeds City Region.

The recession has a strong impact on the economy of York, with jobs fallen almost 5% between 2007 and 2010, in comparison with a reduction of less than 2% across the UK. Since then, employment growth has been weaker relative to the national average and is still below their peak before the recession. Expenditures on public administration consequently had to be reduced, including health services and social work (Oxford Economics, 2015).

Given the current challenges, the City Hall and the key Local Partnerships have been elaborating a new strategic vision for the development of the city as mentioned above.

Process analysis

Going back to the 1960s, a new approach to urban planning had emerged in the UK with the concern of combining progress with the preservation of the environment and heritage. Consequently, pilot studies were commissioned by the Government in four historic cities. Among them was the City of York, which obtained special assistance in 1966, because of its "character, beauty and historic interest". Lord Esher, at that time president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, prepared a Conservation Plan for York's historic centre (Esher, 1968, 1969)[196] based on the economic city centre recovery and repopulation, the elimination of noise as well as the resolution of traffic congestion and land use conflicts. On the other hand, he defended the need to preserve the historical character of the city and at the same time ensure the construction of new buildings within the walled city according to high standards of construction (Couch, 2016; see also Gold, 2004; York City Council, 2010, 2014).

York conservation policies then became a model for other English historic towns. At that time, the local government was still not effectively concerned with tourism, but more with the need for modernisation of local economy and attract inward investment. For some time, there was a resistance to the development of tourism by the potential negative contributions to the city life (Bahaire and Ellliott-White, 2000).

Local strategy and urban design began to express many of the characteristics of what Edensor calls "enclavic tourist space"[197] (Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001). A strong regulated, planned and circumscribed space emerged where the conversion of several streets in pedestrian areas and the restoration of historical buildings, many of them for commercial uses, seeking to change the inner centre's landscape and attract new investments (Figure 38.3).

In the late 1980s, following the growth of the global tourism industry combined with the need to revitalise the local economy, the role of tourism in the development of the city was re-evaluated. Gradually, a "postmodern approach" was consolidated in which heritage is

[196] The first comprehensive development plan for the City of York was commissioned in 1943 and some components were adopted by 1945. Although its publication only occurred in 1948 entitle as "York: a Plan for Progress and Preservation" (Fawcett, 2013).

[197] This designation is used in opposition to a "heterogeneous tourist space", "weakly classified, with blurred boundaries, and is a multi-purpose space in which a wide range of activities and people co-exist" (Edensor 2001: 64)

Figure 38.3 One of the pedestrian and commercial streets in the city centre (author's photo).

transformed into a cultural commodity for individual and tourist experience (about this theme see, e.g. Hewison, 1987; Urry, 1995; Meethan, 1996; Selby, 2004).

As explained by a local official involved in the heritage and planning, until the nineties:

> Tourism, conservation and archaeology were perceived as problems that we had to manage (…) that [could] stop development happening. [After that] I think there has been a change in thinking (…) an increasing awareness that the basis of York's economy is the heritage (Member of a private cultural organisation).

Since then, many studies, plans and strategies were published highlighting the significance of the historic environment for the city's development. In 2004, Local Strategic Partnership Without Walls that joint representatives of the public, business and voluntary sector launched the first "Strategy for York Culture", after an extensive public consultation[198]. Subsequently, a cultural partnership named York@Large was created with the City Council to carry out one of the main dimensions of the local strategy entitled "York, a city of culture" putting an emphasis on the inclusive, lively and active profile. In this sense, a strong branding campaign around the

[198] The consultation of residents and visitors occurred during the first 'Festival of Ideas' in 2003 and resulted in the York's first ever Vision and Community Strategy (for more information see http://www.yorkwow.org.uk/)

theme “York, City of Festivals” was developed based on the organisation of a dynamic annual calendar of events and performances. As explained by one of the representatives of this landmark, York “is a relatively small city, but it has a huge influx of visitors” and typically only “the larger cities have a sense of their own identity and have got some money to throw at it, to express the culture that they’ve got” (Member of an association).

Like many other local authorities in England, the City Council adopted a charitable trust model to transfer management of buildings and collections of the York Art Gallery, York Castle Museum, Yorkshire Museum and Gardens and York St Mary’s. The York Museums Trust is an independent body whose vision is “to play a major part in positioning York as a world-class cultural centre” enhancing the collections, buildings and gardens delivered to it and “presenting and interpreting them as a stimulus for learning, a provocation to curiosity and a source of inspiration and enjoyment for all”[199]. More recently, in 2014 the City Council mutualised the libraries and archive service. For a period of five years, an independent society Explore York Libraries and Archives Mutual Ltd[200] will run these services instead of the Council.

There are several examples of how the planning and regeneration processes incorporated cultural organisations based in the city. One of the most obvious is the York Archaeological Trust, whose “archaeological activity” as noted by one of its members “is driven more by the planning and development process of the city”. As part of the urban regeneration plans, the Trust carry out excavations in the areas to be intervened which contributed to a better understanding of the city's past. These interventions are open to professionals, researchers, and volunteers from around the world that wish to have an archaeological fieldwork experience. It also seeks the awareness of the preservation of its historical legacy and to foster the community sense of belonging as well as the involvement of citizens in the regeneration processes to a more sustainable urban planning.

The redevelopment plans in the Coppergate area in the 1970s, turned into one of the noblest shopping areas of the city, allowed to discover and investigate important vestiges which led to the creation of the JORVIK Viking Center, to provides vivid and accurate experiences on the life of the Viking village of York: Jorvik. To this main attraction that fascinates hundreds of

[199] The council retains the role of custodian trustee and YMT is the management trustee. YMT is not allowed to sell or dispose of any part of the collection or the estate without first getting the permission of the council. See http://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/about-us/our-people/mission/

[200] https://www.exploreyork.org.uk/client/en_GB/default. About the characteristics of public service mutual see also https://www.gov.uk/guidance/start-a-public-service-mutual-the-process

thousands of visitors, they have joined the DIG: An Archaeological Adventure, with practical educational experiences for schools and families. Lately, they inaugurated the Barley Hall house and the Richard III & Henry VII Experiences to make known the medieval York.

More recently, the Trust collaborated with the joint venture company Hungate (York) Regeneration Ltd, in one of the extensive urban regeneration schemes authorised by the City Council to transform the old brownfield site of Hungate in a high density and mixed-use city quarter (Figure 39.3).

Figure 39.3 View of the Hungate excavations.
(source: http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/case-studies/hungate/)

Before starting construction works, they supported archaeological excavations that had revealed important discoveries and enabled the community to be involved in the project. As an archaeologist said: "The community programme provided a unique experience to people recognise the cultural heritage that's around them" (Member of an association). With the same purpose, and according to the national guidance that advises local authorities to stimulate community participation it was organised, for instance, a Community Planning Weekend and a Community Forum as well as the establishment of a Community Development Trust to ensure the long-term sustainability of the project[201]. The council also supported the establishment of a

[201] It was request to the architects of the John Thompson & Partners to implement their "Collaborative Placemaking" process to provide spaces for debate with the design team, the City Council, the developers and other stakeholders to prepare the project masterplan. To know more about these approach, see http://www.jtp.co.uk/approachhttp://locality.org.uk/our-members/hungate-community-development-trust/

representative Community Consultation Group that delivers recommendations to the planning of the area.

Also in 2006, Lady Mayor Janet Hopton set up the York World Heritage Steering Group with members of local organisations to study the possibilities of integrating UNESCO World Heritage List. As remembered by the representatives of the Steering Group:

> We had to convince people of the benefits. Heritage is a large part of our economic well-being (…) The World Heritage status provided very good management tools to heritage and ensured economic well-being. Moreover, the university and businesses connected with it helped (...) to bring foreign investors (...) and people are moving here [because of] the pleasant environment, quality of life, etc.

Therefore in 2009, given the consciousness of the importance of place-marketing for city development, the Council supported the request to integrate the UK's indicative list to World Heritage Sites, but this proposal was unsuccessful.

After that, York launched a second bid that linked culture, innovation and technology, which came to result, in 2015, in the award of the UNESCO City of Media Arts. As such, it aims to mobilise culture and creativity to strengthen the local economy, increase levels of public participation in culture, renew investment in the city's human capital and academic institutions and contribute to the quality of life[202]. This is part of a broader strategy of converting information technologies and creative industries in a driver for urban development.

The "City of York Local Plan - Incorporating the 4th Set of Changes (Draft)" (2005), although not formally adopted, is the statutory basis for development management decisions. Between 2005 and 2011, in agreement with national legislation and in order to gradually replace the existing plan, the city prepared a set of documents for the Local Development Framework (2009). This framework focuses on making the City economically prosperous while preserving and enhancing its unique historic character. It established different objectives arranged around the following four themes: "York's special historic and built environment", "building confident, creative and inclusive communities", "a prosperous and thriving economy" and "a leading environmentally friendly city" (Without Walls Partnership, 2011).

Nevertheless, the national legislative framework changed, and the city council approved its withdrawal in 2012, giving instructions to produce a new Local Plan. As a result, evidence

[202] Description on the UNESCO website*:* en.unesco.org/creative-cities/york

based documents were provided and subject to public consultation[203]. In April 2013, the new plan "draft Local Plan 2013" was published and subject to a new consultation period[204]. After reviewing the responses, the Council presented their "Local Plan - Publication (Draft)" (2014) that should support the city's vision and spatial strategy, already stipulated in previous documents and plans:

> York aspires to be a City whose special qualities and distinctiveness are recognised worldwide. The Local Plan aims to deliver sustainable patterns and forms of development to support this ambition and the delivery of the city's economic, environmental and social objectives. This will include ensuring that the city's spaces and archaeology can contribute to the economic and social welfare of the community whilst conserving and enhancing its unique historic and natural environmental assets (York City Council 2014: 17).

To these objectives, it also contributed the definition of the formal boundaries of York's Green Belt which together with the countryside policies have prevented urban sprawl, safeguarding individual settlements and York's historic character. This idea has a long history in city planning vision dating back to the 1948 City Plan (Fawcett, 2013).

Therefore, in the design of York planning strategy, culture is a critical theme rooted in city's archaeologic and historical heritage, used in place-making and regeneration plans but also to achieve economic prosperity and social development goals. Local development policies and planning initiatives involved a range of stakeholders, including organisations particularly involved in the heritage safeguard and city planning but also in cultural and educational activities, as we will refer subsequently.

In addition, York has taken a new direction, moving from a railroad and confectionery manufacturing town to becoming a national centre for financial and business services and a recognised cluster of education, science and technology.

For this purpose, was created in 1998, in a partnership between the University of York and City of York Council, the Science City York project[205]. In 2015, this initiative became part of

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[203] The involvement of the wider community in the planning process is part of the requirements defined in National Planning Policy Framework. The Core Strategy of LDF (which will inform the Local Plan) had already been the subject of an extensive public consultation. All documents could be consulted in https://www.york.gov.uk/downloads/20036/performance_and_policies

[204] There were two periods of consultation, firstly on the "Preferred Options" proposals in June-July 2013 and then on the "Further Sites" recommendations in June-July 2014.

[205] http://www.scy.co.uk/

Make It York, a development agency created by York City Council to support business development, inward investment and networks in addition to the city's strategy in the field of art and culture, particularly in the visitor economy, cultural and creative sector and the cultural offer. Some of the supported companies benefited from the facilities of the York Science Park Ltd on the university campus.

Many investments have also been made in media arts facilities and resources which make the creative industries one of the fastest growing sectors in York with 250 companies that employ 8,000 people. Moreover, according to the report "The Arts and Creative Industries Sector of York and North Yorkshire" (BOP, 2011), York and its hinterland hosts 880 creative business and employs 3,750 people, especially in visual and performing arts and music, computer games, software and electronic publishing.

These options, as we will argue, became then central for urban development strategy in the last decades. As pointed out by the Cabinet Leader[206] these options do not deny the historical legacy of the city, but they wish to emphasise the innovation contained in it. In other words, to understand the "progressive innovation" as a starting point for discussion of what the city wants to be.

As highlighted in the "York City Action Plan 2011-2015" as well as in "The Strategy for York 2011-2025" (2011) prepared by the Without Walls Partnership:

> A key challenge for York will be to rebalance the economy by reducing the city's over-dependence on public sector employment and to provide new opportunities for expansion of the private sector. This will include increased employment in the science and technology sectors, greater development of the financial and service sector and by supporting expanding and major businesses in the city to thrive and develop (Without Walls Partnership, 2011: 11).

Within the late years, the attraction of visitors and business became a drive for local development simultaneous to research in specific fields, thus some local business and politicians stressed the need to explore alternative offers of culture and entertainment to develop a lively evening and night-time economy and, therefore, to improve the appeal on other tourist profile.

[206] At the date of the interviews, the Cabinet leader of the executive team was the Councillor James Alexander, the England's youngest council leader (May 2011 - December 2014). The member for leisure, culture and tourism was the Councillor Sonja Crisp.

Actors analysis

The City of York Council is a local authority with 47 members, eight of the councillors constitute the executive team in charge of the local strategy and partnerships; planning; transport; culture, leisure and tourism; social care and health; environment; housing; safety; among other areas. The City Council set up diverse coalitions with local agents and groups in the various policy areas as well as with neighbouring authorities principally with North Yorkshire County[207] and East Riding of Yorkshire Councils. For instance, the York City Council worked with English Heritage and North Yorkshire County Council to refurbish historic buildings through the York Town Scheme. Also, when the LEPs were created, York, North Yorkshire and East Riding joined to promote economic growth across these regions. These strategic partnerships allowed to receive central government funding through Local Growth Fund and access to EU structural funds for local business. York companies have also benefited from being engaged in the Leeds City Region Enterprise Partnership[208].

Over the last decade, successive city's governments have placed increasing emphasis on partnership working in urban development and culture. For example, to boost local economic, culture and tourism development, the City of York Council has chosen a governance agreement based on a public-private partnership to reorganise some departments into a single Destination Management Organisation. Called "Make It York"[209], is a company wholly owned by City of York Council operates as a share company limited by guarantee, which means that all income generated will be reinvested in the company for the benefit of the city and its surroundings. Its importance is stressed by the chairwoman Jane Lady Gibson:

> York plays a crucial role in the economic and cultural life of the North and can claim strategically significant connections in the North, South, East and West, back in time and into the future. But places cannot function effectively without true respect of a wide range of perspectives. (…) One of our roles at Make It York is to understand the complex economic and cultural life geography which make a city tick, and to use our networks to problem solve and spot opportunities (Knowlson, 2015).

[207] York is part of this ceremonial county for various functions but it is not under the administrative control of North Yorkshire County.

[208] Between 2010 and 2015, the LEP received from central government through the LEP received from central government through the Growth Fund about £ 1.5 billion (National Audit Office, 2016a).

[209] It was officially launched in in May 2015. See http://www.makeityork.com/

"Make it York" has created the "Visit York" brand for the coordination of the marketing plans prepared in conjunction with the City Council, focusing especially on the search for investments and support to companies, events, festivals and tourist attractions with the aim of developing the tourist offer, in addition to monitoring the tourist activity in the city.

There are numerous organisations that contribute to this environment. Only in the field of art, culture and heritage are registered 123 charitable organisations in York[210]. Some of them have a special importance in supporting educational and community projects such as the National Centre for Early Music[211] that has a strong education programme and provides music-making opportunities for "young people living in challenging situations in the region" (Director of the National Centre for Early Music). With the support of National Lottery funds and other funding sources, they converted the medieval St. Margaret Church in a concert venue for jazz, world, folk and early music performances as the famous York Early Music Festival. The creation of this centre was decisive in the renewal of former run-down area of Walmgate, strengthening the local sense of community at same that become an inescapable place of city culture.

Like other cultural organisations and projects, the need to produce instrumental arguments to obtain public funding based on the social and economic impact of their activities competes with the intrinsic value of the arts and culture. In this way, particular forms and artistic projects are favoured to the detriment of others.

> We have to run this as a business, we have to find funds (…). But I don't see it as what they call a creative industry (…) for me, it's about making music (...) what used to be the direct competence of Government now is redirected through the Arts Council into what they call 'music hubs', and the amount [of financing] is decreasing all the time. On the other side, the Government acknowledges that if a child is encouraged to make music in the early years, develops all sorts of other skills (Member of a private cultural organisation).

In fact, as observed by some key informants cultural and creative workers "over the last years had to became definitely more entrepreneurs and active in creating employment and selling opportunities for their work". And the development of the sector is interlinked with

[210] A charitable is an entity centred on non-profit and philanthropic goals as well as social well-being defined in the Charities Act 2011.

[211] http://www.ncem.co.uk/?idno=175

tourism development "in York, they benefited from a large audience and tourist market (…). Tourism became a purpose of arts and culture" (Member of an educational institution).

In addition, the digital revolution allowed them to engage and collaborate on various networks, being able to choose to live outside the larger cities and even in rural areas of the region "We can be here with our families where we want to work and live (...) and still do the same job" (Member of an educational institution). They constitute a "vibrant sector with a surprising number and a diversity of creative business (…) attracted by the city quality of life" (Member of a non-departmental public organisation). But "it is also important that the governments realise how small creative business work, how to create a flexibility approach" (Artists/ cultural worker).

Thus, there is a dynamic community of artists and organisations involved in art, culture and media projects engaged in the local community. For example, York Open Studios[212] is a community project that welcomes many of the city's best visual artists attracting many visitors. The Arts Barge[213] is another community project that involves the collective of performers in art therapy. There is also a prestigious consortium of arts organisations and local authorities, the York & North Yorkshire Creative Industries Network[214] run by Chrysalis Arts, an arts development agency dedicated to supporting creative practitioners and businesses across the region.

As the City Council leader explains the lack of properties for small business growth in creative arts, media and technology is a long-standing problem. Thus, they decided to invest in the transformation of one of the most iconic historical buildings of the city, York's Guildhall complex in a hub for these companies.

Given the importance of protecting, conserving and studying the city's cultural heritage, a number of charities trusts[215] have been set up, some of them as a central role in local planning. A good example is the York Civic Trust[216] whose history has always been connected to the safeguard of York's architectural and cultural heritage. It has taken a leading role in many of the key initiatives of urban planning not only locally, supporting several private initiatives or

[212] https://www.yorkopenstudios.co.uk/

[213] http://theartsbargeproject.com/

[214] http://www.creativenorthyorkshire.co.uk/

[215] Charities trusts are a way to manage assets for public benefit purposes through trustees. http://www.togmind.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Charity-Commission-Trustee-Information.pdf

[216] The York Civic Trust holds the Fairfax House Museum http://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/

assisting local governments in their strategies, but also influencing planning and conservation policies at a national level. Its action was crucial for the creation of the University of York. Recently, the Civic presented a programme "for sustaining improvement in the quality of the public realm in York's historic core over the next few years" (York Civic Trust, 2015). The members collaborated actively, for example through participation in Without Walls York's Local Strategic Partnership[217] to develop a long-term, shared and sustainable vision for the city. This partnership engages many local public, voluntary and business organisations who produced the "Vision and Sustainable Community Strategy 2008 – 2025" (2008) and a "City Action Plan 2011 – 2015" (2011) to exam the Strategy for York's aims and intentions.

Another important institutional actor in this field is the York Conservation Trust that restored and rehabilitated many medieval properties in the city[218]. The management of private assets while that ensures the cultural identity of the historic core is especially challenging in a city like York. These institutions enjoy a privileged position and a certain independence in relation to local authorities due to their financial autonomy.

The higher education providers are vital partners in the City' strategy towards the development of a regional innovation system and playing a significant role in the economic and cultural life of the city. In particular, the University of York[219] has played a very significant function in the economic and cultural life of the city by engaging in partnerships with local authorities and regional development agencies. Parallel to its educational and scientific responsibility, it also has a special responsibility in promoting linkages between R&D research and technology units supported by Science Park and the City of Science business developer (Minguillo and Thelwall, 2013). With over 30 academic departments and research centres in several areas, has developed solid competence in areas such as heritage conservation and management, driven by unique features of the city, as well as in the application of digital technology in media, games and music fields, among others. A good example of this is the creation by the Theater, Film and Television Department in 2010 of Heslington Studios[220], a film and television production centre for student use but also to be hire to professionals and commercial companies. Besides, it organises concerts, lectures and learning events open to the community as the Festival of Ideas. This annual event is a partnership between the University

[217] http://www.yorkwow.org.uk/about/

[218] http://www.yorkconservationtrust.org/

[219] https://www.york.ac.uk/

[220] http://www.heslingtonstudios.com/

and several cultural, social and business organisations and includes world-class speakers' conferences and talks, performances, workshops, exhibitions. It gives to large audiences and target groups the chance to listen and discussed innovative ideas and challenging subjects.

The York St John University[221], formerly a college founded in 1841, also offers research, expertise and facilities in creative arts and media disciplines. On the campus of York St John University was created in 2009 the Phoenix Center[222], which offers accessible space for new ventures exclusively in the creative and digital sector.

Like these HEI, many local trusts combine cultural and educational experiences alongside commercial activities. The York Archaeological Trust as already mentioned is dedicated to discovering and preserve the vast archaeological heritage of the city[223]. It provides specialised consultancy, archaeological and research services in conjunction with community and voluntary initiatives which are very popular among professionals and amateurs from all worldwide. The Archaeological Trust owns the Jorvik Group[224] that runs leading touristic attractions and educational experiences of York. Throughout the year, the Trust organises a program of over 160 events in York and Yorkshire, from festivals to lectures and dramatisations that promote tourism development and bring significant economic benefits to many local businesses and organisations and the maintenance of the Trust non-profit educational and community activities.

Therefore, besides the presentation of the past in the archaeological excavations and finds *in situ*, it provides a sensorial tourist experience of historical narratives and representations which are commodified and celebrated in festivals in a postmodern approach. This process can lead to a loss of authenticity and excessive economic dependence from tourism but can also be used actively to develop local culture and strengthen a community's pride (MacLeod, 2006).

Some key findings

Like many other English cities, the challenges of post-industrial restructuring and interurban competitiveness, as well as the transformation of the welfare state, led York to devise

[221] https://www.yorksj.ac.uk/

[222] http://www.yorksj.ac.uk/news---events/news---events-home/news/news-archive/news-archive-2011/phoenix-centre-set-to-soar.aspx

[223] http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/

[224] http://www.thejorvikgroup.com/

a new development path. Abandoning an economy based on declining manufacturing industries, they turned to service and knowledge-based economy.

For the preservation of the unique historical legacy, the city authority planned a “highly regulated space” (Mordue, 2007), transforming the city centre into a commodity for individual and tourist experience. As part of an extensive urban regeneration strategy, several archaeological excavations were carried out which contributed not only to preservation but also to a better understanding of the city's past - clearly observable today. It also promoted the development of various commercial and educational activities, but also community projects that strengthening the place's identity and sense of belonging.

Museums, libraries and archives, civic buildings, interpretation centres and other cultural sites, with their valuable collections and services, along with the dynamisation of an extensive and popular cultural agenda are fundamental axes for building the place-making and development strategy.

The City of York has a variety of powerful and independent charitable and private institutions supported by an urban elite with great influence not only in the preservation and diffusion of local culture but also in urban planning and community development.

The HEIs are also leading actors not only regarding its educational function but also, adding value to local economic, creating jobs and providing a highly skilled workforce and infrastructures such the Science City York in partnership with other organisations helping to develop technological and science-based and creative businesses. Besides, it promotes frequent cultural and community engagement initiatives.

As in many others UK cities, public-private partnerships are part of planning and development initiatives involving diverse local and non-local agents, often elite groups.

The major challenge in the design of urban policy is to achieve a balance between conservation measures and economic growth policies in a historical and dense urban centre. As noted by many informants and policy documents, the visitor economy has brought many benefits in terms of job creation and economic growth, although at the same time it has brought several problems for those who live and work there, such as crowded streets, traffic problems and real estate pressures. Moreover, the sustainability of local strategy is namely affected by the proximity to large labour markets and the excessive focus on tourism promotion and white-collar employment as well as the lack of affordable office spaces and homes in the inner centre which have pushed the lower income class to outside wards. It is also commonly discussed that city seems not exhibit the necessary social diversity and nightlife offer for a certain degree of cosmopolitanism to retain the so-called Richard Florida's creative class in comparison to the

large agglomerations nearby. In turn, the compact dimension of the inner city is emphasised, in spatial terms, but also in the close network of existing relations and organisations.

With ongoing reductions in central government funding, other significant challenges are currently posed to local authorities in delivering local public services and in supporting local organisations and projects (LGA, 2014; National Audit Office, 2016b). To deal with these constraints, new governance arrangements as the "public service mutual" organisation are being explored by the City Council and many local actors.

Although the city's strategy focuses mainly on the central urban areas, we must not forget the diversity of villages and rural areas, which contributes to the biodiversity and environmental character of the district.

In general, local development policy seeks to maximise the potential of the city's cultural profile to increase investment, employment and wealth, among other public policy objectives. Many cultural agents denounce this instrumentalisation, claiming a greater recognition of the intrinsic value of culture and the need for non-profit cultural organisations to have a distinct treatment of the private cultural and creative industries. Though, from the conversations held, there is a positive acceptance in the cultural sector to incorporate management methods and profitable activities to ensure their sustainability and, at the same time, clarify their role using a common language for politicians and citizens to justify public funds. Besides, local actors also emphasised the need of improving the participation of the community in decision-making to ensure that local needs are considered.

4. A comparative overlook

For a better understanding of the main characteristics of each case, a schematic table of synthesis was elaborated according to the dimensions of the analysis model. Although as we mentioned in the methodological criteria, the dimensions are interlinked, making difficult the precise separation of the elements that integrate each one. This table intended to be a starting point for the description and comparison of the main findings in the investigation, highlighting the particularities and similarities between cases, in order to infer some key points that are critical in the definition of local strategies and policies in SMUA (Table 7.3).

CONTEXT			
Czech Republic Pop.: 10 578 820 inh. (2016) Unitary state, parliamentary democracy Local government: regions (kraje, singular kraj); districts (Okresy; singular okres) and municipalities (obec)	Finland Pop.: 5,502,590 inh. (2016) Unitary state, parliamentary republic Local government: municipalities (kunta/kommun) and regions (maakunnat/landskap)	Portugal Pop: 10 341 330 inh. (2015) Unitary state, parliamentary democracy Local government: commune (freguesia), the municipality (município) and the administrative region (região administrativa).	United Kingdom Pop: 54,786,300 inh. (2015) Unitary state, parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy England Pop: 54,786,300 inh. (2015) Local government: metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties. - London region divided into London boroughs - Other regions divided into county and district councils (two-tier system) or unitary authorities (one-tier system). - Some areas have a third-tier: towns and parish councils
NUTS 1: Czech Republic (CZ0) NUTS 2: Southwest/Jihozápad (CZ03) NUTS 3: South Bohemian Region/ Jihočeský kraj (CZ031) predominantly rural region LAU 1: Okres Český Krumlov (District) LAU 2: město Český Krumlov (city)	NUTS 1: Mainland Finland (FI1) NUTS 2: West Finland (FI19) NUTS 3: Central Finland (FI193) predominantly rural region LAU 1: Jyväskylä sub-region (183 050 inh) LAU 2: City of Jyväskylä	NUTS 1: Continente (PT1) NUTS 2: Centro (PT16) NUTS 3: Oeste / Western (PT16B) predominantly rural region LAU 1: Freguesia de Óbidos (commune)	NUTS 1: Yorkshire and The Humber (UKE) NUTS 2: North Yorkshire (UKE2) NUTS 3: York (UKE21) Intermediate region LAU 1: York LAU 2: York electoral wards
Český Krumlov District (46 municipalities) Area: 1615,56km^2 Pop: 61,126 inh. Density: 37.8 inh pers./km^2 (2016) City, municipality with extended powers, capital of the district Governing body: Český Krumlov Municipal Authority Area: 2,217 km^2	City of Jyväskylä Municipality and City Governing body: Jyväskylä City Council Administrative capital of Central Finland Area: 1,466.5 km² (2016) Pop: 138 850 inh. (2016) Density: 118.58 pers./km^2 (2016)	Óbidos Municipality, commune Governing body: Óbidos Municipality (7 civil parishes) Area 141.55 km^2 (2015) Pop: 11,772 inh. Density: 82.1 pers./km^2	City of York Unitary Authority Governing body: City of York Council (22 wards) Area: 271.94 km^2 Pop: 206,900 inh. (2015) Density: 687 pers./km^2

Pop: 13,160 inh. (2016) Density: 634 pers./km^2	Inner centre: 27,750 inh.		
"Město": responsible for local development on issues like management of municipal assets and the local budget, social work, public order and the municipal police, water supply, local public services, town and municipal cultural institutions, etc.	Municipality: self-governing administrative unit responsible for the provision of social and healthcare services, education, cultural services and technical infrastructure.	Municipality: main competences include local roads and public transport, primary education, culture and heritage, leisure and sport, healthcare and social welfare (at municipal level), housing, environment, water supply and waste, local economic development, spatial planning and urban development, municipal police and civil protection, etc.	Unitary authority: combine the powers and functions that are normally delivered separately by the councils of non-metropolitan counties and non-metropolitan districts. E.g. housing, waste management, waste collection, council tax collection, education, libraries, social services, transport, planning, consumer protection, licensing, cemeteries and crematoria.
- Municipal administrative role - One of the smallest districts of South Bohemia region and Czech Republic - 220 km from Prague - Adjacent to Austria, 70 km of Linz - Small settlements in a low density and rural district contrast with the cosmopolitan atmosphere and compactness of the main urban centre - A diverse biosphere and natural protected areas - Rich history linked with political events and aristocratic families - Historically important craft and trade centre - Long standing cultural centre for artists, writers, and musicians - Main sectors of the economy: retail and service industries linked to tourism - One of the most popular tourist	- Major centre in regional system - One of the fastest growing cities in Finland - 271 km northeast of Helsinki - Good accessibility including a regional airport - Compact city centre with natural surroundings within walking distance: lakes are a quarter of the area, surrounded by forests, hills etc. - Alvar Aalto's architectural heritage - Industrial heritage - Key economic sector: education and social services but metal and wood industries have a strong foundation - Special expertise in paper making, energy, environmental, education and information technologies. Alongside, the rising new sectors concerning	- Municipal administrative role - Good accessibility: about 80 km north and less than one hour driving of Lisbon; and 245km from Oporto; and in the route to the pilgrim centre of Fátima - A walled historical and classified town in a rural area - Diverse geomorphological environment: natural landscape dotted by several small rural settlements, a lagoon ecosystem, beaches, etc. - Key economic sectors: agriculture, tourism and related services. - Historical, religious and cultural heritage linked to nobility - Appealing destination for cultural elites - Popular tourist destination	- Regional centre under the commuter area of major cities - Good accessibility: key interchange railway station - 34 km from Leeds - Near Manchester, Newcastle and Leeds/Bradford airports - Equidistant from London and Edinburgh. - Relatively flat, compact and walkable urban historic centre surround by a countryside and small settlements - Archaeological and historical heritage - Key economic sector: predominantly public administration, health and education, and tourism industry services - Becoming a national centre for financial and business services and a recognised cluster of education, science and technology

destination in Czech Republic	wellness and nanotechnology - A young population of 45 000 students and a highly skilled population		- Popular tourist destination - More than 20,000 national and international students and a highly skilled population

PROCESS			
- The inclusion of historic core and the castle complex on the UNESCO World Heritage List - Urban planning shaped by the geography, the long standing urban pattern and the preservation restrictions of the historical buildings in the inner centre as well as the natural preserved areas - Important natural resources - Local development rooted on cultural, leisure and nature tourism - The UNESCO brand for marketing communication - Very attractive for investors, real estate developers and visitors, which promoted gentrification processes - Development of products, activities and skills related to tourism - Local vision rooted in its unique historical and cultural heritage allied to quality of the cultural offer the promotion of the city's image, tourism, economy and external relations.	- Decline of traditional industrial sectors led to the investment in high-quality educational institutes and ICT research - Construction of fairs and conferences as well as business infrastructures. - Tourism development linked to wellness and wellbeing values - International innovation centre on sauna culture - high-quality health providers - Transdisciplinary approaches to develop innovative solutions - Focus on highly skilled human resources - Strategic brands: a) Athens od Finland b) Human Technology City c) Culture and Wellness - Main urban development projects: Regeneration of Lutakko and Kangas area; Jyväskylä City Center Development 3.0. project - City Council strategy main goals: active, healthy and happy citizens, wise use of resources, and a bold business policy.	- Classification and recovery of Óbidos' castle and walled urban centre support the development of tourism - Specialisation in thematic events in urban revitalisation strategy associated to the creation of recognisable image at nationally and internationally - Reformulation territorial model with the revision of the Municipal Plan - Residential and nature tourism in Óbidos Lagoon area - Strategic brand: Creative Óbidos - culture, economy and innovation - Management model using a municipal company - Reformulation of the educational model and infrastructures - Creation of “creative ecosystem”: facilities to creative firms; support cultural and creative consumption; attract talents - Creation of a Network of Investigation, Innovation and Knowledge to UNESCO World Heritage application	- Urban planning and local development rooted in historical core conservation strategy - Archaeological and heritage protection and research linked to economic and community development aims - Focus on visitor economy. Need to diversify visitors profile - Research and development in science and technology industries rooted in HEIs led to developed Science City York strategy (bioscience, creative industries and IT & digital field) - Strategic brands: “York, a city of culture”, “York, City of Festivals” - UNESCO bid to World Heritage Sites - UNESCO City of Media Arts - “Make It York” - company wholly owned by City of York Council to deliver economic development, tourism, city centre and culture activities for the city. It created “Visit York” brand for coordination

- Need to diversify the visitor profile - Significant role of local non-profit organisations in community development	Founded values of the strategy: responsibility, trust, creativity, openness values - Strong associative spirit and human capital	- Provision of creative infrastructures and a technological park - Financial benefits to attract companies - Need to diversify visitors profile	city's marketing and improve tourism
Cultural policy - Main focus on the preservation of cultural monuments and buildings as well as cultural and sports events - Fundamental role of the inscription of Historic Centre of Český Krumlov in UNESCO World Heritage Site List - High attending festivals, concerts and theatre performances using the city and the castle as scenery - Heritage approach: material and immaterial memory of the past - Cultural initiatives support by the Municipality, the Region of South Bohemia and the Ministry of Culture as well as European programmes, UNESCO Heritage Programme, and EEA and Norwegian Grants -Long tradition in theatre, music and painting - Development of artistic residencies, scholarships and study trips - Promotion of several traditional cultural institutions (e.g. museums, theatres, etc.) - Importance of arts and music education	Cultural policy - Culture's role in addressing social problems and citizens' wellbeing - Public funding: major role in supporting art and cultural activities and institutions, heritage safeguard and educational and social support initiatives for the elders and young people - Central state and municipalities direct budget funding based on expenditure but also can transfer grants/subsidies - City's Cultural Services: creates preconditions for artist and cultural production and consumption, by providing cultural offerings and events as well as by supporting cultural activity - Fostering of music and art education - Facilities: orchestras and choirs and theatre companies; libraries; sports and cultural events (theatre, music festivals, rally, sky, etc.) - Recognised art branches: crafts, printmaking, photography as well music and architecture	Cultural policy - Important historical and religious heritage and the recovery of traditions along with new events and products - Creation and management of cultural infrastructures such the network of museums and Galleries and an extensive and high-attending cultural agenda - Strengthen of local identity and community engagement through local associations and educational approach - Support of the development of creative skills and services - Creation of a Network of Investigation, Innovation and Knowledge to UNESCO World Heritage application - Rehabilitation of abandoned buildings in the town for the provision of creative infrastructures to live and work. - Creation of Óbidos Literary Town that include several different bookshops and events that support the nomination to the UNESCO Creative City of Literature	Cultural policy - Focus on archaeological exploration, heritage conservation and support of cultural institutions - Well-preserved layers of history in the walled and medieval centre - Culture as commodity and a drive of local economy and community development - Cultural and creative industries support especially in visual and performing arts and music, computer games, software and electronic publishing. - Strong and popular cultural agenda - Museums, archives, galleries and performance hall to lively interpretation centres as well as top heritage attractions - Preservation of railway history - Cultural partnership: network of local institutions for cultural development with special role of HEIs and major cultural institutions - Essential role of the Council in supporting arts and cultural initiatives. Other funding sources: DCMS; Arts Council; National Lottery; as

	- Artists support infrastructures (workspaces, residences)	- Municipality is the main promoter.	well as trusts, foundations and private donations.
- Participation of local stakeholders and external experts in urban planning - Collaboration between municipal authorities and cultural institutions to improve cultural offer - The City's own business company, ČKDevelopment Fund, manage the regeneration process and boost tourism through its Destination Management department	- New governance strategies to improve collaboration and participation in regeneration programmes - Collaboration between regional and local authorities - Cooperation between researcher centres, businesses and public actors - Political commitment on education and innovation - Special role of some key political and educational leaders	- Municipal companies to implement the city strategy - Integration of national and international collaborative networks - Collaboration with national and international HEIs - Proximity to the political executive - Political commitment with culture and creative strategy - Disruptive thinking and qualifications of the executive political team	- The City Council set up coalitions and partnerships in different fields with local agents and neighbouring authorities - Public-private partnerships namely in regeneration projects - Charitable trust model to manage buildings and collections of museums and galleries - Mutualisation of the libraries and archive service.

ACTORS			
- Ministry of Culture - administrative authority for arts, cultural and educational activities, cultural monuments, media and other matters. It supports directly cultural the development and preservation of heritage - National Heritage Institute and its Heritage Fund plays a central role in the conservation and revitalization of cultural and natural heritage - Ministry of Regional Development and South-Bohemian Regional Authority: culture as a priority for development, specially	- Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for legislation, central government financing and strategic steering and for providing prerequisites for artistic and cultural activities. - City of Jyväskylä Council and its Cultural Services Unit and Planning Department -Publicly-owned enterprises: Jyväskylä Regional Development Company JYKES Ltd and Jyväskylä Innovation Ltd - Regional Council Central Finland - Creative thinkers from different fields and organisations	- Portuguese Ministry of Culture, namely through the regional departments of Culture is responsible for develop and implement cultural policy, including the protection and valuation of the cultural heritage, the support to the artistic creation and production - Óbidos Municipality - Municipal companies - Network of Museums and Galleries - Education institutions - OBITEC (Óbidos Association for Science and Technology) - Agents of change: a new approach to development	- Central government deliver cultural policy through the arm's length agencies. - DCMS is the ministerial department for protect and promote cultural and artistic heritage and foster innovation. It supports by 43 agencies and public bodies. - City of York Council - Leading HEIs - Make It York - company limited by guarantee - Several charitable organisations in art, culture and heritage field - Dynamic community of artists - Charities trusts - central role in local planning and in

in tourism and foreign cooperation relations - ČK State Castle and Chateau administration (under the Regional Heritage Administration) - Crucial role of Municipality and its subsidiary company - Several NGOs in cultural, artistic and educational field	- HEIs - Jyväskylä Educational Consortium: high-quality general and vocational upper secondary education and training - Numerous voluntary associations and sports clubs, amateur's companies of theatre, etc.	- Regional Coordination and Development Commissions manage EU structural funds and support local development projects - Diverse associations: from business, heritage safeguard to numerous sport, cultural and recreational groups. - Cultural elite vs rural community	safeguard of York's architectural and cultural heritage - Local Enterprise Partnership with adjacent regions

Table 7.3 Main characteristics of the four cases according the key three dimensions of analysis

Leaving the considerations most critical to the conclusions, the four cases that we described here, from the outset, present evident differences due to the specific historical, socioeconomic and political circumstances of each one as well as of the different dimensions and positions in the respective urban networks and hierarchies. However, they also present some similarities in development processes, in the challenges that affect them and in the actions of their governments.

The development processes of the cities of Jyväskylä and York reflect their industrial past and historical influence in the regional context and, consequently, their capacity to shift to a service-based economy and to foster a culture of innovation based on internationally recognised educational institutions. In line with the national policy guidelines of both countries, the investment in knowledge and ICT activities has promoted the availability of highly qualified human resources and jobs. Their size and functional importance in the regional framework provides a larger relational structure and diversified resources and infrastructures to develop new solutions. However, these regional centres seek to improve their position in the urban hierarchy and struggle with the trend towards centralisation and attractiveness of large agglomerations.

Smaller cities such as Óbidos and Český Krumlov have greater difficulties in achieving economies of scale and access, showing a greater dependence on neighbouring cities, especially concerning the provision of jobs and services. These municipalities have benefited throughout their history from their geographical location, the protection of cultural and political elites and the rich heritage inherited by them, as well as from the existence of a set of invaluable natural resources. After a period of abandonment, the rehabilitation process allowed the construction of a strong identity image and the attraction of visitors and investments related to tourism. The

action of the municipalities went through the recreation of traditions and the creation of events and cultural infrastructures destined to the diversification of the profile of its visitors and to reduce the seasonality. In particular, the Municipality of Óbidos, under a long and strong political leadership and disruptive thinking, influenced by international trends and the participation of a set of cooperation networks, bet on the development of a creative ecosystem that interconnects culture, innovation and economy. This approach is upheld by the reconfiguration of its educational system and the establishment of a set of infrastructures and measures of support for entrepreneurship and attraction of creative talents. Without forgetting its rural matrix, it implemented specific social and environmental policies as well as the promotion of local products.

In turn, in Český Krumlov, recognition of the initial rehabilitation and conservation works consonant with the value of the complex and the historical core of the castle led to its nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List. This brought a set of resources and a platform for the valorisation of its original character besides a set of restrictive conservation measures framed by a development plan. The transformation of the historical centres of Český Krumlov and Óbidos into places of tourist consumption, together with the restrictive patterns of construction and conservation, led to their abandonment by a large part of their inhabitants. However, the existing natural resources in the vicinity provided the widening of the tourist profile and the promotion of healthier and rural lifestyles.

Similarly, the City of York had in the distinctions received and subsequent urban regeneration process the impulse to use its archaeological heritage not only for purposes of preservation and specialised study but also for the creation of a unique and distinctive image and identity supported by an extensive network of cultural partners. The walkable centre of the city core with several cultural sights by an open countryside attracts numerous visitors.

The regeneration of these three recognised historical centres was enhanced by a policy of events, which encompasses the re-creation of imaginaries based on local culture, history and traditions, and which contributed to boost tourism and stimulate the local economy. Also, the valorisation of the distinct cultural qualities in each municipality strengthened the identity and sense of belonging of their communities. In turn, regeneration processes also move residents from the historic centres to the peripheries, contributing to the replacement of the residences by services.

Contrary to what happens in other cities with classified historical centres, which are obliged to preserve them as testimonies of particular historical epochs, regeneration projects in Jyväskylä have involved the conversion of industrial heritage into other uses where cultural and

community projects are incorporated. As other cases studies, local cultural policy engages the creation of lived environment through cultural events and aims to achieve other policy goals, however, here as in the other Nordic cities, have a strong tie with the resolution of social problems and the improvement of citizens' health and well-being. The tourism activities and place-making strategies are, therefore, related to the promotion of local cultural values such as wellbeing, education or nature enjoyment and healthier lifestyles.

The processes of transferring responsibilities from the central state to lower levels have been a common trend in most European countries. All municipalities highlighted the proactive role of local policymakers and some critical local partners in the development of new approaches. All local governments have explored new governance models to manage defined development priorities ranging from the creation of municipal enterprises and development agencies to tourism departments with different legal configurations depending on the law of the respective countries. The participation in collaborative networks, not only locally but also remotely through EU programs, was also one of the strategies of local actors, both public and private. This allowed them not only to obtain funding but also to share knowledge, promote the cities' recognition, as well as the implementation of collaborative projects with different partners.

In the city of York, the partnerships and coalitions between the City Council and other private and charitable organisations as well as with other neighbouring local authorities are quite common in the pursuit of the definition of the local development strategy. Less frequent are public-private partnerships in Cesky Krumlov and Óbidos, according to the political culture of their respective countries, where local authorities play a crucial role in defining and sustaining urban development practices and cultural initiatives. Regional authorities are fundamentally intermediaries in accessing EU strategic funds.

In Jyväskylä, regional authorities play a crucial role in defining and implementing development policies as well as cooperation with other regional authors and the City Council. The City has several responsibilities in the provision of public services and the implementation of local development plans, but with the aid of Regional Council and local development agency, they are looking to improve further forms of public-private partnership, particularly, in urban regeneration projects. However, until recently, they are mostly realised without private financing and partly with the support of EU structural programmes. In turn, collaborative work between organisations of different sectors is highly cultivated, existing several transdisciplinary projects especially developed by HEIs.

In the four cases, it is widely recognised the importance of educational actors in the construction of a new development path. If in Jyväskylä and York this seems evident not only by the relevance of its research centres but also by the existence of other cultural actors with a relevant role in community education and development. Also in the other municipalities, the institutions with educational functions are leading partners in the economic, social and cultural agenda of cities. In the case of the municipality of Óbidos, the reform of the educational model not only support its creative strategy but also project it towards the future. In Český Krumlov, there is a long tradition in artistic and musical education that contributes to the distinctive features of the place, and besides that, the most cultural institutions promote diverse learning experiences. In all cases, there are numerous civic associations dispersed throughout the territory and representative of the different communities that make it actively involved in its development and the preservation of its cultural traditions and identity.

The support for entrepreneurship, for example through the creation of incubation spaces, was undoubtedly a commitment not only from the City Council of Jyväskylä and York but also to Óbidos. The Óbidos' municipality has long sought to attract creative talent and companies, recovering buildings for the installation of a diversity of spaces that ranges from FabLabs to creative residences. Here, the flexibility and small scale of the projects, and the incorporation of motivational elements are fundamental for its sustainability. More recently, the creative agenda, principally linked to digital and media technologies, has become one of the cornerstones of York city's policy, benefiting from universities' infrastructures and the UK creative economy policy. After failing to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage List mainly due to changing priorities on this institution agenda, both cities have become part of the Creative Cities network of UNESCO. In turn, the Jyväskylä region's business policy is more focused on knowledge-intensive companies.

Looking at the foundations often used by different actors about culture in the development processes in different SMUA, in Óbidos, culture and heritage were approached by local government from a modern perspective that introduces creative thinking into policy formulation. The (re) invention and appropriation of local traditions and activities driven by the dynamisation of thematic events, the review of educational and environmental programs, the promotion of creative industries led to the development of new products and tailor-made businesses and the attraction of people not only in traditional sectors but also in cultural and creative field. The bureaucratic model of national politics, low institutional flexibility and low civic participation are some of the obstacles that hamper the implementation of development policies. Similarly, the political culture in small post-socialist communities such as Český

Krumlov, the discursive practices still reflect the control of a very centralised and bureaucratic government and an approach to culture based mainly on the valorisation of high culture and expressions of collective identity and the bet on construction and maintenance of traditional cultural institutions. In both the instrumentalisation of culture and the use of cultural resources for the development mainly of the tourism industry is justified as a means for the revitalisation of the heritage and the local economy. It is also viewed as an instrument to enhance local identity and encourage people's inclusion.

In the case of the City of York, cultural activities and resources have been used to increase the visitor's economy and are considered an engine of economic growth in the context of the British neoliberal policy agenda. The decrease in budgetary funds for culture has led local organisations often use instrumental arguments to justify the value of culture for policy appraisal and resource allocation. In addition, they have developed new income streams combining commercial and philanthropic activities and participate in urban development plans, integrating the local strategy of economic growth to attract visitors, students and companies.

In the same vein, in Jyväskylä the debate about the intrinsic value and instrumental use of culture is usual among the local actors, but is not so much interleaved with public funds allocation and the requisite of evidences but further related to with the autonomy of arts and culture. Both communities have a stronger culture of civic intervention in the destinies of the city that in smaller ones. In Jyväskylä, cultural policy is based mostly on the values of individual and collective well-being and is used to a large extent by political actors for the conduct of social policies

To summarise, the municipalities selected to this analysis have developed a diversity of cultural interventions (Table 8.3) which depends largely on the targets that they what to achieve, the actors' involvement and resources available. The integration and balance between economic rationales and community development approaches, the construction and preservation of distinct and authentic culture can determine the sustainability and the consensus around local strategies. Thus, as has been advocated by the people involved in this area in recent years, a third policy approach has been incorporated in this table, reflecting a paradigm shift in development. This approach has as its main objective the sustainability, understood holistically, that seeks to rescue and protect local identities, lifestyles and knowledge, and, finally, that promote cultural changes and equitable results.

APPROACH	ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
Rationales	To create wealth and jobs
	To increase resilience and competitiveness
	To diversify local economy
Objectives	Support entrepreneurship and cultural production
	Improve visitor economy
	Stimulate inward investment
	Encourage cultural consumption
	Promote a positive place image
	Retain graduates and skilled workers
	Foster knowledge transfer and spill-over effects
Key Interventions	Infrastructures for cultural/creative business
	Fiscal Incentives and start-ups support programmes
	Place branding and tourism services
	Cultural/creative clusters development
	Events and festivals agenda
	Creation/Support arts and cultural venues
	Fairs and congresses facilities
	Urban regeneration projects
	Public services privatisation or public-private partnerships
	Retail and leisure areas
Leading Actors	Public authorities
	Development agencies
	Business companies
	Property owners and investors
	Political experts
	Cultural managers
	Urban planners

APPROACH	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
Rationales	To create more equitable, healthy and diverse communities
	To promote high quality of life and wellbeing
Objectives	Improve access to culture and art education
	Develop culture-led regeneration projects
	Reduce social risks
	Improve social cohesion of communities and neighbourhoods
	Stimulate collective identity and sense of belonging
	Promote social innovation
	Encourage community trust and joint action
	Promote cultural diversity and social inclusion
Key Interventions	Funding and support of cultural and social institutions
	Artists grants and residences
	Social innovation initiatives and research

	Events-based on local traditions
	Multicultural and intercultural events
	Forums and public consultation meetings
	Voluntary and civic programmes
	Neighbourhood renewal programs
	Community places
	Community-based educational and cultural programmes
Leading Actors	Public authorities
	Cultural institutions
	Civic associations
	Artist community
	Education institutions

APPROACH	CULTURAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
Rationales	To enrich people lives and society
	To protect cultural and natural diversity
	To preserve identity values
	To promote cultural change and equitable outcomes
Objectives	Improve universal access to subjective and aesthetic experience
	Foster inherent cultural benefits to enhance individual and collective lives
	Disseminate cultural and creative spill-over effects to the wider society
	Encourage innovative and creative practices
	Promote human rights and cultural diversity agenda
	Protect natural environment and people enjoyment of natural resources
Key Interventions	Natural and cultural heritage safeguard programs
	Support of cultural and artistic institutions and facilities
	Protection programmes for artist and cultural workers
	Arts and creative programmes for sustainability
	Public art and spaces sponsorship
	Artists grants and residences
	Creative curriculum implementation
	Trans-sectorial and interdisciplinary collaborative projects
	Events for civic and community participation
	Community-based sustainability projects
Leading Actors	Cultural institutions
	Civic associations
	Artist community
	Education institutions
	Public authorities

Table 8.3 Culture development approaches in SMUA

CONCLUSION

> "We are keenly aware that there can be no "one size fits all" development model, and that to deliver better results, projects must reflect the needs, aspirations, priorities and cultures of their beneficiaries" (Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, New York, 2 November 2011).

In an increasingly urban world, significant changes in socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions, linked mainly to the progress of digital technologies; the intensification of global flows of people, information, capital and goods; have transformed the way we see the world.

In the course of these processes, governments in Europe were confronted with the decline of traditional industries and the challenge of transition to a service-based economy as well as the intensification of interdependence processes and higher global competitiveness. Furthermore, they have been facing the requirements of sociodemographic changes, inequalities in living conditions, the increasingly precarious employment; environmental degradation; among many other problems. Besides, local authorities have been dealing with growing responsibility in services delivery and the demand to improve public accountability. Moreover, markedly since the 2008 crisis, they were affected by a substantial reduction in tax revenues, higher social assistance expenditure, a significant increase in budget deficits and, subsequently, a reduction in public investment.

In response to these requests, numerous strategies and policies have been performed by regions, cities and towns, supported by national and European government programs, which exploit different aspects of culture for different policy objectives, including the promotion of sustainable urban development.

However, the full integration of culture in the context of development policy presents many difficulties due to conceptual and operational reasons (Duxbury et al., 2016). As reviewed in the first chapter, the primary challenge stems from the complexity of the "culture" or "development" notions itself and the associated political processes. Further, development is culturally-sensitive to the diversity of urban contexts and is contingent on local socio-political conditions. It reveals actors' ideas, values and interests and the associated interactive processes of policy formulation and legitimation. Moreover, culture is increasingly intricate in everyday socio-economic practices and the transformation of politics and urban space (representational

and material). On the other hand, economics determines and appropriates culture and politics and, likewise, the city and towns.

In the field of development, culture has always been considered critical in development processes. However, a more holistic perspective has been discussed in international forums, considering that culture is fundamental to the pursuit of sustainable development objectives. In particular, as an economic and social resource and sector; by its mediating or facilitating role in the delicate balance between the economic, social and environmental development goals; and also for its transformative capacity, given that development involves the transformation of norms, values and behaviours (as discussed in Joost Dessein et al., 2015). However, there is still a long way to go for all these facets to be integrated into international development policies and practices.

Despite the inherent complexity and density of this discussion, this dissertation tries to offer a critical contribution to a better understanding of the relationship between culture and urban development. In this sense, and informed by the research literature, the following main questions were formulated:

- What are the values and roles attributed to culture in urban planning strategies and development policies, particularly, in European SMUA located in intermediate and rural regions?

- How is culture involved in policy discourses and practices in different socioeconomic and political contexts?

These questions seek not to limit too much the research so that new understandings could emerge on the subject. Thus, the initial focus, for operational reasons, was the set of cultural activities and practices that involve a certain level of aesthetic and semiotic attributes, along with the public decisions related to them. However, this starting point should be associated to a broader reflection on culture as the set of lifestyles, value systems, traditions and beliefs of the communities.

This study examined particularly the challenges and potentialities of small and medium-sized urban areas located outside the capitals and major metropolitan areas (abbreviated to SMUA). This interest remains relevant given the insufficient discussion on the dynamics that are occurring in these urban centres and the growing awareness of their unique role in the pursuit of a more sustainable and cohesive European territorial development.

For this, an analytical model was developed to collect, study and describe more coherently the biography of the selected urban centres and to consider the processes and the multiplicity of actors in the different scales of political action. As Paul L. Knox suggested: “We need

detailed biographies of cities that set local change in global context... to examine the significance of particular cities as sites for the construction of new cultural identities and political discourses and new processes of political and cultural transformation" (Knox, 1996: 117).

The model developed for the empirical analysis underlines the complexity of the object of study and reinforces the need for a transdisciplinary and relational approach, in the long term and at multiple scales of observation. For example, it is often in the subtle interdependencies of the analysed dimensions and in informal and off-the-record conversations that the elements that have helped us reveal what is involved and what are the factors that determine or condition the success of the initiatives have emerged.

The dense narratives constructed in each case, presented here only in summary form, resulted from the detailed observation of the contexts during study visits in different periods of time; long hours of informal conversations and in-depth interviews with a diversity of key informants (ranging from managers of public and private organisations, government officials to cultural workers and ordinary residents). They have also been formed over the last few years based on participation and discussion in numerous conferences and meetings in various projects; the attendance of local cultural events as well as the analysis of a wide range of documents of different kinds.

With the research questions and territorial focus in mind, and based on the results of the research, we can undoubtedly affirm that culture has acquired a central role in the development policies and strategies described in these SMUA. The planning process is sensitive to the structural preconditions of each empirical case and the transforming capacity of actors in the light of the available resources. However, their local agenda was undoubtedly influenced by the circulation of ideas and models disseminated by elites and political initiatives.

In general, the political discourses that guided local action included the creation of an "urban imaginary" capable of translating a strategic vision adopted, which is materialised in political measures and interventions. This imaginary supports a set of initiatives that exploit tangible and intangible local assets in order to promote a distinctive image of places in the context of increasing interurban and global competition. The specific symbolic, socio-cultural, relational and territorial elements of the place are activated in the local development strategies to attract new clients, investors or tourists, but also to strengthen the sense of belonging, identity and trust of their communities and stakeholders.

Local governments in the case studies have taken a proactive role as planners and developers, exploiting structural opportunities and multiple connections to capitalise on the

culture for development purposes. In the light of existing legal and institutional frameworks, they have long begun trying to respond to local demands and market pressures, placing culture at the centre of their agenda. Like many other European local authorities, they have invested in the regeneration projects, that range from the recovery of entire neighbourhoods to the creation or reconversion of infrastructures for cultural consumption or support knowledge-based or creative industries. At the same time, they have developed an intense cultural agenda, re-inventing and appropriating local traditions and memories with the participation of local associations and non-governmental associations.

Tourism has become one of the principal focuses of all the local strategies presented, by the direct and indirect revenue that it has provided not only to the municipalities but also to the economic fabric of the regions. However, the increase in the tourism economy has brought several criticisms. For example, in the classified historical centres observed, there were processes of "musealisation" and "touristification" that restricted the access and the daily practices of the residents and increased property prices. These processes pushed the inhabitants to the peripheries, replacing the residential function of these centres with services mainly related to tourism. In addition, cultural actors suffered the pressure to improve audiences and answer to tourism market demands.

On the other hand, the images and celebrations explored by tourism draw attention to the distinctive qualities of the place and reinforced the sense of belonging and pride of citizens, aided by external recognition, and created possibilities to empower their communities. It also created opportunities for the growth of artistic and cultural production and the emergence of creative businesses, removing them from the periphery to connect to the world. Artists, creatives and other cultural producers and managers are agents of formal and informal dynamics, helping to build a lively place with unique experiences and alternative lifestyles. To this end, municipalities, in addition to guaranteeing measures for the protection, conservation and presentation of cultural and natural heritage, support the implementation of artistic residences, studios or workplaces for creatives and producers, accompanied by measures to stimulate artistic expression, entrepreneurship and the development of cultural or creative and tailor-made business.

Besides, local cultural policies encompassed the creation and support of a range of cultural, associative and recreational institutions, not only in the centre of cities but also in the surrounding villages that linked old and new lifestyles and sociability. This type of initiatives has opened space for the production and recovery of traditional cultural arts and activities, in

order to promote greater access to culture and its inclusion in daily life and, at the same time, the emergence of new artistic expressions and creative and innovative activities.

Although, the most recognisable cultural policies developed focus mainly on the centre of these municipalities, the interrelations between urban and rural, between the built environment and the natural environment, are fundamental for the balance and sustainability of these territories.

The role of local political leaders, but also of other relevant promoters of these urban strategies, is considered essential for the empowerment and mobilisation of stakeholders and the wider community for change. Their ability to negotiate tacitly and to create empathy and synergies are qualities that are emphasised as decisive in building consensus and commitment around cities' development goals and approach.

Similarly, new forms of governance have been promoted, such as collaborative partnerships and networking, not only locally, but also remotely in pursuit of economies of scale and cost reduction. It was also important to create links between the local strategic planning process and national and European policies. They allowed the realisation of some projects that would otherwise not be viable. In this sense, the traditional location factors are no longer seen as a constraint to the development of smaller towns. Besides, to promote citizens' engagement and participation, local authorities opened the political reflection and decision-making processes to citizens and supported cultural and social initiatives at community and neighbourhood level, albeit in a more sustained manner in some situations than others. Many of these shifts in urban policy stem from the perceived limitations of traditional top-down planning initiatives and the growing complexity of development processes at multiple and overlapping scales.

One of the most important points discussed in the development of these cities is the investment in education aimed to attract families, skilled workers and new investments, and also, to provoke the transformation of mentalities and the openness to new ideas. Creating formal and informal situations of learning and exchange of knowledge, promoting the link between the cultural and educational field, inspires practices of innovation and creative thinking, as observed in some local practices. Further, community-based educational programs strengthen relationships with and between rural and urban communities and promote inclusion and cultural involvement. Therefore, the synergy between culture and education policies is a fundamental basis for the dissemination and evolution of local development strategies.

Despite the difficulty of presenting all the subtleties involved, the strategies and development plans implemented in the different SMUA, consolidated in several projects and sustained by a diversity of local public and private actors and civil society, represent attempts

or effective improvements for a more sustainable development. Concerning the typology of development approaches produced in the comparative analysis, local authorities, in general, have an instrumental perception of the value of culture and combine economic development goals with initiatives oriented to community development.

Looking at the characteristics of SMUA, their small size, reduced diversity of resources and weak density of interconnections are often pointed out reasons for the inability to change their development path, particularly in the field of culture or creative economy. But, the constraints and problems of large urban areas also give visibility to the qualities promoted in the strategies of these urban centres. Features such as healthier lifestyles, the proximity between urban and rural landscapes, availability of infrastructure and diversity of amenities, a culture of vitality that combines heritage and tradition with contemporary cultural expressions, among others, are commonly evidenced. Further, these territories, when associated with governance models that promote collaboration, versatility and integration into multiple networks, can be seen as laboratories for testing policy and strategic solutions.

From the research and analysis of these cases, we would like to review some key points that are critical in defining local strategies and policies in SMUA:

– Planning context-sensitive to sociocultural peculiarities as well as structural circumstances.

– Long-term commitment to a cultural strategy of the local political community and, particularly, at an early stage and in times of crisis.

– Citizen empowerment in decision-making processes and implementation of projects for the establishment of reliable partnerships and overcoming social tensions.

– Induction of collaborative and co-production processes and multi-sectoral approaches.

– Involvement in national and international networks to promote knowledge exchange, promote partnerships, increase visibility and recognition of local strategy and overcome territorial constraints.

– Selection of specialised niche markets based on local resources, historical-cultural legacy and natural characteristics of sites related to well-being and quality of life.

– Promotion of projects of greater flexibility, proximity and small scale for greater sustainability and capacity for innovation.

– Promotion of disruptive thinking and the inclusion of non-conventional or external actors in the processes of change.

– Improvement of the balance between economic concerns, community development, and protection and support for artists and cultural workers.

– Articulation between educational and cultural policies as a basis for development processes.

– Investment in learning and training to attract young workers and skilled workers.

– Identification of the culture spillover effects in various sectors and scales.

– Enhancing the role of cultural actors, particularly, in establishing closer links with local communities and in "transformational" planning.

– Develop appropriate mechanisms for coordination and funding of cultural activities and organisations.

– Continuous public funding through state, local or regional government organisations or even European Structural Funds.

– Implementation of cultural policies to promote and preserve cultural experiences for the intellectual, emotional and spiritual development of the residents.

– Ensure principles of equity, inclusiveness and diversity.

– Recovering and reformulating local traditions and memory spaces to inspire new economic activities and cultural practices.

In conclusion, our analysis has shown that culture understood as a set of tangible and intangible resources and a variety of specialised activities - from the arts to the cultural and creative industries - undoubtedly contributed to fostering the creation of differentiated and innovative services and products that, in turn, stimulate local socio-economic development through the generation of employment and income. However, it also reiterated its role in strengthening human and social capital, reinforcing the sense of identity, preserving cultural heritage and natural environment, providing a diversified knowledge and the inclusion of minorities as well as contributing to change people's behaviour and empower citizens to explore more sustainable development paths. In addition, culture is an instrument to legitimise governments' actions, to reach consensus and forms of collaboration in the provision of public services. Thus, culture is increasingly identified by local governments as an inescapable tool for achieving sustainable development in its different dimensions.

The analysis of culture in urban policies is immersed in a broader discussion that contrasts the instrumental value of culture, to achieve ends that are external to it, to the promotion of culture as an end in itself, recognising it as a whole of intrinsic qualities. Firstly, we must underline that the relationship between cultural policies and urban development is

"constitutively instrumental" (Gibson, 2008), since both domains presume an instrumental logic in the achievement of objectives conceivably beneficial to citizens as well as to other sectors and government objectives to which they correlated (Kangas, 2016).

However, the values and roles perceived by public actors and society as a whole, and which influence the design and financing of public policies on culture, have been changing as a result of the increasing importance given to intangible factors such as "creativity, imagination, critical intelligence, even negative thought, unconventional points of view, newly found ties with traditions, beauty, harmony, knowledge, deep-reaching communication, empowerment" (Culture Action Europe, 2015).

Community members, and especially the artists and professionals working in the cultural field, that are increasing call to participate in the development process, advocate a broader understanding of the value and role of culture. They demand the recognition of the intrinsic benefits of culture and more qualitative approaches based on criteria of excellence that take into account the specificities of the sector and their autonomy as a policy domain. However, they are also aware that there is a need to improve the processes of accountability and legitimacy in the cultural field to be more comprehensible to politicians and public opinion. Within the cultural sector, some organisations intentionally chose to use culture explicitly to achieve instrumental purposes, for example, educational or social purposes and which are concerned with creating institutional value. Nevertheless, this cannot be achieved without considering their intrinsic value (Holden, 2006).

Despite this productive tension in the discussion of cultural policies, and following several authors, it is emphasised the need of transcending the intrinsic-instrumental dichotomy through a governance model that integrates and takes into account the particular circumstances of each place and the values, motivations and priorities of the different actors for a truly sustainable development. As Kevin Mulcahy emphasises: "Cultural policies, then, need to be understood not simply as administrative matters, but as reflecting a societal *Weltanschauung*; that is, a worldview that defines the character of a society and how its citizenry define themselves... In this sense, cultural policies represent a microcosm of social and political worldviews" (Mulcahy, 2006: 273).

Thus, there are requests for the extension of concepts and to deepen the research and evaluation about how culture interacts with the other dimensions of development, in different contexts, scales and time periods to find appropriate solutions to urban challenges and citizens' concerns. In its diverse expressions - symbolic, economic, social, political, artistic, linguistic, creative, educational, environmental, among others - culture is considered essential not only for

the transformation of urban spaces and dynamics but also, in the particular case of SMUA, of the natural environments and rural communities.

This broader understanding should allow the reformulation of the narratives around the public value for investment in the arts, cultural activities and creative industries and should include the analysis of commercial and amateur cultural practices but also about daily and domestic cultural consumption and production. In addition, further clarification on the relations of power and resistance between different actors and levels of governance in these policies is also needed.

Finally, societies and cultures are neither static nor immutable, and many other perspectives and themes can be considered and brought into the discussion. It may be particularly interesting to compare the strategies and policies developed in SMUA with those implemented in larger cities as well as in other parts of the world, for example in Africa or Asia, where many innovative experiences are occurring. The reflection carried out in this dissertation should be seen as a starting point for further research.

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APPENDICES

ANNEXE A

Interviews

The semi-structured interviews with key local development actors and cultural institutions of recognised importance were conducted between 2009 and 2014.

Most interviews with official entities were recorded to ensure better evaluation and analysis. For reasons of privacy, many citations inserted in the text, taken from interviews conducted do not present the name of the interviewees, but only the category to which they belong, except in the case where they allowed it. However, in addition to the interviews listed below, many conversations were held, informally and not recorded, but which were very important to clarify points of discussion. The interviews are strictly confidential, and interviewees were free to decide whether they are an anonymous source or not. Besides, some respondents were able to decide if any response would not be recorded.

The predetermined open-ended questions enumerated in this guide are just a starting point for the conversation and have been adapted according to the type of actor, institution, and the context. Specific questions were asked to the regional and local authorities on the different projects developed in each municipality or region and about the relations between levels of government and partners.

Interviews Guide

Presentation

This interview is part of my empirical research for PhD research which is based on a comparative analysis of policies and strategies related to culture and development in small and medium-sized European cities, localised in intermediate and rural regions.

Identification

-. Could you give me your name?

-. Can you tell me the name of your organisation?

What are its main role and main areas of intervention?

-. What position do you hold?

Main questions

- What is your relationship with the Municipality or other key stakeholders in urban development?

- What do you think that has been the main development driver for local authorities? What kind of tools has been used to manage and communicate the strategy?

- How do you describe your task as a public/private institution or group in the urban planning/community development?

- How do you describe the cultural policies undertaken at local and national level? What have been, in your opinion, the priorities of local authorities about cultural policy? Moreover, what should they be?

- Could you tell me which are the main problems and challenges of this kind of strategy base on _____?

- How can culture be the focus of local development? How can culture transform places and communities?

- Who are the most active/relevant actors in the design and implementation of urban planning? Are citizens involved in any way?

- In your opinion, are local authorities underestimating the possible effects of cultural initiatives? Or are they overrating their possible outcomes?

- And, how can the present development options be sustainable, for the future of the region? In what sense, culture is also about sustainability?

- Do projects like _____ have a special role in smaller cities like yours and their rural surroundings? What have been the general evaluation of this project?

- How you describe the relationship between culture and artistic activities and other fields like the economy or tourism?

- How do you describe the link between preservation of heritage and traditions and economic growth and tourism development? And the equilibrium between conservation measures and local communities' modern lifestyles?

- Should cultural institutions remain financially support or should exist another approach?

Questions about existing networks or collaborative projects in accordance with the local context.

- What was the basis for its creation and how this network works and contributes to the development of this sector? How common is the development of partnerships with non-state actors?

- To what extent, and how, cultural values are determinant to create a favourable environment for cooperation and participation in local initiatives?

Questions about EU influence and impact on local policy agenda and initiatives implementation.

- How important were the EU programs and funds for the development of regional and local initiatives?

- Creative industries are seen as essentials for the economic growth and economic development of Europe. What do you think about?

- Are there specific measures to attract cultural or creative people and firms?

The European Union also encourages their members to exploit the special features and assets based on local culture and amenities in local development strategies to achieve further prosperity, vitality and economic gain.

- What are the main characteristics of the city which can be highlighted to achieve these development goals?

- How you describe the cultural scene, not only the cultural offer but also the places and people working in cultural production in the region?

- To what extent the city's location and size condition the implementation of local strategy?

The financial and political crisis of 2008 began a new period with new challenges insufficiently analysed, especially in smaller towns.

How do you think that the city is dealing with this reality?

-To what extent, and how, your history and development path, either indirectly or directly, influence current local development?

As a citizen …

- How would you define the identity of your city? Can you mention any symbol or feature that could be a good representation of your city?

- What are main differences/advantages in living here compared with larger cities as _____?

- What are the main city challenges in the next years?

-Are there any persons you would suggest for us to meet for additional interviews on this subject matter?

ANNEXE B

Interviews with key intervenient in regional and local development

Official interviews in Czech Republic

Affiliation	The Arts and Theatre Institute / Institut umění - Divadelní ústav
	Address: Celetná No.17, 110 00 Praha 1 Website: http://www.idu.cz/cs/institut-umeni-6
Position	Head of the Arts Institute
	Eva Žáková
Affiliation	South-West Regional Council/Regionální Rada Regionu Soudržnosti JZ
	Address: Jeronýmova 1750/21, ČB http://www.rr-jihozapad.cz/
Position	Head of the Monitoring, Evaluation and Absorption Capacity Section
	Matouš Radimec
Affiliation	Regional Development Agency Šumava, o. p. s. / Regionální rozvojová agentura Šumava
	Address: Stachy 422, 384 73 Stachy http://www.rras.cz
Position	BR Coordinator
	Vladimir Silovsky
Affiliation	The Regional Development Agency of South Bohemia – RERA Inc. / Regionální rozvojová agentura jižních Čech RERA a.s
	Address: Boženy Němcové 49/3, 370 01 České Budějovice http://www.rera.cz
Position	Deputy director
	Tomáš Cílek
Affiliation	Regional Authority of the South Bohemian Region in České Budějovice /Jihočeský kraj
	Address: U Zimního stadionu, No. 1952/2, 3rd floor, 37076 CBudejovice http://www.kraj-jihocesky.cz/index.php?par[id_v]=222&par[lang]=CS
Position	Head of Department of Culture and Conservation
	Denisa Holečková
Affiliation	Faculty of Economics, University of South Bohemia
	Address: České Budějovice
Position	Professors at Department of Structural Policy of the EU and Rural Development
	Prof. Eva Cudlínová and Prof. Miloslav Lapka
Affiliation	Destination Management / Destinační management Český Krumlov
	Address: náměstí Svornosti 2, CZ - 381 01 Český Krumlov www.ckrumlov.cz/destination
Position	Marketing department
	Lenka Nováková
Affiliation	Town of Cesky Krumlov
	Address: náměstí Svornosti 1, CZ - 381 01 Český Krumlov

	www.ckrumlov.cz
Position	Vice-Mayor/ Cultural Affairs
	Jitka Zikmundová
Affiliation	Elementary Art School Český Krumlov
	Address: Kostelní No. 162, 381 01 Český Krumlov www.zus-ceskykrumlov.cz Email: reditel@zus-ceslykrumlov.cz
Position	Director and teachers
	Profª. Alena Švepešová and two colleagues
Affiliation	Regional Museum / Regionální muzeum v Českém Krumlově
	Address: Horní ulice, no. 152, 381 01 ČK www.museum-krumlov.eu
Position	Communication department
	Jana Tolnayova Email: tolnayova@muzeumck.cz
Affiliation	Museum Fotoateliér Seidel
	Address: Linecká no. 272, 381 01 Český Krumlov email: info@seidel.cz www.seidel.cz
Position	Director and assistant
	Mr. Petr Hudičák and Mr. Marin Tůma
Affiliation	State Castle and Chateau Český Krumlov
	Address: IVth Castle Courtyard, Zámek č.p. 59, 381 01 Český Krumlov http://www.zamek-ceskykrumlov.eu/
Position	Castle director
	Pavel Slavko

Official interviews in Finland

Affiliation	Art Council of Central Finland
	Address: Keskustie 20 C, 4th floor, 40100 Jyväskylä http://www.taike.fi/en/web/keski-suomi/arts-council-of-keski-suomi
Position	Secretary General
	Ilkka Kuukka
Affiliation	Regional Council of Central Finland
	Address: Cygnaeuksenkatu 1, 40100 Jyväskylä www.keskisuomi.fi/in_english
Position	Project manager, culture and creative economy
	Raija Partanen
Affiliation	Jyväskylä Regional Development Company Jykes Ltd
	Address: Sepänkatu 4, FI-40100 Jyväskylä Internet: http://www.jykes.fi/en/
Position	Business Advisor, creative industries
	Heidi Länsisalmi
Affiliation	Alvar Aalto Museum
	Address: Alvar Aallon katu 7 40600 Jyväskylä / Studio Aalto - Tiilimäki 20, 00330 Helsinki www.alvaraalto.fi
Position	Director

	Susanna Pettersson
Affiliation	City of Jyväskylä
	Address: City Hall Vapaudenkatu 32, 40100 Jyväskylä
Position	Director of Cultural Affairs, Culture and Education Services
	Mari Aholainen
Position	Head of the City Planning Office
	Ilkka Halinen
	Director of Business Development and Urban Planning Projects
	Anne Sandelin
Position	R&D Manager and member of Local Support Group - Creative Clusters project
	Pirkko Korhonen
Affiliation	JAMK University of Applied Sciences
	Address: Piippukatu 240100 Jyväskylä Lutakko Campus
Position	Project co-ordinator, Lutakko Living Lab / Human Tech Living Lab
	Juha Ruuska
Affiliation	Local Action group JyväsRiihiry - Rural Development Association
	Sepänkatu 4 FI-40100 Jyväskylä www.keskisuomenmaaseutu.fi/jyvasriihi
Position	Operative Manager
	Pirjo Ikäheimonen
Affiliation	Centre for Creative Photography
	Veturitallinkatu 6, FI-40100 Jyväskylä http://www.ccp.fi/en/
Position	Director and curator
	Kimmo Lehtonen
Affiliation	University of Jyväskylä
	Veturitallinkatu 6, FI-40100 Jyväskylä http://www.ccp.fi/en/
Position	Prof. Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy /manager of COST Action S1007
	Katriina Soini
Affiliation	Mind Less Company / Jyväskylä Artists Association
	Artist
Position	Kaisa Lipponen
Affiliation	Jelmu - Live Music Association
	Jelmu ry / Tanssisali Lutakko Dance Hall Lutakko www.jelmu.net
Position	Manager
	Teppo Laine

Official interviews in Portugal

Affiliation	Câmara Municipal de Óbidos / Óbidos Municipality
	Address: Ed. Paços do Concelho, Largo de S. Pedro 2510-086 Óbidos http://www.cm-obidos.pt/
Position	Mayor
	Telmo Faria
Position	Coordinator of the Education Department http://escolasdobidos.com/
	Ana Sofia Godinho
Position	Teacher and current councillor of culture
	Celeste Afonso
Affiliation	OBITEC
	Óbidos Technology Park
Position	Executive Director (Coordinator Óbidos Criativa, Municipal Company 2012; Deputy Mayor)
	Miguel Trindade Silvestre
Affiliation	INTELI
	Lisboa
Position	Head of Cities and Territories Department
	Catarina Selada
Affiliation	Rede de Museus e Galerias / Network of Museums and Galleries
	Address: Rua Direita, 78-86, 2510 Óbidos
Position	Coordinator
	Ana Calçada
Affiliation	Associação Turismo de Óbidos – Óbidos Turism Association
	Address: Casa do Largo da Porta da Vila, 1.º Andar, 2510-089 Óbidos
Position	Advisor and Local Support Group member of Creative Clusters Network
	Architect José Santos
Affiliation	Associação de Defesa do Património do Concelho de Óbidos – Óbidos Association of Heritage Safeguard
	Address: Casa da Nª Sra. do Monserrate, Lg. da Ordem Terceira, 2510-073 Óbidos
Position	President and village historian and primary school teacher
	Prof. Carlos Orlando de Sousa Rodrigues
Affiliation	Associação de Cursos Internacionais de Música - International Music Courses Association
	http://www.pianobidos.org/
Position	Presidente
	Manuela Gouveia
Affiliation	O Bichinho de Conto (bookstore and publishing house)
	Address: Estrada dos Casais Brancos, 60,2510-212 Óbidos http://www.obichinhodeconto.pt/
Position	illustrator, author, publisher and FOLIO curator
	Mafalda Milhões
Affiliation	Óbidos Literary Town
Position	Project Manager, chief-curator and bookseller

	José Pinho
Affiliation	CoLab
	Rua da Porta da Vila, nº 18, 2510-089 Óbidos
Position	Project Manager, designer
	Pedro Reis
Affiliation	INTELI
	www.inteli.pt
Position	Head of Policy & Research, Cities Unit
	Catarina Selada

Official interviews in United Kingdom

Affiliation	Local Government Yorkshire and Humber (LGYH)
	Address: The Orangery Back Lane, Wakefield, WF1 2TG Email: mail@lgyh.gov.uk http://www.lgyh.gov.uk/
Position	Strategic Support Officer (Communication, Research and Development)
	Paul Cartwright
Affiliation	York, North Yorkshire and East Riding Enterprise Partnership
	Address: The Lodge 2 Racecourse Lane, Northallerton, North Yorkshire
Position	Manager
	Tim Frenneaux
Affiliation	Chrysalis Arts (Creative North Yorkshire)
	Address: The Art Depot, Eshton Road, Gargrave, Skipton BD23 3SE Email: info@creativenorthyorkshire.com www.chrysalisarts.com
Position	Director
	Christine Keogh
	Rick Faulkner
Affiliation	National Centre for Early Music
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Position	Director
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Position	Assistant to Chief Executive
	Anna Stewart
	Community Archaeologist
	Dr John Kenny
Affiliation	University of York

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	Joan Concannon
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Position	Commercial Director
	Carole Dove
Affiliation	City of York Council
	Address: West Offices, Station Rise, York, YO1 6GA Email: ycc@york.gov.uk http://www.york.gov.uk/
Position	Mayor
	Councillor James Alexander
Position	Cabinet Member for Leisure, Culture & Tourism
	Councillor Sonja Crisp
Position	Head of Design Conservation and Sustainable Development and responsible for the Guidhall project
	David Warburton
Affiliation	World Heritage for York Steering Group
	City of York Council 9 St Leonard's Place York YO1 7ET Tel: +44 (0) 1904 551346 email: worldheritageyork@googlemail.com
Position	Chairman
	Mrs Janet Hopton MBE (Ex-Lord Mayor in 2006)
Position	City Archaeologist of City of York Council
	Mr John Oxley
Affiliation	York Museums Trust
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Position	Commercial Director
	Michael Woodward
	Director of Knowledge and Learning
	Martin Watts
Affiliation	York Curiouser
	http://www.yorkcuriouser.com/
Position	Independent Art Curator and Co-Artistic Director York Curiouser
	Lara Goodband

ANNEXE C

Urban-rural typology for NUTS level 3 regions					
Country	**Code NUTS 3**	**NUTS 3 regions**	**Types**	**SMUA**	
Czech Republic	CZ031	Jihočeský kraj (South Bohemia)	**3**	Český Krumlov	Figure 37.C
Finland	FI193	Keski-Suomi (Central Finland)	**3**	Jyväskylä	Figure 38.C
Portugal	PT16B	Oeste (West)	**3**	Óbidos	Figure 39.C
United Kingdom	UKE21	York	**2**	York	Figure 40.C

Types:		
	1	Predominantly urban regions (rural population is less than 20 % of the total population)
	2	Intermediate regions (rural population is between 20 % and 50 % of total population)
	3	Predominantly rural regions (rural population is 50 % or more of total population)

Footnotes: This typology is based on a definition of urban and rural 1 km² grid cells; urban grid cells fulfil two conditions: (1) a population density of at least 300 inhabitants per km² and (2) a minimum population of 5 000 inhabitants in contiguous grid cells above the density threshold; the other grid cells are considered rural; for Madeira, Açores and the French outermost regions, the population grid is not available, as a result, the typology uses the OECD classification for these regions.

Source: Eurostat, JRC, EFGS, REGIO-GIS
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Urban-rural_typology

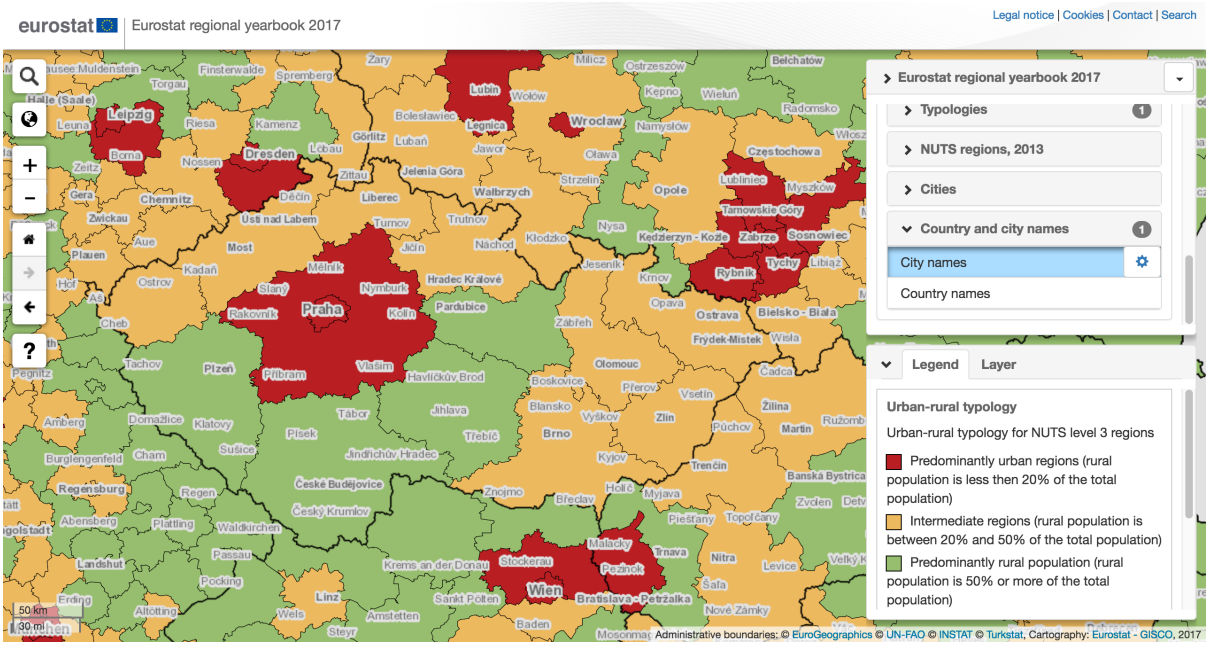

Figure 40.C Czech Republic: urban-rural typology

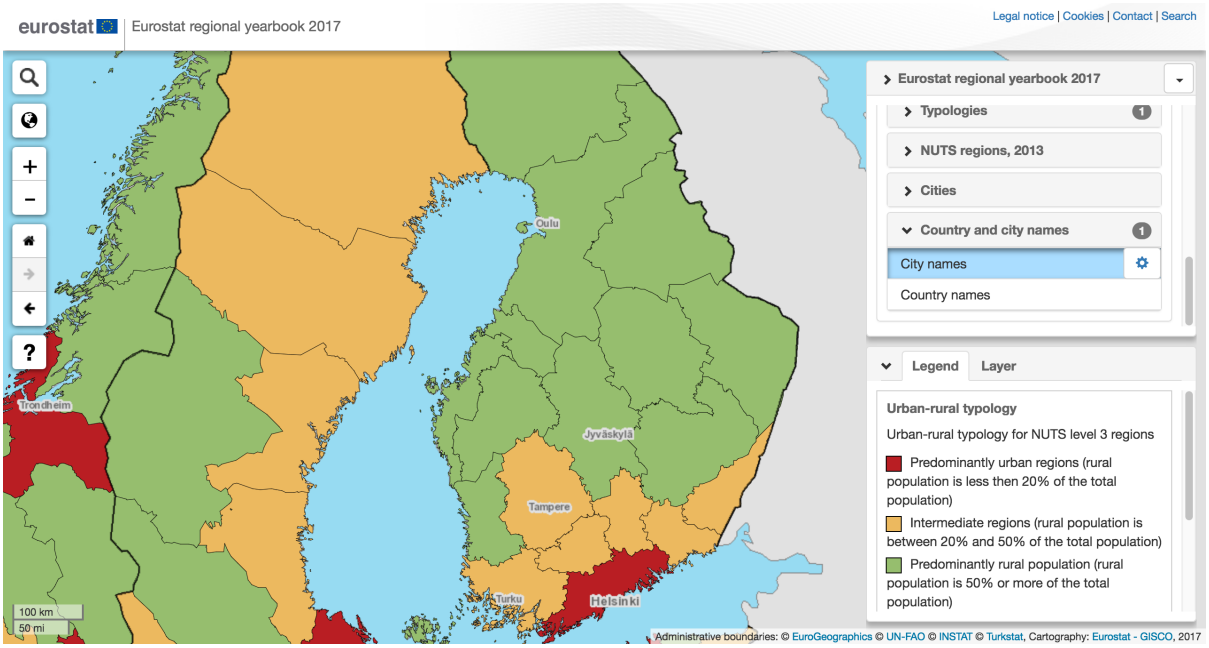

Figure 41.C Finland: urban-rural typology

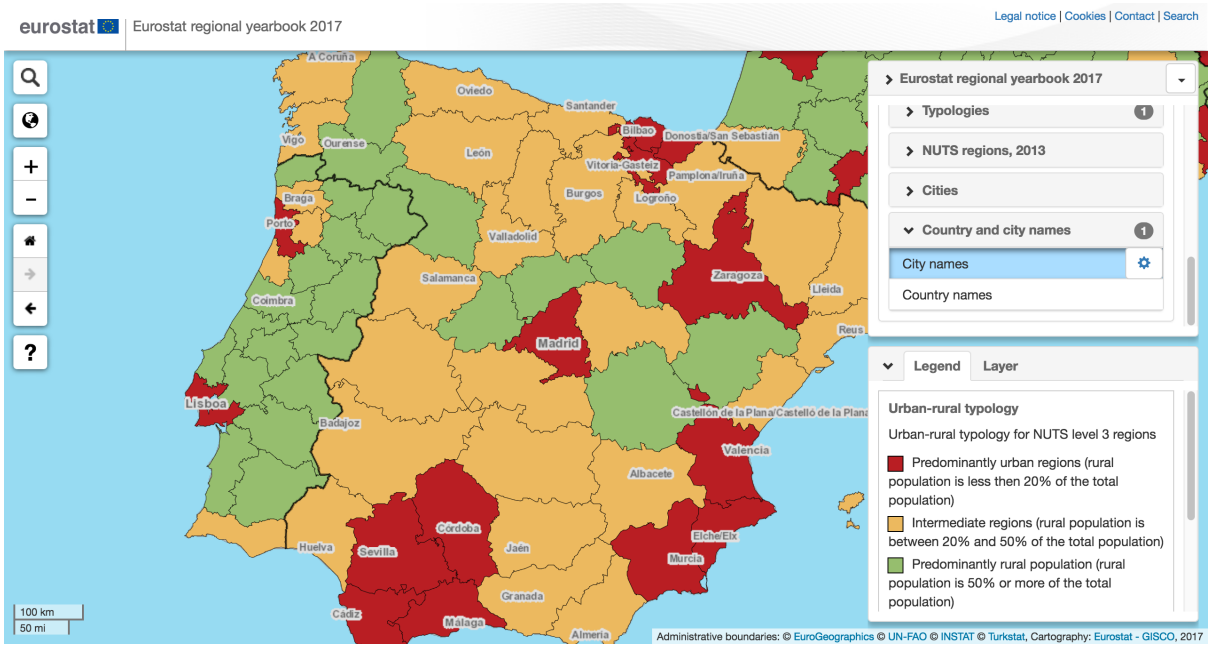

Figure 42.C Portugal: urban-rural typology

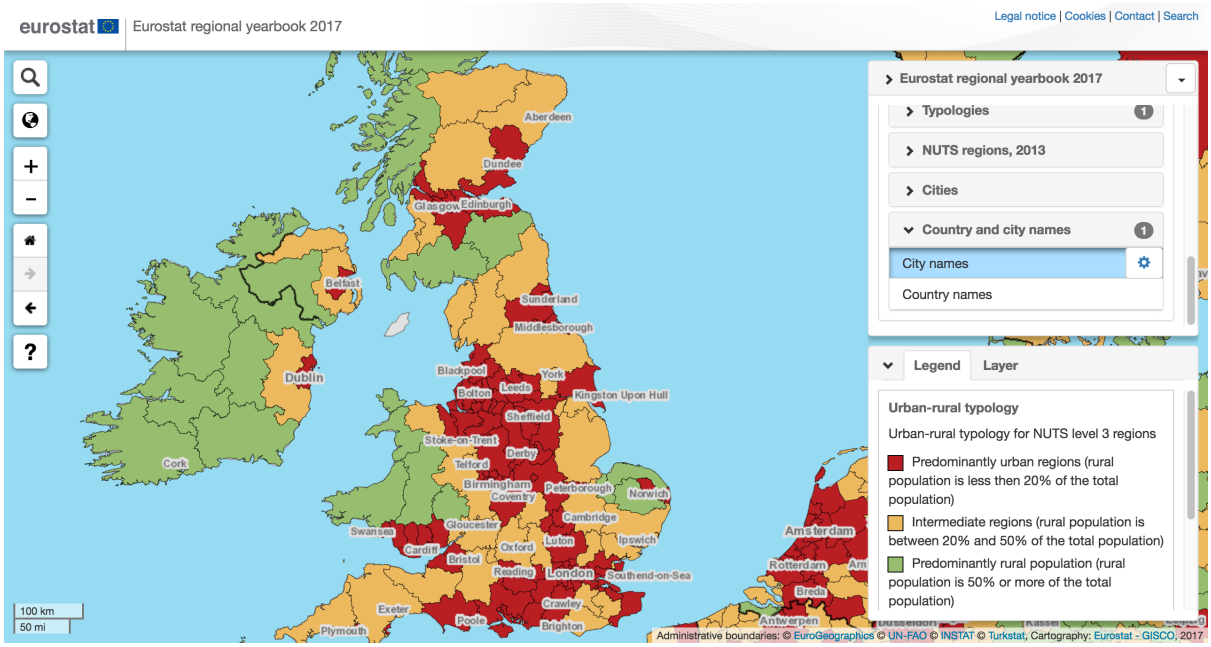

Figure 43.C United Kingdom: urban-rural typology