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ENCATC Journal of Cultural and Policy

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LAYOUT

Fotocomposición IPAR, S.COOP.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Isabel Verdet Peris

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Spillover Effects in Europe – a new research front

Jonathan Vickery
Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick,
United Kingdom
J.P.Vickery@warwick.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Arts and cultural organisations all across Europe are continually faced with demands to justify their receipt of public funding, and increasingly under pressure to align their interests with funders or government sponsors. A new research project on "creative and cultural spillover" attempts to devise a new language and perhaps a new sense of mission for cultural agents. Based on a survey of existing research, it observes how culture and the arts have always played a significant social and economic function. However, it further asserts that reference to a EU scale policy framework should motivate cultural sectors (perhaps in alliance with the creative industries) to actively generate "spillover" within broader innovation and sustainability frameworks. This short article presents the project's rationale and central concerns, and underlines its significance to the cultural policy research community (but does not preempt the imminent publication of a Final Report).

Introduction

A significant new subject has emerged for cultural policy research – creative and cultural spillover. The term "spillover" has a complex and diffuse history, and is related to the many cultural policy debates of the last few decades on knowledge transfer, social impact, public value, and more recently, cultural value (ACE, 2014)[1]. In other words, it addresses the ways in which arts and cultural activities and organisations possess knowledge, capabilities and capital that can generate forms of value or impact beyond their own cultural orbit or beyond the cultural "sector" itself (Landry, 2000; Frontier Economics, 2007; BOP, 2013). Of course, terms like "value" and "impact" require critical investigation.

The project I will cite below is asking questions on the definitional, theoretical and methodological effectiveness of recent or current research, much of it of significance beyond its immediate context of inquiry (as a random example: Garcia, Melville & Cox, 2010; Wedemeier, 2010; Tafel-Villa et al, 2011; Lazzeretti, 2012; Slach & Boruta, 2012; Dümcke & Gnedovsky, 2013; Bakshi, Lee & Mateos-Garcia, 2014). It intends to define spillover in a way that will have a direct purchase on governmental strategies for public investment and more generally on the financial politics of culture and cultural governance, particularly in an age where "austerity" has become an acceptable option for national economic strategy across the European continent (Pratt, 2012)[2].

A number of significant publications and research projects on issues directly pertaining to spillover have recently been conducted, including the three-year EU URBACT Thematic Network

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THE DEFINED OBJECT OF RESEARCH ('CREATIVE AND CULTURAL SPILLOVER') IS AN OPEN QUESTION: SPILLOVER MAY INVOLVE CULTURAL PRODUCTS, PROJECTS, PROCESSES, TECHNIQUES".

"Creative SpIN"[3]. One just completing its first phase has been provisionally entitled "Preliminary Evidence of Spillover Effects in Europe", the origins of which is the CATALYSE project, an EU-funded collaboration between the Forum d'Avignon, the european centre for creative economy (ecce), and Bilbao Metropoli-30. CATALYSE, directed by Bernd Fesel, lasted from March 2013 to May 2014 and featured a student masterclass with students from Dortmund University and Warwick University. Their task was to explore potential models for defining and measuring "spillover effects", and from this a first issue of a new publication series appeared – "to be debated: *spillover*" – followed by a high profile presentation at the European Culture Forum (autumn 2013)[4]. Pan-European publicity and networking then motivated renowned partners from Germany, UK, Ireland and the Netherlands to convene and devise a plan for a Europe-wide, evidence-based research project on spillover effects. The partners were: european centre for creative economy (ecce), Arts Council England, Arts Council of Ireland, Creative England, and the European Cultural Foundation[5]. The Tom Fleming Cultural Consultancy were commissioned to manage this initial exploratory research, the result of which is a Final Report, both on the ecce website and the new open Wiki space[6]. Through the Wiki, this project now invites a Europe-wide dialogue, and where hitherto the research has largely (but not exclusively) involved policy and research documents in the English language (albeit 98 documents from 17 European countries), the Wiki invites contributions from all languages.

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[1] See, for example, the recent Report by the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value, available at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/futureculture/finalreport/

[2] In March 2015, as part of the Latvian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, a high level conference was held on "Cultural and creative crossovers: partnering culture with other sectors to maximize creativity, growth and innovation" (11-12 March, the National Library of Latvia).

[3] See "Creative SpIN – Creative Spillovers for Innovation. URBACT II Thematic Network Baseline Study" (Creative SpIN, 2012). The EU URBACT Thematic Network "Creative SpIN", whose study is contextualized by urban development, published its Final Report in June 2015: http://urbact.eu/library?f%5B0%5D=field_network_reference_multiple%3A964

[4] "to be debated: *spillover*" (Dortmund: ecce) is available at: http://www.e-c-c-e.de/en/publications/

[5] Individual Research Partners include Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé, Aalto University; Annick Schramme, Competence Center Creative Industries, Antwerp Management School; Ellen Aslaksen and Marianne Berger, Arts Council of Norway; Cristina Ortega and Fernando Bayón, University of Deusto, Bilbao; Pablo Rossello and Lynsey Smith, Creative Economy, British Council, UK; Lyudmila Petrova, Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication; Toni Attard, Arts Council Malta; Jonathan Vickery, Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick.

[6] The Final Report is available at: http://www.e-c-c-e.de/en/. The Wiki space is available at: https://ccspillovers.wikispaces.com

The project's Final Report is not simply a summary of findings, but an effective attempt to construct a conceptual framework that could be useful to other research projects. To this extent, the project itself remains in an exploratory stage, where the defined object of research ("creative and cultural spillover") is an open question: spillover may involve cultural products, projects, processes, techniques, and consist of communication, ideas and strategic models, brands and publicity, information and research, shared spaces and audiences, and many other things. How do we delineate between all of this, particularly in relation to established conceptions of the creative economy as a whole (The Work Foundation, 2007; Higgs, Cunningham & Bakshi, 2008; KEA, 2009 & 2015)? Terms like "synergies", "dynamics", "collaborative interactions", all seem appropriate, but without substantive and sustained empirical cases or (perhaps) longitudinal research, can we really make claims and devise strategic frameworks that will convince policymakers? Consequently, the project's theoretical framings and methodological orientations remain in a necessary stage of deliberation. Inputs to the Wiki, particularly from the ENCATC community, would be a significant contribution to the dialogue.

EU policy contexts

A principle rationale of the project is not only to gather and acknowledge a vast range of related research relevant to spillover but, by way of advocacy, address some pressing issues for EU policymakers. These issues were most recently articulated in the Council of the European Union meeting for Education, Youth, Culture and Sport (May 2015), where spillover is referred to as "cultural and creative cross-over" (Council of the European Union, 2015). Cross-over is broadly defined as the "process of combining knowledge and skills specific to the cultural and creative sectors together with those of other sectors in order to generate innovative and intelligent solutions for today's societal challenges" (Council of the European Union, 2015: 2). As cited in the current EU Work Plan for Culture (2015-2018), the EU is looking to cultural and creative cross-overs "to stimulate innovation, economic sustainability and social inclusion [and to] examine and promote synergies between the cultural and creative sectors, on one hand, and other relevant sectors, on the other hand" (Council of the European Union: 10).

In the last few years, notwithstanding the limitations of the principle of subsidiarity and how member states cultural sectors remain strongly framed by national policy priorities, various EU cultural policy actors have been steadily making the case for the broader pan-national significance of culture and creative industries (European Commission, 2010b & 2012; Florida & Tinagli, 2004; KEA, 2006; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008). It has been obvious how "culture and creativity" have been implicated in broad urban developments – like creative clusters, creative quarters and the formation of the "new inner city" (Pratt, 2007 & 2008; Hutton, 2008; Mommaas, 2004) – , and how the creative industries contain all kinds of unrecognised productivity or potential (Miles & Green, 2008). But how can policies for culture be inserted into the policy discourse on sustainable development, European integration or social justice, or economic development?[7] This includes some urgent research and fresh evidence on the relevance of cultural production, organisation and agency, to industrial innovation, competitiveness and employment, urban development and social communities, furthering cross-sectoral cooperation and not least locating the significance of creativity for non-cultural industries.

And if all this sounds far too "instrumentalist" for the cultural policy researcher, the "intrinsic" value of culture and the arts is not ignored but regularly underlined, as in the European Commission's seminal European Agenda for Culture (European Commission, 2007). For current EU policy discourse, the challenge will be to understand the broader socio-economic "functions" of culture and creativity while remaining committed to a principle of "autonomy", even if policy theories of cultural autonomy are as lacking as policy theories of spillover. The trajectory of spillover research will then need to take into account the historically inscribed binaries that remain so embedded in our critical theories of European culture – art and commerce, culture and economy, creativity

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[7] Some of these issues were recently broached at the pioneering COST Action IS1007 organised "International Transdisciplinary Conference: Cultures(s) in sustainable futures: theories, practices and policies" (6-8 May 2015, Helsinki).

and instrumentality, aesthetic engagement and consumer experience, and so on and on –, as well as the way European "culture" remains a nationally defined landscape of huge institutional "silos".

Spillover as a concept has an interesting if now overlooked history in this context. Neofunctionalist regionalism theory (Haas, 2004; Rosamond, 2005) is often attributed with opening the discussion on how spillover in Europe might be relevant to political and policy projects of understanding the potential of European integration. Furthering Jean Monnet's vision of a united Europe, the neofunctionalists identified how pan-European industrial innovation seems to develop by cross-border cooperation and a need for companies and industrial leaders to consult, work with and learn from their European colleagues, in all spheres of activity. For if basic patterns of national economic growth displayed necessary cross-border, productive and mutually-enhancing integration, the case for an "integrated" Europe becomes compelling. Significantly, neofunctionalists identified how patterns and forces of integration in some industries could generate multiple causal motions of integration in other industries, both within and across national borders. The momentum of such forces of integration was enhanced by what they called "spillover effects". Since then, the emergence of "Jacobs' spillovers" (1969) and "Porter's spillovers" (1990) have established the theoretical veracity of the term spillover, and with it a set of assumptions.

These assumptions have remained convincing, and are even more relevant today: firstly, there is a categorical distinction between the kinds of economic activity that generate only abstracted capital or profit (businesses that make money), and the kinds of economic activity that generate a broader-based wealth and increase the social and cultural life of a country or region; for real economic development is "place"-responsive or engaged with its socio-urban environment. Secondly, economic development possesses an intrinsic need for multi-disciplinary intellectual development (knowledge) within processes of industrial productivity and its standard requirements (of labour, technology, markets and so on). Thirdly, "social" networks of people are as important to economic development as supply chains or the kinds of networked relations necessary for material production. A retrospective reading of neofunctionalist theory would bring to mind how these three assumptions (in the context of Europe) would entail a consideration of the "politics" inherent in spillover – we need to consider how culture grows in power and meaning through crossing national cultural borders, boundaries, jurisdictions, and confronting conventional professional protocols. Spillover research will not simply take the form of an argument for more funding and building up the existing cultural sectors of nation states or cities. It must seek to demonstrate how through extending culture's capacity for knowledge and communication, place-based engagement, networks and cross-border interactions, more substantive phases of

pan-European "development" can emerge (see by implication UNESCO, 2013).

Of course, spillover has played very conventional roles in economic growth, for R&D, B2B collaboration and partnerships, or even the routine production of knowledge for industrial application by university institutions (indeed see European Commission, 2010a; Carlino, 2001; Chapain, 2010; Acs, Audretsch & Lehmann, 2013). Moreover, "internal spillovers" are common in large multinational corporations, where interactions between different projects or departments can enhance value chains, among other things. And so perhaps because of the conventional industrial and economic orientation of spillover theory, it has not universally attracted the attention of cultural researchers. Yet, as I have noted above, the recent trajectory in EU cultural policy points towards the need for cultural sector development to position itself within larger policy fields. It needs to define shared interests between culture and economy, and can do so involving knowledge, places, networks and cross-border engagement.

Key policy statements, communications and reports over the last few years include the Council statement "European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World" (European Commission, 2007), where citing the Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs maintained that creative entrepreneurs and the cultural industries can play a significant role in European industrial and business innovation. The EC communication "Culture as a Catalyst for Creativity and Innovation" (2009), and the significant Green Paper "Unlocking the Potential of the Cultural and Creative Industries" (2010b), positioned culture and creativity as drivers of innovative capacity (of citizens, organisations, businesses and civil society associations) and called for EU Member States to facilitate more effective synergies between culture and other sectors of the economy. Yet there remains a philosophical tension within these areas of EU policymaking, a tension that can be defined in terms of the distinctions between US free market capitalism and a more traditional European social democracy. For example, 2009 was the "European Year of Creativity and Innovation", which produced the high profile Manifesto from the European Ambassadors for Creativity and Innovation, of which the American economist Richard Florida was one (Florida, 2002). Florida's work is highly influential and highly contested in equal measure, given its exclusive emphasis on positioning corporate profitability within public policies and favouring the virtues of the professional classes. The continued success of the European Capital of Culture, rather, is one example where industry, enterprise and urban development have co-joined to address a much broader social populace, generating different forms of "capital" and with it more diverse kinds of value, not privileging profit-making innovation firms. The RUHR.2010 in Essen, Germany, was particularly noted for its integration of arts, cultural heritage, and the creative industries on the level of regional and city-based public policy, and where "development" was defined in a way that

exceeded abstract (financial) conceptions of economic "growth" (ecce/Wirtschaftsförderung metropoleruhr, 2013; ecce/Forum D'Avignon, 2013).

The new EU cultural funding programme Creative Europe (2014-2020) is significant insofar as could help address a critical distinction between economic "growth" and a more sustainable "development", and do so by dissolving some ideological and institutional boundaries between art and enterprise, creative industries and other industries, and facilitating interconnections between traditional cultural policy objectives and the broader economic interests of other industry and enterprise policy programmes. The new Europe 2020 Strategy of "Innovation Union", identifies culture and creativity along with Europe's profound social diversity, as intrinsic to its macro-economic development. Yet, industry itself is rarely in a position to connect up the social and the economic, particularly within evolving frameworks of sustainability and integrated urban development. Integrated models of practice are required, and the success of such models will depend on the strategic frameworks of thought that are used, which are right now caught up in fatal binaries and sector-specific interests. How can we use culture as a means of framing a unified social and economic development, without, of course, compromising the historical basis of cultural autonomy as it has emerged in Europe? This is a task for cultural researchers and theorists.

"W E NEED A PAN-EUROPEAN ASSESSMENT OF THE MOST ADVANCED FORMS OF THOUGHT AND PRACTICE WITHIN ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION".

Spillover research as a way forward

An immediate objection to spillover research is articulated by the NESTA publication, "A Manifesto for the Creative Economy": "(…) what happens when the knowledge cannot be codified? In what sense is it able to 'spill over'?" The report continues:

> Perhaps a more convincing economic argument for public funding of research in these cases would be to incentivise researchers to deploy the skills and competences they have developed through their research experience in other socially valuable contexts – including the private, public and third sectors (Bakhshi, Hargreaves & Mateos-Garcia, 2013: 56).

While referring specifically to knowledge spillovers, these statements raise two basic criticisms for spillover research in general. First, yes, our ability to "codify" knowledge is limited; but rather than abandon the task we must recognise the inherent limitations of cultural research and address these limits. One limitation emerges from the way cultural research attempts to find a certain "objectivity" (and thus credibility) by using the terminology of economics, or as the report's second statement implies, using skills and competences from spheres outside culture. While using the prevailing economics lexicon of policymakers is obviously practically necessary, and cultural research has always been multi-disciplinary, our research arguably needs to locate the capabilities and propensities of culture itself as a means of addressing the rank deficiencies of other, particularly the economic, realms (after all, where economics hanker after innovation, new ideas, and even creativity, it is not from economics they derive these concepts, but culture [see Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005). This is particularly true with regard to the very concept of "economy" as of "public" in relation to "public investment". How so often the now hegemonic concept of "economy" is abstracted from society and culture, and what counts as public investment is defined according to abstract economic accounting – financial revenues out and returned – not according to the production of a spectrum of interrelated public goods and socially-available capital. Again, the EU "meta"-framework of sustainable development can be used here to critically expand our conceptions of the economics of culture (see European Commission/ DG Regio, 2011).

This further raises the issue that while European critical cultural research has generally been strong on the theoretical, critical and interpretative engagement with culture (and its socio-historical emergence), it has been traditionally weak on understanding the institutional and organizational conditions of its own practice. Academic critical research, moreover, still remains one-step removed from the now-developed realm of cultural management and enterprise research. This situation is manifest, among other places, in the oft outdated strategic management and organizational structures of many cultural institutions, which across Europe visibly remain embedded in older hierarchical and patriarchal models of European public bureaucracy. To find advanced, creative and truly collaborative,

organizational formations, we would do better looking to innovative corporations like Apple or Yahoo. Yet, across Europe new spaces and places – incubators, hubs, labs and art clubs, quarters and centres – have emerged, but whose reflexive, engaged, embedded and networked activities have not yet found a significant role in cultural policymaking.

So, how could spillover research empower cultural researchers (and organisations)? Following from the above, we need a pan-European assessment of the most advanced forms of thought and practice within artistic and cultural production – not just art products or cultural activities, but the enterprise, management and organizational dimensions of culture (the "processes" of culture from which industry, manufacturing and economic policy could learn)[8]. Culture invariably assumes a defensive posture, and in the last two decades has arguably changed more from the impact of private-corporate practices – brand, media and communications, marketing and new strategic management trends – than it has from the processes of production, engagement and experience that culture itself generates. Existing policy frameworks are still troubled by the structural distinctions between "culture and the arts" and "creative industries", and their delineations of the cultural "sector". This is also true of the innovative work being done by artists or cultural workers outside credible orbits of high culture – in mental health, immigration communities or refugees, religious communities or international development aid. In the last few decades the cultural realm has demonstrated a significant ability to innovate new forms of productive organisation, and this needs to be subject to the kinds of theoretical analysis and evaluation that will generate policy-directed models of practice.

Secondly, spillover research can uncover the social or urban ground of existing cultural production. Where we have been taught by micro-economics that culture is a "sector" and once-removed from social life, we need to recover a sense of culture's embedded-ness and centrality to generating the social capital (social skills of literacy, dialogue, aspiration and connectivity). This can be done pro-actively through testing new strategies for networked institutional life, mobile art collections, collaborative events, socially engaged professional practice and a renewed emphasis on the cultural public realm. It can also work towards recovering the historic role of artists within European cities – demonstrated by the current EU culture programme-funded CreArt project (Network of Cities for Artistic Creation), coordinated by the Fundación Municipal de Cultura (Valladolid, Spain)[9]. The CreArt project, since 2010 has worked with municipal governments across Europe to demonstrate how mobile, transnational artistic production has always been intrinsic to the economic life of European cities, and can now re-stimulate new forms of cultural-economic activity. "Culture" and "economy" need not be hostile concepts.

Thirdly, spillover research is not just a matter of description and analysis (with a view to advocacy); it is a form of research that can provide material for experimental strategy, where cultural workers, artists, managers and entrepreneurs can develop the facility for generating spillover. This will involve a reassessment of the spectrum of competencies expected, or trained, in cultural workers, not least in the face of outstanding spillover activity visible in new global trends in technology hubs and innovation networks (see the work of Gilson Schwartz in Brazil)[10]. The potential range of functions for cultural activity within broader socio and economic realms remains unknown.

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[8] Notwithstanding significant work in this direction from Trans Europe Halles (TEH) and its members: http://teh.net/

[9] More information on CreArt (Network of Cities for Artistic Creation) can be found at: https://www.google.co.uk/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=cre%20art%20network

[10] See, for example: https://www.academia.edu/2483388/Knowledge_City_a_digital_knowware

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Bilateral cultural diplomacy: 50 years of Philippine experience (1959-2009)

Lawrence Charles Salazar
National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Manila, Philippines
lawrence.charles.salazar@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article focuses its inquiry on bilateral cultural diplomacy by examining the bilateral cultural agreements of the Philippines. Using a descriptive-analytical approach, the examination reveals how culture became a domestic consideration in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy as well as a resource for achieving foreign policy objectives. Additionally, this article underscores the need for developing an assessment mechanism to measure the impact of bilateral cultural diplomacy.

Introduction

The usage of the term of "cultural diplomacy" has become increasingly complicated. The complication stems from the fact that cultural diplomacy is a distinct diplomatic endeavor. This led one author to profess that "cultural diplomacy is hard to define, but you'd know it when you see it" (Schneider, 2006). Nonetheless, there are distinguishable characteristics that help us define cultural diplomacy. For one, it is closely associated with public diplomacy since both concepts are directed towards audiences beyond official diplomatic circles (Bound et al, 2007; Berger, 2008; Cull, 2009). Their common function to convey ideas and attract these audiences brings them to the soft power side of the hard power-soft power spectrum (Nye, 2004). The variety and range of activities which include exchange programs, the use of technology like the internet and broadcasting to engage with foreign publics, cultural and artistic expressions, educational and scientific programs, among others lead many to consider cultural diplomacy as a component of public diplomacy, or in more specific terms, as "the linchpin of public diplomacy" (US Department of State, 2005). This leads us to the second characteristic of cultural diplomacy where there is a pronounced use of culture in diplomacy for purposes such as building or strengthening relations with other nations, promoting national interests, and enhancing mutual understanding (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, 1999).

While cultural diplomacy can take place among organizations and individuals, governments are often viewed as being the primary actors of cultural diplomacy (Aguilar, 1996). Since governments are guided by their foreign policy, there is a variation in the conduct of cultural diplomacy between countries. The most visible is the model of the national cultural institute with an associated network of cultural centers. Examples of this are Spain's Instituto Cervantes, France's Alliance Francaise, and China's Confucius Institute, among many others. Another is through the participation in multilateral organizations. But while unilateral and multilateral engagements in cultural diplomacy have received adequate scholarly attention (Aoki-Okabe, Kawamura & Makita, 2010), bilateral cultural diplomacy has yet to be explored. It is this scholarly niche which this article seeks to fill in.

For the purpose of this article, bilateral cultural diplomacy is defined as cultural cooperation between two countries. Cultural cooperation covers all aspects of intellectual and creative activities relating to education, science, and culture (UNESCO, 1966). Countries formalize cooperation in culture through cultural agreements. Although cultural cooperation and exchanges may take place in the absence of cultural agreements, bilateral cultural agreements are regarded as the most visible formal form of such cooperation serving as the cornerstone of international cultural exchange, cooperation, and diplomacy (Staines, 2010). These agreements prescribe the scope and of cultural cooperation, the responsibilities of the contracting parties, its duration, and financing. Cultural agreements usually cover the areas of education, sciences, and arts which usually stipulate the exchange of professors, students, artists and scholars, the reciprocal provision of scholarships, exchange of materials such as books, films and recordings, and the protection of intellectual and artistic property.

In international relations, the proliferation of cultural agreements indicates an increasing desire for mutual understanding. Since cultural agreements facilitate people-to-people interactions, the increasing role of culture in fostering a peaceful, mutually-dependent global community is highlighted. At the bilateral level, the signing of a cultural agreement is heralded as a milestone in diplomatic relations. However, a cultural agreement only achieves its significance once it is implemented. Cultural agreements express broad principles of cooperation and the specific details of activities are formalized through biennial or triennial executive programs. Despite the widespread conclusion of bilateral cultural agreements by various countries, as far as to the knowledge of the author, no study is known to have dealt with a country's experience in implementing them.

This paper is an attempt to address a research gap on bilateral cultural diplomacy by determining the inherent features of Philippine cultural diplomacy as illustrated by its bilateral cultural agreements. Since the signing of its first cultural agreement in 1959 until the enactment of the National Cultural Heritage Act in 2009, marking a reorientation in policy on cultural diplomacy, the Philippines has entered into 34 bilateral cultural agreements with countries from Europe, the Americas, Middle East and Africa, and Asia Pacific. The scope and number of bilateral cultural agreements concluded provide a substantial amount of data for studying the nature of Philippine bilateral cultural diplomacy.

"ALTHOUGH CULTURAL COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES MAY TAKE PLACE IN THE ABSENCE OF CULTURAL AGREEMENTS, BILATERAL CULTURAL AGREEMENTS ARE REGARDED AS THE MOST VISIBLE FORMAL FORM OF SUCH COOPERATION".

The paper will begin with a discussion on the factors which were critical for the inclusion of culture in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy. This will be followed by an overview of the roles of various institutions in the implementation of Philippine bilateral cultural diplomacy. The succeeding sections will dwell on how bilateral cultural diplomacy contributed to the realization of foreign policy objectives of the Philippine government. At the end of the paper, future directions for research on bilateral cultural diplomacy are provided.

Factors highlighting the role of culture in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy

Philippine foreign policy is influenced by both internal and external factors. These factors are not only instrumental in the formulation of foreign policy objectives but these also affect the behavior, choices, and actions of the Philippines in the global stage. In this section, the internal factors such as geography, cultural history, and political and economic conditions and the external factors namely relations with the United States of America and relations with Asian countries will be discussed.

Internal factors

There were three crucial internal factors which highlight the role of culture in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy that this article will analyze. These are geography, cultural history, and political and economic conditions.

The first factor is the geography of the Philippines. This tropical climate archipelago of around 7,100 islands has abundant marine, mineral, and natural resources. However, these appealing attributes have corresponding detriments. The seas as well as extreme variations in topography make governance, communication, transportation, and territorial security a major challenge. Around 20 typhoons visit the country on an annual basis. Its location in the Pacific Ring of Fire gives it a propensity to volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. Nonetheless, the Philippines location in the Asia Pacific is considered a natural gateway to the economies of the region (Banlaoi, 2007). As an island state, it is well positioned to engage in international trade because of its proximity to important shipping lanes and its possession of fine ports and harbors (Cohen, 2003). With this, the country is at times made into an arena of contesting regional and world powers. As an independent nation, the Philippines was greatly handicapped by its geographical isolation, which was further aggravated by its relationship with the United States. Culture became a necessary foreign policy tool to overcome the geographical isolation and to link it to the countries of Asia and to the rest of the world.

We go now to the second factor which is cultural history. While the Philippines is located in Asia, its cultural historical experience has brought it into greater rapport with Europe and North America. This experience changed the landscape of Philippine society. Pre-colonial Philippines (900-1521) was inhabited by a people with maritime traditions manifested in their economic activities and cultural practices, enjoy trade relations with the Chinese, Arabs, and neighboring peoples of Southeast Asia, and bear important elements of civilization. Spanish colonization (1521-1898) gave birth to a different cultural landscape in the islands. Riverine, coastal, and lowland communities succumbed to Spanish power and they came to be known as indios who were baptized and lived as Christians, adopted Hispanic names, learned how to write using the Latin alphabet, and adopted Spanish words, cuisines, clothing, and art. Nevertheless, while these were taking place, the Moro people of Mindanao and the upland communities remained outside Spanish control. Through resistance and aversion, they were able to exercise their culture freely and, as such, the cultural patterns of these groups remain unchanged (Tan, 2008). The Spaniards were then followed by the Americans. From 1898-1941, the Americans embarked on recreating Philippine society in American image, local elite cooptation, and cultural Americanization of the population. The result was a Philippine society shaped in the American image and a colonial mentality, the belief that American lifeways and products are better than one's own, instilled in most Filipinos (Constantino & Constantino, 1978). As for the non-Christian populations of the Cordillera, the Americans were able to convert them to Christianity and subject them under the colonial public school system. The different Moro communities managed to remain relatively free of foreign interference after signing agreements that placed them under American protection.

The colonial experience of the Philippines divided its population who had different histories resulting in different cultures. The majority of Filipinos had a history of subjugation by and resistance to colonial powers which gave them a culture with foreign influences. On the other hand, the indigenous communities and the Moro people lived undisturbed affording them the opportunity to preserve their traditional cultures. This cultural differentiation among Filipinos is an important factor in culture's role in foreign policymaking. The Philippines cannot pursue an effective foreign policy on account of division and lack of co-operation among various groups. On the other hand, differences in culture gave ample leverage to deal with multi-cultural countries as well as with countries with strong homogenous societies (e.g. Islamic countries).

Lastly, political and economic conditions were also a determining factor for international cultural engagement. The devastation brought by the Second World War placed the Philippines in a challenging situation to rebuild itself. Thus, the first three postwar administrations (1946-1957) concentrated on building the economic and political foundations necessary

for a newly independent nation. Liberation, however, did not only entail the establishment of a democratic government that is responsive to the needs of its people and capable of defending the integrity of its territory. While political reorganization and economic recovery became the immediate concern of the postwar Philippine Republic, it would later realize that such concerns should be directed at the purpose of building a nation. Educational and cultural opportunities, from both domestic and external settings, were necessary to be made publicly and widely available to its citizens.

The above mentioned internal factors were crucial in bringing culture in the purview of Philippine foreign policy formulation. The geographic attributes and position of the Philippines make it vulnerable to both environmental and security threats. Colonial rule resulted in a diversified population with the indigenous culture at the margins of a mainstream culture with foreign influences. The unstable and still developing political and economic conditions of the country limited the institutional and financial resources it can wield to embark on an effective engagement with other states. All of these challenges inhibit the country from pursuing an aggressive foreign policy and in making a substantial contribution in the international arena. Against this context, culture became a necessary consideration in the formulation of foreign policy. It was utilized as power resource that will complement, if not offset, the limitations posed by geography, cultural history, and political and economic conditions.

External factors

Having discussed the internal factors that highlight the role of culture in Philippine foreign policy, I will now analyze the external factors. Among these, highlight is given to the relations with the United States of America and relations with the Asian neighbors.

American power remained influential in economic and security affairs even after Philippine independence in 1946. Parity rights were given to Americans in the disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber and mineral lands of the Philippines (Constantino & Constantino, 1978: 198-199). Nine years after, tariff preferences for Philippine articles entering the U.S. were increased while tariff preferences for U.S. articles entering the Philippines were decreased (Kim, 1968). In terms of security, the Philippines and U.S. signed the Military Assistance Agreement which granted exemptions and privileges to U.S. military personnel and their dependents, to the American civilian component of the bases and their dependents, and to American contractors under contract with the bases. They were exempted from custom duties, internal revenue taxes, license and taxes, immigration requirements, and arrest and service of process. Criminal jurisdiction, while neatly classified in the agreement according to the location where the crime was committed, tended to favor American base

personnel (Romualdez, 1980). The issue of criminal jurisdiction about U.S. base guards shooting Filipinos who had strayed unto base territory revealed that such exemptions and privileges were prone to abuses (Cooley, 2013). By 1956, stirred by such abuses, the halls of Congress were filled by calls for a review and realignment of relations between the Philippines and the United States. The reconfiguration of Philippine-American relations encouraged the Philippines to explore on other aspects of foreign relations to which it will hinge on its bilateral relations with other countries. Moreover, the first attempts of the Philippines to establish and strengthen bilateral relations were with countries that were also aligned with the U.S. such as Japan and South Korea.

Another external factor is the need to foster closer relations with Asian neighbors. While it was a priority, it was left unrealized due to the primary attention rendered to Philippine-American relations (Recto, 1990). A testament to this fact is the attempt to establish and the participation of the Philippines in establishing an Asian Union. In 1949, the Philippines participated in the New Delhi Conference. The conference was unsuccessful because Asian countries, particularly India, were suspicious of the pro-American stance of the Philippines (Lopez, 1990). President Elpidio Quirino attempted to establish a Pacific Union of Asian countries by organizing a conference in Baguio in 1950 but this failed to yield concrete results. During the administration of President Ramon Magsaysay (1953-1957), attempts were made to accommodate the demands for closer relations with Asia while stressing the importance of maintaining and strengthening economic and security relations with the U.S. He instructed Vice President and Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Garcia to arrange visits to neighboring countries (Regala, 1954). Carlos Romulo, who formerly served as President of the United Nations General Assembly, was asked to represent the Philippines in the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Romulo will also take part in the establishment of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) which was earlier proposed by President Quirino.

The renewed emphasis on fostering closer relations with Asian countries created new opportunities for the Philippines by expanding its bilateral relations with countries of other regions and blocs in terms of economy (Third World economies and European countries), ideology (Socialist countries), and culture (Islamic countries). The Philippines utilized its pre-colonial history in establishing relations with Asian countries. Its Muslim population served as a leverage to establish relations with Islamic countries. Its colonial history served as a basis for establishing relations with Europe and the Americas. These economic, ideological, cultural, and historical connections with other countries would partly determine the nature and scope of cultural agreements. But before we discuss these cultural agreements, the next section will analyze the institutional setup of Philippine cultural diplomacy.

The role of institutions in Philippine cultural diplomacy

The institutional framework of the Philippine government responsible for the management and implementation of foreign and cultural policies is given significant attention in this section. This is on the premise that their capabilities and limitations affected the practice of cultural diplomacy. The foreign policy power of the government falls heavily within the domain of the executive branch and is particularly exercised through the Department of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile, the government cultural policy is defined by and largely effected through its national cultural agencies.

The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)

The DFA is headed by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who is responsible for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy; negotiation of treaties, conventions, and other agreements; and the sending abroad of ambassadors, ministers and other diplomatic officers and consuls among others[1]. Within the department, cultural diplomacy was the responsibility of the Division of Cultural Exchanges and Activities. Since it was one of the earliest units in the department, its nature and functions have undergone several changes as the department and the Foreign Service were being strengthened. These changes also showed the increasing importance of cultural diplomacy as the unit started from a small division to a full-pledged office of equal footing to both political and economic affairs.

In 1947, the division was transferred to the Office of Political and Economic Affairs and was renamed the Division of International and Cultural Activities. Following the Foreign Service legislations in 1952 and 1953, it became part of the Office of Political and Cultural Affairs and was renamed Division of Cultural Affairs (Galang, 1953). In 1963, the division of the Office of Political and Cultural Affairs led to the creation of a separate Office of Cultural Affairs entrusted with the responsibility "for the Government's cultural and information program abroad and shall undertake studies and submit recommendations as will enable the Government and the Department to formulate policies in connection therewith"[2].

In 1982, the functional offices were replaced by the geographic offices which remained as the defining structure of the DFA until today. Each geographic office was responsible for the supervision, monitoring and reporting of the activities and operations of Philippine diplomatic missions and posts within its geographical coverage. This responsibility includes the provision of a more aggregative perspective of policy issues, including its economic, political and cultural aspects, involving their respective geographic group or region[3].

DFA plays a crucial role in cultural agreements. It determines the viability and appropriateness of concluding a cultural agreement with another country in consideration of the state of bilateral relations and the national interests of the Philippines. Its embassies provide recommendations for the conclusion of a cultural agreement owing to their knowledge of the affairs of the country of their responsibility. It is also mandated to facilitate the process from the initiation, negotiation, signing, ratification, and even the termination of a cultural agreement by virtue of Executive Order 459.

The national cultural agencies

Although the DFA plays a crucial role in cultural agreements, it also has partners in its implementation. The national cultural agencies were there to provide substance to the provisions of the different cultural agreements.

The postwar Philippine government conceived culture and the arts as the preservation of cultural heritage. The National Archives and the National Library served as important repositories of documents and written materials; the National Museum and the National Historical Commission conducted archaeological, anthropological and historical researches and preserved material evidences to reconstruct the past; and the *Commission on the Filipino Language* preserved the intangible heritage of languages through the conduct of researches and publication of dictionaries. Moreover, the tasks of cultural heritage preservation were also seen as "adjuncts to the country's educational system" (Quiason, 1971). As such, the cultural institutions were placed under the administrative supervision of the Department of Education and their goals and projects were aligned along the institutional goals of the department. The Commission on the Filipino Language assisted the Department in the use of Filipino as the medium of instruction. With education as one of its tri-focal mandate along with science and culture, the National Museum worked with schools in the establishment of school museums and in the preparation of teaching materials in natural sciences. School officials worked closely with the National Historical Commission in arranging field trips to historical sites. The National Library worked towards improving reader services to both students and researchers.

With this kind of setup, the cultural machinery of the Philippine government was inadequate

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[1] Executive Order no. 18, September 16, 1946.
[2] Department Order no. 66-63, November 29, 1963.
[3] Executive Order no. 850, December 1, 1982.

to respond to the demands of cultural diplomacy. Cultural administration was highly limited to heritage preservation thereby neglecting the needs of artists and performing groups primarily on international artistic exchanges. Moreover, each cultural agency caters only to their respective specialized, if not, narrow domain, with no single institution looking at the overall landscape of culture and arts administration in the country.

Upon the assumption to the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos in 1965, the Philippine government adopted a more holistic approach towards culture and the arts. In 1966, the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) was established which had the responsibility to bring into the country foreign artists whenever in its opinion performance by such artists would enhance the country's cultural development. After the successful overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, the Presidential Commission for Culture and the Arts was established placing the CCP under its administrative supervision. It became the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) in 1992 after the passage of the Republic Act 7356. The law mandated the NCCA to create and support a sustained program of international cultural exchange, scholarships, travel grants and other forms of assistance. In 1993, NCCA established an International Desk (later renamed International Affairs Office) which was "charged with coordinating with foreign and local government institutions and private organizations in disseminating information on different cultural events occurring both locally and abroad" (National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1996).

The establishment of the NCCA secured its position among the cultural agencies as the primary cultural agency that works with the DFA in relation to cultural agreements. It relies on the NCCA to lead in the development of inputs on the provisions of cultural agreements. In turn, the NCCA consults the cultural agencies for their inputs in relation to their respective expertise and reviews them against the national cultural policy. These are then submitted to DFA who reviews against the foreign policy of the Philippine government.

From the above, we see the overall institutional setup of Philippine cultural diplomacy as composed of two organizational players: the foreign affairs department and the national cultural agencies. The first being responsible for initiating and facilitating the conclusion of cultural agreements and the other as the ones who implement programs in accordance with the stipulations of the cultural agreements. After describing the institutional setup, we now proceed to the implementation of cultural agreements.

Cultural diplomacy for mutual understanding (1959-1969)

This section seeks to establish the groundwork for the historical development of Philippine cultural diplomacy. Covering the years 1959-1969, this section will document the first decade of Philippine cultural diplomacy characterized by initial attempts to conclude the first set of cultural agreements.

In 1955, 29 Asian and African countries gathered in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss problems affecting national sovereignty and of colonialism and racialism. The parties to the conference recognized the significance of being in Asia and Africa that have been "the cradle of great religions and civilisations which have enriched other cultures and civilisations while themselves being enriched in the process" (Asian-African conference of Bandung, 1955). They condemned "racialism as a means of cultural suppression". They argued that colonialism, "in whatever form, not only prevents cultural co-operation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people" (Asian-African conference of Bandung, 1955). Apart from calling an end to cultural domination, they went further by promoting understanding among nations with cultural cooperation through the pursuit of bilateral arrangements.

Driven by the call for cultural cooperation, the Philippines concluded bilateral cultural agreements with the participant-countries of the said conference: Indonesia (1959), Pakistan (1961), Egypt (1962), and India (1969). Though it was not among the participants, the Philippines also concluded a cultural agreement with Mexico. The proposal for the conclusion of such agreement was first raised in 1963 by Philippine Ambassador to Mexico Librado Cayco as a response to the upcoming 400th anniversary of the Expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi from Mexico to the Philippines in 1964. Though this recommendation was initially turned down, it was later rectified when the agreement was signed during the official visit of Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Romulo to Mexico in 1969 (Embassy of the Philippines in Mexico, 1963).

While the conclusion of five cultural agreements can be regarded as a remarkable feat, its record of implementation is a source of disappointment. In the case of the Indonesian cultural agreement, it is surprising that the strong political and economic relations between these governments and the cultural commonalities that exist between their peoples did not result in an active cultural cooperation. During the 1960, the Philippine Embassy in Jakarta had recommended the immediate implementation of the cultural agreement as a non-political bolster and a means to preserve the friendly relations between the two countries (Embassy of the Philippines in Djakarta, 1964). When Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Adam Malik and Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Narciso Ramos met in 1967, they agreed for the formation of a joint panel which will review existing bilateral agreements for possible updating and/or accelerating their implementation. The same matter was agreed upon by Presidents Marcos and Soeharto during the former's state visit to Indonesia in 1968. The Philippine Embassy in Jakarta reiterated its recommendation for the immediate convening of the panel in 1970 (Embassy of the Philippines

in Djakarta, 1970). From 1971 onwards, there was no indication that the panel convened, nor was the recommendation for its immediate convening reiterated in the succeeding annual reports of the Philippine Embassy.

When the Pakistani cultural agreement entered into force in 1964, the establishment of a joint social and cultural society, through the Pakistan-Philippine Cultural Association based in Pakistan, was the only provision that was implemented. The limited implementation of the agreement could have been addressed by the presence of the Philippine Embassy in Karachi. But that, in itself, did not help. The embassy suffered from the absence of a full-time cultural attaché and from a perennial shortage of informational materials. Despite its annual requests for updated publications, documentary films, and radio recordings, these remained unheeded. As such, the embassy had to improvise by printing brochures and newsletters culled from available sources in Pakistan using funds meant for sundry expenses and representation (Embassy of the Philippines in Karachi, 1967). Meanwhile, the Egyptian cultural agreement entered into force in 1963 with no record of activity. These scenarios led Filipino diplomat Pacifico Castro to quip:

> The Philippines has concluded a series of Cultural Agreements but due to the tremendous amount of money involved in financing the exchange of publications, books, scholars and professors with other countries, they are to all intents and purposes dead agreements (Castro, 1967).

Financial constraints can be ascribed as the major impediment that prevented the implementation of these agreements. But more than this, it was difficult to rely on the assistance from Philippine cultural agencies since they were also daunted with numerous obstacles that constrained them in fulfilling their respective mandates:

> (…) state supported cultural institutions are still facing a host of problems old or new which are complex in scale and are brought about by a multiplicity of cause. The factors that so long retarded their development are not difficult to identify, to wit: set-backs caused by World War II, inadequate financial aid, dearth of highly qualified and trained personnel, bureaucratization of the cultural agencies, lack of modern facilities, and the absence of an imaginatively planned development program (Quiason, 1971: 9).

Given these conditions, a commitment to engage in international cultural exchanges was quite difficult. In the very few instances that these institutions engaged in such exchanges, these were done on an institutional arrangement and outside the purview of cultural agreements. The National Museum, for example, developed international linkages in the museum profession through sister museum relations, collaborative cultural and scientific projects, and hosting international conferences.

Cultural diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy (1970-2009)

From 1970 to 2009, the conduct of cultural diplomacy gained a clearer direction through its strategic use to pursue national interests. In Eastern Europe and Asia, cultural agreements were concluded to facilitate the establishment of diplomatic relations with Socialist countries. Among Islamic countries, it became an essential tool in the campaign for a lasting solution to the peace problem in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. In Western Europe, the cultural agreements served as a channel for human resource development assistance towards the Philippines. In a similar manner, the Philippines tried to provide human development assistance through its cultural agreements with the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). However, in most cases, there were also occasions when the Philippines failed to tap the potential of cultural diplomacy in its relations with certain countries.

At this point, I shall now explain the five instances in which the use of cultural diplomacy in the pursuit of specific national interests was undertaken. Firstly, I analyze the use of cultural diplomacy in the *rapprochement with Socialist countries.* In general, the foreign policy of the Philippines during the early years of the Cold War was anti-Communist. As a result, relations with Socialist countries were basically non-existent. By 1972, however, believing that national pragmatic considerations should outweigh ideological considerations, President Marcos established policy guidelines of the conduct of trade with Socialist countries[4]. Soon after, diplomatic relations were established with Romania, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Apart from trade, the decision to establish diplomatic relations with Socialist countries was also motivated by the following external reasons: awareness of the influence of Soviet and other Eastern European states in international economic and trading system; recognition of the growth of Soviet political and military power and influence in Southeast Asia; and acknowledgment of the Soviet Union's superpower status (Department of Foreign Affairs, 1977). But

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[4] Executive Order no. 384, March 11, 1972.

during this period, cultural agreements were not part of foreign relations.

By 1976, the pursuit of more vigorous economic and trade relations became a priority and it provided the context for cultural diplomacy with Socialist countries. While cultural diplomacy was not explicitly identified, it became a strategic tool towards overcoming socio-political differences and creating the necessary atmosphere for economic and trade relations. In fact, the cultural agreements with Czechoslovakia (1974), Romania (1975), Hungary (1976), Yugoslavia (1977), and Bulgaria (1978) were either the first or among the first agreements to be signed. Similarly, because there had been cultural activities initiated prior to the opening of bilateral relations, the signing of cultural agreements were among the first agreements to be signed with the U.S.S.R. (1978) and China (1979).

In terms of content, cooperation between the Philippines and Eastern European Socialist countries were focused on education and culture. For Czechoslovakia and Romania, educational cooperation was limited to the mutual offering of scholarships in scientific studies and the exchange of materials in English about education and protection of cultural monuments. In the field of culture, the Philippine-Czech executive programs reflected a pronounced interest of the Philippines to send observers to the International Festival of Music Prague Spring and the Bratislava Music Festival (Domingo, 1983). On the other hand, the cultural agreements with the U.S.S.R. and China were more extensive covering the fields of education, language, performing arts, journalism, mass media, and book publishing, with the exchange of persons as the preferred mode of cooperation. As such, there had been mutual visits of students, language teachers, performing groups, and art teachers between the Philippines and the said countries.

Another difference between the two sets of Socialist countries is the regularity of implementation. On one hand, cultural agreements with the Eastern European Socialist countries are characterized by an inconsistent record of implementation. In the cases of Czechoslovakia and Romania, there was a marked interest in enforcing the provisions of these agreements through the conclusion of triennial and biennial executive programs respectively. However, as the years progressed, most of these programs were not renewed. Those of Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria were never implemented. Meanwhile, the U.S.S.R. and China had a more consistent record of implementation. In fact, China and the Philippines implemented 14 executive programs within 30 years.

A common reason for the inconsistency of implementation was the political changes that took place in these countries. Their democratic transition in the latter part of the 1980 led to a decline in cultural cooperation. Apart from this, Philippine diplomatic relations with most Eastern European countries were handled by non-resident embassies based in Western Europe which presented logistical and financial constraints. The absence of agreements on visa, air services, and equivalency of academic degrees also presented technical constraints affecting the exchange of persons.

After economic and political stabilization were achieved, attempts were eventually made to reinvigorate cultural cooperation. Russia and the Philippines signed a new cultural agreement in 1997, followed by agreements between their respective cultural institutions. The Federal Agency for Culture and Cinematography of Russia and the Philippine National Commission for Culture and the Arts concluded a Protocol of Cultural Cooperation for 2006-2008 in 2006. Negotiations for a similar agreement were started between the Russian Federal Agency for Physical Culture and Sports and the Philippine Sports Commission. The University of the Philippines College of Arts and Letters and Moscow State University's Institute of Asian and African Studies concluded a student and faculty exchange program in January 2006 (Embassy of the Philippines in Moscow, 2006). The 30th anniversary of Russia-Philippines bilateral relations in 2006 saw the return of Filipino artists in Russia and their Russian counterparts in the Philippines. In 1999, the Philippines proposed a new cultural and educational agreement to replace the Bulgarian cultural agreement but it remains unsigned and under review[5]. A new cultural agreement was signed with Romania in 2006 while a proposed draft executive program is being reviewed for Hungary[6].

Although the outcome of Philippine cultural diplomacy with Eastern European Socialist countries was not remarkable, it proved to be useful in dealing with the bigger Socialist countries like the U.S.S.R. and China as the former served as a springboard to gain access to the latter. As a result, a more robust and consistent record of implementation can be observed in the cultural agreements with the two countries.

Secondly, Philippine cultural diplomacy with Islamic countries was utilized for the *preservation of territorial integrity and national security* of the Philippines. One of reasons cited for the declaration of the Martial Law in 1972 was the secessionist movement led by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). It pursued an armed struggle towards the goal of an independent Muslim homeland which resulted in countless deaths, displaced numerous families, drained the national economy, and threatened the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Philippines. With the escalation of violence, the protracted conflict in Mindanao soon developed into an international

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[5] Lourdes Morales to Jaime Laya, May 10, 2001, Bulgaria Country Folder, NCCA.
[6] Executive Program of the Cultural Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of Hungary for 2005-2008 [Philippine Draft], March 27, 2007, Hungary Country Folder, NCCA.

issue. The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) raised its concern regarding the welfare and condition of the Muslims. Malaysia and Indonesia have extended moral and humanitarian assistance to the group. Some Arab countries such as Libya, Iran, and Pakistan staunchly supported the MNLF cause in the OIC and were alleged to have extended financial and material support as well. The involvement of OIC member states was crucial in exerting pressure to both the Philippine government and the MNLF to engage in peaceful negotiations. On one hand, the Philippine government recognized the repercussions of a prolonged conflict not only to its domestic political and economic stability but also in its diplomatic relations with Arab and Islamic countries. In particular, the Philippines was cognizant of the fact that they comprised the world's largest oil suppliers and a substantial market for Philippine labor. Meanwhile, because of the substantial leverage extended to the MNLF by these countries, it was able to press the MNLF to accept autonomy as a compromise to secession.

In its quest for a solution to the Mindanao problem, the Philippines embarked on an extensive diplomatic offensive towards various Islamic countries through the establishment of diplomatic relations with Arab and African states. Legations were established and were manned by Muslim Filipino diplomats. Special high-level missions were sent such as those of First Lady Imelda Marcos in Egypt and Libya. Likewise, foreign ministry delegations were invited to visit the country and observe the plight of Muslim Filipinos. In the process, cultural diplomacy was also employed on a bilateral level. The Egyptian cultural agreement of 1962 was renewed in 1975 and 1984 to improve educational opportunities for Muslim students. Muslim Filipinos were sent to Egyptian universities as scholars. Egypt also sent teachers of Islamic studies and the Arabic language to Mindanao. Art exhibits were also held in Cairo and Manila. The Philippine Embassy in Cairo organized an exhibition of 50 paintings by Filipino artists and 120 books of Filipino novels and government publications. In Manila, President and Mrs. Marcos graced the opening of the 1976 exhibition entitled "Egyptian Art through the Ages", which featured 100 pieces of high artistic and cultural value which chronicled the different periods of Egyptian civilization (Cruz, 1976). Cultural agreements were also concluded with Libya (1976), Bangladesh (1980), Gabon (1981), Iraq (1982), and Iran (1995) as the Philippines was trying to convince these countries of the improved living conditions of Muslim Filipinos. However, only the Libyan and Iranian cultural agreements were

implemented. Through the Libyan cultural agreement, there had been 186 Muslim Filipino students enrolled in Libyan universities for the period 1991-1996 (Embassy of the Philippines in Tripoli, 1996). Meanwhile, the Iranian cultural agreement led to the signing of institutional agreements between Philippine and Iranian national libraries and to the visit of Iranian artists to the Philippines.

When the Philippines decided to embark on a bid for observer status in the OIC, it signed a cultural agreement with Kuwait (1997), it supported the cultural initiatives of Iran, and signed a cultural agreement with Syria (2009). With the rise of terrorism as a threat to global security in 2001, the Philippines renewed its relations with Pakistan to enhance security cooperation. It was in this context that the cultural agreement was implemented.

Thirdly, we look into the use of cultural diplomacy for the *promotion of economic security*. In the 1970, the Philippines developed a strategy to pursue all means to improve its market for trade, investment, and aid. Europe was presented as a viable source for such needs. The European common market has become a distinguishing feature of the continent following the integration of peripheral economies and the economic restructuring of France and Italy (Eichengreen, 2007). The Philippines seized this opportunity through the extensive pursuit of bilateral trade agreements. Loan agreements and scientific and technical cooperation agreements were also concluded to finance development and infrastructure in projects and to enhance institutional and manpower capabilities respectively.

> "PHILIPPINE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BECAME AN AUXILIARY TO DEVELOPMENT DIPLOMACY".

Against this context, Philippine cultural diplomacy with Western European countries became an auxiliary to development diplomacy. The Philippines utilized the cultural agreements to access human development assistance in the field of culture and the arts such as language courses, scholarships, and trainings available in institutions of higher education. For this reason, the direction of bilateral cultural cooperation was unidirectional with the flow of assistance greatly favoring the Philippines. As the case may be, the countries of Western Europe welcomed this since cultural cooperation was an integral part of their foreign policy.

France (1978) and Germany (1983) incorporated these assistances in their executive programs. France and the Philippines executed four protocols to implement the agreement. The third protocol was used by the Philippines to project a positive image to the French media through the

holding of a major exhibition in France accompanied by Filipino artists in conjunction with the Philippine President's state visit to France in 1994. Soon, in the fourth protocol, institutional collaboration between the French Embassy in Manila and the NCCA became a convenient mode to implement the agreement since specific projects and responsibilities for each project were outlined[7]. Meanwhile, the German cultural agreement was implemented through a protocol signed in 1987 but was never renewed thereafter. The Philippines had to reorient then its initiatives by sending performing groups to Germany and participating in its film festivals. On the other hand, the Italian cultural agreement of 1988 failed to reach an executive program. It took six years for the Philippines to complete the internal procedures for its ratification and a few more years were spent for the exchange of comments on the drafts of the executive program. Despite this, Italy continuously provided assistance in the teaching of the Italian language through the grant of scholarships in Italian universities and the provision of language teachers in Philippine universities.

Language promotion was paramount in all three cultural agreements. The provision of scholarships and the sending of teachers to the Philippines were among the schemes used to promote French, German, and Italian languages. Despite failed attempts to sustain the implementation of the German cultural agreement and to implement the Italian cultural agreement, both countries strived to ensure that cultural cooperation remains a dynamic aspect of their bilateral relations with the Philippines. It is easy to comprehend why the Philippines and the Western European countries found it favorable to cooperate on this area. All these countries stand to gain in limiting collaboration to language promotion. The diffusion of their respective languages is an essential component of their respective foreign policies for promoting their cultures abroad. For the Philippines, the languages of Western Europe are key to penetrate Western European business and labor market and to avail educational opportunities in those countries' universities.

Fourthly, the Philippines also utilized cultural diplomacy as a means of *posturing in the ASEAN.* When ASEAN began in 1967, the acceleration of economic growth and active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic field were among its aims. Over the years, ASEAN and its member states have instituted several economic arrangements to bring these aims into reality. However, with the admission of Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia, economic disparities among member states became apparent and presented some difficulties in achieving the goal of regional economic integration. The entry of the said countries at a time when ASEAN was responding to the changing global economic landscape made the disparity even more glaring. On such account, ASEAN was committed to assist these countries to achieve their economic potential with the view of securing the path towards effective economic integration.

As one of the founding members, the Philippines tried to project a brotherly image among the mentioned countries. It extended both financial and technical assistance prior to and until their admission to the association. In the said process, cultural agreements with Vietnam (1994), Laos (1997), and Myanmar (1998) became an extension of such assistance. Apart from the goal of regional economic integration, extending such kinds of assistance was made with the view of securing support from these countries. Among them, it was Vietnam which harnessed its cultural agreement with the Philippines. Printed materials were donated to Vietnam and a delegation was hosted by the Philippines for a study tour. In 2007, Vietnam sought ways to expand cooperation in this field by signing a protocol of cultural cooperation. On the other hand, while the Philippines was willing to subsume the requests of Laos and Myanmar for cultural assistance under the respective cultural agreements, these countries failed to tap the potential benefits of such agreements.

Lastly, there were also cases of cultural agreements which can be characterized by *mixed interests and missed opportunities.* More often than not, the practice of bilateral cultural diplomacy was shaped by the specific conditions of bilateral relations rather than dictated by national interests. With Mexico (1972), the traditional historical and cultural ties became the foundation of cultural cooperation and were further promoted and strengthened through the cultural agreement. With the Holy See (2006), the mutual desire to protect the cultural heritage of the Catholic Church in the Philippines was the *raison d'être* for a cultural agreement. With North Korea (2006), the cultural agreement surmounted the difficulties of political and economic differences and provided the impetus for the growth of bilateral relations. There were also some cases in which cultural diplomacy played a crucial role in strengthening, enhancing, and in renewing bilateral relations, such as those of India (1969), Thailand (1975), South Korea (1970) and Australia (1977). Although the Philippines enjoys cultural commonalities with India and Thailand, cultural cooperation with them was less dynamic and was made useful either to commemorate milestones in bilateral relations or through activities outside the cultural agreement. Meanwhile, the membership of South Korea and Australia to the Asian and Pacific Council provided the groundwork for the conclusion of cultural agreements with the Philippines. However, none of the two agreements were implemented due to the already favorable conditions of the bilateral relations, which did not necessitate the implementation of the agreements. On the other hand, many also failed to lead to

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[7] Executive Program of the Cultural Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Republic of France for 2005-2007, April 2005, France Country Folder, NCCA.

meaningful gains leaving the cultural agreements dormant for most of their existence. That is the case for Sri Lanka (1976), Chile (1987), Colombia (1987), and Peru (1996). The cultural agreements signed by the Philippines with these countries were never implemented. The ambiguous foreign policy of the Philippines towards these countries fails to explain why the cultural agreements were even signed in the first place.

In sum, it can be said that where political and economic interests lay, cultural diplomacy followed. Political and economic considerations placed a greater weight in the conclusion and implementation of cultural agreements more than the traditional cultural and historical links. The threat of territorial dismemberment prompted the Philippines to adopt a soft approach towards Islamic countries which played influential roles and had significant voices in the Organization of Islamic Conference, the primary source of international support of the MNLF. An expanded trade market was expected to be realized when diplomatic relations were established with Socialist countries and so cultural diplomacy became a necessary tool to prepare the way for smooth trade relations despite differences in political and economic systems. In the same way, increased trade relations with Western European countries were pursued by cultural agreements as conduits for human development assistance. Cultural agreements with ASEAN countries, on the other hand, became auxiliaries to human resources development assistance. Conversely, effete cultural agreements were evident among those countries in which the Philippines have undefined political and economic interests or where favorable bilateral conditions did not necessitate the use of cultural diplomacy to achieve certain ends.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have determined the inherent features of Philippine cultural diplomacy as illustrated by its cultural agreements. From the discussion above, we have examined how culture was included in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy. Firstly, we have shown that culture is a domestic consideration in the formulation of Philippine foreign policy. Like other factors, it comprises the totality of foreign policy determinants which affects and shapes its formulation as well as provides a framework by which the Philippines views itself vis-à-vis other states. Although politics, security, and economics are understandably paramount in foreign policy, culture can help support, refute or explain the peculiarities of Philippine foreign policy but it cannot ultimately account for everything. For example, the course of cultural history enables one to understand why the Philippines was naturally predisposed to favor relations with the United States. The pervasive American colonial legacies in politics, economy, and society resulted in a government with shared American values and perception. Likewise, this also explains why the Asian policy of the Philippines took time to develop and materialize.

Secondly, similar to political and economic assets, culture is also a foreign policy resource which the Philippines was able to utilize in its diplomatic relations. The enunciation of culture as one of the principles of the Bandung Conference of 1955 compelled the Philippines to adopt culture as a foreign policy resource. Through this gathering, nations recognized the power of culture in addressing certain challenges faced by newly independent states in a post-colonial world. Such outlook gave credence to cultural diplomacy and to the initiation of cultural agreements.

Despite these affirmations, the significance of bilateral cultural diplomacy remains in question. There is still discontent in the inability to measure the impact of bilateral cultural diplomacy as a practice and in the attainment of foreign policy objectives. In the case of Philippine bilateral cultural diplomacy, it is difficult to find any indication that a comprehensive review has been made to assess the impact of cultural agreements or any similar initiative towards such direction. The joint commission meetings between the Philippines and other countries provide a promising occasion to look into the progress of a cultural agreement, yet it never happened that a systematic approach for their review was undertaken. At the very least, the measure of a cultural agreement's success lies in the volume of activities implemented under its purview. Conversely, a cultural agreement without any executive program formulated or activity implemented is described as being inactive. The minutes of the joint commission meetings were silent on any discussion on the content and circumstances of implementation. New activities are proposed without an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of past activities. The idea of expanding of an activity is limited to the idea of increasing the number of participants and not on institutionalizing it or bringing it outside the nations' respective capitals. In assessing its significance to a particular bilateral relation, the mere fact that there is an existing cultural agreement is enough to be considered as an achievement or milestone.

Measuring the impact of bilateral cultural diplomacy in the overall foreign policy undertaking of a government remains a theoretical and policy challenge. Without responding to this question, bilateral cultural diplomacy naysayers will continue to undermine its effectiveness as a foreign policy instrument. As this article revealed, bilateral cultural diplomacy served its purpose in the pursuit of national interests and regional integration. It is however difficult to state that it was an effective tool without submitting it to a credible and verifiable litmus test. What is clear, nonetheless, is that the continuous practice of bilateral cultural diplomacy points to some inadequacies in the political and economic strategies and tools available to a state, forcing it to use cultural diplomacy as a recourse when most options have already been exhausted.

Although it is not the professed aim of this study to assess the impact of bilateral cultural agreements, the absence of such method had crucial implications on the discussion on their implementation. The lack of an assessment mechanism may serve to explain why there had been a proliferation of cases of cultural agreements that were not implemented. More so, a great deal of difficulty was observed in trying to understand why such cultural agreements were signed given the logistical and financial constraints they pose. Considering that the limited financial resources of the Philippine government are a perennial problem, the practice of bilateral cultural diplomacy should entail a careful analysis of costs and benefits and an expressed hesitation towards entering into agreements that will not yield substantial gains. Whatever the case may be, it is certain that the use of an assessment mechanism might alter the outcome of Philippine bilateral cultural diplomacy.

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Fostering the creation of cross-sectorial networks: key drivers for culture-related collaborations in Italy's Po Delta Region

Elena Borin
Department of Economics and Management, University of Ferrara,
Ferrara, Italy
brnlne@unife.it

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the implications and potential of implementing cross-sectorial networks related to culture by means of empirical research in the Po River Delta area of Northern Italy. The aim of the research is to provide insights into the main difficulties that may arise and action that could be taken to implement successful collaborations between subjects belonging to different sectors. The investigation provides useful information for cultural players and at the same time contributes to the academic debate on the possibility of rethinking the current governance systems and management models in the cultural sector in favour of participatory approaches involving multiple stakeholders, citizens and communities on the basis of shared cultural identity and common goals and objectives.

Introduction

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the importance of cross-sector collaborations and cross-sectorial networks in different disciplines, among which are management and governance (Camarinha-Matos & Macedo, 2010; O'Flynn & Wanna, 2008; Starkey, Barnatt & Tempest, 2000), public policy delivery and public management (Osborne, 2010), and organisational research (Keast, Mandell & Agranoff, 2013).

Over the years, the idea of creating networks has also strongly entered the cultural field and has been called for as a tool for reforming the whole sector. Networks and partnerships at the *meso* (territorial) level based on the cultural identity of a territory and involving its diverse subjects and inhabitants are advocated both as means of overcoming traditional issues related to the cultural field, such as its self-referential attitudes and problematic financial sustainability, and as ways to deal with the new challenges posed by the ongoing economic and financial crisis (Bonet & Donato, 2011). Indeed, sharing resources and pooling skills through networking could help decrease costs related to common activities, enhance effectiveness in pursuing shared goals and unlock the innovative capacity of cultural organisations through innovative synergies. This paper investigates the theme of cross-sector networks based on culture focusing on the perceived levers for designing and implementing them in a specific area in Northern Italy, the Po Delta territory. The Po Delta is an area surrounding the Delta of Italy's most important river, the Po; it is located in two regions[1] – Veneto and Emilia Romagna – and stretches across three provinces (Ravenna, Ferrara and Rovigo).

The research continues the discussion launched by significant research on the drivers and "facilitators" of cross-sector collaborations (Brinkerhoff, 1997; Crosby & Bryson, 2005 & 2010) and is related to the ongoing debate among the cultural sector's academics and professionals on the need to rethink the current models of cooperation and networking, as well as the existing governance systems and management models (Bonet & Donato, 2011; Donato, 2013).

After a theoretical analysis of the existing literature on cross-sectorial networking and on the current developments of the cultural sector, an empirical investigation was carried out in three main phases: preliminary research on the state of the art of network collaborations in the area and its main cultural networks performed through document research and interviews with cultural managers working for the most relevant cultural networks or cultural organisations in the area; a second empirical investigation carried out through semi-structured interviews (following a research protocol based on the results of the previous analysis) with potential "facilitators" for the implementation of a local cross-sectorial network. The research ended with the analysis of the collected data in light of the potential rethinking of governance and management models in the cultural field.

The investigation aimed at answering the following research questions:

– What is the attitude of potential key facilitators towards the possibility of implementing prospective cross-sector networks in the cultural sector?
– How can cross-sectorial networks be created? What are the difficulties and the actions that may be taken to overcome those difficulties?
– How can the gathered data contribute to the debate on the shifting paradigms of the cultural sector and, more specifically, how do they contribute to the debate on the creation of cross-sector collaborations and networks? How does the research help policymakers and professionals in the cultural sector understand when cross-sector networks make sense and how to design and implement them?

The article has both a theoretical and a practical purpose. From a theoretical perspective, it aims to provide data that could stimulate the debate on the perception of cross-sector networks by their potential facilitators, and on the role of key actors in the rethinking of the governance systems and management models of the cultural sector towards *meso* (i.e. territorial) perspectives based on more collaborative, cross-sectorial approaches that insert culture and cultural actors into their broader socio-economic context. From a practical perspective, it aims at providing research-based guidance to policy makers and cultural professionals regarding the design and implementation of cross-sectorial networks related to culture, identifying the leverages and the actions that could create the necessary conditions to foster cross-sectorial understanding and cooperation.

The paper is developed into five main parts. This section provides an overview of the research objectives and framework; section two analyses existing literature on the concept of networks and cross-sectorial networks with references both to the cultural sector and to the ongoing debate on the rethinking of its governance systems and management models. The third section presents the research methodology and is followed by the presentation and analysis of the results of the investigation in section four, and section five critically discusses research results and makes some concluding remarks.

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[1] Regions are the first-level administrative divisions of the Italian state. There are 20 regions, each of them, except for Valle D'Aosta, is divided into provinces.

Theoretical background

The variety of approaches and perspectives in analysing networks and cross-sector networks underlines their inherent complexity and their adaptability to a variety of subjects and disciplines. In general, there is overall agreement that networks substantially differ from other forms of collaboration such as public-private partnerships because of their focus on trust, reciprocity, mutual gains and common goals. What keeps the different partners together is the "mindset" and the commitment created between members (Mandell, 1999). O'Toole (1997) defines networks as structures of interdependence involving multiple organisations and underlines how each unit is not the formal subordinate of others in some hierarchical arrangement, but is rather related to other partners in a horizontal perspective.

Therefore, networks take the form of organisations coordinating their joint activities through different types of peer-to-peer relations (Turrini et al, 2009). Nevertheless, they cannot be considered just to be "serendipitous contacts" among subjects but as goal-directed and consciously organised and bounded groupings (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003). Indeed, the concept of a network is often associated with that of "network structures", e.g. "linkages" between a number of organisations that have become stable and more formalised, going beyond informal types of relations (Kickert et al, 1997; Kickert & Koppenjan, 1997; Mandell, 1999; McGuire, 2002; Keast et al, 2004; Huang & Provan, 2007).

The "trust basis" of networks does not imply that there is no lead agency, task force, chairperson or formal governance body that leads the collaboration, but that rather than relying on contractual arrangements (although contracts may be a part of the collaboration), networks rely on interpersonal relations, mutual understanding and trust as core values for their design and implementation (Mandell, 1999; Davis & Rhodes, 2000; Considine, 2005). Authority comes mainly from the recognition of a common purpose for whom embeddedness and interdependence among the members is preferable to carrying out the different tasks alone. According to this perspective, networks require a change of framework, from a hierarchical authority approach to management and governance forms based on more relational, horizontal and equalitarian perspectives (Ansell, 2000; Chisholm, 1996; Rhodes, 1996; Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Keast et al, 2004; Mandell & Keast, 2008; Mandell & Steelman, 2003; Provan & Milward, 2001; Milward & Provan, 2003).

In the framework of the studies on networks, cross-sector networks have increasingly attracted attention from both academics and professionals. Cross-sector collaborations are defined as the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities and capabilities by organisations in two or more sectors (e.g. ICT, the cultural sector, the tourism sector, environmental protection, the creative industries, etc.), often belonging to different domains (public, not-for-profit, private, civic, etc.) to jointly achieve an outcome that could not be achieved by organisations in one sector alone (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Mandell, 1999). In setting up this type of networks, holistic perspectives are considered necessary: to be effective, members should be part of integrated systems, recognise themselves as interdependent and thus work towards systemic change (Keast et al, 2004).

The research on cross-sector networks has been manifold and part of the intellectual challenge in addressing this subject is blending multiple theoretical and research perspectives (Rethemeyer, 2005). Among the different approaches, two trends seem particularly significant for our research: investigation of cross-sector networks in public policy design and implementation and studies of potential key players in the promotion and implementation of cross-sector collaboration. On the first, public policy has recently been interpreted under participative perspectives that could also be carried out through cross-sectorial networks. Mandell (1999) argues for the importance of networks (interpreted mainly as cross-sectorial networks involving public, private and community actors) in public policy design and implementation, highlighting how over recent decades there has been a worldwide effort to achieve more effective public policy outcomes through innovative and participative approaches to the delivery of public programmes (Cristofoli et al, 2014; Salamon, 2002; Osborne, 2010). Brinkerhoff highlights the potential of cross-sectorial networks in creating "virtuous circles" where local companies, non-profits and citizens are asked to express their preferences, building an idea of empowerment of various stakeholders, citizens and communities (Brinkerhoff, 1997). In the framework of the research on multi-stakeholder partnerships (Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998; Jeffares & Skelcher, 2011; Flinders & Skelcher, 2012) cross-sector networks are often recognised both as a necessary characteristic of pre-partnership collaboration and as underlying structures in all partnership implementation phases.

As for the literature on leadership and drivers in cross-sector collaborations, studies have explored the role of the so-called "facilitators", "movers" or "sponsors" of cross-sector collaborations (Linden, 2002; Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Morse, Buss & Kinghorn, 2007; Crosby & Bryson, 2005 & 2010; Feldman & Khademian, 2007). They are defined as those politicians, leaders of already existing networks, or generally influential people that have the power to stimulate groups of individuals, companies, etc. in a local area to start special types of actions and initiatives. The identity of these facilitators is of course strictly related to the territory in which they operate and to the type of collaborations or initiatives to be implemented. Feldman et al (2006) stress the importance of what they call "boundary groups", groups of people who can create boundary experiences (i.e. shared or joint activities) that can facilitate the success of the network in the long term.

Crosby and Bryson underline the key role of sponsors and leaders of existing networks in creating "linking mechanisms" and promoting trust-building activities to nurture cross-sector cooperation. They also argue that cross-sector collaborations are more likely to form in turbulent environments when problems are more complex and affect organisations operating in diverse sectors and socio-economic domains. Key players are crucial not only in promoting network formation but also in ensuring participatory drafting processes involving various stakeholders (Page, 2004) and governance bodies that ensure an equal distribution of power between more and less powerful partners (Crosby & Bryson, 2005).

These developments of the general debate on cross-sector networks resonate with the ongoing discussions in the cultural sector, in particular those on the need to move towards more integrated approaches and models of cooperation that consider culture as part of the broader socio-economic environment. Many studies have focused on networks and collaborations that were established within the cultural sectors and among cultural institutions, both private and public (Bagdadli, 2003; Guintcheva & Passebois-Ducros, 2012; Scrofani & Ruggiero, 2013) arguing that networks could work as effective means to promote strategic collaboration between sectorial arts organisations (Scheff & Kotler, 1996). As far as culture is concerned, cross-sectorial networks have been often associated with integrated tourism systems (Jackson & Murphy, 2006; Bhat & Milne, 2008; Augustyn & Knowles, 2000; Hall, 2000; Yuksel & Yuksel, 2004), highlighting the importance of creating links between arts organisations and companies belonging to other sectors, such as IT, transport systems, the wine and food industries, etc. (Burrows et al, 2007) to promote more coordinated and sustainable models for cultural tourism development of specific areas. Emphasis has been put on the importance of participatory approaches to tourism development (Tosun, 2000) and on interpreting the different organisations operating in a territory as embedded in a social context of relationships with their communities (Gulati, 1998). Blasco, Guia and Prats underlined the importance of overcoming conventional administrative and sectorial borders when working on projects of cross-border destination enhancement and similarity-stressing (either cultural, functional or organisational) as a useful factor in implementing collaborations, finding "bridging actors"

and institutions and building on the creation of close relationships between the partners (Blasco, Guia, & Prats, 2014).

As far as cultural heritage is concerned, Scrofani and Ruggiero underline how heritage and cultural activities could play a relevant role as drivers for cross-sector collaborations in territories, cities and regions (Scrofani and Ruggiero, 2013). In such contexts, museums are among the structures that receive greatest attention from local and state authorities: the role of museums has gone beyond the cultural and educational field and they have become instruments for strengthening the image of cities and regions and the sense of belonging of their various stakeholders (Scrofani & Ruggiero, 2013). Museums can become a driving force for tourism, being at the same time closely tied to their territory and open to creating links with the outside world (Plaza & Haarich, 2009; Atzori, 2009). It is also argued that some cultural networks have the objective of creating an integrated image of the cities or regions through their museums interpreting them as vehicles for the promotion of the cultural values and of the whole cultural heritage of the territory, enhancing the advantages that derive from their physical proximity to various culture-related institutions. Cultural networks have also been described as "vectors for integration" in Europe and, in particular, since 2007 the European Commission has tried to encourage the cultural sector to work in a more cross-sectorial way, promoting dialogue between cultural networks and stakeholders belonging to other fields (Littoz-Monet, 2013).

Some authors also hinted at the potential of networks as a means to successfully deal with the impact of the ongoing economic and financial crisis on the cultural sector (Bonet & Donato, 2011). In order to overcome the decrease in public funding in the cultural field and the related threats to cultural institutions, new governance and management models based on networking and partnerships should be created at the *meso* level, implying cooperation between subjects coming from different sectors. This interest in cross-sector networking based on culture has also been associated with the concepts of interdependency, co-operation, collaboration and dynamism linked with the ecology of culture approach (Holden, 2004 & 2015) and also with calls for setting culture in its broader context and moving towards ecosystem perspectives. Cross-sector collaborations have been identified as part of the debate on governance and management

"THE 'TRUST BASIS' OF NETWORKS DOES NOT IMPLY THAT THERE IS NO LEAD AGENCY, BUT THAT RATHER THAN RELYING ON CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS, NETWORKS RELY ON INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS".

models in the cultural field, as well as steps in a general movement towards new multi-level, multi-stakeholder governance systems and management models (Donato, 2013). Calls for cross-sectorial networking and collaborative approaches have also increased in European policy documents: recent communications and reports (European Council, 2011; Council of the European Union, 2014; European Commission, 2015) have indeed underlined the need to reinterpret the role of culture, cultural heritage and cultural organisations in terms of their existing and potential collaborations not just inside the cultural sector but also with society and citizens, with other public and private actors and with related sectors. Cultural networks that cut across several domains (public, private and non-profit) and create cooperation between related fields such as tourism, education and sustainability are interpreted as enhancers of the intrinsic value of culture in a changing scenario.

As far as Italy is concerned, many cultural networks are in place and they are often sectorial (e.g. museum networks, library networks, theatre networks, etc.). Some studies have highlighted the positive spillover effects of cultural districts and networks based on culture (Cuccia & Santagata, 2004; Valentino, 2003) and recent initiatives have tried to create permanent links between existing sectorial networks (e.g. the MAB project launched in 2012[2]). In recent years – also in Italy – the creation of territorial cultural systems has been advocated as a possible solution to the negative impact of the crisis on the cultural field (Donato, 2013).

Research methodology

Starting from the above theoretical framework, an empirical investigation was developed to understand the necessary conditions and potential of implementing cross-sectorial networks in the cultural sector in Italy.

The literature review both on the subject of cross-sectorial networks and on the debate on the rethinking of the paradigms of cooperation in the cultural sector provided the background for designing the research. In particular, the research on leadership, facilitators and the role of pre-existing networks as key factors in cross-sector collaborations (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2006) seemed particularly significant. This led to the choice of focusing on an area that not only had a strong cultural identity but also where cultural networks were already in place; moreover, the literature review convinced us to study the perception of local key movers in order to explore the potential and difficulties for the practical implementations of cross-sectorial networks. The current debate on the need to move towards cultural ecosystem approaches

at the *meso* level, bringing the actors together on the basis of shared cultural identity (Donato, 2013) led to the decision to look for an area with a multiplicity of subjects − public, private and non-profit − operating in the cultural sector or in related fields.

An area with all these characteristics was the Po Delta in Italy, and it was therefore selected for the research. The area includes three provinces (Rovigo, Ferrara and Ravenna) belonging to two administrative regions (Veneto and Emilia-Romagna) that over the years have received important recognition for their cultural and natural heritage and landscapes (Ravenna, Ferrara and the Po Delta have been added to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites List). Two territorial museum networks were already operating in the area, the *Sistema Museale Provinciale Polesine* (Provincial Museum System of Polesine), in Rovigo province, and the *Sistema Museale della Provincia di Ravenna* (Network of the Museums in the Province of Ravenna). Moreover, culture not just as cultural heritage and cultural and creative industries, but in its broader interpretation (e.g. intangible heritage, landscape heritage, traditional wine, food and agriculture, etc.) has been among the drivers of the socio-economic development of the territory. Implementing a cross-sectorial network in this area could potentially build on the existing museum networks and cultural institutions (that to some extent are already trying to promote collaborations among themselves) and, through the support of local political authorities, attempt to involve local industries related to culture (in particular, the local companies belonging to the tourism sector, to the transport sector, the local enterprises related to the food and wine industry, IT companies and creative industries such as design companies and architecture firms, etc.), as well as the many associations in the area operating for cultural promotion and the citizens and communities through their local representatives. Cross-sector cooperation between these subjects could aim at promoting an integrated and sustainable model of local development through culture, generating positive spillover effects on the local economy, creating jobs, social growth and different opportunities to engage local communities and citizens.

The selected research method was qualitative, since this allowed for a more flexible approach and was considered more suitable for in-depth exploration of the complexity of the perception and involvement of the different stakeholders in the creation of a cross-sectorial network. The empirical research was carried out in two phases.

The first phase of the research aimed at understanding the state of the art of the networks in the area of the Po Delta in order to identify the potential key subjects/facilitators of cross-sectorial networks. This was carried out both through document

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analysis and web research and through structured interviews with significant cultural stakeholders, e.g. managers of the two local museum networks and officers in charge of the cultural collaborations of the informal cultural network of the area of Ferrara. This first round of interviews allowed a deeper understanding of the current situations in the Po Delta region and permitted a more consistent selection of the interviewee sample for the second phase of the empirical research. Based on the results emerging from this phase, the initial interview protocol was amended with questions deleted or added as the researcher's knowledge of the cases increased and as additional questions arose from the data collected, according to the flexibility to make adjustments whenever needed during the data collection process that academics identify as a key aspect of case study research (Eisenhardt, 1989; Stake, 1995; Dubois & Gadde, 2002).

The second phase of the empirical research aimed at answering the research questions more specifically by means of in-depth semi-structured interviews with a selected sample of participants. The selection of the interviewees was based on the criteria of variety and representativeness required by qualitative analysis (Patton, 2002) and, though it did not have a statistical character, it aimed to represent the main categories of subjects that could be the sponsors of a culture-based cross-sectorial network.

We started by focusing on some of the key movers mentioned in the analyses on leaderships and facilitators (Crosby and Bryson, 2010), such as politicians, managers of existing networks, leaders of influential groups operating in areas related to the theme of the network; then we tried to identified them in the Po Delta context in reference to the creation of a potential network inspired by culture. As a result, we focused on the three following categories of what we called "key movers" in this prospective network: political representatives of local authorities, i.e. politicians in charge of the design and implementation of cultural policies; managers of existing cultural networks or cultural organisations that have proven to be particularly active in the area; representatives of relevant associations or non-profits operating in sectors related to the cultural field which were in some cases already experiencing cross-sector cooperation. An interviewee for each category of key players was selected in each of the three provinces of the Po Delta in order to better represent the three main administrative domains of the area; a total number of nine interviewees was contacted and asked for availability to participate in the empirical investigation.

All agreed to be interviewed. Considering that most of them were in highly demanding work periods and dealing with challenging tasks at the time the research was conducted, the response could be considered significant and perhaps an indicator that the topic was of interest to the participants. We initially tried to set up focus groups involving at least two of the three key players for each province in order to observe their interaction during the interview and tap the potential dynamics of the cross-sectorial network: however, this was possible only in two of the three provinces involved, Rovigo and Ravenna, which were also the provinces where formal projects for cross-sectorial networks were already ongoing. Each interview lasted between one and three and a half hours and two researchers were present and took notes during the interviews in order to ensure a more objective transcription of the content.

The last phase of the research was based on the critical analysis and interpretation of the data collected through document and web research, interviews and focus groups. Stake (1995) distinguished between intrinsic and instrumental case research. Our research could be placed in this second category, since the case of the Po Delta was used as a means to get a first hint of the dynamics and mindset among key players in a cross-sectorial network. Our aim was to place the results in a broader debate on the reforms of the cultural sector and on the readiness of its main subjects to embrace the changes needed to rethink the entire cultural field.

Empirical research: results and discussion

A previous empirical investigation on the state of the art of the cooperation between cultural heritage institutions, cultural tourism and transportation authorities in the region of the Inner Adriatic in Northern Italy was performed between 2011 and 2013 in the framework of a European-funded research project focused on the potential of creating an integrated system in the Inner Adriatic area[3]. The data that emerged during this analysis encouraged further investigation. As a result, the present research was started with the aim of understanding the potential to create cross-sectorial networks based on culture. The research allowed us to get a first insight into the possibility to change the current approaches of management and governance in the cultural sector towards a cultural ecosystem at a local level aimed at unlocking the potential of culture in the area and generating positive spillover effects in the territory.

First phase: state of the art of networking and cross-sectorial networking

In the first phase of the project, the research was performed through document and web research

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[3] The *ADRIA A project – Accessibility and development for the re-launch of the Inner Adriatic area*, funded under the Cross-border cooperation programme Italy-Slovenia 2007-2013 aimed at contributing to the accessibility and transport reorganisation in the entire cross-border area in order to form an integrated Italian-Slovene metropolitan area. For further information, see http://www.adria-a.eu/en/

and focused on identifying the main existing cultural networks in the territory; it was instrumental in understanding the framework for the development of the following phases. This phase highlighted the fact that the territory was not homogeneous in terms of existing networks and their tendency towards cross-sectorial approaches. In the area the most prominent networks were two museum networks, the first in the province of Rovigo and the second in the province of Ravenna, while in the province of Ferrara no institutionalised museum network was in place, but the municipality's Department of Culture and Tourism was progressively developing a relevant role in the promotion of networking (formal as well as informal) between various actors in the territory, focusing on culture but bringing together different sectors (in particular, private companies operating in the tourism field, small artisanal and craft enterprises, creative industries and IT agencies).

Based on these results, it was decided to conduct preliminary interviews with the staff or managers of the museum networks in Rovigo and Ravenna and with the manager of the Department of Culture of the Municipality of Ferrara. The interviews were based on a questionnaire aimed at understanding the extent and models of their cross-sectorial networking. The questionnaire was filled in by the interviewer with the answers provided by the interviewee during a face-to-face conversation. This approach allowed a certain degree of flexibility, since it was possible to clarify the doubts of the interviewees, partially amending the questionnaire to the specific case or adding further questions as relevant additional information emerged during the conversations. The results of this part of the research provided a clearer overview of the state of the art of cross-sector networking in the area, which will be presented in the following paragraphs.

Ravenna was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1996 because of its outstanding universal value being of remarkable significance by virtue of the supreme artistry of the mosaic art contained in its monuments, and also because of the crucial evidence that they provide of artistic and religious relationships and contacts in an important period of European cultural history[4]. In 1997 the provincial council of Ravenna promoted the creation of a museum network in the province[5], with the aim of helping the local museums with their development projects, promoting joint, structured programmes and attracting more resources (interpreted both in terms of shared know-how and competences and in terms of funding – especially that from the region and from the EU – and economies of scale). The museum network, currently composed of 42 museums (including state museums and museums belonging to local authorities, to foundations, to associations or private owners), is an institutionalised network with a governance structure formed of the directors of the museums that meets periodically (at least 2-3 times a year) to discuss the strategies to be pursued by the network. There are specific offices created for its management that coordinate communication (including its website and social media communication), while also offering meeting spaces, offices and various materials for the network members. Each member must comply with quality standards and criteria. From the questionnaire it emerged that this network is particularly open to collaborations with external subjects, both in the cultural field and in other sectors. It cooperates with two smaller local museum networks (the museum network of the City of Faenza and that of the Lower Romagna region), and with other networks and associations in the province and region (in particular the provincial libraries and archives networks), promoting the following categories of activities: cultural and educational, outreach, communication and marketing, and fundraising. The network joined the *Visit Romagna Card*, a collaboration that includes not only cultural organisations but also tourism associations and companies operating in different sectors (the transport sector, hotels, restaurants, food and wine companies, craftsman and SMEs, etc.). The level of involvement of the citizens seems still to be at an initial stage: the network has no specific platforms

> "IN THE AREA THE MOST PROMINENT NETWORKS WERE TWO MUSEUM NETWORKS, THE FIRST IN THE PROVINCE OF ROVIGO AND THE SECOND IN THE PROVINCE OF RAVENNA, WHILE IN THE PROVINCE OF FERRARA NO INSTITUTIONALISED MUSEUM NETWORK WAS IN PLACE".

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4 The full description of the criteria met by the city of Ravenna for its inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List is available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/788

5 Further information is available on the website of the *Sistema Museale*: http://www.sistemamusei.ra.it/

for citizens' engagement, and its initiatives aim only to spread knowledge about the activities of the network.

Rovigo is a smaller province compared to Ferrara or Ravenna but strategically located in the area of the Po Delta. Since 2003 (formalised in 2005) a museum network for the province was established, the *Sistema Museale Provinciale Polesine* (Provincial Museum System of Polesine), bringing together 28 museums both public (owned by state or local authorities) and private or those belonging to local associations. The network was formalised by means of an agreement and promoted by the cultural department of the province in association with some of the most important museums in the area, both public and private. Its governance committee is composed of the directors of the member museums; the Province of Rovigo plays a leading role, working as coordinator and pivot in the network. Regular meetings and an annual conference are organised for knowledge sharing and strategic programming, but, as argued by the interviewees, the decisions taken during these meetings are not binding and the assemblies aim more at knowledge and experience sharing than at real strategic planning. Specific offices and staff are dedicated to the management of the various activities of the network, which are mainly cultural and educational activities, communication (including website and social media), marketing and fundraising. As for the external collaborations, the museums cooperate with local tourism associations and with other cultural networks and groups, especially on cultural activities. However, the promotion and signing of agreements with other parties is mainly left to the initiative of the individual museums in the network. The most interesting cooperation has been established with the *Comitato Permanente per la Conservazione e la Valorizzazione dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali in Polesine*, a permanent committee/working group created in 1995 that represents an interesting example of cooperation between public and private actors comprising more than 58 subjects from different sectors (the cultural sector, creative sector, IT, tourism, craftsmen and small enterprises). Especially over the last three years the committee has been particularly active in creating dialogue and knowledge flow with cultural policy decision makers and with the museum network of the province. This emerged in particular during the interviews, when the committee was frequently mentioned as a privileged partner for many of the activities and policies in the Rovigo area. The level of citizens' engagement is still to be developed; the network promotes outreach activities towards the local communities but there is no specific cooperation in the planning and programming of the network's strategies.

As for the Province of Ferrara, it was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1996 as an outstanding planned Renaissance city which has retained its urban fabric virtually intact[6]. The recognition was extended to the Este ducal residences in the Po Delta, since they testify to the influence of Renaissance culture on the natural landscape in an exceptional manner and later also to the whole Po Delta area, as an outstanding planned cultural landscape which retains its original form to a remarkable extent. The many museums in the province of Ferrara could be grouped into an informal network guided by the province of Ferrara (in the province there are 28 municipality museums, four state museums, and three private museums), but there is no institutionalised museum network as in the provinces of Ravenna or Rovigo. The municipality is often active in promoting cooperation between a variety of cultural institutions (both private and public), as well as among subjects operating in different sectors, in order to organise cultural events in the territory. It must be noted that the two formalised museum networks operating in the Po Delta area (Rovigo and Ravenna) were mainly promoted by the cultural departments of local authorities. Therefore, the network of collaborations promoted by the municipality's Department of Culture could be considered an example of an informal network with the potential to evolve in a more formalised and institutionalised structure. Indeed, as argued by the interviewees, although no institutionalised network is currently in place, the creation of a network could be considered *in fieri*, since frequent meetings between museums, cultural organisations, tourism associations and various other stakeholders are organised for planning activities and initiatives, mainly cultural, educational and those related to marketing, communication and fundraising. Although there is no office and specific staff for the network, the municipality manages the website and communication of the common initiatives and works as pivot for the agreements and joint activities. The level of citizens' involvement seems higher than in the other provinces of the Po Delta; the interviewees argue that they try to involve representatives of the citizens in their meetings.

Second phase: the potential of a cross-sectorial network in the Po Delta area

The second phase of the research aimed at understanding the basis for the creation of a cross-sectorial network in the area, investigating the perception of the potential for a cross-sector network and the key factors perceived by the prospective "facilitators" potentially influencing and driving a project of this type (policy makers, cultural managers

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[6] The full description of the criteria met by the city of Ferrara and the Po Delta for their inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List is available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/733

"THE MAIN ADVANTAGES OF CREATING A CROSS-SECTOR NETWORK ARE THOUGHT TO BE ITS POTENTIAL FOR POSITIVE SPILLOVER EFFECTS ON THE SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CREATING SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION".

and other stakeholders operating in culture-related sectors). The first phase of the empirical research was instrumental for identifying these facilitators, and they were subsequently contacted and asked whether they were available to participate in the research. As previously explained, the interviews were carried out either as face-to-face individual interviews or as focus groups designed to stimulate debate between the key players, to allow a more flexible flow of ideas between them and to observe potential dynamics between the different interviewees.

The research interviews were semi-structured, allowing space for collecting additional information, and were carried out as open-ended questions addressing the three following research topics:

1. What do you think about the possibility of implementing a cross-sectorial network with culture as its main framework that involves the participation of different sectors in the area of the Po Delta? What could its potential and main advantages be?
2. What are the main difficulties in creating and implementing such a cross-sectorial network in the area of the Po River Delta?
3. What practical actions would help overcome the difficulties in implementing this network in the area?

The restricted research sample allowed manual content analysis. Confronting the data, we noticed that the open answers presented common points and many similarities. This allowed us to classify the answers in macro-categories of answers. The data were later analysed both as a whole and separately, according to the three categories of facilitators (policy makers, cultural managers, and other stakeholders) and their province. The results of this analysis are discussed in the following paragraphs.

As for the first research question (see table 1), an almost unanimous positive response was given, with all the interviewees declaring themselves in favour of the establishment of a cross-sector network in the territory. Only one cultural manager, though agreeing on the positive potential of such a network,

argued that it would not be easy to implement and would therefore require significant efforts from all the partners and the local authorities involved.

The overall analysis of the answers highlighted the fact that the main advantages of creating a cross-sector network are thought to be its potential for positive spillover effects on the socio-economic development of the area in terms of job creation, growth of new and existing enterprises and better enhancement of the resources of the territory, while at the same time creating social capital through citizens' participation (both answers were given by 100% of the sample). Indeed, participants argued that coordinating the different subjects of culture-related sectors (such as IT, food industry, tourism, events organisation, PR, transport companies, etc.) will create a more integrated offer, making the area more attractive not only for tourists, but also for private companies and citizens, while also creating social value for the local communities. Other relevant responses regarded the possibility of reinforcing the tendency for cross-sectorial perspectives based on synergies between different sectors on the basis of common goals (56%), prospective better knowledge flow in the area and the enhancement of its innovative potential (both 67%), followed by improved communication between the different actors in the territory, better knowledge management among the actors (joint knowledge management in the area) and better relations between them. Analysing the results per category of stakeholder, all policy makers of the sample considered the possibility of establishing better knowledge flow mechanisms in the area as relevant advantages, whereas better knowledge management among the members in the area and the enhancement of the innovation potential of the territory were indicated as advantages by all cultural managers. In terms of geographical area, the potential of reinforcing cross-sectorial perspectives was perceived as highest in the Province of Ferrara; significantly, Ferrara was the province where the implementation of cross-sectorial collaborations by the municipality emerged as particularly developed in the first phase of the empirical investigation.

		Positive spillover effects on local socio-economic development	Creating social capital for the territory also through citizens' participation	Better knowledge flow mechanisms in the area	Better communication between the subjects of the region, including citizens	Enhancing the innovation potential of the area through networking	Development of better relations among the different subjects of the area	Reinforcing the tendency to cross-sectorial perspectives	Joint Management of HR	Better knowledge management between the members
Ravenna	Policy makers	1	1	1		1	1		1	
	Cultural managers	1	1			1		1		1
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1			1		1	
Rovigo	Policy makers	1	1	1	1		1	1		
	Cultural manager	1	1	1	1	1			1	1
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1	1	1				1
Ferrara	Policy makers	1	1	1	1			1		
	Cultural manager	1	1			1	1	1		1
	Other stakeholders	1	1			1		1	1	
	Total %	**100%**	**100%**	**67%**	**44%**	**67%**	**44%**	**56%**	**44%**	**44%**
**% of answers given by each category of interviewee with reference to each topic**									
	% of the total answers given by policy makers	100%	100%	100%	67%	33%	67%	67%	33%	0%
	% of the total answers given by cultural managers	100%	100%	33%	33%	100%	33%	67%	33%	100%
	% of the total answers given by other stakeholders	100%	100%	67%	33%	67%	33%	33%	67%	33%

TABLE 1. PERCEIVED POTENTIAL OF A CROSS-SECTOR NETWORK IN THE PO RIVER DELTA

Source: Author's own elaboration.

The analysis of the answers to the second research question (see table 2) highlighted that the most common problem in implementing a cross-sector network is the mistrust among potential members (indicated by 100% of the total sample of the interviewees). Indeed, interviewees argued that there is general lack of confidence mainly between public and private partners, the first blaming the second for paying attention almost exclusively to profits, whereas the second often accuse the first of inefficiency and ineffectiveness. These biases among the members could prevent them from cooperating and lead to general discontent in the network. Other significant drawbacks could be: the differences in domains and sectors that lead to different procedures and approaches; technical problems related to knowledge flow; the lack of appropriate communication tools, infrastructure, human resources and professional profiles for working in a cross-sectorial environment (all these issues were pointed out by 89% of the interviewees); the lack of managerial tools (56%); problems related to the fact that the potential members are not used to identifying common goals and objectives and are not accustomed to involving citizens and communities in the process of definition of goals and missions. Focusing on the results given by the different categories of interviewees, it is relevant to point out that the fact that potential members are not used to identifying common objectives and that they might lack managerial tools was not indicated as a potential problem by the "other stakeholders" participants.

		Diverse administrative and bureaucratic domains and sectors	Mistrust between potential members of the ecosystem	Technical and administrative problems related to knowledge flow between different institutions	Subjects are not used to identifying common goals and to engaging community and citizens	Lack of managerial tools (including financial management tools) for the network	Lack of entrepreneurial and innovative mindset	Technical and administrative problems related to knowledge flow between different institutions	Lack of human resources and professional profiles apt to work at a meso network level, or of facilitators	Incomplete presence of communication tools and infrastructure to facilitate the management of the network
Ravenna	Policy makers	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1
	Cultural managers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Other stakeholders		1	1			1	1	1	
Rovigo	Policy makers	1	1	1		1	1		1	1
	Cultural manager	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1			1	1	1	1
Ferrara	Policy makers	1	1	1			1	1	1	1
	Cultural manager	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1				1		1
Total %		**89%**	**100%**	**89%**	**33%**	**56%**	**89%**	**89%**	**89%**	**89%**
% of answers given by each category of interviewee with reference to each topic										
% of the total answers given by policy makers		100%	100%	67%	33%	67%	100%	67%	100%	100%
% of the total answers given by cultural managers		100%	100%	100%	67%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
% of the total answers given by other stakeholders		67%	100%	100%	0%	0%	67%	100%	67%	67%

TABLE 2. PERCEIVED DIFFICULTIES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A CROSS-SECTOR NETWORK IN THE PO RIVER DELTA REGION
Source: Author's own elaboration.

Finally, the answers to the third research question (see table 3) provide interesting information on what could be done to overcome the potential difficulties and establish the necessary basis for cross-sector networks in the area. There is total agreement (100% of the interviewees) on the fact that the network implementation should be preceded by activities aimed at enhancing networking approaches such as focus groups and consultation plans that would allow the potential members to get to know one another and fully explore the impact that networking could have on the development of the local economy. Identifying common goals and shared cultural identity were indicated as having the same importance: as one of the interviewees argued, "pointing out what unites the subjects, their common values, identity and objectives could really be the basis for creating a cross-sectorial network" since it could enhance the sense of belonging and motivate the subjects to work together. A significant sample of interviewees (89%) argued that the network should attempt to solve the potential mistrust among its members through the implementation of action plans and initiatives to promote better relations between the subjects. Other common answers were related to the development of a long-term plan of educational

and training activities for the staff (again to increase the general tendency to networking and peer-to-peer confrontation), and the setting up of an incentive scheme to promote a different view of public funding as a means to encourage an entrepreneurial mindset. Creating a suitable governance structure was also a key point, while other answers underlined the need to use digitisation and sharing economy tools as means to increase communication among the members and interaction with the citizens. As for the differences among the responses given according to the category of facilitator and province, it is interesting to note that the need to develop a suitable governance structure

was perceived more strongly by policy makers than by the other categories, stressing the politically-perceived importance of maintaining balance among the different subjects. All policy makers also pointed out the need to rethink the role of public funding, arguing that cultural institutions are funded mainly through public money and that, in times of crisis and decrease of public cultural budgets, it is necessary to promote a more entrepreneurial attitude and encourage other sources of revenues based on partnerships between public and private subjects. Cultural managers, along with the actions previously identified, perceive the need to develop innovative educational policies as a priority.

		Focus groups and consultation plans for networking approaches and impact on the local economy	*Action plans for enhancing mutual understanding and better relations among members*	*Common cultural identity and common goals as the basis and criteria for network*	*Staff training programmes to increase the tendency to networking*	*Creating a suitable and participatory governance structure*	*Development of innovative educational policies and plans for staff in the long term*	*Implementation of an agenda for the use of digitisation and new technologies tools for innovation and better communication*	*Incentives to stimulate the development of an entrepreneurial mindset, rethinking the role of public funding*	*Agenda for the use of sharing economy tools to facilitate interaction with citizens*
Ravenna	Policy makers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Cultural managers	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1					1	1
Rovigo	Policy makers	1	1	1		1			1	1
	Cultural manager	1	1	1		1	1			
	Other stakeholders	1	1	1		1	1			
Ferrara	Policy makers	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
	Cultural manager	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
	Other stakeholders	1		1	1					1
Total %		**100%**	**89%**	**100%**	**56%**	**67%**	**67%**	**22%**	**67%**	**56%**
% of answers given by each category of interviewee with reference to each topic										
% of the total answers given by policy makers		*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*67%*	*100%*	*67%*	*33%*	*100%*	*100%*
% out of the total answers given by cultural managers		*100%*	*100%*	*100%*	*67%*	*67%*	*100%*	*33%*	*67%*	*33%*
% out of the total answers given by other stakeholders		*100%*	*67%*	*100%*	*33%*	*33%*	*33%*	*0%*	*33%*	*67%*

TABLE 3. ACTIONS AND STEPS FOR IMPLEMENTING A CROSS-SECTORIAL NETWORK

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Concluding remarks

The purpose of this article was to investigate the meaning, drivers and potential of implementing cross-sectorial networks based on culture by means of empirical research in a northern Italian area (the Po River Delta) characterised by a strong cultural identity, significant cultural heritage and a variety of stakeholders related to culture.

The theoretical analysis highlighted an increasing interest in cross-sector collaborations and networks both in the framework of the literature on networking and in the debates going on among academics and professionals in the cultural sector. The literature review on cross-sectorial networks, though adopting manifold approaches and perspectives, underlined two interesting research trends: the first inserts cross-sectorial networks into a broader rethinking process of public policy design and implementation that interpreted them in the framework of a worldwide effort in promoting innovative synergies and participatory approaches. The second stresses the key role of leaders and "facilitators" in designing and implementing cross-sector collaborations and the fact that cross-sector networks are more likely to be established in "turbulent times" when the different sectors understand that they are unlikely to successfully solve complex problems operating in a sectorial way.

These issues are also debated in the cultural sector, where growing calls are made for rethinking the current models of governance and management: according to this research the cultural field should move towards *meso* and ecosystem perspectives based on networking not only among cultural organisations but also between cultural institutions and subjects belonging to other sectors, both private and public, trying also to involve citizens and communities. This rethinking process becomes particularly significant in the current period of difficulties and changes due to the crisis: promoting cross-sector networks in the cultural field based on common cultural identity and common goals could promote a reinterpretation of the role of culture in its broader socio-economic context and encourage resource and competence sharing for creating more effective strategies for local development and overcoming both the new and traditional challenges to the cultural sector.

The first phase of the empirical research highlighted the Po River Delta's inhomogeneous nature as a region, having both formalised and informal networks in place, thus constituting a typical example of the Italian territory; the second phase of the empirical investigation was carried out by means of semi-structured interviews with representatives in each province of three categories of potential key movers in the implementation of a local, culture-related cross-sectorial network.

The results of the research were encouraging: the majority of the movers shared a positive attitude towards the creation of a cross-sector network and believed in its potential for local socio-economic development and creation of social value. Nevertheless, there are interesting differences related to the geographical province to which the respondents belonged and to their category: significantly, the benefits of cross-sectorial synergies and perspectives are seen to be greater in the province of Ferrara, where informal cross-sectorial networks and systems are already *in fieri*, than in other provinces where cross-sectorial collaborations are still not so widespread. The fact that one of the most regular perceived benefits for cultural managers is innovation potential and better knowledge management among the subjects might be indicative of the perception among cultural institutions that new models of collaboration with diverse subjects could be key to innovation and to better responding to traditional and emerging challenges. There is also general agreement on the difficulties that are currently preventing or that may arise in the implementation of cross-sector networks, with some significant differences in the perception by other stakeholders that do not see a problem in the fact that the subjects are not used to identifying common goals and that they lack managerial tools. Finally, there is agreement on the way to overcome potential difficulties: the majority of the interviewees pointed to the need to implement activities that will work on the mindset of the different stakeholders, such as focus groups, meetings and training initiatives that aim at enhancing the sense of belonging to a common cultural identity, and that allow the members to get to know each other and learn how to network. Other possible actions are the implementation of training programmes for the staff and the use of digital tools to facilitate the interaction with citizens and communities, along with the establishment of governance structures based on participatory approaches and equally representing the members.

"THE CULTURAL FIELD SHOULD MOVE TOWARDS *MESO* AND ECOSYSTEM PERSPECTIVES BASED ON NETWORKING NOT ONLY AMONG CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS BUT ALSO BETWEEN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND SUBJECTS BELONGING TO OTHER SECTORS".

Overall, our findings reinforce the academic debate on the perceived necessity for cross-sectorial networking in the cultural field and on the desire to adopt common cultural identity and common goals as bases for rethinking the governance and management models of the cultural sector. Through such actions the sector could move towards more holistic and cross-sectorial approaches, inserting culture into its broader environment and promoting participatory processes with citizens, communities and the other public and private stakeholders. At the same time, the research provides useful information for cultural players to better understand the key drivers and actions for implementing cross-sector collaborations. Since a potential obstacle to cross-sectorial networking is the mistrust among subjects belonging to diverse sectors, a change of mentality and initiatives to increase the sense of belonging should be considered key actions. Though not of statistical character, our results also show significant insights about the differences of perceptions and interests of the key local stakeholders in cross-sectorial projects, identifying the various levers that could bring them to network across sectors.

However, the results of the research are specific to the geographical area where the investigation was carried out and therefore their application on a broader scale should be further investigated. Future research could be developed in a broader geographical perspective, using comparative analysis in an international framework, and attempt to include a wider sample of interviewees to better represent the real composition of the potential network and provide more comprehensive insights into the potential role of facilitators and sponsors in promoting "structured" cross-sector collaborations.

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Conservation of cultural heritage: from participation to collaboration

Petronela Spiridon
Institute for Social & European Studies (ISES), Kőszeg, Hungary;
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi – ARHEOINVEST Platform, Iași, Romania
spiridon.petronela@gmail.com

Ion Sandu
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi – ARHEOINVEST Platform, Iași, Romania
sandu_i03@yahoo.com

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ABSTRACT

The concept of participatory conservation of cultural heritage involves the investigation of ways in which community members can be encouraged to become active actors and collaborators in the preservation/restoration process of cultural heritage assets and, beyond that, promoters of tourism policies and processes and the cultural, ethnographic and religious values that such assets embody. This paper aims to present some forms of participation in the conservation of the cultural heritage process as an important part of integrated scientific conservation management, starting from an important series of documents on international policy in the field.

Introduction

In general, the conservation process aims to valorise cultural and natural heritage assets and to preserve their historical messages (Sandu, 2004). In this regard a series of specific actions, measures, norms, principles, systems, techniques and intervention methods are undertaken and elaborated, infrastructures that are necessary, respectively, in investigation/research, preservation and restoration, direct or indirect, from the discovery/acquisition/transfer of the assets to their display/recovery/hoarding (E.C.C.O., 2008; Perusini, 2004).

Conservation Science, as a new field, is interdisciplinary, complex, global in character, both scientific (theoretical) and technological (practical) and adopts the modern concept of integrated conservation (Moldovan, 2010). This concept aims to satisfy the dual purpose of preserving and disseminating knowledge about cultural heritage in an integrated way, in close connection with socio-economic and cultural development at micro and macro level. Out of this grew the concepts of collaborative conservation and participatory conservation which focus on stimulating all stakeholders involved in the process (cultural, social, economic and environmental) and the active involvement of the public and community members (Spiridon, 2013). In this regard, recently the importance has been highlighted of setting up a work team that, in addition to the conservator and the renowned specialists in the field (curator, restorer, etc.), should include representatives from the pure sciences (Geology and Mineralogy, Chemistry, Biology, Applied Science, Environmental Science), from the fields of technology and art history and even the members (artists and local natives) of communities from regions with tangible heritage value (Jo-Fan, 2012; Stoner, 2005). This inter-multidisciplinary collaboration offers support to the conservator in their work, not only providing support to investigate treatment options, find the materials and identify the techniques used by the artists, establish the date of manufacture and investigate the optimal materials (including from the cultural and ethnographic perspectives), but also to provide contextualisation and justification of scientific data through visual inspection and through the results of historical research (oriented to knowledge of the original cultural context) (Spiridon et al, 2013).

In general, the state of conservation of many very old cultural objects is impacted not just by the environment's aggressiveness, but also by domestic and industrial activities and the levels of cultural and environmental education of the people. For this reason the participatory approach investigates ways in which the community members from the regions with tangible heritage value can be motivated to redefine their individual roles and responsibilities consciously and voluntarily (Bass et al, 1995; Brown, 1999; Sandu, 2013).

"Even if the concept of integrated conservation is relatively modern, the attempts to attract members of the public/community to the activities aimed at preserving cultural heritage have a longer history".

International documents and events in the field

The new policies on the approach to cultural heritage consider the safeguarding and inclusion of cultural heritage assets within a global system of values, the development of cultural tourism as a way of guaranteeing the right of access to culture and the integration of active participation of the population in cultural heritage conservation policy.

Even if the concept of integrated conservation is relatively modern, the attempts to attract members of the public/community to the activities aimed at preserving cultural heritage have a longer history. The role of community in the cultural heritage conservation process (preservation, restoration, recovery and hoarding), which imply the concepts of collaborative and participatory conservation, started in 1964 with the Venice Charter and continued over time through a series of international documents and events, as we can see in table 1.

These documents and events describe, at the same time, the educational, interactive and public-oriented role of the specialists operating in Conservation Science which can be accomplished by dissemination of information from historiographical research, technical-scientific and artistic investigation, preservation and restoration, by the design and development of educational platforms in the field and by providing advice and technical assistance on cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 1990; Spiridon et al, 2013).

Year	Document/event	Point of interest
1964	*The Venice Charter*	States that the monumental works of the peoples are considered common heritage and it is necessary to safeguard them for future generations in a responsible way so as to hand them on in the richness of their authenticity (ICOMOS, 1964).
1972	*The Heritage Convention*	Promotes a general policy whereby cultural and natural heritage aims to perform an important function in community life.
1990	*The Lausanne Charter*	Encourages local community involvement in cultural development (ICOMOS, 1990).
2002	*The Budapest Declaration*	Puts more emphasis on the active involvement of local communities at all levels in the conservation and management of World Heritage property (UNESCO, 2002).
2003	*The Intangible Heritage Convention*	Requests community participation in the process of conservation (UNESCO, 2003).
2003	*Code of Ethics, E.C.C.O.*	Mentions that the work of preservation/restoration is an activity of public interest and should be conducted in accordance with national and international law (E.C.C.O., 2003).
2005	*The Faro Convention*	Requests greater synergy between public heritage management representatives.
2005	*European Cultural Heritage Forum* organised by Europa Nostra, in collaboration with the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), Brussels, 2005	The central point of discussion focusses on the active involvement of institutions and individuals in the conservation of cultural heritage and even on the awareness of the personal benefits that may result from this attitude[1].
2011	*The European Year of Volunteering*	A call to action for local administration representatives responsible for cultural and educational policies, trainers from public and private structures, associations and NGOs providing cultural services, and educational professionals from cultural institutions, etc.
2012	*La magna Charta del volontariato per i beni culturali (Velani & Rosati, 2012)* *Guida all'uso del volontario informato*	Two documents developed by Cesvot – *Centro Servizi Volontariato Toscana*, Italia and *Fondazione Promo P.A.* which aim to create a framework for recognition, scheduling and organisation of volunteering in cultural heritage.
2014	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the regions. Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe.	"Cultural heritage is a shared resource, and a common good. (…) The sector offers important educational and volunteering opportunities for both young and older people and promotes dialogue between different cultures and generations. (…) Therefore a more *integrated approach* to heritage conservation, promotion and valorisation is needed in order to take into account its manifold contribution to societal and economic objectives, as well as its impact on other public policies" (European Commission, 2014).

TABLE 1. INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS AND EVENTS

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Some participatory conservation principles

The fundamental principles that govern the rules applied in the cultural heritage conservation process are included in specialty literature and scientific practice based on rules, orders, codes of ethics or conduct/ laws, decrees, orders and decisions in the field. Until very recently, authenticity, importance of maintenance, minimum intervention, truth and honesty, reversibility, fitting the new to the old, legibility of interventions and monitoring the conservation status by making regular checks (E.C.C.O., 2008; Worthing & Bond, 2008) were the main principles respected in the general conservation process (preservation and restoration). Today the focus is on an *integrated process of scientific conservation* (participatory conservation and stakeholder engagement). This approach is proposed by a series of documents and studies in the field, which also suggest a specific set of interdependent principles

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[1] For more information, see http://www.eesc.europa.eu/?i=portal.en.press-releases.1570

> "THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN THE PARTICIPATORY CONSERVATION PROCESS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE REPRESENTS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY AND BLENDED APPROACH OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, ART AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WHICH".

to supplement it (The Improvement Service/Scottish Community Development Centre, 2011; Bass et al, 1995; E.C.C.O., 2008; Laaksonen, 2010; Shah et al, 2002; Waterton & Watson, 2011). These additional principles must be brought to attention to co-ordinate and reconcile different and often conflicting interests and to facilitate open debate in different contexts (social, cultural, economic, educational, environmental) based on values, knowledge, skills and the beliefs of community members while at the same time respecting European and local rights (cultural, educational and social) and promoting a model ("a culture") of community involvement. In brief, having in mind the passage from individual to structured engagement, these principles (essential to good practice and effective participation) should be:

- *Intrinsic motivation* and voluntary participation;
- *Extrinsic motivation* (people need a reason for participation);
- *Accessibility* – equal rights and opportunities for informed engagement (access and participation) in the cultural life of the community;
- *Mutual respect* for history and cultural diversity (between individuals and between professionals and community members);
- *Flexibility* – the community engagements must be adapted to the context;
- *Transparent dialogue* (suspend assumptions, listen and understand the expression of the community's traditions, etc.);
- *Empower local people and community members*.

The forms of engagement

The engagement of the community members in the participatory conservation process of cultural heritage represents an interdisciplinary and blended approach of social science, art and scientific research which contributes to respecting European cultural rights to access and participation in cultural life (Laaksonen, 2010). The challenge in this context is to identify the form of participation best suited to a particular circumstance because the participatory process is dynamic, strongly influenced by differences in social, cultural and political contexts and because the level and form of participation by all actors can change over time (CDC/ATSDR, 1997; Brown, 1999; Waterton & Watson, 2011). At the same time, the voluntary participation of community members must be based on capacity to change, motivation to change and access to knowledge, with public information being a very important element in the integrated conservation process of cultural heritage (Brown, 1999; ICOMOS, 1990). In our vision the main aspects of the participatory conservation process could easily be represented as in figure 1, where we highlight the role of dialogue both between the political, social, cultural and environmental representatives and those who belong to the scientific world (professionals, researchers, scientists, artists and even local traditionalists with their techniques and methods) and between individuals (members of public and community) and stakeholders.

Participatory conservation includes a series of activities such as informing, listening, understanding, consulting, involving, collaborating and empowering which help to: facilitate dialogue between all actors; mobilise and validate popular knowledge and skills; apply and adapt the science; and support communities and their institutions to manage and control resource use. As well as this it seeks to achieve sustainability, economic equity, social typology, justice and the preservation of cultural integrity (CDC/ATSDR, 1997; Bass et al, 1995; Brown, 1999; Negri, 2009). In this context the new participatory conservation approaches act at three levels:

- *Documentation and prevention* through communication and information sessions, for example: interactive seminars and workshops, interviews, phone-ins, email networks and *voluntary agreements*;
- *Investigation and research* through inclusion of community members in interdisciplinary scientific research teams and through innovative, integrative and participatory methods for cultural and environmental education, analysis and sharing like: Participatory Learning and Action, Living Labs[2] and ICT platforms, e-learning

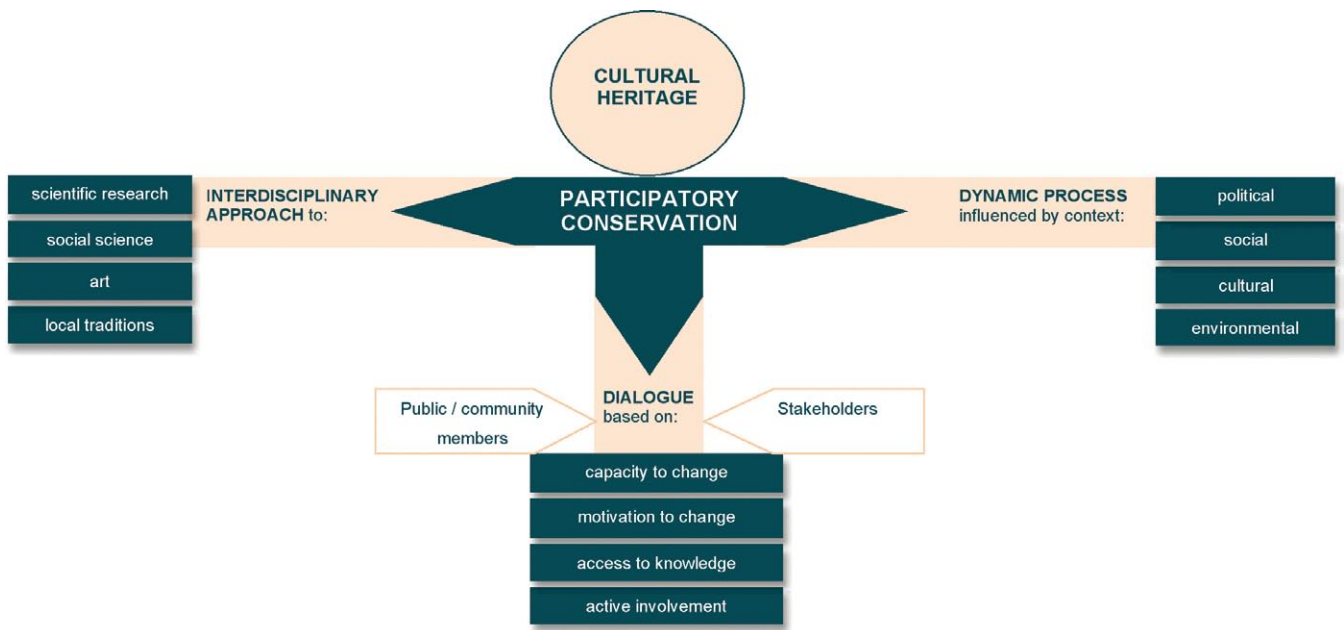---

[2] See http://livinglabs.csp.it/metodologia

FIGURE 1. ASPECTS OF THE PARTICIPATORY CONSERVATION PROCESS

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

technologies and online apps (for survey, analysis and monitoring);

− *Storage and display:* exhibitions using traditional and modern infographics, digital methods, augmented reality, project mapping, etc.

All of these aspects lead to a typology of participation forms which can be identified easily in the complex process of the integrated conservation of cultural heritage. As we can see in table 2, these forms highlight the passage from individual, involuntary engagement to actions that are very well thought out by the functional groups lately integrated into the NGOs.

Where cultural heritage assets are part of the everyday life of community members, the participation by them in the conservation process is practically *involuntary by use.* A very intuitive example in this sense may be found just by observing the doorknob of the main entrance to the Györ Basilica in Hungary (see photo 1).

Passing from involuntary participation to passive-interactive participation, a very good example is found in Karlskirche in Vienna, where, in 2004, a temporary internal lift was constructed in order to restore the cupola (see photo 2). The lift ascends 32 metres and the scaffolding continues for another 25. The amazing part of this is the fact that the restoration process was conducted without restricting visitor access, and what is more, the visitors were stimulated in this way to sustain and

finance the conservation work. Here we have a situation in which the public is involved in *a passive-interactive* way in participatory conservation.

PHOTO 1. *INVOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION "BY USE"*: MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE GYÖR BASILICA, HUNGARY, 1000-1009 (DETAIL)

Source: Petronela Spiridon, 2014.

No.	Typology	Characteristics	Method
1	Involuntary participation "by use"	This level is most often found in communities where the members only "use" the heritage and they are just receivers of the general information regarding cultural heritage assets in an informal way and participation is simply a pretence (photo 1).	Living "history" in the present
2	Passive and passive-interactive participation	The community members are invited to participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened or will happen. Information is made formally through local communications, media tools or by using project mapping and augmented reality and offers the opportunity to people themselves to ask and reflect about the history of buildings, sites and other cultural elements of the area in which they live. This is actually the beginning of the passage from local/regional/national history to personal history through those cultural elements of the residential area. At this level we can also find community members involved in the process of preservation and restoration of the cultural heritage assets. Having access to the assets creates the possibility that community members may finance the conservation work (photo 2).	"Manipulation"
3	Interactive participation	At the next level of participation the community members are involved in professional teams' work (finding materials and identifying the techniques used by the artists, establishing the date of manufacture and investigating the optimal materials, identifying the role and significance of some cultural heritage assets in and for local community, etc.), in joint analysis and the development of action plans regarding the community heritage. At this level participation can be seen as a right.	Promotion of cultural rights
4	Participation for material or non-material incentives	At this level the people accept involvement only if they receive some reward: e.g. farmers may provide fields and labour and for them rewards such as food, cash or other material incentives are important. Young people can be stimulated by e-learning technologies and online apps to participate in integrated learning processes (using innovative methodologies like Living Labs and ICT platforms). At this level, access to information and education become part of the right of access to culture.	Access to information and education
5	Volunteer/ spontaneous participation	The community members participate by taking initiatives − spontaneous or organised − independently of external institutions in order to change systems and retain control over how resources are used. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices. Self-mobilisation and volunteering is in fact an active way to reflect different approaches and traditions based on free choice, desire and motivation. At this level the people do not request reward as they are conscious of their contribution to the general interests of the community or society.	Self-mobilisation, self-determination and association
6	Professional NGO participation	NGOs are like an inventory of different kinds of participation. Among the more important NGOs in the field we may mention: IUCN, Europa Nostra, ICOMOS, ICOM, ENCATC, ECOVAST, IUCN (state level, national level).	Empowerment
7	Functional participation	At this level participatory conservation (public/community participation) is seen as an intrinsic part of collaborative conservation (stakeholder engagement); community members participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Practically they are involved in social and cultural enquiries and surveys, in working groups and meetings to discuss problems and policy regarding local heritage; at this level creativity, self-expression, self-confidence, freedom of opinion and expression are promoted.	Consultation and negotiation

TABLE 2. TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION IN THE INTEGRATED CONSERVATION PROCESS

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Of participants (public/community members) not contributing financially but asking for material or non-material incentives we have the examples of Living Labs and ICT platforms. In general the living lab methodology builds a cooperative table setup between public administrations, research, final users

PHOTO 2. *PASSIVE-INTERACTIVE PARTICIPATION*: KARLSKIRCHE IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 1716-1737 (INTERNAL TEMPORARY LIFT AND VISITORS' PLATFORM).

Source: http://www.peri.com/en/projects/projects/building-refurbishment-project/karlskirche_church_vienna.cfm

and local businesses in which each actor is receiving and delivering immaterial and material resources[3]. Another category of participation based on self-mobilisation, self-determination and association includes members who only participate when the topic is of their special interest, when they have something specific to contribute, or when they are involved in a project related to the domain of the community. As groups take control over local/national decisions and determine how available resources are used they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices. The case of Rosia Montana from Romania is a highly instructive example in this sense:

> [On the] 3rd of June 2014 the peasant's struggle, based in the village of Rosia Montana obtained a stunning victory in the Romanian Parliament. This was final rejection of a mining law proposal, initiated by the government, which would

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[3] See, for example, http://www.openlivinglabs.eu/livinglab/living-piemonte

PHOTO 3. VOLUNTEER/SPONTANEOUS PARTICIPATION – PUBLIC MOBILISATION IN THE CASE OF ROSIA MONTANA, ROMANIA

Source: http://www.arc2020.eu/2014/06/romanian-peasants-win-legislative-challenge-against-gold-mining-corporation/

have given permit to the largest gold mining operation in Europe. The rejection has come as a result of tremendous public mobilization [photo 3], in support of peasant rights who fight to protect their land in Romania (Szocs, 2014).

A participatory model based on public access to cultural heritage assets explores ways to design participatory platforms so that the local traditions, historical and cultural values regarding heritage assets, and even the content that amateurs create and share is communicated, displayed and valorised attractively (Bass et al, 1995; Simon, 2010).

Finally, *functional participation* is that in which the community members participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Practically they are involved in social and cultural enquiries and surveys, in working groups and meetings to discuss problems and policy regarding local heritage. At this level, creativity, self-expression, self-confidence, freedom of opinion and expression are promoted. A

very good example of this kind of public participation is the case of the Kamehameha I monument in North Kohala, Hawai'i. The monument is a cultural hybrid in that it has deeply embedded features of both Hawaiian and Western cultures. Originally gold-leafed and chemically painted, the monument was repainted and celebrated by its local community each year on Kamehameha Day. Public dialogue about how to conserve the monument was used as a vehicle for community engagement in critical thinking about representations of Hawai'i's past. Opening the conservation process on conflicting interests in the community required a reflexive approach in which traditional conservation analysis was only one of many ways by which to assess the significance of the monument (Wharton, 2003; Korza, 2002). By analysing this example in depth we can highlight the *stakeholder engagement* which refers to a framework of policies, principles and techniques which ensure that citizens and communities, individuals, groups and organisations have the opportunity to be engaged in a meaningful way in the process of decision-making

that will affect them, or in which they have an interest. Thus, *public participation* can be recognised as a practice of *stakeholder engagement.* In this way the *stakeholder engagement (*collaborative conservation) and *public participation* (participatory conservation) are a means of achieving (Yee, 2010):

- Participatory democracy (community empowerment and providing the opportunity to develop knowledge for making informed choices);
- Transparency in decision-making process;
- Community empowerment and support;
- Reduced conflict over decisions between decision-makers and public groups, and between the groups.

Conclusion

The concepts of community engagement and participatory involvement are not new, though, generally, they have been used more in the social fields of healthcare and services than in cultural heritage conservation science. But participatory conservation is more than a concept, in fact it gives us a powerful means to respect the cultural rights to access and participate in cultural life blended with other individual rights such as access to information and education, freedom of opinion and expression, self-mobilisation and association. Respecting and applying these rights determines the accountability of community members and causes increasing involvement of the community in heritage conservation. The involvement in integrated platforms for cultural and environmental education and information, inclusion in professional teams' work, in joint analysis, development of action and promotion plans, make community heritage accessible to everyone.

In this context, we consider that future studies regarding the active involvement/participatory engagement of the community members in the broader process of conservation of cultural heritage assets must involve studies of the incidence of conscious deterioration/degradation of the cultural heritage assets (causes of vandalism, ignorance, negligence, carelessness or inattention) reported in the current integrated platforms for cultural and environmental education and information. At the same time, an analysis of the relationship between the level of education and enculturation of the community members and the level of the voluntary and active involvement in conservation and promotion of community heritage could be relevant.

Acknowledgements

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Changing the image of elderly people in Poland: the senior citizen as an important audience member and creator of culture

Alicja Jakubowska
Cultural Studies Institute and Regional Observatory of Culture,
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland
agojlik@amu.edu.pl

Ewa Kłosiewicz
Regional Observatory of Culture, Adam Mickiewicz University,
Poznań, Poland
klosiewicz.e@gmail.com

Michał Mękarski
Regional Observatory of Culture, Adam Mickiewicz University,
Poznań, Poland
mekarski@amu.edu.pl

ABSTRACT

In Poland, as in many European countries, we can observe the inevitable process of population aging. This phenomenon and its consequences are an essential issue to be reconsidered in cultural policies and cultural management strategies. More and more seniors are becoming active participants and creators of cultural events. This increases the quantity and quality of cultural provision addressed to this social group. This article is the result of a nationwide research project "Why Do Seniors Need Culture?" The study focuses on diagnosing the cultural needs of seniors and the types of activities and places preferred by elderly people. The paper describes the ways in which seniors are vital audience members, creators of culture and transmitters of timeless values. The authors then depict the common stereotypes about old age and how we must attempt to break them and, finally, the study presents the changes that have occurred in the way elderly people are perceived, both by themselves and by the rest of the population.

Introduction

In 1950 there were about 200 million people in the world aged over 60. It is estimated that by 2050 there will be 1.2 billion (Dragan, 2011). The European population is aging – reflected in a declining share of working age people and an increasing proportion of elderly people in the EU as a whole. According to Eurostat, in 2013, people aged 65 and above accounted for 18.2% of population, while in 2080 the number is expected to be 28.7%[1]. The Central Statistical Office in Poland predicts that the number of people aged between 60 and 74 is going to increase by 40% over the next two decades, those aged 75-84 by 65.6%, while the number of people over 85 will grow by 90%. At the same time the number of people over 100 will increase by 253% (Szukalski, 2008).

Demography experts predict that this trend is going to continue and will force a number of social changes that are revolutionary in both scale and scope. These adjustments will have various consequences – economic (health care, pensions), social (redefining existing social roles) and institutional (providing services for seniors, e.g. nursing homes and adjusting cultural provision to seniors). The problem of the aging of Polish society seems to be an interdisciplinary topic of current interest because it will influence various aspects of life, and determine new behavioural patterns and relationships in society. Although we cannot stop this revolutionary change, we can quickly adjust to it and start including old people in cultural participation.

The image of Polish seniors is evolving. We no longer perceive them stereotypically as grumpy, sickly old people. Nowadays, they tend to be presented in a more positive context. They are a social group that is active, experienced, well-groomed and full of passion and desire to live their lives to the fullest. Many factors influence this image change – economic and pragmatic (they are the targets of marketing campaigns and valuable consumers), social (associated with raising awareness of the inevitable "globalisation of old age" process) (Woźniak, 2012) and media (through social campaigns, e.g. those related to the 2012 celebrations of the European Year for Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations)[2]. Society has started to recognise the specific needs of elderly people and their untapped creative potential. All of these changes influence not only the image of seniors but also their own attitude towards old age.

"SOCIETY HAS STARTED TO RECOGNISE THE SPECIFIC NEEDS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE AND THEIR UNTAPPED CREATIVE POTENTIAL".

Methodology

This paper is not the result of theoretical reflection on the issues of old age; it is an outcome of the nationwide study "Why Do Seniors Need Culture? Research Project on Cultural Activity of Elderly People"[3], carried out in 2012 by the Adam Mickiewicz University's Regional Observatory of Culture and the Association of Polish Cities. The aim of the project was to diagnose the needs of seniors and study the cultural activities of elderly people in their social context. This was the first large-scale research project in Poland on the subject of elderly people as audience members and creators of culture, as well as users of new technologies. The study was conducted in 16 regions of Poland. The research team used a triangulation of methods, meaning the results of the project are an outcome of both qualitative and quantitative research. The initial phase of the project was desk research, wherein the team analysed all the available existing material associated with the topic – literature, reports from other research projects, statistical data about elderly people, etc. In the next stage, individual in-depth interviews with members of non-governmental organisations and cultural associations which focus their activity mainly on seniors were organised. They were mostly held during the International Fair "50+ Active" in Poznań. Similar interviews were conducted with cultural animateurs and coordinators of artistic groups during the 15th National Artistic Festival of Senior Movement "Ars 2012" in Bydgoszcz. Another research instrument was a questionnaire that was distributed among 534 participants at cultural events in 35 different cities. This type of research was conducted during three different types of events – philharmonic, mass/outdoor and those organised

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[1] For more information, see http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/population-demography-migration-projections/population-data/database
[2] For more information, see http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1002&langId=en
[3] The whole report may be accessed on the webpage of the Association of Polish Cities: http://zmp.poznan.pl/strona-82-seniorzy_a_kultura_raport_z_badan.html

by cultural centres. Moreover, there were five focus group interviews (FGI) with elderly people in selected cities – Gorzów Wielkopolski, Slupsk and Zamosc. Also, during the Local Government Cultural Forum in Ostrow Wielkopolski and Kalisz, expert panels and FGI were held with local government representatives. All of these research instruments helped to answer the following questions: What kinds of activity do Polish seniors take part in? What is the value of them? In what way does cultural activity influence processes of isolation and integration of seniors, both in their social groups and in relation to society as a whole? How does Polish society perceive elderly people? How do seniors perceive themselves? How do they perceive the time of aging?

New models of experiencing old age

The results of the nationwide research projects show that more and more seniors think about the "autumn of life" as a time for themselves. It is a period in life when they can finally pursue dreams that they could not before, due to their professional activity or family obligations. After retiring, senior citizens have a lot of time on their hands and they can return to some hobbies that they neglected over their work-active years. Being involved in cultural activities is a way to satisfy needs for self-realisation and self-development (Koropetska, 2014). Some seniors are consciously rejecting their imposed social role as caregiver to grandchildren. They draw the line between time devoted to the family and time for themselves. As one of the respondents stated:

> (...) there are some passions that one couldn't fulfil because of work or taking care of family. (...) Some seniors get back to those interests after they retire. Women start to paint, play instruments, write poems and be active in their local community – something that they weren't able to do before and now finally have time to do so. Children grew up; there are no money issues to be taken care of, so they can invest some more time in themselves[4].

Through cultural participation, old people are redefining themselves and discovering their untapped potential. This participation takes three forms – seniors are creators, audience members and transmitters of culture. Those types of activities are a source of fulfilment for elderly people. Not only do they give purpose to their time of aging, they also make them feel appreciated and needed. What is more, cultural participation has the ability to make seniors feel younger at heart. A senior band member spoke about his engagement in cultural activities:

> (...) this hobby makes me feel young. When I was younger and I met someone who was in his/her fifties, (...) I was thinking to myself: "Gosh, I'm going to be so old someday!" Now I'm 68 and I don't feel old at all. A lot of things influence this way of thinking and music is certainly one of them.

Nowadays the image of seniors is changing and their behavioural patterns also differ from the ones that society is used to:

> Seniors in 2012 and the ones from 1997 – when we started to work with this age group – have completely different demands and needs. They don't want to sit with their kids all day and take care of grandchildren. Now they want to go out to the theatre and we offer it to them. They love going on trips together.

> (...) the moment we begin to feel old changed. In the past, a woman in her fifties wore black dresses, was very serious and there were a lot of things that she couldn't do because it was inappropriate. Now women this age feel young, they cycle, they're active. Not all of them, but still.

Moreover, the lifestyle of seniors is evolving. The research project of the Regional Observatory of Culture shows that more seniors are now educated, well-groomed, open-minded and active. They have the courage to pursue their passions and hobbies. Elderly people tend to do that not only individually, but also in groups. Seniors are forming societies, universities of the third age and groups within cultural institutions and organisations.

Space for seniors

In a relatively short time, a lot of institutions for seniors in Poland have been formed: places in which they can meet, pursue their hobbies and expand their knowledge. Among many others, there are seniors clubs, universities of the third age and day care centres. These places also influence the image of seniors and their lifestyle choices. What is interesting is that universities of the third age are not only located in big cities. A lot of them have been established in small towns (about 50% are located in cities with populations smaller than 50,000 people) and villages (11%). In 2012 in Poland

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[4] All quotes in the paper are taken from in-depth interviews conducted with seniors and cultural animateurs working with the elderly.

there were about 400 universities for seniors with almost 90,000 members (Zoom na UTW, 2012). In some cities, special senior councils were formed as advisory bodies for mayors and governors, and there are institutions for old people that provide social assistance and many other services. One of them is the Centre for Senior Initiatives (CIS) in Poznań. This is a city organisational unit that runs Volunteering 50+, Information Point 50+, free legal and psychological counselling, the "Senior-friendly Place" competition and the cultural and educational festival "Senior. Poznan". The centre also implemented projects such as "RECO – regions cooperating to improve health and quality of seniors' life" and "WAKE UP – Active aging with knowledge and experience". Moreover, the CIS is coordinating the International Fair "50+ Active". During its first four editions, this annual event gathered more than 300 commercial and NGO exhibitors and was visited by over 12,000 people. It attracts a lot of organisations, state and local government entities that are involved in work with seniors. The fair is not just an exhibition space, in the Poznań International Fair pavilions a lot of artistic and educational workshops, lectures, concerts and shows take place (e.g. Nordic walking, yoga, therapeutic dance, gymnastics for seniors)[5].

In 2013 one of the biggest Polish charity organisations, The Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity, which collects money for sick children annually, expanded their fundraising to seniors. The theme of their XXI Grand Finale was "Saving the lives of children and providing adequate healthcare for the elderly"[6]. In 2014 and 2015 this foundation continued to help elderly people. Aside from collecting funds for seniors, they drew the public's attention to the oldest part of society, and started a debate about state of geriatrics and healthcare in Poland.

It is not a coincidence that the number of institutions, organisations and places dedicated to seniors has been growing recently. The attitude towards old people has been transformed by numerous educational campaigns preparing society for old age and breaking the negative stereotypes about seniors. One of many projects linking culture with education was "The third youth – initiative, challenges, integration", event organised by a nursing home in Kalisz. As a part of this project, a fashion show called "Fashion joins generations" was organised. What was so extraordinary about this event was that the models on the runway were from three different generations – grandmothers, daughters and granddaughters. Its aim was to prove that age is not an obstacle to activity and beauty is not limited to youth[7].

Another interesting project is "Seniors Take Action", organised by the Association of Creative Initiatives "ę" and the Polish-American Freedom Foundation[8]. Its goal is to distribute grants for active seniors, cultural animateurs and artists that support intergenerational activities. It influences a positive change – not only did they promote activity in elderly people, but they also created links between different generations and supported seniors volunteering. Another aim of their activity is the transformation of the image of the older members of society, breaking the stereotype of boring, passive, conservative, static, useless, isolated seniors.

Also, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage started the nationwide initiative "60+ Culture"[9] to promote cultural activity in seniors. In Lesser Poland there was a campaign "60+. The New Age for Culture"[10]. The Regional Social Policy Centre in Poznań started a campaign against the social exclusion of elderly people: "Life is Passion"[11]. In 2012, the city was covered with billboards showing pictures of creative seniors. Moreover, there were TV commercials that presented senior citizens' passions and artistic experiences. In Szczecin, an initiative called "Time for Seniors" promoting senior citizens volunteering was run. It was a part of bigger project called "Seniors – We Want You!" that was co-funded by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy under the Government Programme for Social Activity of the Elderly 2012-2013[12].

All of the initiatives, projects and places are aimed at improving the quality of life of elderly people, but there is still a lot to be done in this field. According to the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) research, in Poland there is an extremely low level of social activity among seniors, especially when it comes to volunteering in the 50+ age group (SHARE, 2012: 15). In 2013 there was another study concerning the quality of seniors' life – the Global AgeWatch Index – and Poland was placed 62nd out of 91 countries from around the world. But it seems that all of the initiatives and hard work put into them is starting to result in positive change – in the same study in 2014, Poland was placed 32nd out of 96 (Global AgeWatch Index, 2014).

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[5] For more information, see http://centrumis.pl/targi-aktywni-503.html
[6] For more information, see http://wosp.org.pl/final/o_finale/finaly_w_liczbach#21
[7] For more information, see http://dpskalisz.pl/aktualnosci.htm
[8] For more information, see http://seniorzywakcji.pl
[9] For more information, see http://mkidn.gov.pl/pages/strona-glowna/kultura-i-dziedzictwo/weekend-seniora/informacje.php
[10] For more information, see http://e-teatr.pl/pl/artykuly/164981.html
[11] For more information, see http://facebook.com/ZycieToPasja
[12] For more information, see http://sektor3.szczecin.pl/pora-seniora-jestes-potrzebny

Stereotypes about seniors – the media's role

Despite the fact that most people declare that seniors are an age group that should be respected, appreciated and noticed in everyday life, we do not act this way. We treat elderly people as a group that cannot keep up with new technologies and has outdated moral values that are inadequate to reality (Mamzer et al, 2013). But the image of seniors is evolving and this positive change is hugely influenced by the media. Nowadays, we can notice growing interest in senior-related topics in the mass media. Although sometimes the image of senior citizens is trivialised and full of stereotypes, now it is becoming more about being active and brave enough to fulfil one's passion. The media presents seniors as members of society that have the right to be visible, to take part in various activities and to be the centre of attention. The growing interest taken in elderly people is not a coincidence – as the number of seniors increases the more they are perceived as a valuable group of consumers.

> (…) there are more and more seniors in the media (...). Viewers are very interested in this subject. Also, the decision-makers are more keen on presenting senior-related topics (...). We have realised that the society is aging and we need to discuss this subject (...).

The image of seniors used to be full of stereotypes. These negative mental constructs influence the way people interact with elderly people and create gaps between generations. Research conducted by the Regional Observatory of Culture has shown that the stereotypical Polish senior citizen is passive, always complaining, spends all their time in church, is sick, poor, shiftless, does not question the social roles imposed on him/her, is ultranationalist and unable to adapt to new realities. We live in a society that is very youth-oriented and being young is mentally associated with positive features: activity, joy, beauty and optimism. In this context, the image of seniors negates all of these characteristics.

However, it seems that old age has finally been noticed by the media and has become an important subject. Nowadays, it would be impossible to show a commercial that presents seniors in a negative way. There are NGOs and ethics committees that prevent advertising agencies from creating images of different groups of people that may lead to social exclusion. In the past there were many advertisements that presented seniors in a negative way. An example of this was a series of advertisements for TF1 mobile accessories. In one of the newspaper advertisements an old lady used a headset used as a hair accessory and the picture was signed "I am advertising TF1, but I do not know what it is for". The message sent by this advertisement was clear – elderly people have no idea how to use new technologies. Another which was even more degrading to seniors was a cartoon Head and Shoulders advertisement. In the picture a boy opened the bathroom door and discovered his naked grandmother taking a shower. It was signed "There are some things that we can't get out of your head" (Pawlina, 2010).

It seems that nowadays seniors are portrayed in a more positive way and the media is starting to break the negative stereotypes associated with old age. For instance, there is the street style blog Advanced Style, which presents pictures of fashionable elderly people on the streets of New York. The fashion blogosphere is very youth-oriented and this blog contradicts the idea that only young people can be a source of inspiration. There are many inspiring seniors in the public eye these days. One of them is DJ Wika, a 74-year old woman who plays music at various events for both young and old party-goers; she is also an activity leader for seniors as she teaches an aerobics class for elderly people. Another example is Aleksander Doba, a 68-year-old canoeist who was the first to sail the Atlantic Ocean solo. For this achievement he was awarded the Adventurer of the Year award by National Geographic in 2014[13]. By doing such remarkable things, active seniors can be a source of inspiration not only for the elderly, but also for young people.

Seniors as transmitters of timeless culture

One of the issues with the image of seniors is a double standard that exists in modern society. On the one hand, we create positive emotional associations with elderly people − they are grandparents that remind us of childhood and problem-free existence. On the other hand we present seniors as a social group that we do not keep in touch with and exclude from our everyday life. In the latter case we tend to see elderly people through media-imposed stereotypes. However, the personal approach that we have towards our grandparents is affecting positive change. The Public Opinion Research Centre states that the role of the older generation is getting more and more important. We are starting to realise that we owe a lot to our grandparents: in the survey conducted in 2000 about 59% respondents "strongly agreed" and "agreed" with this statement, in 2012, it was 72%. What do we owe to the oldest generation in the family? Mostly it is care and education (65%), the feeling of being loved (64%), knowledge of the family's history (57%) and moral principles (57%). 25% of

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[13] For more information, see http://adventure.nationalgeographic.com/adventure/adventurers-of-the-year/2015/aleksander-doba/

respondents were inspired by their grandparents and owe them their interest in various hobbies (e.g. music, literature, sport, fishing) (Kowalczuk, 2012). We can observe that grandparents are responsible for the intergenerational transmission of culture and values. What is more, this type of transmission seems to be irreplaceable.

The desire to be needed is very important for elderly people. What is more, the image of seniors is strengthened through their usefulness to other people. The question of whether seniors are needed by society or not is a question about their role in society in general. One of the tasks for elderly people may be a role as transmitter of culture and timeless values. This takes different forms – from taking care to preserve tradition and rituals, to educating their grandsons and granddaughters. To them, their input in creating culture is an obligation and a kind of mission. They pursue their own dreams and inspire others to do the same – not only their grandkids, but also other seniors. Elderly people encourage others to take an interest in culture and enable others to benefit from their knowledge, experience and abilities.

> They are trying to inspire their grandchildren. (…) Parents are usually too busy to take care of the kids, so if the grandparents are healthy and willing, they are trying to spend time with them. They tell stories to them, they read together, hike, walk the dog, play. They are trying to inspire them with their interests or to show them how to play different sports. In most cases grandparents are the ones who take care of the emotional development of children.

Seniors need to be more active to avoid the degradation of their health. The loneliness of elderly people is also a source of unfounded fears and anxiety. Relationships with other people have an influence on the general well-being of seniors (Antonucci & Ajrouch 2007). This positive impact is also stimulated by cultural activity.

The perception of elderly people in Polish society is related to the responsibilities and social roles that are assigned to seniors. The role of culture is significant here − it helps shape models of experiencing old age. In this context, its elementary processes such as cultural and historical education seem to be extremely important. In one of the questions in the survey from the nationwide research project "Competences of Local Leaders of Cultural Education. Study of Methods, Media and Conditions of Cultural Impact on Citizens of Polish Cities", which was addressed to four groups associated with cultural education (organisers, educators and cultural animateurs, cultural policy representatives and distributors of funds), respondents were asked to react to the statement: "cultural activities should be also directed at seniors". They were supposed to state their opinion using a five-point scale: from strong approval (answer "definitely yes") to strong disapproval (answer "definitely no"). Nearly 3/4 of the respondents (71.9%) agreed that elderly people should embrace taking part in cultural activities (sum of "definitely yes" and "rather yes" answers). Against the idea were only 6.4% of the respondents (from which 1.4% of answers were "definitely no"). They were also asked to justify their answers and the analysis of those responses showed a very broad spectrum of the ways in which people associated with cultural education perceive seniors' engagement in educational activities.

Different answers were grouped into several categories. The largest of them (52 answers) were groups of responses associated with the feeling of being needed and with using the experience of elderly people. Justifications for these answers included: "using their life achievements"; "life experience"; "contact with young people can enrich both of these groups"; "they have to transfer their knowledge"; "a lot of experience that they want to share"; "they will feel needed". The second largest group (48) stated that cultural education should be for all of the people interested in culture and so also for seniors: "cultural education should be available for all"; "everyone deserves access to culture, no matter how old are they"; "seniors are full members of the society"; "stupid question; why not?"; "they are people too". The third group (42) consisted of responses associated with the need to help elderly people (because of various reasons, e.g. lack of

> "THE PERCEPTION OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN POLISH SOCIETY IS RELATED TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND SOCIAL ROLES THAT ARE ASSIGNED TO SENIORS. THE ROLE OF CULTURE IS SIGNIFICANT HERE − IT HELPS SHAPE MODELS OF EXPERIENCING OLD AGE".

competence, fear or loneliness): "low awareness of culture and fear resulting from that ignorance"; "a group to target"; "for lonely people cultural participation is priceless"; "understanding the dynamics of change in cultural models"; "gaps in cultural education"; "they need various activities"; "they require socio-cultural development"; "updating their knowledge on current cultural trends". The next category of statements (38) was associated with the opinion that seniors are an active social group that is eager to take part in various activities: "most receptive and willing group"; "they have a desire to be active"; "very motivated social group"; "big group with great will and potential"; "they want to explore new possibilities"; "very active group in various areas"; "very creative and willing to act"; "huge interest in culture". Some of the respondents (31) also noticed that seniors have a lot of free time to spend on cultural activities: "they didn't have time to develop their talents before, now as seniors they do"; "they have time for culture"; "spending their free time". Some other respondents (26) stated that taking part in cultural activities may prevent seniors from being socially excluded: "preventing them from exclusion, so they are not invisible in the city"; "not taking part means exclusion"; "anti-exclusion and anti-alienation". The next group of respondents (23) emphasised the need to activate this social group: "motivating elderly people is a very important element of cultural education"; "it activates seniors"; "it gives them an opportunity to interact"; "motivating them to be active and to participate". Almost the same amount of respondents (22) said that number of seniors is getting bigger and bigger: "big social group"; "increasing number of seniors"; "aging society"; "in our city (120,000 inhabitants) the number of seniors is rising, young people have left". Some respondents (17) stated that a lot of cultural activities are already targeted at elderly people and it should be continued: "there are activities for them in the community centre"; "most of the folk artists are seniors"; "it's enough to just ask seniors, I asked"; "they are as important as young people"; "they are great audience members". The last category consisted of a group of responses (14) stating that seniors' involvement in cultural activities improves their life quality: "it will improve the quality of their lives and will prolong them"; "it enables them to be creative and helps to integrate them within their social group"; "they should reveal their talents"; "they want to improve"; "an opportunity for personality development".

The scope of those categories shows the complexity of the image of seniors for people associated with cultural education. To them seniors have become a social group that is not only growing in number, very active, willing and engaged, but also one that can benefit hugely from cultural education. The result of including them in cultural education practices would be: increasing their activeness, preventing their social exclusion, improving their quality of life and restoring the feeling of being needed by society (through using their knowledge and experience).

Different reasons for including seniors in cultural activities cause different attitudes towards elderly people and influence the provision of activities for them in cultural education. If we tended to perceive seniors as people that need our help because they are lost in modern society and cultural transformation, we would treat them as pupils and provide them with sources of knowledge by, for example, organising lectures with experts on subjects of modern art that will explain new trends and tendencies to them. Another way to perceive seniors would be noticing their untapped potential, valuing their life experience and treating them as sources of knowledge and transmitters of tradition. In this case, they would be more like teachers and educators that may share their knowledge with the younger generation. They may take part in intergenerational projects and their experience may serve as living history lessons for students. A lot of interesting opinions on the subject were shared by leaders of cultural educators during in-depth interviews and FGI:

Of course it [cultural education of seniors] is a very, very current issue. (…) there are more and more old people that are free, unemployed, their children are grown up and they have some free time. We have the University of the Third Age that works perfectly. I keep in touch with them and they thrive. (…) they have their lectures and take part in different forms of cultural activities. Seniors are regulars at many events. (…) it is the direction that we should go towards. They want it".

Sometimes they don't even ask if they can come to the museum. There are days when we don't have any space left. Every Saturday, except for July and August, there is a meeting of tens of seniors. They formed a club in the museum and every week someone gives a lecture on an interesting subject. It has been like that for many years now. They are not exclusive. Everyone can join the meeting. Sometimes people that are not members of the University of the Third Age find out about interesting meetings or lectures and want to join them. These seniors are the backbone of our institution.

(…) we work with the University of the Third Age. They organise lectures about history here, in the museum. (…) we talk about activities associated with local identity and it is extremely important. Seniors can help us, because they have the advantage of having such great memories.

I have a project at school now. I invented it myself. (…) the main aim of the project is to visit elderly people and

record their memories related to the liberation of Poznań. Kids can learn a great deal from them (…).

There is the threat not only of social exclusion, but also of digital exclusion, so another interesting approach would be to organise learning projects for seniors (courses, workshops) that include interacting with young people. In 2015 in Poznań the intergenerational project "Seniors and children in virtual reality" began. Children of 10-12 years old were teachers during series of workshops. They taught seniors how to plan vacations, send an email, look for local news or do the shopping using tablets and the Internet. Thanks to the project, elderly people gain valuable knowledge and skills needed to use modern information and communication technologies. Moreover, workshops allow both of the generations to get to know each other.

Seniors as cultural participants

The study "Why Do Seniors Need Culture? Research Project on Cultural Activity of Elderly People" allowed the research team to find out more about models of seniors' cultural participation. One of the issues that was brought up by the questionnaire concerned barriers to taking part in cultural activities (figure 1).

Respondents were asked to state their opinion using a five-point scale – from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The most frequently mentioned barrier was lack of money (total of "strongly agree" and "agree" answers: 54.1%). Because of limited funds, Polish seniors are forced to cut back their spending on culture. Answers varied depending on region and size of city, as in smaller towns and rural areas seniors have access to a wider range of free cultural services. Almost half of the respondents said that an important obstacle is bad health (48.6%), lack of knowledge of new technologies (39.9%), lack of cultural provision targeted specifically at seniors (34.4%) and lack of information and promotion of events (34.2%). There was no surprise that the least frequently selected answer was lack of time (total of "disagree" and "strongly disagree" answers: 82.4%). In this case answers also differed depending on the size of city that the respondent came from. Seniors from smaller cities have less free time than those from big cities. This may be caused by the fact that younger members of the family that dedicate themselves to work pass some of their obligations on to seniors.

Another topic raised in the study was factors that influence choosing a particular cultural event. Taste and cultural interest are very subjective but one can distinguish a few general criteria that determine cultural participation. Respondents were able to choose from a list of multiple answers, such as ticket price, conditions of getting to an event, guarantee of a seat and the presence of a renowned artist (figure 2).
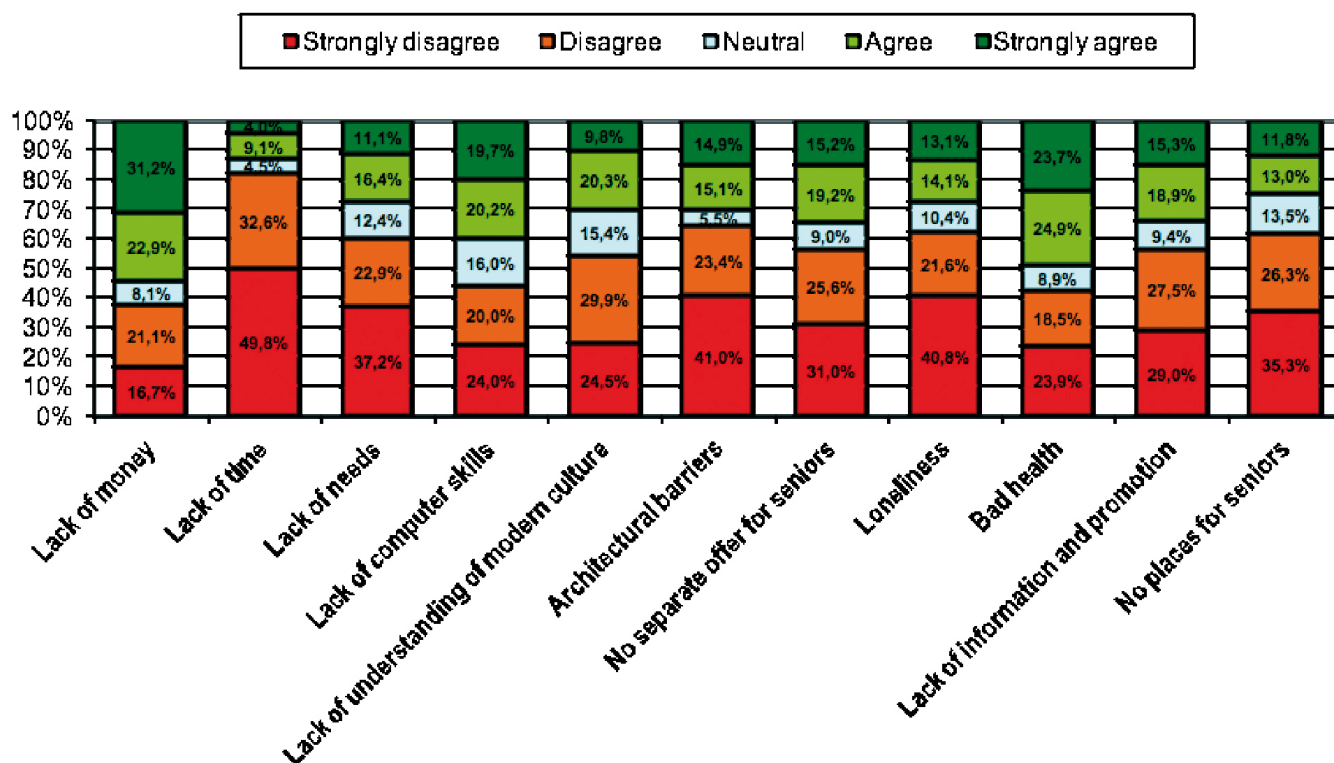

FIGURE 1. BARRIERS TO CULTURAL PARTICIPATION
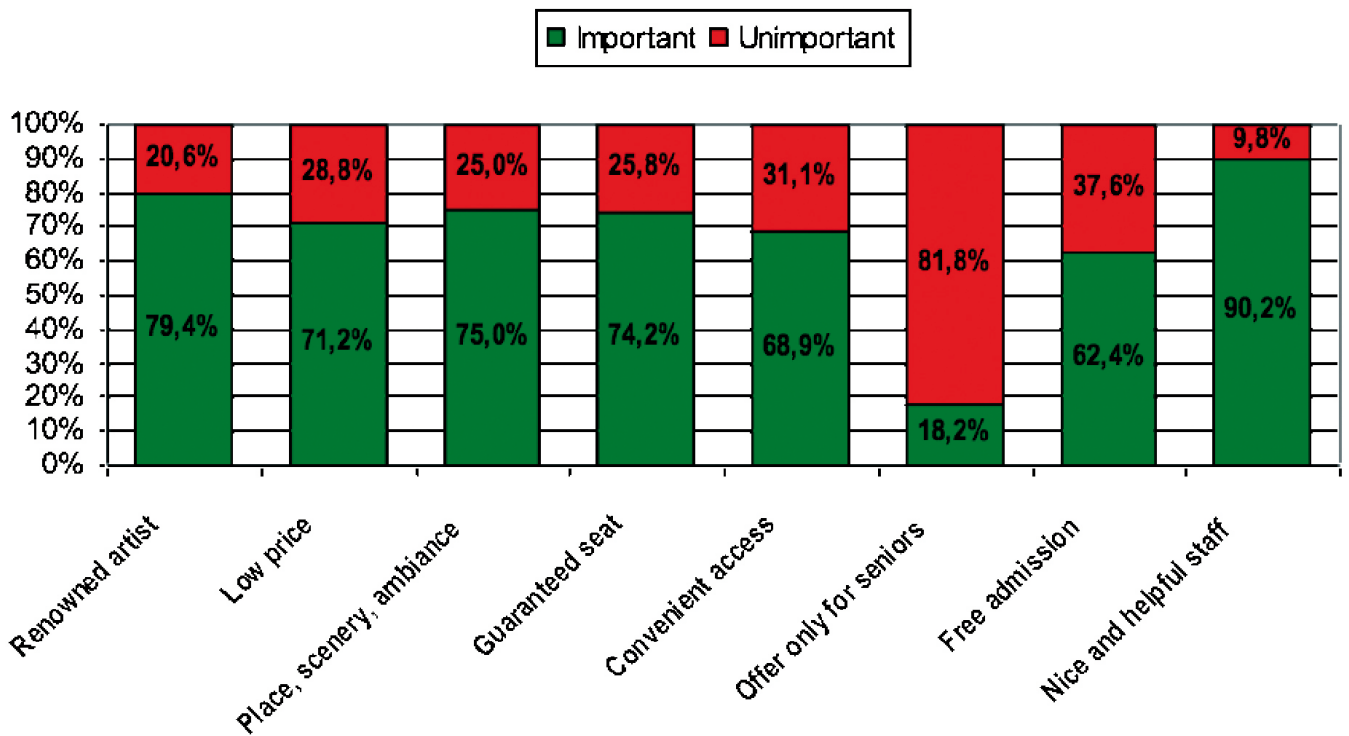
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

FIGURE 2. IMPORTANT FACTORS WHEN CHOOSING CULTURAL EVENT

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Most of the factors were equally important to the audience (they were marked as "important" by 70-80% of the respondents). One exception was the provision that is targeted directly to seniors, which was important to only 19.2% of elderly people. This indicates that seniors do not expect exclusive cultural provision. On the contrary, they prefer events during which they can integrate themselves with other generations. The most significant factor that influences seniors' decisions was friendly and attentive staff at the cultural event (important for over 90% of the respondents). Such a high percentage shows how significant the possibility of interacting with another person is for elderly people. Seniors appreciate help, empathy and kindness from the organisers of cultural events. In-depth interviews with elderly people provided additional information about what may encourage seniors to take part in cultural initiatives. They often mentioned adjusting technical conditions (e.g. elimination of architectural barriers), changing ticket prices, organising events that promote social inclusion and modifying the content of events (which is too often the apotheosis of youth).

The research team also wanted to find out what forms of cultural activity are preferred by elderly people. The biggest share of seniors stated that they attend musical concerts (36.3%, total of answers "at least once a month" and "a few times in a month"). Fewer said that they enjoy going to the cinema (27.8%), visiting art galleries and museums (26.3%),

going to mass and outdoor events (25.8%) and going to the theatre (21%). Different forms of activities are enjoyed by seniors from small and big towns, because sometimes the closest cultural institution (e.g. philharmonic) is hundreds of kilometres away. For some members of this social group it may be a physical challenge and they may also be unable to afford it.

There are also a few cultural activities that seniors take up individually. Watching TV and listening to the radio are equally popular (almost 80% of the respondents do this every day). The majority of seniors read newspapers (60.1%) and a lot of them read books (almost 40%). The results vary depending on place of residence – 17.9% of seniors in rural areas read books, while for elderly people from cities of more than 200,000 residents it is 40.2%. In some cases individual participation (e.g. watching TV) becomes a barrier to going out and taking part in other cultural activities. Seniors' every day rituals like watching their favourite TV series are very hard to change. Paradoxically, activities that separate seniors from society become a cure for loneliness: "The most important cultural activity is TV. It replaces going out and makes us forget about loneliness at home" or "Nowadays we have [economic] crisis but in a TV [series'] world everything is fine, everything is going to be OK".

During in-depth interviews, the research team noticed that the most valued events are the ones that

promote the integration of elderly people – singing folk songs together and band meetings. Seniors tend to dislike activities that lead to social separation (e.g. watching TV) and increase their passiveness. The results of qualitative research clearly show that the key to cultural activity in elderly people is providing them with organised classes. Groups of seniors rarely tend to initiate activities themselves so they look to cultural institutions for help and guidance. One of the respondents noted that there is a lack of complex solutions to support the organisation of seniors' groups:

> There are (…) some local, small initiatives that you can read about – for instance some senior club organised an exhibition. But there is no legal facilitation or mechanisms that would motivate seniors to start such activities and that would also promote it.

Seniors as Internet users

According to Eurostat, seniors in Poland are reluctant to use the Internet. In 2009 only 9% of people aged 65-74 used the Internet at least once a week, while the average for the 28 EU countries was 20%. In 2014 the percentage rose to 19%, while for the EU as a whole it reached 38%. In Europe the highest shares of elderly people using the Internet were in Iceland (83%), Luxembourg (79%), Denmark (76%), Sweden (76%), Norway (74%), the Netherlands (70%) and Great Britain (66%). Even in comparison with its neighbours, Poland falls short: Germany (47%), Czech Republic (33%), Slovakia (27%). Fewer seniors active online were found in Croatia (15%), Cyprus (15%), Greece (12%), Bulgaria (9%) and Romania (8%). The Eurostat research project took all seniors into consideration. In the research project undertaken by the Regional Observatory of Culture in 2012, culturally active seniors were surveyed and among them 24% use the Internet almost every day and 16.8% a few times a week. The results are clear − elderly people that are culturally active are also active in other areas (in this case in the digital circulation of content).

What features characterise seniors that use the Internet in Poland? According to the research project "Mobile Internet 50+ – new media and older

users", for elderly people, new technologies are a chance not to get old and to keeping up with modern reality. There is also a list of complex characteristics and motivations for using the Internet. On the one hand they are way more enthusiastic about being on the Internet than young people, but on the other they are very suspicious of it. They value privacy, so the scale and openness of the web frightens them. They pursue their passions online but they do it in isolation, without sharing with one another. Their online contacts are limited to family and a close circle of friends unlike young people who like to share their life using social networks and build big social public spheres (measured by the number of friends and likes on Facebook). Seniors use the Internet not only for fun, but in the majority for more serious things: to look for information, keep in touch with family and fulfil their passions. The research team noticed that discourses about elderly people on the Internet are disrupted by negative comparisons to young Internet users. Comparing young people to seniors will always favour the young. This type of approach ignores different attitudes and needs determined by the age of Internet users (Krzyżanowska & Danielewicz, 2012). It is important to keep in mind that different social and age groups have different motivations for exploring web resources.

According to the research project from 2012, the main barriers to seniors using new technologies are mental. Usually, without support from others, elderly people tend to exclude themselves from Internet presence.

In these cases seniors are reluctant to use new technologies because they are scared of a new, unknown and foreign world that nobody wants to introduce them to. What is more, the rapidly changing reality that is unfamiliar to elderly people contributes to this negative phenomenon.

> (…) the ability to use new technology – it's a big obstacle in everyday life, for instance, mobile phones and how to use them. Despite the fact that there are mobiles designed especially for seniors, the big ones, in our [senior] club only two people have them (…). Digital TV (…) is also a problem: "I won't buy one, because nobody would teach me how

"THE MAIN BARRIERS TO SENIORS USING NEW TECHNOLOGIES ARE MENTAL. USUALLY, WITHOUT SUPPORT FROM OTHERS, ELDERLY PEOPLE TEND TO EXCLUDE THEMSELVES FROM INTERNET PRESENCE".

to use it". (…) Technology entered our life very aggressively and seniors can't deal with it.

(…) a lot of elderly people, just like us, use the Internet, PC. But most of them are still afraid. We have an opportunity here to teach them how to do it, but it's very hard for some of them.

(…) if we had a new model of society that was dominated by modern technologies, people above a certain age would be excluded from it.

Some elderly people lack the motivation or necessity to use information and communication technologies. In the research projects many seniors stated: "I would not like to learn anything new" or "I'm not interested at all". This kind of approach may be caused by lack of knowledge about the possibilities new technologies might give them.

I have a problem because I try to force some people to have the Internet at home, to have an e-mail address because it's easier and cheaper to communicate this way, but they don't want to.

(…) there is a group of the ones that try. But when I watch people the same age as me, part of them thinks: "I don't want to".

Nevertheless, more and more seniors are using modern technologies and new media. Some elderly people are very proud that they have learnt to do so.

I also talk via the Internet with my friends. It enriches our life. People that don't learn how to do this should regret it. It is very trendy now and a lot of people want to possess that skill.

(…) when I come to the [senior] club and I have some new ideas, others ask: "how do you know that?" And I tell them: "I found it online". And they are surprised and they are in awe.

(…) for many [seniors] it's confusing, but I think that the group of old people that uses the Internet is getting bigger. They are learning how to do that and they are able to do so. (…) I think that people who learnt how to use the Internet are very proud of themselves.

Respondents also noticed a lot of benefits that come from using the Internet in their everyday life. A significant part of seniors want to learn how to use the Internet to keep in touch with family and friends. It is also a cheaper way of communicating. Using new technologies is also a way to overcome the barriers to participating in culture associated with health and physical issues.

There is a possibility to rent an audiobook from a library. Some people have too weak eyesight to read normal books. (…) Our group is very advanced in age and they should read books with big letters and we don't have such books here. Thanks to those audiobooks we can keep on reading.

(…) one of my friends bought an e-book reader (…), he purchases books online and reads on this box. I told him: "how can you read a book and not hear the sound of turning pages?" (…) I can't imagine reading like that. (…) And he's trying to convince me (…): "your eyes don't get tired, you can enlarge letters and pages turn themselves, because the e-reader knows how fast you read a page".

I think that people use it [the Internet] mostly to get to know people, to keep in touch with family that lives far away. It's very useful to them and very important.

Seniors as creators

Old people are not only an audience for cultural events, but also creators of them. About 40% of seniors stated that they "create culture". What is interesting is that more women (42.8%) than men (35.8%) perceive themselves as creators. The research team wanted to find out in what fields seniors fulfil themselves creatively. Most of the respondents mentioned embroidery and needlework (38 responses), painting and drawing (32), singing (29), writing poetry and prose (21), playing an instrument (18), design (8), photography (5) and cabaret (5). Those interests differ depending on gender – women lean more towards handicrafts, singing and painting, while men prefer playing musical instruments, design and photography. These results also emphasise the way women prefer collective forms of participation, while men chose more individualistic ones. According to cultural animateurs and seniors themselves, the main focus of the older generation's cultural creation is its integrative aspect. It allows them to meet other members of society, encourages them to leave the house and prevents their isolation. As a result, seniors' artwork is less likely to be judged by aesthetic criteria.

Seniors can actively fulfil their passions in places such as the University of the Third Age, clubs and cultural institutions that bring them together and organise various activities with and for old people. Every fourth respondent stated that he or she takes part in organised activities. In this area women also seem to

be more active (29.3%) than men (20.8%). The most popular classes among seniors are singing lessons – usually singing in a choir (38 responses). Others include dance classes (24), playing musical instruments in a band (17) and painting (10). There is a visible link between the activity of seniors and the transformation of their image. Above 60% of them agreed with the thesis that "taking part in cultural activities is changing their social perception". So seniors themselves notice that there is huge potential in this area and it raises the visibility of this social group.

Many respondents do not limit themselves to just one area of creativity. Usually they combine different activities, e.g. writing poems and playing instruments or painting and writing. Most of the activities are the ones usually associated with elderly people (embroidery, handicrafts, singing in a choir), but there are also some that require professional equipment (photography, design). Some of the cultural activities of seniors motivate them to take part in cultural animation. For instance, seniors that like to write are also the organisers of meetings with authors.

As with reading books (62.8% of seniors do this at least once a week or everyday) and newspapers (90%), elderly people may be the biggest social group that still writes letters. As one of the respondents stated:

> (…) of the people I know, a lot of them like to write. They like to write letters, they love it. So this activity is not dead, but who among young people write letters? They text each other and that's it. Those old people, every time I talk with them, say that they love to write letters. They didn't stop doing that, they also send postcards. They write poems. We have this woman in our band. You can just tell her that we need something and she already has a poem about us. It's very cool.

Answers to the question "Are you a creator of culture?" emphasised another problem. One of the seniors said: "I used to paint; now my hands are shaking". For some elderly people, age and health may be a significant barrier to cultural activity. However, during in-depth interviews, a significant part of seniors stated that they started to create culture and be more active in this area after they retired or after they reached "old age". In a survey, there were a lot of answers similar to: "I have a friend who started to paint when she became old. And she paints beautifully. (…) I have a neighbour that started to sing. He started to sing recently and he performs in different senior clubs". In a lot of cases, cultural activity started after coming to cultural institutions, societies or seniors clubs. According to the research, these types of organisations are and should be initiators of cultural activity for seniors and their mentors.

During the Nationwide Art Preview of Senior Movement (ARS) the research team was able to see the whole spectrum of activities performed by seniors. Among performers, there were some exceptional personalities and what they were doing exceeded what is traditionally perceived as amateur senior art. Seniors' performances were not only subjects of sociological analysis, their quality was good enough to be judged on aesthetic criteria as well. Another interesting example of the cultural activity of seniors was a play prepared during the project "The Greater Poland: Revolutions". The play "The Time is Now" was created by choreographer and animateur Mikołaj Mikołajczyk together with seniors from the music group "Wrzos" from Zakrzewo. In the play artists were talking about their lives, dreams, joys, problems, as well as their youth. The message of "The Time is Now" is very simple: old age does not begin with age, but with starting to disappear from society and being forgotten. While taking part in other events during ARS, one may have noticed that other senior groups share that belief.

"THE MODEL OF ACTIVELY AGING AND SPENDING FREE TIME ON CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IS A CONSEQUENCE OF PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOURS DEVELOPED FROM A YOUNG AGE".

Recommendations

The beginning of the "autumn of life" and feeling old is not arbitrary and is influenced by cultural and mental factors. Defining oneself as a senior citizen varies depending on gender, age, education and state of health. The study showed that cultural activity makes elderly people feel younger. Through social engagement, seniors have a feeling of purpose and usefulness. It is a myth that older generations have unlimited free time – active seniors state that they have "just enough" of it, only the passive

ones complain that they do not know what to do with themselves. Among the "bored" ones are men, people with low levels of education and residents of small towns. There is a strong feminisation of elderly people – men live shorter and are less active participants in socio-cultural life. Cultural provision should be adjusted to that – there should be more activities targeted at men to make them get out of the house. Another barrier to cultural participation is the loneliness of seniors – after retiring they close themselves within four walls, are reluctant to go outside, sometimes becoming depressed. There is a need to continue research studies with these types of seniors to get to know the reasons for their lack of activity and fight their isolation.

In this context it is very important to educate people about old age. It is necessary to teach how to plan one's time after retirement – too often this period of transition becomes a source of frustration. For some people work is the main activity in their life and after retiring they do not know what to do with themselves. Attitudes towards old age should be changed, not only among seniors themselves, but also among other age groups, especially children. The model of actively aging and spending free time on cultural activities is a consequence of patterns of behaviours developed from a young age. It has to be built over the years by solid cultural education. Seniors' time is not only the time for grandchildren, but also time to fulfil their own passions, needs and pursue dreams. The role of grandparents (and transmitters of culture) is still very important to most seniors but nowadays some of them consciously resign from it or apply some rules to being a grandparent.

The education of elderly people should be focused intensively on the use of new technologies. Lack of knowledge of technological innovations is a barrier to a more active life for many seniors. Therefore computer workshops should be organised to prevent digital exclusion. Another interesting idea would be to implement intergenerational projects that may not only help seniors to learn how to use new technologies but also minimise the generation gap. Preparing the provision of courses adjusted to seniors' needs would lead to increased quality of life.

Seniors' lives in Poland are rapidly changing. They are now becoming active, engaged, well-groomed, open-minded, curious and well-educated. Existing barriers to participation in social and cultural life may be overcome by creating new policies – e.g. a system of discounts for seniors can be created to help them with money issues. This would protect them from being excluded from some kinds of cultural activities. Moreover, the image of seniors is transforming. The media has a huge impact on the way people perceive elderly people. They should avoid treating seniors only as a consumer group and focus their attention on the social and cultural initiatives created by seniors and targeted at them.

There is great potential in senior volunteering. This social group often has a need to be noticed and appreciated and this may be fulfilled by helping others.

They are also invaluable as transmitters of culture and animateurs in their local societies. Active and inspiring seniors can encourage even the most stubborn person to leave their sofa and go out into the world. Local cultural leaders also play significant roles in convincing seniors to participate in culture. They need to help elderly people overcome mental barriers, to motivate and appreciate their involvement in social activities.

Conclusion

The aging of European society is a complex issue. The process itself is inevitable and we should be able to prepare for old age. Retiring is a big transition and sometimes results in seniors' lack of activity. The outcome of the nationwide project "Why Do Seniors Need Culture?" clearly shows that through cultural participation seniors can be brought back to life. Their engagement in social and cultural activities makes them feel needed and integrates them with the rest of the society. Still, there are a few barriers that need to be overcome – not only the physical obstacles, but also mental reservations.

Another problem is the way seniors are perceived. The research project concludes that there are 17 different factor groups that influence the perception of old individuals. This image is gradually transforming – old age is starting to be associated with a time of fulfilment, cultural activity and happiness. Seniors and other social groups change their view on aging through examples of active elderly people, the media and social campaigns. A better media image also influences the lifestyles of elderly people.

The realisation of the fact that European society is changing comes with obligations. Elderly people are becoming a large group of participants and creators of social and cultural life. Even though there are many initiatives targeted at seniors and places dedicated to them, it is still not enough. Decision-makers ought to prepare for this demographic change by supporting social campaigns, promoting active aging and adjusting social policies. There is a lot of untapped potential in seniors that can be put to good use. They are irreplaceable as transmitters of culture and the knowledge that comes from life experience. The aging process is perceived as a threat to European society, but it should rather be seen as an opportunity to be explored.

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Intangible cultural heritage projects – National policies and strategies. The creation of intangible cultural heritage inventories

Teodora Konach
Jagiellonian University, Warsaw, Poland
teodorakonach@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 has established a new, holistic approach to cultural heritage, as well as a new set of administrative and legal instruments and strategies for identifying, preserving, managing and promoting intangible cultural heritage. The policy of intangible culture entails the conceptualisation of the elements of intangible heritage in the national cultural policy framework. Administration strategies and methods are often confronted with scientific contextualisation and various policies jof representation and identification. Thus, while articulating the idea of the growing importance of intangible cultural heritage, the national authorities increasingly construct the national inventories through processes of worldwide networking and positioning through symbolic meanings such as "national issues" and "national culture". This paper presents a brief review of administrative and legal measures and policies concerning intangible cultural heritage of some selected countries.

"THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE CONNECTED WITH THE CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IS THE PROBLEM OF INSTITUTIONALISATION".

Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for over 70 years, has been working on documents and projects related to the protection of tangible heritage, and subsequently expanding the object of protection to natural, and finally, intangible heritage. The holistic approach to natural heritage – as established by the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 – has influenced changes in categorisation of heritage in general. The conceptualisation of "natural heritage" has served as a model solution for defining the essence of intangible heritage as a group of phenomena and manifestations of intangible culture, which has played a significant role in shaping the life of a given community regardless of whether only in the cultural sense or generally in the social and historical sense.

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of October 17, 2003 has established new administrative rules and strategies of identification, preservation and protection of intangible cultural heritage – a turning point in the process of promoting intangible cultural heritage (Nas, 2002). The Convention of 2003 is based on the existing documents of international law concerning cultural and natural heritage. In accordance with the resolutions of the Convention, it is possible to define intangible heritage as all elements and forms of spiritual and social culture which are transferred through generations of a community, or a group, providing them with a sense of continuity and identity (art. 2). The basic responsibility of the state, in the thought of the Convention, is identifying and introducing protection for intangible cultural heritage in its territory. In the process of protecting intangible cultural heritage, the Convention also envisioned the necessity of ensuring wide access to creating descriptions of given objects for local communities, if needed. These principles are also repeated in the content of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. In addition, the Convention of 2005 emphasised the responsibility of promoting diverse forms of cultural expression. The attempts contained in the UNESCO Conventions to a complete understanding of places and spaces are also a search of formulas of experience, feelings and emotions connecting people with particular places (Leighly, 1963; Relph, 1976; Agnew, 1987). From a sociological perspective, heritage ensures the individual feeling of belonging to a particular community and constructs the shaping of economic and cultural capital within the political scenes.

The fundamental issue connected with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage is the problem of institutionalisation. Institutionalisation established by the Convention of 2003 was created with the aim of identifying, managing, cooperating and monitoring the administrative and legal aspects of intangible cultural heritage at both international and national levels: foundation of regional and national bodies responsible for intangible cultural heritage, national legal and administrative instruments, the groundwork for further treatment, creation of national inventories, etc. Furthermore, regional or sub-regional networks have been established, which are based on cooperation of international expert teams.

From the time when the "World Heritage List", the most recognizable model of UNESCO activity, came into being, the process of creating knowledge resources about the most significant historical monuments of world heritage has commenced. Unfortunately, from the very beginning of the List's functioning, tendencies of constant rivalry between states within the framework of the created description of historical monuments under UNESCO protection has been noticed. The willingness to acknowledge a country's heritage at the international level has also demonstrated that the registration criteria are strongly rooted in the axiological tradition of Western culture. The UNESCO lists undoubtedly assist in building a feeling of one's own cultural identity and its meaning for the state side of the Convention. The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding provides actual subsidies and foreign assistance for national intangible cultural heritage, and the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity ensures a prestige distinction for particular expressions as worthy of protection and promotion on the global scale. We can make reference to the theory of the German philosopher Axel Honneth known as the "recognition policy", which states that currently, the main part of entities' activities is set to obtain recognition and prestige (Honneth, 1996). Labelling of cultural

heritage has been still in process since the moment the first UNESCO List was established, and this phenomenon has continued with the creation of the List of Intangible Heritage and its recent entries.

Heritage and its intangible forms may also be determined as a "performative" expression of culture, which is transformed into a highly politicised commodity (Brown, 2005). When making reference to the idea of "cultural policy", it is worth mentioning the theory of Michel Foucault, who stated that the authorities are present everywhere not because they embrace everything, but because they generate everything (Foucault, 1974). It is therefore a term that clarifies not only societal relations, but which also contains in itself an interpretation of representing people and places and an understanding of space and time. From the beginning of the 1990, public debates have opened up many questions focusing on social networks, self-identification, human and minority rights (Castells, 2000; Eriksen, 2001; Brown, 2005). The introduction of the notion of intangible cultural heritage by the Convention of 2003 – as a culturally marked and marking product – has a representative/performative and public character and can be related to the symbolic discourses of interpretation (Foucault, 1972; Hall, 1997).

At present, there are two separate UNESCO Lists of World Heritage for intangible monuments and examples of intangible heritage. Consciousness of the arbitrariness of the division introduced and of the mutual dependencies that exist between them has increased recently. In the context of dividing heritage, it is worth citing Nelson Goodman's conception, who makes a distinction of "autographic" art, in which a material and its form of realisation are identical, and "allographic" art, in which a work and its completion are independent from each other and can be freely interpreted and processed on numerous occasions in time (Goodman, 1976). The "autographic" works are contained completely in their tangible form and their completion, reading and reproduction do not have great significance for their reception (an example of autographic art is painting and sculpture). On the other hand, "allographic" objects are shaped differently and they obtain a different form each time by means of their reproduction (theatre arts, and musical and dance compositions). In its essence, intangible cultural heritage points to a greater resemblance to examples of "allographic" works. Ceremonies, folklore, traditional musical, theatrical, and vocal/instrumental forms are compositions, and they are finally formed by the performers themselves and their interaction with the public. The legal protection of intangible heritage can cause a phenomenon of transition from "allographic" to "autographic" characteristics of intangible culture; the requirement of identification, describing, and making inventories can lead to a partial loss of its "allographic" characteristics in favour of recorded "autographic" forms.

This paper presents policies and administrative and legal instrument regarding the safeguarding, management and promotion of intangible cultural heritage in some selected countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and Canada), especially in the area of constructing national intangible heritage inventories, as well as the key issues concerning the participation of the communities concerned and their role in the protection of authenticity of intangible culture. Poland, Romania and Bulgaria are countries with a similar historical past – all of them experienced the communist regime in the 20th century. Currently, these countries are members of many international organisations and member states of the European Union. While they ratified recently the UNESCO Convention of 2003, their approaches to the text of the document are different, as well as the implementation methods and institutional efforts. Canada is an example of a Western country where efforts have been undertaken to identify and safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of indigenous population.

Methodological approach

In the globally linked word – in terms of economy, politics and societal relations – comparative law needs to play a more crucial role. As an academic discipline, comparative law studies have developed a wide range of internal styles and methodological debates (Zwiegert & Kötz, 1998); however, the essence of these comparisons is the act of juxtaposition of the law regulations of one country to that of another (or to more than two foreign laws). The basic principle of comparative analysis is to look at how a problem is solved in two or more legal systems and explore the differences and similarities in the respective ways of dealing with the problem (Gerber, 2001: 199).

More recently, the main goal of comparative law studies and practice is to obtain some degree of harmonisation over critical issues, or – at least – a measure of common understanding. The convergence of the different legal systems across the EU and the systematic attempt to unify certain laws are the core reason of this development of comparative law methodologies and practice nowadays. Traditionally, comparative law studies have been employed to review existing private law regimes, but now there is a deeper comparative focus on the regulations concerning basic elements of modern states: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, equality and cultural rights. Thus, comparative law could be seen as an attempt to illuminate issues of great importance to humanity. Furthermore, the new non-mainstream approach to comparative law methodology searches for the contextualisation of this method by framing legal practice within specific cultural and social processes. By assuming that law is placed within a given culture, it is considered to be influenced by the culture of the home country in which it operates. The gathering of knowledge obtained through comparative law studies can be used as a portal to a foreign country, and, at the same time, it may serve as a tool for deeper understanding of one's own culture.

Pierre Legrand, the famous opponent to European Legal integration, concerning the convergence of civil law with English common law, regards the role of context to be much more important in the comparative analysis than the rules, principles or institutions themselves. Thus, comparative law studies ought to be *une véritable expérience de la distance et la différence* – a real experience of distance and difference (Legrand, 1999: 36-38). The comparativist must adopt a view of law as a polysemic *signifié* which connotes *inter alia* cultural, sociological, historical, anthropological, linguistic, psychological and economic referents. His ideas of critique of popular functionalism methodology in comparative law studies have been correctly described by Samuel as "a hermeneutical circle" (2004: 60).

However, the principles of functionalism (external framework, explanation, harmonisation) and those of critical philosophy (Foucault, Derrida *via* Legrand) do not differ from each other with regards to their most basic epistemic and methodological assumptions. Functionalist theory (rather than practice) states basically the same as Legrand's "hermeneutical" view: the comparativist must look beyond law, must acquire the socio-legal point of departure to see also the context, the culture, the society and its history that influence legal practice, and not be lured by the façade of language of law provisions.

In the case of UNESCO 2003 Convention, one can compare the different methods of implementation at the national level. Such comparison may serve as a kind of toolbox for European countries concerning the management of intangible cultural heritage.

Intangible cultural heritage in Bulgaria – Living Human Treasures Programme

At present, the following elements of Bulgarian intangible culture have entered the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity: *Bistritsa Babi, Archaic Polyphony, Dances* and *Rituals from the Shoplouk Region* (see photo 1), in 2008; and *Nestinarstvo, Messages from the Past: The Panagyr of Saints Constantine and Helena in the Village of Bulgari* (see photo 2), in 2009.

PHOTO 1. BISTRITSA BABI
Source: V. Lobach.

PHOTO 2. NESTINARSTVO, FIREDANCERS IN VILLAGE BULGARI, BULGARIA
Source: Apokalipto.

The Bulgarian inventory was elaborated by the academic committee of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and the Ministry of Culture in co-operation with UNESCO representatives. Bulgarian national experts have strived to create a synthetic methodology, which would reflect both the theoretical knowledge and research and the current state and form of intangible heritage. In addition, attempts were made to formulate not only contemporary forms of intangible cultural expressions, but also their descriptions that have been preserved from earlier years, including those from the last century, in order to fully show the transparent development and evolution of every form. As a result of that work, the concept of an inventory of Bulgarian intangible heritage arose on the basis of sociological questionnaires conducted throughout the country (Santova, 2007).

The first step was to create the concept of an inventory by making use of the best international practices. After consultation at conferences and seminaries at the national level, forms for pollsters and questionnaires were sent to educational and cultural institutions known as *Chitalishta*. The materials were made available by the Ministry of Culture along with a cover letter signed by the Bulgarian Minister of Culture. It should be emphasised that the *Chitalishta* fulfil a key role in the organisation, management and promotion of Bulgarian folklore, traditions and ceremonies. They are units subject to the Ministry of Culture, numbering over 3,500 throughout the country, and they ensure a proper transmission of intangible culture in specific local communities (Santova, 2007, 2010a & 2010b). They were shaped during the Bulgarian National Revival, which began in the 19th century and played an important role in the formation of feelings of national, cultural and religious identity. The first *Chitalishta* appeared in the 1850 as "reading

PHOTO 3. WEB OF THE LIVING HUMAN TREASURES
PROGRAMME – TREASURES OF BULGARIA
Source: http://www.treasuresbulgaria.com/main.php

houses" but their role gradually evolved and they developed as independent entities, offering equal participation and universal access to educational and cultural services on a democratic basis[1]. Their role was adopted in the contemporary system of educational and cultural activity at the local level.

The internet database of Bulgarian intangible culture is a result of the completion of the project "ЖИВИ ЧОВЕШКИ СЪКРОВИЩА – БЪЛГАРИЯ – UNESCO" ("Living Human Treasures – UNESCO"), which lasted from March 2001 to December 2002. Experts from the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture and representatives of the Institute of Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences participated in the project. The website *Treasures of Bulgaria* (see photo 3) was launched as part of this project (Santova, 2004; Grancharova, 2008).

The Bulgarian inventory of intangible culture consists of six categories, which are similar to the division made in article 2.2 of the UNESCO Convention of 2003. However, this division was applied to the specific nature of Bulgarian intangible culture. In the territorial aspect, the inventory was created on the basis of national administrative divisions in order to make the distribution of the surveys/questionnaires easier and due to the location of the *Chitalishta* network, which is responsible for completion, supervision and sending surveys/questionnaires to central offices. Surveys and questionnaires corresponded to the divisions introduced in the general categories; however, each time they contained questions adjusted to a particular region and local communities. For example, in every region, holidays and ceremonies are organised

around a central axis, such as: family ceremonies, religious holidays of the Orthodox Church, celebrating *Sabori* (holy days associated with the Orthodox Church), holidays of specific cities/villages/places, and traditional holidays for ethnic, sub-ethnic and religious groups. Moreover, characteristic subcategories were added for specific regions: "traditional Muslim holidays" for the Blagoevgrad region, and "tradition Catholic holidays", "traditional Jewish holidays" and "traditional Armenian holidays" for the Varna region (Santova, 2007).

The *Treasures of Bulgaria* site represents the division of intangible heritage into categories at the national level, known as the basic division into types of expressions of intangible culture:

– Traditional holidays and ceremonies
– Traditional songs and instrumental compositions
– Traditional dances and games for children
– Oral tradition
– Traditional works of sculpture and domestically made products
– Traditional medicine

Each of the above-mentioned categories are divided into subcategories, for example: traditional songs and dances are divided into vocal, vocal/instrumental and instrumental compositions; the category of dances and games for children include ceremonial dances, dances associated with holidays and making games for children; intangible oral heritage consists of traditional story-telling, telling traditional stories and legends and traditional humoristic tales; the category of traditional sculpture and domestically

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[1] For more information, see www.chitalishta.com

made products is extraordinarily wide and includes traditional means of producing wine and other alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, production of musical instruments, etc.

This division corresponds to the national administrational division comprised of 28 regions. This type of search allows us to find categories of intangible heritage according to regional divisions. Traditional Bulgarian culture most often entails participation of representatives of the community (local or ceremonial) and, for this reason, the first category of the methodology introduced in the inventory is "holidays and ceremonies". The following category ("traditional songs and instrumental compositions") usually describes individual creativity. However, the accepted sequence of categories is not associated with introducing distinctions or hierarchical organization of forms of intangible heritage. It only reflects the attempt to attain a holistic concept of the more common forms and expressions of intangible heritage in Bulgaria and their representation at the national and local levels.

PHOTO 5. HOREZU CERAMICS
Source: Bogdan29roman.

National Repertory of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Romania

Romania has four entries on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity: *Căluş ritual* (2008) (see photo 4), *Doina* (2009), *Craftsmanship of Horezu ceramics* (2012) (see photo 5) and *Men's group Colindat, Christmas-time ritual* (2013)[2].

PHOTO 4. CĂLUȘARI DANCING IN THE SAXON FORTIFIED CHURCH OF CRISTIAN, SIBIU COUNTY, ROMANIA
Source: El bes.

Starting in 2007, Romania has a National Commission for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage subject to the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs. The National Commission represents a scientific body without legal personality and it is comprised of specialists representing Romanian cultural institutions: Romanian Academy of Science, museums and universities. This Commission coordinates the work of institutions involved in the process of identifying and preserving intangible cultural heritage, both at the local and national levels: Regional Centers for Cultural Issues in each administrative area of the country and the National Centre for Conservation and Promotion of Traditional Culture (Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH in Romania, 8th Annual Meeting of the South East European Experts Network on Intangible Cultural Heritage, Limassol Cyprus, 15-16 May 2014)[3].

The National Commission has proposed a repertory of cultural elements that constitute the national intangible cultural heritage. This resulted in a synthesis of all types of Romanian traditional culture as well as the traditional culture of Romania's minorities. The National Repertory of intangible cultural heritage of Romania is updated periodically and may be considered a central base for concrete actions to identify and define the elements that have a spiritual dominance in Romanian traditional culture. The Repertory of intangible cultural heritage has the following structure.

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[2] Men's group Colindat, Christmas-time ritual – inscribed in 2013 (8.COM) on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; countries: Romania, Republic of Moldova.
[3] For more information, see http://www.slideshare.net/UNESCOVENICE/romania-implementation-of-the-convention-for-the-safeguarding-of-intangible-cultural-heritage-in-romania

First tome (published in 2009):

– Oral traditions and expressions
– Traditional music
– Traditional dance
– Children and teenager's games
– Holidays, traditions and rituals
– Traditional medicine
– Traditional handicrafts
– Traditional food

The second tome, part A, "Knowledge and practices concerning man, nature and the universe":

– Astronomy and meteorology
– Earth science (mythology, geology, mineralogy)
– Traditional representation of the human body
– Ethnobotany
– The wild world (ethnozoology)

This year the Commission has started to work on the part B of the second tome of the Repertory, considering space and habitat as elements of intangible cultural heritage. The third tome will be dedicated to minority ethnic groups living on Romanian territory. The Repertory is available in a bilingual version (Romanian-French) on the website of the Ministry of Culture (see photo 6).

PHOTO 6. INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE (MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF ROMANIA)

Source: www.cultura.ro

Questionnaires elaborated by the National Commission for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage were distributed to the largest partners of the Ministry of Culture as part of cultural activities throughout the country: The Research Institute of the Romanian Academy of Science, departments of ethnography, departments of philology and history, academies of music, museums, cultural centres, and regional directors of culture. In addition, the expert character of the Romanian process of creating the Inventory is evident in the team of the Commission, which consists of a group of specialists, although not researchers, whose task is to create an interdisciplinary and holistic understanding of intangible culture (Balotescu, 2007). Caring for a high level of methodology and terminology is entirely proper; however, the local communities' lack of active participation is disturbing.

National Heritage Board of Poland – Intangible Cultural Heritage Programme

Expressions of Polish intangible culture have not been registered in the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage decided that the task of planning implementation of the recommendations of the UNESCO Convention of 2003 is to be entrusted to the National Heritage Board of Poland. In 2011, the Institute commenced working on the project of the National Program for Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The fundamental assumption of the National Program for Protection of Cultural Intangible Heritage proposed by the Institute is the participation of four groups: central institutions, local self-governing units, non-governmental organisations and representatives of social organisations and representatives of academic and research unites associated with intangible heritage[4].

One of the central activities proposed by the Institute is implementing a National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (see photo 9). According to the proposed assumptions, the list should promote the elements registered on it in accordance with the directives of the Convention. The authors of the project also emphasised its prestige as it is meant to promote intangible heritage as a whole. In accordance with the Institute's proposal, the National List of Intangible Heritage will be managed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and the National Heritage Board of Poland is responsible for the procedure of accepting applications for entering specific elements of intangible heritage on the list, as well as for their formal evaluation and cyclical verification of the elements registered in the list.

Groups, local communities and their authorised representatives can apply. Once the National Heritage Board of Poland has accepted and verified the applications, they are transferred to the Council of Intangible Heritage of the Ministry of Culture and

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[4] For more information, see www.niematerialne.nid.pl

National Heritage for evaluation and, in the case that they are approved by the Council, the Minister will enter the given element on the List. In 2014, the following elements of Polish intangible heritage were registered: artistic and historical gun manufacturing, products made according to the tradition of the School of Cieszyń, Lajkonik marches, the Corpus Christi procession in Łowicz (see photo 7), and Krakow Christmas cribs (see photo 8).

PHOTO 7. CORPUS CRISTI PROCESSION

Source: MKiDN-NID.

PHOTO 8. CRACOW CHRISTMAS CRIBS

Source: MKiDN-NID.

The second activity proposed for the National Heritage Board of Poland, to implement the recommendations of the Convention, is to start the "Protection of Intangible Heritage", which is a priority in the framework of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage's operational program. The funds available for the program need to be made

accessible for entities working on the educational and documentary projects which ensure the transmission of intergenerational intangible culture. The National Heritage Board of Poland will also organise cyclical societal campaigns for promoting Polish intangible heritage.

PHOTO 9. THE NATIONAL HERITAGE BOARD OF POLAND – NATIONAL LIST OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Source: http://niematerialne.nid.pl/Dziedzictwo_ niematerialne/

A proposal was also made to create the so-called authorised regional representatives for intangible cultural heritage. This suggestion can raise fears because it creates a new position and the possibility of politicising it. Another proposal was to grant appropriate competencies to the institutions of culture already functioning in the *voivodeships*, whose management and monitoring are part of the responsibilities of the marshal offices. These solutions appear to be based on the numerous activities, in particular documentary and educational, which are recorded in the statues of these institutions.

From the point of view of documentation of Polish intangible culture, the Digital Library of the Polish Institute of Anthropology seems to be a valuable initiative. It completes tasks specified by the National Heritage Board of Poland and those connected with the protection of intangible cultural heritage in Poland, by gathering information about the cultural tradition in Poland and carrying out activities associated with documentation, archiving and distribution of intangible culture. The Digital Library of the Polish Institute of Anthropology contains the most important ethnographic journals which appeared after the Second World War in Poland: *Lud, Etnografia Polska* and *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* (Koźmińska, 2013). With regard to the creation of a database of intangible culture in Poland, the question of the informational strategy for the visual documentation

(video, pictures) of Polish intangible heritage on the Internet poses a problem. The most important issue associated with this is often the unregulated question of legal liability for contemporary and archival materials which present the traditions and ceremonies and the shortage of Polish copyright.

In Poland, the promotion of intangible culture is focused in particular on supporting expert projects. This situation has been changing over the last couple of years, and in particular after the establishment of 2014 as the Year of Oskarg Kolberg and due to the activities of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage at the central level. In 2013, Polish Parliament – on request of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, Bogdan Zdrojewski – adopted a resolution declaring 2014 the Year of Oskar Kolberg[5]. Zdrojewski entrusted the Institute of Music and Dance with the organisation of the Kolberg Year. The Minister also announced a special program "Kolberg 2014 – Promesa", which aims to support projects concerning the artistic, scientific, educational and documentation works related to the Oskar Kolberg's heritage and to traditional Polish art and culture. The results of the competition under the "Promesa" project were announced in December 2013[6].

One of the problems associated with the identification of intangible culture in Poland is the question of territories with interrupted cultural continuity. The area of the West Pomeranian voivodeship is a combination of several traditions: Prussian and Mennonite (Dutch) since before 1945; Ukrainian ethnic traditions (from 1947) and migration and repatriate intangible cultural heritage of a multiregional nature (after 1945). The Second World War completely destroyed the social structure of this region: the population of German and Dutch ancestries were forced to leave these territories, as a result of the resolutions of Yalta and Potsdam Conferences in 1945, and the population from the Central and Southeastern parts of Poland and repatriates from the East were resettled there (Kubiak, 2007).

The territories with disrupted cultural continuity raise many doubts and controversies in the question of protecting their intangible culture. The UNESCO Convention excludes the registration of elements of intangible culture of communities which do not possess cultural continuity simultaneously in three dimensions: relations with the environment, the influence of nature, and historical continuity. According to article 2 of the Convention of 2003:

This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO, 2003).

The transmission of tradition in regions with disrupted cultural continuity often takes place between certain units and not in a particular territory, and it often has an ahistorical nature (Paprocka, 2013). However, efforts should be made to recognise the necessity of protecting the intangible culture of these regions, because they create important bonds, which actually link cultures and communities with complicated cultural and social structures.

Interactive Database – The tangible and intangible heritage of Quebec

Canada has not yet achieved any entries on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Quebec is the first Canadian province to recognise intangible cultural heritage at the legislative level. The province has given special cultural heritage status to Inuit throat singing, or *katajjaq*[7], the first element of intangible culture that has been given this status in Canada.

PHOTO 10. INUIT WOMEN
Source: Ansgar Walk.

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[5] Oskar Kolberg was a Polish ethnographer, folklorist, and composer (1814-1890).

[6] The celebrations of the Oskar Kolberg Year are carried out in cooperation with the Institute Oskar Kolberg, the Traditional Music Forum, Polish Radio, the Association of Folk Artists, the Art Institute of Sciences, the Union of Polish Composers, the Fryderyk Chopin Institute, the National Audiovisual Institute, and many other institutions and organisations. Among other activities, the celebrations included: the launch of an interactive guide to Kolberg's work, the digitalisation of Kolberg's manuscripts and the elaboration of a report on traditional Polish music and dance.

In the recent Cultural Heritage Act adopted on October 19, 2011, Quebec has included clauses inspired by the 2003 Convention. The article 6 of the Quebec Sustainable Development Act (2006) states that:

> The cultural heritage, made up of (…) traditions and knowledge, reflects the identity of a society. It passes on the values of a society from generation to generation, and the preservation of this heritage fosters the sustainability of development. Cultural heritage components must be identified, protected and enhanced, taking their intrinsic rarity and fragility into account

The principal means for the promotion and development of intangible cultural heritage within the Cultural Heritage Act are official statutes of recognition. Two levels of recognition are specified: first, Quebec's ministry of culture will be able to "designate" an element of intangible cultural heritage as part of the shared national heritage of Quebecers; second, municipalities and native band councils will be able to "identify" local elements of intangible cultural heritage. All these recognised elements will be added to the Quebec Cultural Heritage Register. The Act calls for municipalities to create a local heritage council responsible for receiving requests and analysing intangible cultural heritage cases. Municipalities will also be able to delegate this task to their existing planning advisory committee (Gauthier, 2013).

In 2004, the Ministry of Culture, Communications and the Status of Women (MCCF) began the process of creating an informational system in order to manage and promote cultural heritage. The main resources used in the beginning phases were derived from the Historic Places Initiative (*L'Initiative des Endroits Historiques*), which came into being as a result of co-operation with the government of Quebec. One of the components of this project was the Canadian Register of Historic Places (*Le Répertoire canadien de lieux patrimoniaux* – RCLP). The RCLP system is a database which embraces the whole territory of the country and is additionally enriched with specific provinces and regions. It presents information about key historical sites for communities, regions, provinces and the whole country. Before commencing the RCLP project, the MCCF elaborated the database *Le Patrimoine immobilier, mobilier et immatériel du Quebec* (PIMIQ) and its interface on the Internet, known as the Cultural Heritage Register of Quebec (*Le Répertoire du patrimoine culturel du Quebec* – RPCQ). The work on this project lasted until the beginning of 2009.

Both the PIMIQ database and the RPCQ are based on the principle of management according to values, that is, their authors have accepted the thesis that every cultural good (regardless of its form, tangible or intangible) always functions in reference to the values and traditions of its perception and interpretation. For this reason, the databases strive to secure knowledge about historical monuments and their material conditions, and also to transfer intangible cultural resources which are mediums. Therefore, these databases are particularly careful in the presentation of historical monuments in their social and historical context.

The main purpose of the RPQC database is to manage and promote the tangible heritage of Quebec. Cultural goods of ethnological nature, artefacts, art works, archives and expressions of tangible heritage are represented in it. The basis for creating the accepted categorisation of the database is the Cultural Property Act (amended in 2011 – The Cultural Heritage Act). Work on including intangible culture to the existing database started as a pilot project related to religious intangible culture. Since 2006, the MCCF, in co-operation with the Canada Research Chair in Ethnological Heritage (*Chair de recherche du Canada en patrimoine ethnologique*), have been working on the innovative project of creating a database related to religious intangible heritage. The project was started at the same time that the elaboration of an inventory of sacred cultural historical monuments by the Quebec Museum Society (*Société des Musées Québécois*). The program enables information searches for religious traditions grouped according to confession and geographical territory. The descriptions refer to places, objects, cultural practices and traditions. They were methodologically elaborated on the basis of a network of cultural practices, however, the information will be made available by means of a search engine with the help of key words or a list of values (Lauzon, 2007).

Conclusion

The process of defining and safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage may be called "the phase of standardisation" – the introduction of international criteria due to the needs of international law regulations and administration. There is a certain hierarchy in managing elements of intangible culture – it entails that the bureaucratic cooperation should be implemented in the activities of international bodies, national commissions/centres, NGOs and communities concerned. The state institutionalisation made of intangible culture a nation-related issue, or even nationalised, which means that states could be

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[7] Inuit throat singing or *katajjaq* is a type of musical performance where two women sing rhythmic patterns, usually standing and facing one another.

seen as the primary holders of the intangible cultural property rights.

Administrative processes and methods are confronted with scientific contextualisation and many kinds of representation and identification strategies and policies. The first area of significant tension is the opposition between the area of academic research and the activities of state administration. Academic and research environments create platforms for searching for symbolic protection of expressions of intangible culture in general. However, the activities of state authorities are focused on protecting particular examples of heritage (to this point, intangible) and developing and implementing a catalogue of the means for their protection. The state's activities are dependent on political conditions, and, as a rule, they are limited to the territory of a given country. Research activity is to a great extent independent, and certainly goes beyond the frames of territorial boundaries.

The second question is associated with the institutionalisation of the concept of intangible cultural heritage and its protection. Along these lines, the first possible threat could be using the intangible cultural heritage concept for creating (or re-creating) identities for cultural and social groups and countries in their negative form, that is to say, as a way to determinate the difference from others. In its *soft* version, it can serve to build cultural differences; in its *hard* version, it can support independence activities by communities striving to separate themselves from others (local and/or national), and in its *extreme* version, it can be used as an argument for obtaining territorial or political independence. In the understanding of this process, it is necessary to emphasise that the reshaping of governmental systems and social structures, daily practices and language mutually complement themselves, constituting a space semantically characterised. The link of nations with a particular territory also depends on the connection of their communities and their history with certain places and particular features of the landscape, as well as on their representation in tradition and culture. On the other hand, all representations are made from a particular point of view and have their own emotional and political value. Hence, the question of constant processes of exclusion always arises as a means of

"ENTRUSTING THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE TO STATE INSTITUTIONS CONSTITUTES A THREAT FOR THE CONTINUITY OF ELEMENTS OF HERITAGE WHICH ARE NOT NECESSARILY ACCEPTED BY THE AUTHORITIES OF PARTICULAR STATES".

legitimising a specified community in a given area (Pred, 1984; Anderson, 2006). The second danger can be posed by activities intended exclusively to obtain financial support from international entities. The third risky question is related to the rejection of elements in real need of protection according to the Convention's recommendations, in favour of searching for more prestigious expressions of intangible culture. In this way, forms of intangible heritage which fulfil the conditions set by the Convention's regulations might be excluded. The activities of countries can be two-tracked in relation to using the UNESCO lists: on the one hand, they can be used only for symbolic identification promoting elements, to emphasise specific elements of national cultural characteristics; and, on the other hand, they can be intended to the development of national tourism, by creating a context of "authenticity" for traditions and customs, to be employed by the tourist industry (recognition on the international arena increases the attractiveness of a specific touristic product).

A third important tension is related to time. Protection of heritage assumes the existence of its timeless aspect and the possibility of developing an inventory creates the necessity of introducing a contemporary context for the objects and forms of intangible culture. Inventories, databases and graphic representations will not be "eternal", since they will also be exposed to gradual degradation or expiration.

The objective of the 2003 Convention was to protect and promote local heritage; however, due to the imposed mechanisms of protection of intangible heritage, it can be used for preserving the monolithic model of cultural policy in force in a given state. An undoubtable merit of the UNESCO regulation is the introduction of the requirement for states to take into consideration the existing interaction between societal development and cultural processes, which are a result of their members' activities (Boylan, 2006). However, entrusting the identification of the forms of intangible heritage to state institutions raises several doubts and constitutes a threat for the continuity of elements of heritage connected to communities but which are not necessarily accepted by the authorities of particular states.

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