Issue Nº 1,
Volume 9

December 2019

European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy

European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy

Volume 9 / Issue 1 / 2019 / ISSN 2663-5771

AIM & FOCUS
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FRECUENCY
This journal is a yearly publication. However, depending on the number of articles accepted for publication, an extra issue could be considered.

ARTICLE SELECTION
All articles considered for publication in the *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* have gone through a double-blind review process.

OPEN ACCESS
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PUBLISHER
ENCATC
Avenue Maurice, 1
B-1050 Brussels
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Neo-colonialism in cultural governance in the EU: a Maltese case study

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ABSTRACT

The case of cultural governance in Malta will be assessed to throw light on neo-colonialist practices persistent in relations between the European Union (EU) and Member States today. A sense of continuity between British rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and current cultural governance in Malta seems to have facilitated EU support of neo-liberal economic approaches to culture. It will be argued that this tension has allowed nationalistic tendencies and the instrumental use of the sector to grow. The term 'culture' is interpreted following Edward Said with regard to the acknowledgment of general social practices together with the struggle for the assertion of identities.

This paper makes the case that the adherence of the EU to the principle of subsidiarity in culture, combined with the prioritisation of economic principles, seem to have compromised cultural development in Malta through the dilution of a critical approach towards cultural practice. This strategic approach seems to have enabled the continuation of a colonial framework by enabling the subtle yet pervasive dominance

Keywords:

Cultural Policy

EU

European Capital of Culture

Malta

Neo-colonialism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank Dr Anthony Pace, Margerita Pulè, Anna Steinkamp and Dr. Charles Xuereb.

Introduction: the perpetuation of neo-colonialism in cultural governance

This paper will argue that neo-colonialist practices in the governance of the Island State of Malta are still in existence. The focus of this argument will be on the field of cultural governance. While witnessed elsewhere, in terms of the general governance of the state, culture has been chosen because of the way colonial and neo-colonial mechanisms use this aspect of people's lives in pervasive, and effective, ways (Wa Thiong'o, 1987: 21). The paper will make the case for a sense of continuity between the British period of colonial rule in Malta, stretching from the early nineteenth century to the early second half of the twentieth, and the Maltese political class, maintaining a focus on policies and actions addressing the field of culture. However, its main argument will relate colonial and neo-colonial cultural governance to the last fifteen years of this practice in Malta and the way this period has been influenced by membership of the European Union (EU). Therefore, cultural governance is assessed in relation to British rule, officially ended in 1964 and EU membership, commenced in 2004[1].

The paper acknowledges the fact that cultural governance does not operate in a vacuum. This means that it will take into account the fact that other factors, not directly stemming from or purposely influencing the cultural field, have a significant, if not more critical and determining role on the development of society. This is particularly true of those areas of governance related to politics, economics, education and finance. However, this acknowledgment will allow the paper to make a strong, because realistic, argument in favour of the continuity, often subtle, and therefore more pervasive, of neo-colonialist frameworks of thinking, and practice, in Malta today. An assessment of similar, arguably stronger and bolder, tendencies within the EU, will help support this argument as ties in cultural governance between Malta and the EU will be explored.

The paper will also acknowledge the ambivalence inherent to EU policies that address social development in the same breath as structural neo-liberalism. It will consider the tension underlying and shaping European approaches and agendas towards the wellbeing of people tempered by economic and financial market priorities. This paper will argue that the wellbeing of people is ironically not served, but rather hindered, by neo-liberal agendas and practices, with particular attention given to the case of cultural governance. Since parallels between the EU and Malta will be drawn, the paper will try to come to the conclusion that current neo-liberal practices, shot through by contradictions and competing intentions, ultimately favour political caution that supports the status quo, censor what may be considered by the political classes as threatening action by cultural actors, and ultimately, and subtly, encourages cultural actors to censor themselves in order to fit current frameworks and benefit from structures that are, essentially, neo-colonialist in nature[2].

The nature of this paper is one of critical reflection and analysis aimed at shining a light on a relatively well-researcher theme, namely neo-colonialism, in a context that is somewhat under-represented in literature dealing with cultural policy studies (Malta). It builds its case by making use of empirical data that is both desk-researched as well as directly experienced and observed by the author in his various recent cultural capacities at national and European level.

As a final note to this introduction, it is worth noting that this paper will make use of the term 'culture' in fairly accepted ways by mainstream academic literature. Nevertheless, it is good to remember that, although widely documented in the field of cultural policy studies, the word 'culture' remains one of the most problematic in the English language (Williams, 1976: 76). For the purposes of this paper, the term 'culture' will be interpreted in the light of Edward Said's understanding of the word. This means that on the one hand, this will refer to the popular practice that enables the expression of people's interpretation of their social experiences. On the other hand, attention will be paid to the spaces where people related to different demographics struggle to assert their values and identities (Said, 1994: xii-xiii).

Culture and the EU

The EU adopts what may be described as another type of double approach towards culture. On the one hand it takes a generic angle at cultural policy; on the other hand it shows deference to the principle of subsidiarity at Member State (MS) level.

[1] Xuereb. (2014: 297) claims that "a]mid fears of political and economic survival, the Island set out to rediscover its identity only to find itself at a crossroads in the first decade of the new millenium merely forty years later (...) joining the European Union in 2004, after centuries of protectionism, seemed a natural step for the Islanders".
[2] The function of self-censorship as a tool of self-governance and the curtailing effects of apparently democratic approaches to social life are analysed in depth by Michel Foucault (Bennett, 2004).

"THE ANALYSIS OF NEO-COLONIAL PRACTICE IN CULTURAL GOVERNANCE IN MALTA IN RELATION TO THE EU NEEDS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE HISTORICAL MEDITERRANEAN COLONIAL CONTEXT, OF WHICH MALTA IS PART. EUROPEAN INFLUENCE, IN PARTICULAR BRITISH AND FRENCH, (...) HAS BEEN PERVASIVE"

It has been increasingly observed by critics that the EU attempts to bridge neo-liberal economic priorities with social concerns through various means within its competence. Efforts at achieving a balancing act across different policy areas have led the EU to practice free market regulation while concurrently attempting to address aspects of social inequality and disaggregation through socially progressive policy. This tension between EU economic and social policy is structural. It spans across different territories, both internal and external to the Union (Cafruny, 2016: 9-27). The EU approach towards its economic, financial and political survival and expansion is of an aggressive nature (Marsili & Varoufakis, 2017: 14-17). Instances that illustrate this include its approach to those Europeans who suffered critically from the havoc of the 2008 economic and financial crisis and its irresolute alternation between austerity and solidarity. Another example consists of the programme of economic bilateral trade agreements promoting free trade with third countries, as well as the drive towards securing and securitising neighbouring territories to the east and south of Europe through economic, intelligence and military tools (Bilgin, 2004).

The cultural remit of the EU is of particular interest amidst this conflictual scenario. European cultural initiatives illustrate contradictions that are inherent to the wider EU approach. Therefore, on the one hand, the EU agenda for culture has highlighted the humanist aspect of the Union, which promotes collaboration inspired by interculturality, innovation, and creativity. Moreover, the acceptance of cultural diversity outside as well as within the EU has been portrayed as a key element in all its relations (European Commission, 2018). On the other hand, the emphasis on global engagement on a cultural basis, encompassing different policy areas seeking to achieve economic ends as set out in the Europe 2020 Strategy for growth and jobs, has become a main pillar of the European project (European Commission, 2010).

The (un)changing nature of cultural governance in Malta

The analysis of neo-colonial practice in cultural governance in Malta in relation to the EU needs to acknowledge the historical Mediterranean colonial context, of which Malta is part. European influence, in particular British and French, on various societies that may be identified as European, as well as not, has been pervasive. Effects today may be witnessed with regard to the management of various branches of cultural activity, including heritage management, nation branding and tourism. Ernest Gellner (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1991) claim that nationalism may use heritage in exploitative ways even if this means selecting and creating particular traditions while rehabilitating some aspects but not others. An important element in the development of such trends is nation branding in the age of globalisation, when easier travel and the development of common markets have become relatively more common globally (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991).

From a historical perspective, British rule in Malta from the early nineteenth century gave way to Independence in 1964, concurrent with the divesting of the Empire of many of its territorial possessions to various degrees. Early efforts to maintain close links to the West during this treacherous period of the Cold War, particularly with regard to the UK, the US and NATO, gave way to non-alignment and warmer relations with emerging Third World countries including Arab neighbouring states like Libya. The late 1980s saw Malta seeking fresh ties with Europe, and a distancing from political affiliations with Arab states, while attempting to capitalise on the neutrality and geo-strategic position of the Island (Frendo, 2012). Membership of the EU was sought and eventually achieved in 2004. Since then, Malta has tried to galvanise its role in a global context. It has arguably exceeded economic and financial expectations through the provision of several services such as gaming, financial investment and passport sales schemes. These have somewhat tarnished Malta's reputation through suspected episodes of corruption and nepotism that are under investigation (Briguglio, 2017).

An analysis of cultural governance throws interesting light when considered in relation to the apparatus of the Maltese state. Its governance structures have been heavily influenced by colonial experience. Two years prior to joining the EU, in view of membership, Malta undertook significant legal changes to these structures. These mainly consisted of the Cultural Heritage Act, which has since then regulated the heritage sector, and the Arts Council Act, establishing a government agency for the arts.

However, this passage from structures dating from colonial rule to emancipated ones is troubled in the following ways. The Cultural Heritage Act led to the establishment of the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage. Nominally, this is the watchdog for heritage. Unfortunately, faced by the onslaught of construction branded by the state as development and regeneration essential to Malta's modernising project, factors such as its chronic understaffing, sidelining and over-ruling in relation to the dominant Planning Authority, the conveyor of construction permits on behalf of the state result in the severe curtailment of its function in the defence and promotion of Maltese heritage (Debono, 2017).

The same act led to the formation of Heritage Malta, the national agency for heritage. Its name is only in English, belied by another trend wherein non-governmental cultural organisations tend to identify themselves with a single name in Maltese[3]. On an operational level, the chair of the organisation is often granted to business or political appointees with little experience of heritage management. For instance, in 2018, the chairperson is a former demoted minister, and is accompanied by the current head of the civil service in a covert position of executive leadership (Micallef, 2018; The Times of Malta, 2018a). This method of management is common across government agencies including and not exclusive to the cultural sector and recalls the experience of postcolonial territories around the world (Nkrumah, 1965).

The influence of the British colonial experience that formed the civil service is evident in the cultural sector. This is particularly true with regard to the continued presence of the classic role of the "governor", traditionally appointed by the government and to whom allegiance by his staff was owed[4]. In the case of MUŻA, the Museum of Art scheduled to open in 2018 as part of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in Malta, yet still only partly completed at the time of writing, the level of success it will attain in delivering its set vision remains to be seen. On the one hand, curatorial preparation has been ground in contemporary reference points spread widely across European experience, as well as other non-European bases. Most notable is the association with NEMO, the network of European museums, and other museums like MuCEM, which like MUŻA acted as a flagship project for its own ECoC in Marseille in 2013. However, the museum seems to be considered as an extension of the heritage agency by its own governance hierarchy, reproducing a civil service mentality loyal to customer care service and political priorities rather than one dedicated to innovation and interactivity with the community it strives to represent (Grech, 2015).

On establishment in 2002, the governance mechanism of the Malta Council for Culture and the Arts (MCCA) sought to forge international links and follow such practices. One such practice adopted was the UK-driven and widely recognized principle in Europe of operating at arm's length. Together with the membership of and close relations with the International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA), which brings together arts councils from mostly the Anglophone part of the world, one can observe the recent membership of the European Network of Cultural Institutes (EUNIC), the pan-European collection of cultural institutes. However, as with heritage, it is unfortunate that much progress has been curtailed by the tendency to assert the traditional governor's role in ensuring a somewhat familiar circle of influence and exposure favouring allegiance and rewarding loyalty (Pace, 2017).

The political exploitation and co-option enabled by greater degrees of state funding of the arts has been accompanied by a strategic emphasis on the economic aspect of cultural initiatives, as can be witnessed by the cultural strategy spanning 2016-2020 and the new cultural policy aimed to extend till 2025. In recent years, Arts Council Malta, previously known as MCCA, has followed the EU emphasis on the

[3] Din l-Art Ħelwa, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna and Flimkien għal Ambjent Aħjar are interesting examples dating from the 1990s, and hence predating Heritage Malta, on a non-governmental organization (NGO) level. The most recent example refers to the rebranding of St James Cavalier Centre for Creativity to Spazju Kreattiv.

[4] This point was elaborated upon by Charles Xuereb on the Maltese national radio Radju Malta programme Ħadd u Kulħadd, broadcast on 4 March 2018: https://soundcloud.com/john-mallia-44205791/hadd-u-kulhadd-john-mallia-ma-dr-charles-xuereb-pt-1 [accessed 3 October 2019].

generation of economic activity and employment, as part of its funding remit. In so doing, it seems to have reinforced an instrumental approach to culture and the arts that seems to accentuate dependence on state funds rather than help nurture an entrepreneurial spirit (Xuereb, 2017).

Therefore, a focus on economics seems to be infiltrating civil society activities in a way that is contributing to a growing dependence on the state and a lessening of critical approaches towards it (Pulè, 2018 ; Flask, 2018). Cultural operators seem to perform and fulfil a double function that matches neo-colonial functions in cogent ways: they act as extensions of the state in terms of cultural purpose, and refrain from distancing themselves critically from government apparatus. Cultural actors caught up in and benefiting, financially, from this situation seem to have become part of a process such as that reflected upon by Gramscian and Foucauldian perspectives on state co-option of non-governmental players through governmentality and self-censorship (Bennett, 2004).

The (un)intended influence of EU action on national cultural policy

As noted, the EU operates subsidiarity with full respect to the notion that "national cultures (…) have, of course, been the primary frame of reference in which cultural policy agendas have been elaborated in modern Europe" (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou, 2006: 3). Cultural matters dealt with by the Council of the EU and related bodies respect the competences of MS on the basis of national identity in order to allow them all the necessary room within which to implement and monitor progress in ways that safeguard national priorities. While understandable and even laudable in its intention as a mechanism of the cultural governance of such a complex reality as is the EU, the subsidiarity principle may be contributing to a disaggregation of cultural practice and the formation of disconnected islands of culture. This is so because MS are known to shape guidelines, funding and mobilise resources to achieve primarily nationalistic aims. This trend is arguably on the rise (Leydolt-Fuchs, 2018). The results may thus only partially match expectations harboured at the outset as well as justify nationalistic action that contradicts goals for greater cohesion through culture in Europe.

This section, consisting of the main part of the paper, will try to show how an assessment of cultural governance in Malta exposes a neo-colonial social structure, which in turn throws interesting light on relations between the small island state and the EU. It will be argued that tensions between culture, economics and politics in the former are a reflection of those in the Union itself.

European islands of culture

The example of the ECoC in Malta in 2018 is indicative of this scenario. The ECoC was established in 1985 by the Greek Minister for Culture and star performer Melina Mercouri, together with her French counterpart, Jack Lang, aiming to highlight European cultural expression in line with Said's dual definition described above. The ECoC sought to bring those elements that can be identified as common, relevant and hence representative of European identity to the fore through the title that chosen cities were granted with. In preparing for Valletta 2018 as ECoC, a great deal of programming and reporting to the European Commission focused on delivering this vision. However, later developments led to "significant concerns" (Ebejer, 2018: 11).

Only a few weeks after the title was conferred in May 2017, and the Melina Mercouri prize of EUR1.5m settled, significant changes to the European dimension of the preparatory phase started taking place. Matters took a turn for the worse during the year itself, with various international figures in the cultural and political fields challenging the claim on European values professed by the Maltese authorities in the light of a disparaging and divisive attitude, fomented by the leadership of the Valletta 2018 Foundation with regard to the murder of investigative journalist Daphne Caruana Galizia, known to be critical of government authorities, in October 2017. Perversely, a former Prime Minister of Malta who had opposed EU membership for Malta, then a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) at the time of the incident described here, claimed it was the Valletta 2018 leadership that was practising European values in expressing its views on the matter, and took critics to task for not respecting the concept of freedom of speech. The invocation of freedom of expression, accompanied by others for the moderation of language and tolerance of opinion, were repeated by the current Prime Minister and the Minister for Culture in a concerted governmental effort to reclaim a European dimension (Xuereb, 2018a). It is pertinent to note that while several members of the selection and monitoring committee appointed by the European Commission to oversee the development of ECoCs expressed their criticism publicly, as did 72 MEPs (*The*

Times of Malta, 2018b) and Leeuwarden, the Dutch ECoC for 2018, and regional and national authorities representing The Netherlands, implemented an official boycott of Valletta 2018, the EU itself did not adopt any official position (Xuereb, 2018b)[5].

This episode, and the shadow it cast on the rest of the ECoC programme in Malta, contributes to expose some of the limits of the EU on matters of cultural significance. It may be correct to assert that "values or conceptions of what is good may vary according to cultural or social contexts" (Sjursen, 2006: 247) and that the practice of normative power cannot be anything other than "the EU promoting its own norms in a similar manner to historical empires and contemporary powers" (Manners, 2002: 240). However, this example from Malta uncovers some of the severe tensions that the EU faces when promoting programmes that take place on a national level, the value of which it seems not to be able to safeguard. Hardwick notes that the idea of a "global common good" (Aggestam, 2008: 1) is tied up in unachievable cosmopolitanism and falls foul to accusations of cultural imperialism, an issue that discredits the EU as a normative power. However, in this case, his claim to "discount the EU as a normative power as it contradicts itself" may not be due to too much influence, but to too little.

> **"IT IS NOTICEABLE THAT WHILE THE MAJORITY OF PROJECTS SUBMITTED TO THE MONITORING PANEL DURING THE PREPARATORY PHASE WERE MAINTAINED, THE COMMUNICATION AND LOGISTICAL E ORTS DURING THE ECOC YEAR WERE SHIFTED TOWARDS THE CELEBRATION AND GLORIFICATION OF POPULAR CROWD-PULLING COMMEMORATIONS AND RITUALS"**

It is noticeable that while the majority of projects submitted to the monitoring panel during the preparatory phase were maintained, the communication and logistical efforts during the ECoC year were shifted towards the celebration and glorification of popular crowd-pulling commemorations and rituals with relatively easy appeal, accepted nationalistic narratives and parochial interests. As may be observed by the publicity material produced during the year, the main items of the programme consisted of the opening ceremony featuring a series of light shows illustrating historic episodes of national importance – rather than European, such as the commemoration of the Great Siege battle against forces of the Ottoman Empire in 1565, and Independence from the British in 1964 (Frendo, 2012: 43). A series of mimetic exercises were also engaged with in the form of the recreation of the procession of boats marking royal anniversaries in Great Britain and the flower carpet, or *infiorata*, of Sicilian tradition, among others.

This shallow transposition of a set of island traditions, those of Great Britain and Sicily, to Malta, recalls what contemporary cultural critic Shannon Jackson stated in April 2018 during her keynote speech at Aarhus University referring to Stefan Kaegi's analysis of historical re-enactments[6]. Kaegi says that on such occasions the signifier may be greater than the signified or, in other words, where the event creating the representation of tradition is the meaning of itself, there is little actual value to be found in the way people may relate to the event as a vector of intangible heritage in relation to a historical happening, or context, of recognised importance. Furthermore, an authority in heritage interpretation, David Lowenthal, accepts that heritage is "not a testable or even plausible version of our past; it is a *declaration of faith* in that past" (1998: 7-8). Therefore, if crafting the means of celebrating a recreation of the past comes through others' heritage models, particularly colonial, Lowenthal's claim that "heritage fosters exhilarating fealties" points us towards

[5] Jordi Pardo, who was an international member of the evaluation and monitoring panel for the ECOC in Malta was quoted as saying the actions of the chairperson of the Valletta 2018 Foundation "reflect a bigger democratic problem". Pardo noted he signed PEN's open letter expressing its concern to the European Commission in this spirit: http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2018-04-26/local-news/Jason-Micallef-situation-reflects-a-bigger-democratic-problem-V18-selection-committee-members-6736188817 [accessed 3 October 2019].

[6] http://conferences.au.dk/culturesofparticipation2018/keynote-speakers/ [accessed 3 October 2019].

neo-colonial allegiances being reinforced, rather than assessed or even challenged.

Communitarianism, or divide et impera

It is ironic that the concept of community has been exploited by initiatives trumpeted by instruments of cultural governance in Malta in order to achieve the opposite effect. Divide and rule, as per the Latin maxim, has been one of the effects of a celebration of community along the lines of communitarianism, seeking to forge alliances on the basis of traditions and politics, rather than seek novel ways of engagement. In a glaring omission of a sense of identity of place, running counter to the *environment of exchange* professed at bidding stage, the ECoC in Malta organised a large-scale reunion of the four traditional, local, religiously-inspired feasting communities in Valletta, in an event called *Il-Festa l-Kbira*, literally translated as "the big feast" (Valletta 2018 Foundation, 2011). On this occasion, no gesture of recognition or inclusion and sense of welcome along lines of co-existence and collaboration was forthcoming as the rituals and cultural expressions of so many more, including the Greek, Russian, Serbian, Eritrean, Somali and Italian communities were simply ignored as if these were not part of Maltese cultural identity today[7].

Insightfully, Pia Leydolt-Fuchs (2018) commented on the risk of the political take-over of cultural initiatives like ECoC in a city like Valletta. In an article addressing the limits of how much politics can culture take before risking malfunction and subservience, she notes how certain political behaviour can be very shrewd in exploiting cultural initiatives and titles related to the EU or UNESCO in order to promote, at the end of the day, what is little more than strategic propaganda. Moreover, by being silent about such behaviour, the EU risks endorsing it, and by so doing, it contributes to the devaluation of its own programmes.

Culture as political convenience/ connivance

In describing cultural governance as practiced by national authorities and safeguarded by international conventions, the supranational agency for the United Nations on education, science and culture (UNESCO) affirms "[t]he sovereign right of States to adopt and implement policies to promote the diversity of cultural expressions that are based on informed, transparent and participatory processes and systems of governance" (UNESCO, 2017: 18). However, the continuation of colonial practices in cultural governance in Malta adds complexity to the neutral, prescriptive nature of this observation.

In a neo-colonial context such as that assessed here, culture may be used to contribute to the development of a play of mirrors, or a smokescreen, through the use of resting on one's laurels while covering up the wilful destructive manipulation of cultural heritage. In April 2018, the Minister of Culture for Malta established another board of cultural governance to be added to the various already in existence[8]. On this occasion, the board was set up to safeguard the intangible heritage of the Maltese people, with a view to develop a series of initiatives with which to raise the recognition of Malta's intangible heritage through at UNESCO level (*The Malta Independent,* 2018). The process includes the drawing up of an inventory of intangible heritage, to serve as a resource pool from which to identify the best candidates for recognition of their value to humanity on the basis of UNESCO's criteria. However, at a half-day seminar in March 2018 launching the call for citizens to submit proposals for consideration by the board for evaluation and development as bids to UNESCO, a gap in competence between the UNESCO-nominated expert Marina Calvo Pérez invited to support Maltese preparations by the Ministry for Culture, and members of the local team, became evident.

One may argue that this gap is why people with international expertise are routinely invited to inspire and advise local teams on matters of high-profile, be they UNESCO heritage applications or the ECoC. In the case described here, the gap seemed to lie in a basic conception and understanding of the value of intangible heritage, beyond its political convenience. Whether the heritage is tangible or intangible, what people value is, on the one hand, that special element they invest in the structure, site or monument, and on the other hand, the ritual, celebration or festivity. The loss of one or the other matters not only intrinsically, that is, in the value it carries in and of itself, but more importantly in the lives

[7] It is ironic to note that this is stark contrast to the rhetoric adopted by the Prime Minister as well as the President of the Republic in favour of adopting an open and tolerant approach towards foreign workers in the case of the former, and the acceptance of cultural diversity as part of humanity in the case of the latter.
[8] The list published by the Ministry of Culture on its offical site is not comprehensive. https://culture.gov.mt/en/culture-directorate/Pages/Culture-Boards-and-Committees.aspx [accessed 3 October 2019].

"WHILE CALLS FOR CRITICAL APPROACHES TO THE MANAGEMENT OF HERITAGE BY THE NOMINALLY COMPETENT AUTHORITIES ARE CURTAILED, THE RECOGNITION OF THE INSTRUMENTAL POLITICAL USE OF CULTURE (…) GUARANTEES THE SHORT-TERM SUCCESS OF POLITICAL CONVENIENCE AND CONNIVANCE"

of the communities sharing a bond with that outward sign of cultural expression (Brusasco, 2018). It is ironic that during the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018, there seems to be little that international organisations entrusted with far-reaching expertise and powers to influence and enlighten. For instance, the EU and UNESCO are ready to risk, seemingly fearful of threading on national competencies in the light of their deference towards subsidiarity[9]. Furthermore, while calls for critical approaches to the management of heritage by the nominally competent authorities are curtailed, the recognition of the instrumental political use of culture, in turn covering up the dearth of critical research, analysis and investment, guarantees the short-term success of political convenience and connivance.

Losing one's legacy

The establishment of a board such as that described above gains irony in the context of the ECoC in Malta. As Mario Vella, front man for the popular and unruly alternative music band *Brikkuni*, charged the chairman of the Valletta 2018 Foundation with one of the two legacies the capital of culture efforts can be really said to have established has been the gradual erosion of cultural capital in Valletta[10]. The most significant aspect of the regenerational onslaught on the city has been the development of nearly one hundred boutique hotels, which now besiege the small city of less than one square kilometre from within. Some may argue there is nothing wrong with the economic revival of Valletta, while others may disagree, particularly when one takes in consideration the numerous restaurants and bars which have, with legal blessing, taken over much public space in many roads and on pavements up and down the city.

Possibly, the development which best symbolises the encroachment of space is *Is-Suq tal-Belt*, the old market adjacent to the Grandmaster's Palace, now the Valletta palace of the President of the Republic. In an episode that attracted the attention of activists and artists in May 2018, the space in front of the market was clearly sign-posted as being private property, to the indignation and hilarity of those who, by then, still assumed that the careful urban development of the city would outweigh commercial interests and gentrification. A close-second to Is-Suq is arguably Strait Street. The one-time sleepy and seedy depository of memories of knightly duels and colonial cheap entertainment has been elevated to glorified cross-roads of pubs and eateries, all the while fiercely claiming its difference from the more popular and unpretentious nightspot that is touristy Paceville. In a rare case of self-awareness and critique, one of the artistic directors of Valletta 2018 and respected cultural personality, Giuseppe Schembri Bonaci, the economic development of the city has run amok with its cultural dimension. He feels it is the duty of people like him to try to put this right by re-establishing some form of balance through an innovative approach towards the arts[11].

In an exercise that addressed the planned and economically-enabled destruction of swathes of tangible and intangible heritage in Malta, a small project by an equally small group of artists and activists made a clear statement on the degraded state of many village cores, choosing the once tranquil back streets of Sliema as their site. *Il-Kamra ta' Barra*, loosely translated as "the front room", turned gutted traditional

[9] Interesting parallels may be drawn with Višnja Kisić's (2013:288) ENCATC 2013 prize-winning research on heritage governance in the Western Balkans and the way European cultural institutions seem to adopt an appeasing attitude to matters of dissonance once a territory draws closer in terms of adhesion to European politics and policies.
[10] The other was ingraining political subservience in the cultural sector, described in what may be described as rather colourful language: https://www.facebook.com/mario.vella.161 [accessed 3 October 2019].
[11] ARTE. (2018). "Valletta Metropolis". https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/083060-000-A/valletta/ , 3:05 [accessed 3 October 2019].

houses inside out, by re-creating the entrance of old family abodes on the street, amid the new architecture of cranes, concrete slabs and swirling dust. The collective Parking Space Events had collaborated with Margerita Pulè, coordinator of the cultural programme for the ECoC, before, like the author, bearing the brunt of institutional and political bullying and manoeuvring and being dismissed unceremoniously a few weeks after having secured the Melina Mercouri prize from the European Commission, and a few months before the start of the year[12].

The shaping of arts management

It is felt that among the oft-noted tension that exists between the arts and their management, political opportunism identifies enough space within which to immerse itself with the apparent promise of resolving conflictual issues through acumen in social and political matters. As Maltese poet and academic Norbert Bugeja declaimed to party supporters in thrall of their political leader, or "governor" par excellence, the Prime Minister of Malta, during a rally celebrating his decade at the helm of the *Partit Laburista* (Labour Party) in June 2018, "our heart is in the right place" (Bugeja, 2018). It is ironic that such an expression is generally used to explain away certain issues and problems that are being addressed through grandstanding and technical approaches, but not in the critical way called for in this paper.

Taking note of the neo-liberal context that extends to the operations of the cultural sector, it seems interesting to assess the relationship between methodologies of management, politics and the arts. Our condition of postmodernity, bringing together economic, financial and social conditions which, roughly over the past half-a-century, has ironically brought people closer together from a transactional perspective, involving the making and spending of money, while isolating them in terms of social solidarity (Harvey, 1992). Bauman (2000) employs another physical image, that of "liquidity" in relation to modernity, to describe the condition of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities, and global economics within environments of contemporary society. This is not to imply that this condition is original - it is sobering to read Alexis de Tocqueville's observations, two hundred years ago, on the degeneration of the social spirit in what he observed as early capitalist America. However, it is true that the entrepreneurial spirit that transpired from the Protestant cultural work ethic as observed by Max Weber with regard to pre-war Europe, and the business-oriented cultural differences commented upon by Edward and Mildred Hall from a post-war US perspective looking towards Europe and Asia, have reached a more densely synergetic and dynamic rate of interactivity in the last few decades (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2014).

In relation to the complexity embedded in the activity of culture, Bauman elaborates on the tension between culture and management in a historical context (2004: 64). Theodor Adorno had recognised the "inevitability of the conflict" between culture and administration, while admitting their reciprocal necessity. One suffered because of the other, yet needed the relationship more than doing without: "culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered; if it is left to itself, however, everything cultural threatens not only to lose the possibility of effect, but its very existence as well" (Adorno, 1991: 94). Oscar Wilde's provocation that "culture is useless" suggests culture will resist efforts at its instrumentalisation by institutions, leading to Adorno's observation that the "clash of the two narratives is inevitable" (ibid.).

Amidst this "*sibling rivalry*" (Bauman, 2004: 66), the mantra of solutionism by management is not only uninspired but also misguided[13]. Sometimes, it may also prove comical, although unintentionally. For instance, what was meant to be the main ECoC contemporary art exhibition, focusing on island culture, namely *Dal-Baħar Madwarha* ("The Island Is What The Sea Surrounds"), was first upstaged by one particular venue used for the exhibition in its own promotion, namely an underground cistern, then not promoted heavily in comparison to the contemporaneous Picasso/Miró exhibition at the President's Palace in Valletta, and finally, in spite of this, it still managed to provide an international-PR moment on the occasion of the official opening, but arguably, not in the way it was hoped. The opening took place in front of the above-mentioned cistern entry, in front of the Law Courts in Valletta, and hence just steps away from the Great Siege memorial that has, over the past months, brought together people marking the memory of Daphne Caruana Galizia through makeshift means,

[12] Margerita Pulè runs the blog www.projectdisintegration.org which collects various of her projects of this critical nature. One particularly apt reflection was provoked by an urban action she managed inviting people to engage with "Not The European Year of Cultural Heritage" and the disregard of heritage as Malta's contribution [accessed 3 October 2019].
[13] The author would like to acknowledge the intellectual debt owed to inspirational critical texts by Richard Hewison and John McGuigan on the challenges posed by New Public Management regimes applied to the arts in the UK in the past decades.

attracting international attention and arguably adding nuances to tourists' perspectives of Malta and its culture[14].

As has been suggested above, Malta may be considered as a microcosm of the EU. Therefore, one may argue that the European level may be reflected in national realities. One contention by Barnett (2001) can be applied to MS as well:

> *the Commission has found a means by which to reconcile the discursive tensions between culture and the economy in the field of cultural action in a way that respects the intrinsic qualities of 'the cultural' while enabling their instrumental deployment in the service of economic and political imperatives of integration*
> (Barnett, 2001: 28).

The management of culture at European and national levels has become very fluid. One may observe a weakening of the distinction between cultural actions as a contributing factor to a European cultural identity on the one hand and the legal and economic regulation of policy on the other. Further ambiguity in terms of governance is noted by Valentine (2018: 157), who asserts that '"t]he limits of the uses of culture are set by the capacity to invent extensions of its ambivalence". Concurrently, the "political logics emerge from the ambiguity of governance [because n]etworks of interest-group collective actors develop and become attached to cultural policy at vertical and horizontal levels of governance and as different degrees of subsidiarity develop" (ibid.).

"THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURE AT EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL LEVELS HAS BECOME VERY FLUID. ONE MAY OBSERVE A WEAKENING OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CULTURAL ACTIONS AS A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO A EUROPEAN CULTURAL IDENTITY ON THE ONE HAND AND THE LEGAL AND ECONOMIC REGULATION OF POLICY ON THE OTHER"

This ambivalent approach towards culture is used to define the spaces within which networks that bring together officials and cultural operators may develop positions of influence within the policy process. Valentine (ibid.) argues how this development leads to "a politics of interpretation with respect to definitions of culture and limits to legitimate action and with respect to competing policy agendas such as economics, law and welfare".i This process further contributes to the 'free-riding 'gravy train' phenomena through the invention of bureaucratic devices such as committees, working groups and initiatives organised around the essentially conflicting demands of harmonisation and diversity that monitor, measure and evaluate culture (Valentine, 2018: 157), to link subjective aims to objective impacts in order to calibrate "the transformation of the disposition of citizens in line with multiple objectives" (Barnett, 2001: 31).

Valentine (ibid.) also enables us to draw lines between this European scenario and the "wider, global development of the political logics of cultural policy within the hegemonic myth of governance characterised by the emergence of a material and subjective infrastructure". Such bureaucratic developments reinforce the expediency of culture within relationships between the EU and MS. In turn, these strengthen the colonial instrumentalisation of culture, aiming for categorisation and the establishment of a friendly hierarchy through the motions of granting favour through obedient participation. Yúdice (2003: 13) describes post-colonial frameworks as 'an enormous

[14] While the Picasso/Miró exhibition surpassed 70,000 visitors, as was to be expected, (https://www.maltachamber.org.mt/en/over-70-000-people-visited-the-picasso-and-mir-exhibition-in-valletta [accessed 3 October 2019]), it was reported in private conversation to the author that the ECOC one drew less than 8,000 in spite of featuring high-profile international artists and being curated by established curator Maren Richter. With regard to the PR episode described above, a photo by Darrin Zammit Lupi of 2010 Turner Prize-winner Susan Philipsz lighting a candle at the memorial, steps away from Valletta 2018's leadership, made a poignant impression through Reuters' international distribution of it: https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20180324/arts-entertainment/vallettas-hidden-underground-opens-up-to-public-view.674370 [accessed 3 October 2019].

network of arts administrators who mediate between funding sources and artists and/or communities', not dissimilar to operators in international aid, research or business. Yúdice's critique is aimed at the *NGO-fication* of cultural policy and the emergence of a 'UNESCO-racy'. In turn, these networks sponsor and fund numerous projects and firms, both subsidised and for profit, to support their activities, contributing to the creation of "a vast consultocracy" (ibid.). Yúdice highlights the outsourcing of important sections of this process to external contractors which provides observations, for instance in the form of evaluations, a legitimacy of objectivity and disinterestedness. One may note how many of the main stakeholders overlap in their group memberships, further muddying the circulation and exchange of outcomes through close and obscurely exclusive networks.

Conclusion: neo-colonial models in the long-term

This paper has argued that a line may be drawn between the historical colonial experience and the EU membership of Malta, in terms of varying degrees of the neo-colonial legacy on cultural governance. On the one hand, and in a positive fashion, European governance models, already developed by the Knights of St John between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, set structures that sought to efficiently promote excellence in culture and the arts as in other areas. Similarly, the EU has established its own structures with which to support democratic, international and accountable practices.

On the other hand, and in a negative way, cultural governance in Malta seems to approach heritage and the intangible value and meaning of culture as a resource to be exploited with short-term goals. It has been argued that this perpetuates neo-colonialist behaviour in the realm of cultural governance and is exacerbated by the EU's ambivalent approach to cultural development.

By way of example, this can be observed in the little attention paid to sustainable development in the field of urban conservation and human fulfilment to be had in rural and marine environments, other than through speculative approaches towards the land and sea, aiming to extract maximum economic and financial profit from them (Ebejer, 2011: 12). The colonial mentality tuned to exploiting one's governing official structures through clientelism, nepotism and cronyism seems to run deep. Exacerbating such human propensities at governance, national and European policies based on neo-liberal structures that prioritise economic and financial growth over a fuller appreciation of individual and societal values seem to support a behaviour that is of a shallow nature, even in matters of cultural governance .

In describing the process of colonial acculturation, Pierre Bourdieu uses the term 'symbolic violence' in order to express the imposition of the culture of the ruling forces of society, or establishment, on the population at large. This type of non-physical violence is nonetheless very effective. This is so because it enables the internalisation and acceptance of the imposed culture as legitimate and superior to its own (Bourdieu, 1977). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987: 24) notes that culture has a pervasive power in achieving aims of influence, even when compared to more direct and means of coercion. He states: "Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the moral universe of the colonized, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relation to the world" (ibid.). As argued by Joseph Nye (2002), the reach of military means alone is less than when coupled with means of persuasion of a cultural kind. He does so when referring to international relations in the political domain. However, this observation also applies to internal affairs, including cases when the governing forces are local and neo-colonial, carrying on the governance structures of past colonialist systems.

To conclude, and as a final example with which to illustrate the argument of this paper, in October 2016, the Maltese Minister for Culture welcomed more than four hundred guests from all over the world for the IFACCA World Summit on Arts and Culture. The occasion had the feeling of his presiding over a new dawn for cultural relations and the way cultural policy matters were managed in Malta, the result of a process of maturity that Malta, after more than a decade of EU membership, seemed to be able to put into practice. Unfortunately, the persistence of a neo-colonial praxis applied to cultural governance has undercut such expectations. This has compromised prospects for a legacy based on European values, including a thirst for innovation and the embracing of diversity. This is ironic in the light of the trumpeting of such a vision on occasions of significance to the whole of Europe. These included the Maltese Presidency of the Council of the EU in 2017 and the ECoC in 2018. Expectations developed in preparations to join the EU in 2004, and since then, have gone unfulfilled[16].

Therefore, in assessing the neo-colonial framework in Malta, by which the British imperial experience seems to have changed, but essentially prolonged, through EU membership, this paper has argued that cultural governance has been significantly manipulated by the political elite. It has also argued that in spite of important and sustained efforts at benefiting from its geo-politically strategic position, its history and heritage, as well as its EU status, Malta has seriously compromised such initiatives and their prospects for further development in the future.

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To cite this article:

XUEREB, K. (2019). Neo-colonialism in cultural governance in the EU: a Maltese case study. *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, 9 (1), pp. 4-17.

Brazilian cultural diplomacy in Europe in the early 21st century: bridging the gap between nations with international events

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ABSTRACT

At the turn of the 21st century, Brazil gained ground within the international scene due to its new outward facing stance. Cultural plurality became the flagship of Brazilian foreign policy, designed to achieve positions of prestige internationally. By taking the theoretical concepts of cultural diplomacy, this case study analyses the strategies deployed in international events for cultural diffusion promoted by Lula da Silva's (2003-2011) & Dilma Rousseff's (2011-2016) administrations, especially the Year of Brazil in France, 2005. The policy processes within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture supported the emergence of a particular decision regarding the development of Brazilian cultural internationalisation. Therefore, the active role of Brazil in the field of cultural diplomacy could be considered as a benchmark for governments, practitioners and policymakers from 2003 to 2016.

Keywords:

Cultural Diplomacy

International events

Foreign policy

Brazil

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to dedicate this work to the memory of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which was destroyed by fire and the freezing of public expenses that will last until 2027 in the area of education. The largest collection in Latin America has been lost; a work of memory that begun exactly 200 years ago. Without the past, we can lose track of the future.

Introduction

The last decades have seen an increased interest in the dialogue between international relations and public culture management fields (Dewey & Wyszomirski, 2004; Zamorano, 2016). In Brazil, the recent period demonstrating this increased interest was inaugurated with the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1985. The Constitution of 1988 was also marked by debates on public cultural policies (Calabre, 2007; Rubim, 2007; Calabre & Lima, 2017). This debate was intended, both domestically and internationally, to enhance the dialogue between civil society and Brazilian global projection (Mapa, 2009; Lessa, Saraiva & Mapa, 2011), promoted particularly strongly by da Silva & Rousseff's governments.

Brazilian international projection in the 21st century, due to the incorporation of cultural policies, is regarded as an emerging research area in the field of international cultural management (Mapa, 2009; Menezes, 2015). The Brazilian cultural diplomacy strategies during Lula da Silva & Dilma Rousseff's administrations (2003-2016)[1] have brought about new opportunities for emerging power countries (Hurrell, 2009; Lima, 2010; Schweller, 2011) to grow and thrive through the use of strategic partnerships in the cultural sector[2]. If the strategy is not new (it can be seen still in the 19th century, in France, and even in Brazil since the 1930s), it is at the end of the 20th century that it becomes a really valid tool for articulation by developing countries.

Foreign policy practices in the last years reveal changes in countries' international projection, so that they have been rethought to reach greater efficiency and dynamism in the current conjuncture. Cultural diplomacy, therefore, consists of using the power of a state through soft power, because it builds influence through the projection of values, principles, customs and the whole set of non-military apparatuses (Nye, 2002, 2004; Montiel, 2010). The challenges of globalism reveal that culture becomes a tool that consolidates a country's brand abroad (Zamorano, 2016: 169-174). To do so, countries need to position themselves with their brand, seeking to be aware of when the maintenance of their brand will be feasible, or in some cases necessary (Olins, 2005). By enabling a projection of their culture within the international field, states reach an important audience with the aim of facilitating international understanding and cooperation.

Cultural diplomacy, through the leadership of the state, becomes a tool of foreign policy used to enhance the relationship between countries by creating bonds of affinity through cultural exchange, as well as providing economic and commercial benefits. To date, scant attention has been paid to cultural management in international relations and how they have been practiced so far. In the present study, an attempt is made to shed light on the cultural representations, practices and policy making within a case study about the biggest Brazilian international events in the early 21st century.

The dynamics of soft power are seen with increasing frequency in the formulation of the international projection of Brazil in the first decade of the 21st century (Chatin, 2016; Pinto, 2012). The country gained notoriety during the Lula era not only due to presidential diplomacy (Cason & Power, 2009; Lessa, 2017: 8), but also due to the new perspectives of Brazilian foreign policy (Mapa, 2009; Lessa, Saraiva & Mapa, 2011) and the direct action of the Ministry of Culture which spread Brazilian culture abroad, making the flags of pluralism and diversity the hallmarks of the period. These actions brought about a greater participation in international cultural exchange events (Pardo, 2014) and broadened international projection by means of major sports events hosted in the country (Menezes, 2013). This approach also supported the domestic position of Lula's government as a multicultural and multiracial country (Bernal-Meza, 2010), whose credentials were used as a strategic discourse to show Brazil emerging at an international level, as affirmed on several occasions by the president himself in official statements (Mesquita & Medeiros, 2016; Moreira, 2016: 81-84). It is important to note that this discourse was built within the Workers' Party since its creation by theorists and cultural articulators, being, in a way, present in the Party's theses and declarations about Brazil in the 1990s.

This paper provides an overview of the foreign policy strategies that were designed as the basis of a new diplomacy, guided by neodevelopmentalist political thought (Bresser-Pereira, 2010) that consecrated different Brazilian actors and departments in diverse international scenarios and approaches

[1] Dilma Rousseff''s second term finished earlier due to her impeachment in August 2016.
[2] Throughout this paper, the term cultural diplomacy will refer to forged relations between states, from the use of traditional diplomacy in conjunction with cultural relations approaches. This definition was based on the work of Pierre Milza (1980), John Mitchell (1986) and Denis Rolland (2004) about international cultural relations generally and cultural diplomacy specifically.

"THERE HAS BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO REORGANIZE BRAZIL'S IMAGINARY EXTERNALLY SINCE THE EXPANSION OF PARTNERSHIPS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. (…) BRAZIL HAD TO ADJUST ITS FOREIGN POLICY TO INTERACT WITH THE WORLD, RESTRUCTURING IT TO ADAPT TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCALE"

during the presidencies of Lula da Silva & Dilma Rousseff. It was a new interministerial action of Brazilian administration that joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (also known as Itamaraty), Ministry of Culture (MinC) and the Ministry of Education (MEC) to position the country in the international spotlight (Lessa, 2013; Menezes, 2013; Novais, 2014). From the Year of Brazil in France, 2005, to the Summer Olympics in 2016, the country has organized and was honoured by several cultural events[3]; it was presumed that the country could achieve political, economic and socio-cultural partnerships by staging them abroad.

The framework for this analysis was structured around existing research, so that the case study method of this article involves the combination of within-case analysis and cross-case comparisons to produce new knowledge about the topic (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012). The present study explored bibliographical sources, newspapers and official reports to examine the origins of the decisions made regarding the internationalisation of Brazilian culture between 2003-2016.

This paper is divided into four parts. Part One considers the basis of the new projection of the country's image abroad during the Lula government (2003-2010) as well as tracing the processes behind cultural action and expansion of the ministries concerned. Part Two offers analytical insights and quantitative descriptions of the cultural events abroad. Part Three is dedicated to the implementation and institutionalisation of soft power as one of the guiding goals of Brazilian cultural policies. The final part opens up the debate on the reformulation of the Brazilian image, taking into account the limits of this debate. An extended discussion of other events beyond the Year of Brazil in France is not within the scope of this paper, nor is a comparison between the Brazilian case and other developing countries.

Building a new strategy: Brazilian cultural diplomacy (2003-2010)

Given the history of Brazil, there has been an insistent attempt to join the International Society since the end of Portuguese colonization in 1822. As noted by Monique Goldfeld (2012), that attempt can be seen as the keynote of the whole 19th and much of the 20th century. Historically, Brazilian bids within international events based their stance on the European model: first, the Empire – in which the figure of the Emperor Dom Pedro II (1831-1889) stands out as a civilized ruler and even ahead of his time, participating in international events and testing novelties such as the telephone; and, then, the Republic – with Baron of Rio Branco's (1845-1912) historical participation to the conciliatory diplomacy at the beginning of the 20th century, which sought to define the country's borders with its neighbours during the Republican governments between 1902-1912 (Doratioto, 2000), or Osvaldo Aranha (1894-1960) as chancellor in the Brazilian performance in 1947 during the first General Assembly of the United Nations (UN). Since 1955, the country has always made the first speech at the Assemblies based on the Brazilian tradition of historic impartiality, attributed after its participation in the creation of the state of Israel in 1948[4]. By such actions, Brazil could be considered a sort of "Neo Europe" (Watson, 1984: 127-141). The rulers intended, in one way or another, to create a favourable perception of the country internationally.

This aspiration has, as a basic principle, the construction of a moral impression of the country (state ethos) on behalf of its action vis-à-vis other states[5]. An example would be the historic attempt of the Brazilian representatives to participate at international level in most of the decision-making bodies that have peaceful negotiation as their main axis (Santos

[3] The Year of Brazil in France (2005), Paleo Festival Nyon (2008), Europalia Brazil.Brasil Festival (2011), Italy-Brazil Moment (2011-2012), the Year of Brazil in Portugal (2012), MixMax Brazil (2012), the Brazilian Month in China (2013) and the Frankfurt Book Fair (2014) and International Theater Festival of Bogota (2014).
[4] Traditionally, Brazil has a prominent place in the order of speeches – Brazil first, the United States second, and then the other countries.
[5] For more information, see Charaudeau (2007).

& Cravo, 2014; Ipea, 2017: 151-156). That is, in an effort to create a good reputation, Brazilian representatives have participated in discourses that emphasize the maintenance of peaceful relations on the basis of social justice and equitable development (Cervo, 2008; Mesquita & Medeiros, 2016), and have assumed the role of negotiators and judges in international disputes. This would establish, until 2016, the main principles of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which were those of sovereignty, political stability and relationships of trust with any state. These can be seen in the performance of Brazilian officers in forums like the UN, whose stance was conciliatory and non-interventionist (Santos & Cravo, 2014). To that extent, there was a coordination of national and international values enacted in multilateral forums at the beginning of the 21st century.

Before going deeper into the subject, it is convenient to reflect on the meaning of the expression "social imaginary". By taking the theoretical framework of Robert Frank (2012: 345-370), each society lies under a capital of representations and images – ideas, values, beliefs, opinions, etc. – that are accumulated over time and change with it. Two characteristics should be analysed in this discussion about the self-perceived image of a nation: (i) these representations are received differently in relation to the groups, the space and the society in which they are integrated; (ii) they have a complex relationship with reality and with the events of the present moment. In this way, the presentism can modify the system of representations of a nation, at the same time that these images themselves can modify the reality[6].

Conforming to Frank (2012: 345-370), there are two ambivalences to understanding the image "of the other" abroad: (i) the concomitance between the positive and the negative, for example, in the creation of an emotional and unstable France in opposition to the strong and stable United States; (ii) and the mirror effect in the construction of the image of the self and the other, when the representations of the other are the result of a projection of the self. Therefore, no matter what the divergences or dualities between them are, the whole set is part of a broader system of representations, of a social imaginary linked to public space, that is, a national imaginary. This suggests that Brazil, in pursuit of a leading international role, has made use of strategies that combine representations that other actors make about the country, as well as of those that the country makes about itself.

There has been an attempt to reorganize Brazil's imaginary externally since the expansion of partnerships with other countries. During the period under review, the so-called "commuting" policy, between unilateralism with the United States and multilateral openness, swung in the direction of a strong propensity for multilateralism, in which developing countries were the key. Therefore, rulers had to deal with several new themes. This meant that Brazil had to adjust its foreign policy to interact with the world, restructuring it to adapt to the international scale. As mentioned by Leila Bijos (2016: 418), "Brazil saw the need to adapt to the new international reality and seek a more relevant role in the international scenario through the use of soft power relationships". This, we argue, is part of the historical choice made by the country in the version preserved by Brazilian history: violent conflicts disappear internally and externally as a result of a conciliatory strategy.

This new orientation brought about a reshaping of Brazilian identity, restructuring it as would facilitate, even further, the country's projection internationally, without denying the issue of miscegenation and national identity (Schwarcz, 1995)[7]. The discourse of Brazilian multiculturalism is not new, it was influenced by the cultural and political life that emerged in the 1930s. Gilberto Freyre, anthropologist, wrote that the Brazilian population was formed of three different races – African slaves, Europeans and indigenous people – within which there was some sort of peace[8]. The discourse of racial democracy came to light after a series of encounters with Pixinguinha, one of the most famous Brazilian musicians and composer within the choro and samba musical genres. While racial democracy would reduce domestic tensions and provide the basis for the construction of a national identity, externally it would enable Brazil to play a new role: that of a representative of peaceful national unity in its coexistence contract. However, the principle of racial democracy came under serious criticism in the 1980s, when a search for the representation of minorities in the political, social and cultural fields emerged.

The past two decades have seen the rapid development of the multi-identity discourse by

[6] For more information about the "regimes of historicity", see Hartog (2002).

[7] In the Brazilian case, the racial theme is a constant in the definition of national identity in literature, social sciences, written and audiovisual media – undergoing constant reframing within the society, or even (and perhaps mainly) by the state.

[8] However, domestically, throughout the years "racial democracy" was considered a myth, as it is possible to see in many laws implemented in the country to decrease the socioeconomic gap between miscellaneous groups, including quotas in public universities, federal schools and civil services.

the Brazilian government in many international interventions, such as the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD XI); the World Intellectual Property Organization's Development Agenda (WIPO); the UNESCO Cultural Diversity Convention and UNESCO World Heritage Centre – 34th session of the Committee (Novais & Brizuela, 2010: 222). Those expositions emphasised the affirmation of a discourse marked by cultural and ethnic pluralism, which led to debate about the government's actions. Diversity was no longer confined to racial democracy, and the Brazilian official rhetoric stated, then – in terms that were to be projected internationally – that the country was a step forward in global debates on diversity and multiculturalism. Domestic policies during the period, recognising problems arising from a certain "denial of Brazil", also helped transform the country's image.

In diplomatic action, efforts have been made to understand how official discourses around miscegenation have tended toward its celebration as the expression of a multicultural society. As Schwarcz (1995) observes, there is no recreation of the Brazilian imaginary, but an extension of identity discourse within narrative forms that are fluid, relative, contrasted, and situational (Cunha, 1985 apud Schwarcz, 1995). Thus, considering the question of miscegenation as an inherent part of the country's identity, Brazilian decision makers were able to expand it into a genuine multicultural discourse. This discourse gained relevance in 2005, in the international scenario, either by Brazilian participation in international organizations, such as UNESCO, or in the dialogues within other countries that also pleaded for the proposal of cultural exception[9] and preservation of diversity in the composition of their internal domestic policies. If the acknowledgment of crossbreeding is directly linked to historical identity in Brazil and public policies around diversity continue to maintain it, what can be the role of international events in the creation of an imaginary of diversity in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century?

Over the past century, even though Brazil was better placed in international dynamics, it still occupied a peripheral place due to the unequal distribution of power between countries (Hurrell, 2007). The search for a more effective participation and, indeed, a leading position started with Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and the governments of his successor, Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016). So, from the beginning of his first term, Lula da Silva urged that Brazil should not assume a subservient stance towards more developed countries, power holders and creators of the rules of international society. To reach a better position in the international community, the country would base its image on the recent political and economic rise, encouraging alliances with multiple nations[10]. Brazil, therefore, tried to rearticulate identities and promulgate images designed to elicit political empathy abroad via global governance mechanisms (Fraundorfer, 2017). Drawing upon these strands, one of the strategies was the adoption of cultural diversity at international level by means of cultural diplomacy.

Historically, Brazilian cultural diplomacy occupied a place of limited importance for the country's administrations, with some periods of projection (Dumont & Fléchet, 2014: 205-206). We emphasise that Lula da Silva's government and the strategy of co-work between the foreign affairs, education and culture ministries can be stated as the Brazilian's momentum of cultural diplomacy. This is because Brazilian cultural projection, from its origins at the beginning of the Republic, underwent changes in the 21st century, from the direct action of a group of thinkers and political articulators, to meeting the common demands of the domestic administration and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This occurred in favourable domestic and external environments for this type of policy coordination. Internally, the Brazilian identity moved towards a "defense of cultural and ethnic diversity" derived from proposals approved in the Workers' Party Resolution in 1999.

At the beginning of the century, the increasing instances of Brazilian international projection were based on the widest exposure of Workers' Party propositions and high visibility of Brazilian politics in the international sphere[11] Domestically, the period was marked by the recognition of ethnic diversity as well as the expansion of social policies to overcome structural inequalities that affected groups considered minorities, like black or indigenous people, women, etc. (Calabre, 2014: 150). Investment in the cultural

[9] This concept means that cultural goods must be protected from the "hegemony" of the markets, the state being the regulator, the sponsor of a cultural policy and, when necessary, subsidize cultural activities with public money. In other words, it refers to the fact that cultural goods and services should not be considered regular goods in trade agreements and it allows countries to create indirect trade barriers.
[10] The foreign policy strategy during Lula government was based on: the country's positioning in multilateral forums; fight for the democratization of international organizations; emphasis on South-South cooperation; attempt to balance the power differences on the North-South axis; and, self-denomination as a regional power (Albanus, 2015; Saraiva, 2013; Vizentini, 2011; Bandeira, 2008).
[11] In 2009, Lula was the first Brazilian to be considered by Le Monde newspaper as Person of the Year. The former president was also once referred to as "the man" by US President Barack Obama.

sector proved to be fundamental and strategic, largely due to the work of Gilberto Gil from 2003 to 2008 as Minister of Culture[12]. Gil's management prioritised the diversified and democratic nature of cultural affairs. The resulting internal cultural policies seemed to present possible solutions for international policy issues, reopening the debate around the relationship between race, gender, justice, and social equality, based on the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 (Guimarães, 2006).

In this scenario, there was a need to create two new sectors to support the expansion of the Ministry of Culture: the Secretariat of Identity and Diversity (SID) and the Commission of Brazilian Culture in the World. In accordance with Kauark (2010), it is evident that, while the SID was created to promote and subsidise Brazilian multiculturalism, the Commission of Brazilian Culture in the World, through the economic and political dimensions, was created for the purpose of improving access to Brazilian culture abroad. The creation of the Commissariat in 2006 made it possible to make better use of Brazilian participation in international events, relying on specialised teams to meet the demands of these topics.

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The Cultura Viva program, for example, created by the Ministry of Culture in 2004, played the role of encouraging associative processes between groups within Brazilian society, from the perspective that culture is a "living organism" (Lima, 2013: 73). As Lima (2013) notes, the aim of this project was to promote direct, open and decentralised activities, crossing all cultural modalities under the direction of the creative hub of the Ponto de Cultura. That is, through this mechanism, institutions were chosen by public notices that would receive, for three years, investment for the realisation of activities proposed, in an exercise of self-organization. The creation of such public policy indicates the engagement of the administration with the democratic promotion of culture in the domestic space without it being defined by the central administration. The evidence presented thus far supports the idea of cultural democratisation and its ability to promote cultural decentralisation from various cultural manifestations of Brazilian society (Ipea, 2010; Turino, 2014). More than 2,500 "points of culture" were created between 2004-2009 and the budget for the program was approximately 185 million euros (Ministry of Culture of Brazil, 2010; Le Monde Diplomatique Brasil, 2017). In 2006, the Brazilian model began to be replicated: first in Italy, with the creation of the Officine dell'Arte in the Lazio region, followed by Austria and other Latin American countries, mainly Mercosur (Ministry of Culture of Brazil, 2010).

Soon after, this re-articulation of multiple identities within these representations of the country could be seen in cultural activities promoted by Brazil abroad, in a way that national public policies would organise themselves to establish an active role in international events, such as the cultural festival of Brazil in France in 2005. The new Brazilian multiculturalism and affirmative action policies appeared to France as possible topics in the debate on citizenship and social integration among the French themselves[13]. Internationally, the realisation of the Year of Brazil in France had an indirect but tangible influence in the UN and the Alliance Against Hunger and Malnutrition (AAHM), in 2003. The discourse of diversity acceptance was well received by its partners and ultimately gave to the country the possibility of exercising leadership in the area of cultural interlocution.

The innovation of Gilberto Gil's management

[12] Gilberto Gil is a Brazilian singer, known internationally for both for his musical innovation and engagement with political activism.
[13] France was experiencing crises related to the banlieues in this period.

continued into the next term of Juca Ferreira, who assumed an active role, participating in and realising meetings, forums, congresses, fairs and festivals that raised the intensity of Brazilian cultural diplomacy. It is clear, therefore, that the focus given to South-South cooperation – especially with Latin America – and the rapprochement with developing countries, promoted the establishment of alliances that favoured the economic, social and political development of Brazil. These data reveal much more than a simple intensification of Brazilian exchange, they also show the character of a global player and trader in the formulation of foreign policy, in which the approximation made between peripheral and developed countries expresses the participatory, democratic and, especially, plural character of the Brazilian government with the world. This was followed by the international insertion based on the logic of self-determination of people, the fight against cultural standardisation and the increase of national exports by the creative industries (Mapa, 2009: 50). These policies were directed to diversify the Brazilian participation in a changing and connected world, which received more attention in the Lula administration (Lessa, 2013: 188-189) and gained an aspect of continuity, with some retraction, in Rousseff's government.

The Year of Brazil in France (2005)

The promotion of world cultures in France is part of the policy of supporting cultural diversity. Every year, since 1985, a foreign country is invited officially to present the different aspects of its culture through a series of cultural events in a wider ongoing festival. These events are organised by the Ministry of Culture and Communication in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, together with the French Institute. In this section, an analysis of the strategies of

Country hosted	Year	Number of evets labelled
Brazil	2005	700
Rusia	2010	350
Korea	2015	250
Colombia	2017	400

TABLE 1. FRENCH FOREIGN FESTIVALS: A FEW EXAMPLES
Source: French Institute (2018).

Types of events	Number of events	Public
Major events	41	6.800.000
Cinema	429	200.000
Performances / Theatre	26	210.000
Architecture exhibitions	09	1.600.000
Colloquiums / literature	67	4.500.000
Photography exhibitions	20	880.000
Contemporary art	45	3.600.000
Concerts	61	450.000

TABLE 2. THE YEAR OF BRAZIL IN FRANCE: EVENTS LABELLED
Source: Menezes (2015: 132-133).

"THE YEAR OF BRAZIL IN FRANCE, TITLED 'BRÉSIL, BRÉSILS, FROM SINGULAR TO PLURAL' WAS A SERIES OF EVENTS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE BRAZILIAN CULTURE IN FRANCE. THE AFFIRMATION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY, AS EVIDENCED IN THE TITLE, BECAME A STRATEGIC ASSET TO AWAKEN THE INTEREST AND CURIOSITY OF THE PUBLIC"

identity re-articulation of Brazil is proposed, based on two main events: (i) the Year of Brazil in France and (ii) the Year of France in Brazil[14].

In 2005, Brazil was selected to be the one in the spotlight. The Year of Brazil in France, titled "Brésil, Brésils, from singular to plural" was a series of events designed to promote Brazilian culture in France. The affirmation of cultural diversity, as evidenced in the title, became a strategic asset to awaken the interest and curiosity of the public. Starting in March 2005, and having its official end in November of the same year, this festival had more than 700 events[15] spread across 161 cities throughout the French territory officially (see TABLE 1 and 2)[16]. The Year of Brazil in France received a financial contribution of US$28 million (Menezes, 2015, p. 145-146)[17].

It was estimated that at least one quarter of the French population actively attended the festival's events, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France: an exceptional festival of cultural mobilisation. The Year of Brazil in France is still considered, by the French Institute, the most important cultural festival in France since the project's creation in 1985 (French Institute, 2018). Aiming to overcome the country's circulating imaginary in France – such as the country of football, samba, beaches – the country organized events that would make a portrait of Brazil today. In this present research, we will designate these events created in 2005 in France as different spaces for opening to Brazilian culture as "territories of Brazilianness".

The first "territory" on display was at the exhibition of indigenous Brazil set up at the Louvre Museum. The exhibition, which included 400 indigenous works, exalted the cultural continuity of the ethnic minorities in Brazil in two areas. The first, of archaeological and historical character, described the heritage of the past via the cultures of the indigenous people in Brazil. The second, with an ethnological character, dealt with the importance of aesthetics in Amerindian culture. As a way of breaking with the idea of a Brazil trapped in the past, with no possibility of real development. This specific exposition showed that indigenous culture also undergoes change, and showed that development has a great effect on the lives of the original communities that survive. Today indigenous people attempt to preserve their cultural heritage and traditions, threatened by the changes in everyday life, but also in adapting their lives to new realities of the modern society.

The second of these "territories" was dedicated to Brazilian popular art, in particular to Brazil's musical heritage. The event – in the City of Music, located at the north-eastern of Paris, Parc de la Villette, presented the historical roots of Brazil's rhythms. The exhibition invited you to follow the history of Brazilian popular music, from its origins in choro, samba and baião, for example, to the most current trends, such as rap, soul and funk. It also showed how music is confused with the political history of the country. In this sense, the exhibition highlighted the various clichés associated with Brazilian music. According to the curator, Dominique Dreyfus, Brazilian music should not be seen either as neutral – so-called "elevator music" – or as music of constant erotisation, since it is much richer than the stereotypes that permeate the French imaginary. The exhibition intended to end with the clichés about Brazilian music: deconstructing them and demonstrating how Brazilian Popular Music (MPB) should be perceived as the meeting of the various ethnic groups and populations that make up Brazil. The diversity of Brazilian music was demonstrated through its mixture of genres, born

[14] It was a double, reciprocal festival taking place in France and Brazil.
[15] Between events labelled by French and Brazilian governments or organized by French associations and local administrations.
[16] The findings were organised according to the documentary analysis carried out at the National Library of France (BnF) and the documentation provided by the French Institute to the Brazilian Embassy in Paris in 2014. It can be seen that several domains of Brazilian culture were presented during the nine-month period of its duration. These figures refer strictly to projects made by the Brazilian and French governments, composing the official program of the Year of Brazil in France.
[17] The Brazilian government has invested US$24 million and the French government almost US$4 million. Generally, the invited country has a wider commitment to project costs.

from the meeting of the three continents and the various waves of immigration, in a purely iconographic exhibition. This plurality of styles would deconstruct the Brazilian carnival from a specific place and aesthetic – Rio de Janeiro and the spectacularisation of carnival in Sapucaí. Dreyfus then did field work in search of the history of carnival in the city of Recife and other similar manifestations in the North and Northeast.

The third "territory" dealt with the issue of recycling and recreation. One of the cultural representations of Brazil in France of great impact concerns the ability to recreate the new from the old, being the reuse of scrap as a source for art. The fourth "territory", the fruit of the historical interbreeding between Brazil and France, is the role of iconography in the various representations of "Brazils". The main theme focused on revolts that took place in Brazil, as demonstrated by the exhibition in Montpelier about Canudos, entitled *Traces et mémoires d'une révolte dans le Sertão brésilien: 1897-1946-1997*[18]. This exhibition, which lasted from May 20th to September 3rd, had 15,699 visitors, thus showing that there was a public in France very interested in escaping old clichés to familiarize themselves with other stories from Brazil.

The fifth "territory" of Brazil to be exhibited was perhaps the most important: Espaço Brasil (Brazilian Space), a multidisciplinary cultural centre inaugurated on June 24th, 2005, during the festivities of the Brazilian festival in France. As we will see, unlike other centres of artistic manifestation, the Espaço Brasil was what we could call an autonomous territory of Brazilian culture in France. With an ample program that involved art exhibitions, recitals, parades, theatre and dance performances, seminars, workshops and business fairs, the Brazilian government sought to create an attractive environment to increase interest in Brazil among the French, during the months of the summer vacation (July-September). To this end, the activities offered ranged from exhibitions, cultural presentations and attractions to economic and commercial ventures. It is pertinent to highlight the great interest of the Brazilian government in creating a platform for trading Brazilian products and in promoting the country's economic development internationally. The discursivity of President Lula was marked by the need to show Brazil's industrial value and by the use of the French market as a gateway to a wider market. This not only meant taking into consideration economic and cultural differences, but also the necessity of making a proclamation regarding the need for coexistence, learning and sharing of national cultures. The maxim, valid for industrialists, also applied to brands capable of internationalising at that time. We observed, for example, the entry and possible consolidation of two major brands, already established in the Brazilian market: Havaianas and Natura.

The sixth and last "territory" to be treated was related to the others and, in a particular way, to the second: it is the concert "Viva Brasil", which took place in Paris's Place de la Bastille on July 14th, 2005. The chosen singers pointed out an understanding of the mestizaje as the richness of a Brazil that is, at the same time, white, black and indigenous. In so doing, they exercised the office of ambassadors of Brazilian culture. During their performances in France they had, therefore, the necessary profile to promote the message of multiculturalism required for the new image desired by Brazil in the international plan[19].

The increase in exports and opening to new products, both in France and Brazil, even during the period of a decreasing French economy (affected by the 2008 crisis), made the climate of optimism of the relations established between the two countries at the turn of the 21st century persist. Based on French customs data, we have some indicators of the trade relations between the two countries in the period between 2002 and 2008. In figure 1, the evolution of exports of French products to Brazil in the determined period is shown with the red bars, while, in grey, the movement of French imports from Brazil is represented.

The Year of Brazil in France also drew recognition from the French government of Brazil's active participation in international contemporary affairs. Internally, Brazil was trying to solve problems like the withdrawal from the "hunger map" and the search for an internationally effective participation – in which Brazil had claimed the reform of the UN Security Council (Stuenkel, 2010)[20]. The two countries were committed to strengthening their bilateral cooperation when the interest of the Year of France in Brazil took place in 2006, as a demonstration of reciprocal courtesy by the Brazilian event held in France in 2005.

On May 25th 2006, Presidents Jacques Chirac and Lula da Silva met during the visit of the French President in Brazil to evaluate the activities of the Year of Brazil in France and to reflect on the continuity of common actions, with the establishment of a strategic partnership between the two countries. Two years later, in December 2008, his successor, Nicolas Sarkozy met

[18] Traces and memories of a revolt in the Brazilian Sertão: 1897-1946-1997.
[19] Among the singers were Seu Jorge, Maria Rita, Gilberto Gil, Daniela Mercury, Lenine and Milton Nascimento.
[20] It was thought that France would support the Brazilian claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

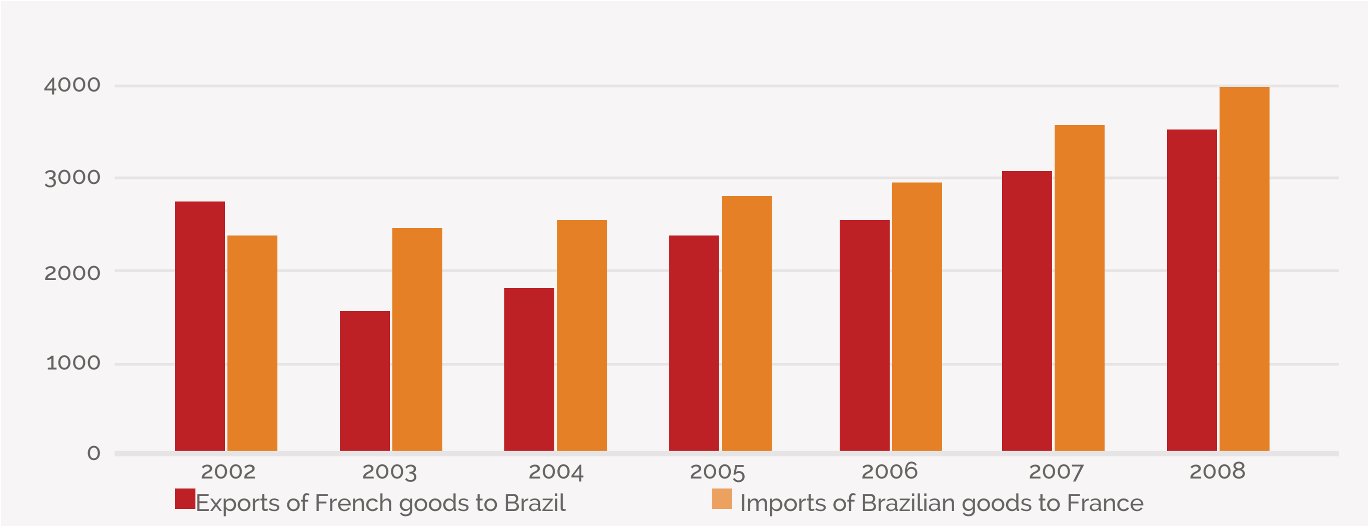

FIGURE 1. EVOLUTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF GOODS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND FRANCE 2002-2008 (MILLION EUROS)
Source: Menezes (2015: 245).

with the Brazilian president to continue the diplomatic dialogue. During the brief meeting, the date for the celebration of the Year of France in Brazil appeared[21]. The interest of President Chirac, as well as that of President Lula, seemed to consist in strengthening the existing ties and preparing the ground for new relations that could arise, in particular, actions and agreements that would help the two countries to build greater autonomy vis-à-vis the United States in issues related to industrial and nuclear development.

In short, there were several alliances in this period and the Year of Brazil in France was one of them (Menezes, 2015). In the trade balance, the result was also favourable for both countries in the period between the two cultural festivals 2005-2008 (figure 1). Like never before, concern for the international image of the country made the Brazilian government invest so much in the cultural area that it was possible to host seven major sports events in Brazil by the year 2016[22]. Hence, the country achieved a significant international presence by applying for and hosting the two largest sporting events in the world: the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympics in 2016. The investments made were intended to project the country's image, specifically with regard to the media coverage attracted by these events.

Challenges to enhancing Brazilian cultural diplomacy: from policy to implementation (2010-2015)

The global financial crisis and the widespread mistrust that marked the passage of the first decade of the 21st century also impacted Brazilian politics. There was a reorientation of domestic government spending and, as a result, foreign policy was no longer a priority. President Dilma Rousseff tried to follow, at first, the inherited orientation of Lula da Silva's administration, but important changes meant that it came to be considered a period of Brazil's decline in international relations (Cervo & Lessa, 2014; Cornetet, 2014, Saraiva & Gomes, 2016, Lessa, 2017). However, Brazil's efforts were adjusted towards the inclusion of new topics, such as the central countries' responsibility for the economic crisis, internet governance and human rights, and, mostly, the development of science, technology and innovation with the program Science without Borders (*Ciências sem Fronteiras*)[23] (Albanus, 2015). Despite the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was left aside, Rousseff's administration was marked by the central role given to the Ministry of Culture in maintaining the continuity of the initiatives

[21] In the realm of cultural patronage, as in the case of the Year of Brazil in France, there was a strong participation of companies and organizations in both countries. However, France investment was shorter than the Brazilian one, about 10 million euros against 23 million euros from Brazil. This shows a certain imbalance in the reciprocal cultural festivals (Menezes, 2015: 255-258).

[22] XV Pan American Games (2007), III Parapan American Games (2007), V Military Games (2011), Confederations Cup (2013), Soccer World Cup (2014), XXXI Summer Olympic Games (2016) and XV Summer Paralympic Games (2016).

[23] Science without Borders was a program promoted by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation and the Ministry of Education of Brazil to promote the consolidation, expansion and internationalization of science and technology, innovation and Brazilian competitiveness through exchange students. It granted between 2011 and 2016 almost 104,000 scholarships, 78,900 of them to bachelor students. According to CAPES, between 2011 and 2017, the Program invested, approximately 2,8 billion euros. The countries that received most Brazilian students were the United States (27,800), the United Kingdom (10,700), Canada (7,300), France (7,200) and Australia (7,000) (Marques, 2017).

from the previous government, that sought to expand the country's international image (Boy, 2017).

The agents of the internationalisation of Brazilian culture

The term "soft power" has become widely used by Brazilian scholars and authorities engaged in cultural management and the country's international projection. Between 2012 and 2014, the Minister of Culture of Brazil, Marta Suplicy, in her functions, used the term during speeches in seminars, forums and meetings, emphasising the importance of the concept to improve Brazil's position internationally.

> *Brazil is a country of emerging economies with no military power, but it is discovering another form of insertion in the world, through its ideas, culture and practices, which are primordial sources of soft power. Nye himself, in a book published in 2004, acknowledged that Brazil has the potential of soft power to be exploited by its foreign policy, due to the attraction aroused by its vibrant culture. (...) The great challenge of Brazil is to go beyond what we are already known for. Show our diversity, our culture, our music, our dance. We have an immense cultural wealth and we want to share with the world. We want to strengthen our image of warm and cheerful country, but we are more than that. We want to bring investments to our country and exercise our soft power in the best possible way (Suplicy, 2013; par. 11 & 40).*

One of the most ambitious projects of the Ministry of Culture was the institutionalisation of the National System of Culture (NSC), which began implementing laws that would avoid the discontinuity of cultural policies in future governments, seen by local observers as one of "absences, authoritarisms and instabilities" (Rubim, 2007). The system was developed through a process of listening to people involved directly in the cultural field from all over the country, where reflections were compiled as goals for the National Culture Plan (Plano Nacional de Cultura – PNC) in 2010. One of the main criteria was to develop Brazilian soft power. According to the base text, four programs were chosen to achieve cultural goals and objectives for the country, among them: 1) to create and decentralise cultural facilities through the construction of the Unified Arts and Sports Centers (CEUs)[24]; 2) implementation of the cultural vouchers (Vale-Cultura)[25]; 3) *to strengthen the position of Brazil in the world through soft power*; 4) implementation of the National System of Culture (NSC) (Ministry of Culture of Brazil, 2013: 1-2).

The Ministry of Culture of Brazil sought dialogue with various segments of the population, business and local public management for the development of the NSC. Among the goals related to investment in cultural diplomacy were the stimulus given for the development of the creative economy and the promotion of the internationalisation of Brazilian culture. Thus, the Ministry started to formulate and institutionalise "soft power" approaches through cultural policy based on measures that would hold the state accountable for achieving its goals. The proposals of the 2013 National Conference of Culture included increasing the cultural diffusion activities in national and international exchange between 2010 and 2020 by 70%. The goal was elaborated to meet the demands of Brazilian cultural diffusion abroad through partnerships with the main agents of formulation of the Brazilian foreign policy. The proposal also involved the collaboration of domestic decision makers, such as municipalities.

As it can be seen in table 3, the Ministry of Culture together with the National Council of Cultural Policy assesses and monitors the goals of the PNC through an annual report. In addition to checking whether the goals are being achieved, the sector is also responsible for the effectiveness of the actions

Indicator	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2020 Goal
Number of cultural diffusion activities	637	500	783	852	613	672	1.080
% increase in cultural diffusion activities		-22%	22,9%	33,8%	-3,8%	5,5%	70%

TABLE 3. HISTORY OF THE CULTURAL DIFFUSION GOAL, 2010 to 2015.
Source: Ministry of Culture of Brazil (2015 Goal Monitoring Report) (2016: 141).

[24] Originated in Sao Paulo in 2001, it is an open centre for the community which aims to integrate sports and cultural activities in the same space.
[25] Vale Cultura, implemented in 2013, has the objective of ensuring that Brazilian workers have additional benefits besides their salary to invest in books, plays, movies and concerts.

and the content of what is being implemented to make sure it is in accordance with established principles. The periodic conference, through the Annual Action Plan, is essential for improvements and aid in the attainment of the goals. It is possible to perceive the satisfactory performance of cultural diffusion in 2012 and 2013, whereas in the years 2011 and 2014, there is a certain decrease, although it did not impair the attainment of the goal in general. In relation to the 2015 Goal Monitoring Report, the bodies that had more activities related to the image of Brazil abroad between 2010 and 2015 were, in increasing order (TABLE 4): the National Library Foundation (NLF)[26] , the Secretariat of Cultural Policies (SCP)[27], National Cinema Agency (Ancine)[28], National Art Foundation (Funarte)[29], and International Relations Directorate[30] (Ministry of Culture of Brazil, 2016: 141).

They are among the main priorities of the Ministry of Culture in terms of cultural diplomacy, together with the Integrated Program for Exchange and Residence; the Integrated Project for Digitisation and Translation of Content; the calendar of festivals, fairs and major international events held in Brazil; market events and sector business rounds; the promotion of Brazilian sites and events recognized as World Cultural Heritage and Mercosur; the promotion of Brazilian audiovisual; and the proactive action in multilateral organizations and international forums (Ministry of Culture of Brazil, 2015). It is also evident that the Ministry of Culture, under the coordination of the International Relations Directorate, developed initiatives to support the main demands of Brazilian cultural diplomacy abroad from the Plan for Internationalisation, having as its axis the relationship with border countries and the dissemination of the Portuguese language abroad.

Institution	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
National Film Agency (Ancine)	94	105	101	109	130	122
National Library Foundation (NLF)	62	33	64	99	213	167
Book, Reading, Literature and Library Directorate	-	-	-	-	8	14
National Art Foundation (Funarte)	204	172	171	273	73	67
Secretariat of Audiovisual (SAV)	55	32	152	170	22	9
Secretariat of Promotion and Incentive to Culture (Sefic)	222	158	295	201	51	70
Secretariat of Cultural Policies (SCP)	-	-	-	-	65	161
International Relations Directorae	0	0	0	0	51	62
Palmares Cultural Foundation	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	637	500	783	852	613	673

TABLE 4. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CULTURAL POLICY: PERFORMANCE OF PARTICIPATING BODIES

Source: Ministry of Culture of Brazil (2015 Goal Monitoring Report) (2016: 141).

[26] The role of the National Library Foundation (NLF) is related to the translation services and dissemination of national authors abroad, such as the Frankfurt Fair in 2013.

[27] Secretariat of Cultural Policies (SCP) has, among its roles, the subsidy and coordination of the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies of the Ministry of Culture.

[28] Created in September 2001, the National Film Agency (Ancine) contributes to the regulation, promotion and monitoring of the audiovisual industry in Brazil as well as its competitiveness at national and international levels.

[29] The National Art Foundation (Funarte) was established in 1975 with the object of developing the artists' production, formation, research and preservation of the nation's memory in the cultural domain.

[30] The International Relations Directorate (DRI) has the objective of coordinating and authorising cultural projects within the Ministry.

Europalia.Brazil.Brasil Festival (2011-2012)

Since 1969, the year of its first edition, a festival called Europalia has been organised in Belgium and neighbouring countries. It is a biennial event of international arts in which countries present their culture for a period of four months (Europalia, n.d.). The festival has experienced regular and steady growth since its creation, leading to professionalisation and further development. In 2009, due to the great success of the Year of Brazil in France and the Year of France in Brazil, the country was chosen to be honoured by the festival in 2011. It is important to underline that Brazil was the first country in South America to be exhibited (Funarte, 2012: 14). The festival received a financial contribution of 23 million euros[31] with approximately one million visitors (Le Monde, 2011). Between October 2011 and January 2012, about 71 Belgian cities and some others located in France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands held the event.

The festival was entitled "Brazil.Brasil – Europalia. Brasil.Diversidade" and sought to explore and celebrate the formation of the Brazilian people and the ethnic and cultural mixtures that gave birth to the country. Kristine De Mulder, director of Europalia, affirmed that Brazilian culture contains resonant themes for Europeans. This is due to European cultural plurality, which is given the opportunity to be perceived in positive, meaningful ways in relation to Brazil, since diversity is intrinsic to the identity of both civilisations (Gihousse, 2011). As shown previously, the discursive aspect goes back to the construction of the image of Brazilian culture abroad based on multicultural elements (Volpe & Dimitrov, 2016).

On 4th October 2011, President Dilma Rousseff underlined the following point at the opening of the Europalia Festival: "The dialogue we have established today (…) is yet another step in deepening mutual understanding that is fundamental for the construction of more democratic, open and plural world we all want" (Rousseff, 2011). In this sense, the Brazilian government pursued defined objectives:

> *to promote the country's image in Europe, with the appreciation of Brazilian culture in its many aspects and genres; expand dialogue with the European Union, strengthening relations in areas such as tourism, education, new technologies and commerce, whose activities have a strong interaction with the cultural sector; and generate new opportunities for Brazilian artists, with the opening of markets, the establishment of exchanges, the promotion of artistic creation and the incentive to participate in international festivals, exhibitions and fairs (Funarte, 2012: 15).*

For this reason, policy makers in Brazil were trying not only to show what the Brazilian culture is about, but to change the manner of cultural production in such a way that, worldwide, clichés are overcome. It was important in this event to demonstrate an image of Brazil that Europeans do not usually have access to, showing the diversity in Brazil that would open new ways of thinking in Europe. Art and culture, therefore, would be used as a political tool to create an imaginary of the richness and complexity of Brazil. During the event, a project was signed to expand cultural exchange between both regions with the implementation of cultural public policies to protect heritage and develop creative industries.

During 103 days, there were 24 exhibitions, 37 concerts, 105 literary encounters and conferences, 62 dance performances, 31 theatrical and 4 circus performances, 208 cultural partners, 1,033 artists and cultural experts, as well as more than 2000 press articles and reports (Europalia, n.d.). The event addressed the various facets of Brazilian culture in great artistic presentations. The concerts covered the miscegenation of society, dance (such as forró, maracatu), musical style (choro) and instruments (accordion and guitar). *The Festa popular* (popular feast) was one of the great attractions that marked the event, showing the mosaic of Brazilian food and culture from its different regions. There were 2,600 works of art, among which 812 were heritage-listed. It was the first time in the history of Brazil that a project took so many important pieces of art abroad (Funarte, 2012: 13).

During documentary analyses, the event was acclaimed by cultural managers and the international media. Interestingly, however, it was considered politically irrelevant by the Brazilian media, which even questioned whether it was worth promoting the image of the country (Le Monde, 2011). In terms of foreign trade (figure 2), it can be seen that the impacts were less significant than those observed in relation to the France-Brazil trade balance in 2005. It should be considered, however, that the festival took place in a post-European crisis period and amid the Brazilian economic crisis. Nonetheless, what is apparent from

[31] About 13 million euros from Brazil and the other amount from Belgium.

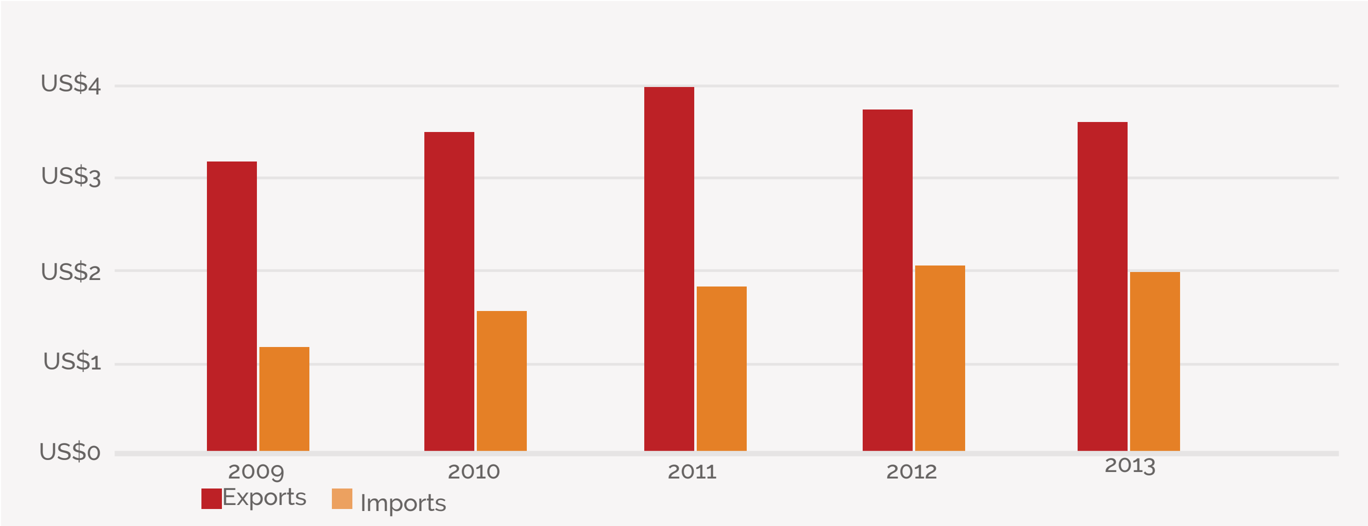

FIGURE 2. EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF BRAZILIAN GOODS TO BELGIUM (US DOLLARS BILLIONS).

Source: Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade of Brazil (MDIC) (2018).

figure 2 is a particular growth of Brazilian exports to Belgium in 2011 as compared to the previous and the following years' values.

The Year of Brazil in Portugal (2012-2013)

The strategy of Brazilian cultural projection continued with the celebration of the Year of Brazil in Portugal and the Year of Portugal in Brazil, which took place between 2012 and 2013. This time, the two events were parallel, taking place in both countries since September 2012, to disseminate artistic and cultural manifestations, and intensify scientific and technological exchange. The events, as well as the French project, aimed to create a sense of proximity beyond culture, facilitated by linguistic and historical proximity. Brazil's action plan also highlighted the strengthening of international trade between them.

There had never been an event of this size in the area of Brazilian culture in Portugal, the budget was more than 6 million euros (Funarte, 2013: 63). The Year of Brazil in Portugal was financed by the Government of Brazil through Funarte, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Embratur – Brazilian Tourism Institute.

According to Viana (2014), after studying the image of Brazil in the Portuguese press during the festival, he emphasised that the theme of "culture" was the subject that received the most mentions with regard to Brazilian characteristics in newspapers. This illustrates that the country was and continues to be represented by the cultural aspects that disseminate national productions, attractions and artists.

There were 294 events, 2,140 Brazilian artists involved, 563 technicians, 119 musical shows, 16 literature meetings, 87 concerts, 26 popular art presentations, 56 theatre performances, 51 plastic or visual arts exhibitions and 11 dance performances (Funarte, 2013). The event had a total audience (direct and indirect) of 6 million people. On social networks, the Year of Brazil in Portugal reached 3,648,614 people on Facebook; there were 549,436 site views and 136,900 blog views (Funarte, 2013: 185).

Conclusion

Efforts to construct an image of proactivity on the international scene seem something inherent to Brazilian foreign policy since its earliest formulations. For this to be maintained, it was necessary for the nation state to articulate and re-articulate internal and external factors in order to formulate a palatable national identity at the domestic level and to guarantee the country's acceptance of and admiration for the other countries of the international community.

A report published by the European Union in March 2014 called for the development of a common EU strategy in terms of culture in EU external relations. This covered 54 countries, among which Brazil was between the 10 strategic partners outside of the EU. The document consists of an extensive mapping and consultation process with stakeholders in the cultural sector. As stated on that report, Brazil is an ethnically and culturally diverse country, which makes it difficult to promote Brazil as a whole. However, handling cultural diversity and different regions is a subject of great importance to the EU. Therefore, the interest shown by European countries in Brazilian diversity recently could be directed into a model for overcoming the cultural differences of Europe, especially at a time when migration is considered an international issue (European Union, 2014).

The construction of an image of crossbreeding has since been re-articulated several times, always serving the governmental purposes internally and externally. In this process of identity reworking, the multiculturalism presented in the text of the Federal Constitution of 1988 became a common perspective during the Lula and Rousseff administrations, seen in the creation of bodies and mechanisms practicing affirmative action for the protection of minorities, for example. The construction of a pluralist Brazilian ethos – or "Brazils" – in the most recent period was based on old identity attributions, such as the mestizaje, which positivised to serve the diplomatic intention. These were transformed in the portrait of a possible Brazilian matrix. In this re-articulation of meanings, the Brazilian racial theme underwent significant changes when building, also for the country – following the example of countries such as France and China – a framework of cultural exception.

It can be concluded that the miscegenation factor was politically used in the most recent period by the Brazilian government, not to elide racial differences, but to make room for declarations about "the Brazilian cultural exception". After the event in France, the Brazilian government tried to copy the French model of festivals, using "the Year of" as a new way of dealing with public diplomacy. In these events, the country supported its discourses on multiculturalism and cultural diversity, even if, internally, the issue still generated great dissension between theory and practice.

According to Lucia Campos (2014), the Eldorado of diversity in various manifestations in Europe seems to work. However, such promotions do not yet seem to have opened space for a deeper knowledge of Brazil and, much less, a more lasting dialogue between cultural producers on both sides of the Atlantic. The big question revolves around how to make the cultural events described in this paper more pragmatic, how to fabricate a coherent image of Brazilian culture and how to make them more than mere one-off events. According to Ribeiro (1989), this is one of the great limitations of cultural diplomacy, once it is no longer merely a strategy that seeks immediate results: it depends on the development of shared knowledge about the other and the formation of an intercultural dialogue, and any mechanism based on culture must seek lasting objectives, possible to be achieved in the long term. It seems important to us to observe, then, in the case of Brazilian cultural diplomacy and its soft power, the sustained search for an identity that Brazilian representatives could use abroad. This elaboration was produced in the 1930s with great support from the government, based, in a way, on the pacifist contract of Gilberto Freyre, founded on the themes of racial democracy and the capacity to deal with alterity. Thus, the improvement of the image of Brazil would not be achieved through the abandonment of the image of the "country of football", but by the incorporation of other attributes that would demonstrate how the new image of the country should emphasise other skills, in the creation of an identity more in tune with the changes in the social and economic order recently experienced by the country.

Therefore, there is a difficulty in deconstructing circulating stereotypes about the country, especially in the light of how the information has been disseminated. As an example, according to this research, the media in France in 2005 produced and circulated more than 15,000 items in the format of news, notes, reports, quotations, bulletins, articles, advertising pieces, and more; 40 special editions of magazines (weekly, monthly, bimonthly, quarterly); and 100 special television broadcasts about Brazil. On the one hand, all of these indicate the success of the event, but also a certain lack of mastery over which are the identities to be privileged or deconstructed by the media. Soft power seems, then, a difficult tool to measure and control with regard to the impact in the country it has been projected. On the other hand, Brazilian press did not pay due attention to the Brazilian international events in Europe – mainly due to the predominantly private character of the Brazilian media, showing a gap in coverage between the international and the local press.

In fact, one of the conclusions reached in our work is that cultural diplomacy in Brazil cannot and should not be considered a state policy: it is, above all, a government policy. However, during the early 21st century, it has developed new approaches through coordinated activities that have used evaluation and programs of lasting impact within public diplomacy. This approach would be followed at a global level by means of speeches by the authorities to make domestic practices increasingly public at the international level.

Additionally, Brazil's population suffered as a result of the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. Those events were conceived as top-down, without the participation of the wider society. As the years have passed, protests among the population have begun to surface because the construction of the stadiums were deemed more important by the government than investment in healthcare or education. The political classes and the media believed that hosting these major sporting events would bring more capital, exposure and visitors, as if they would be once-in-a-lifetime opportunities to draw international political attention, which would in turn bring international influence and economic benefit. In the second term of Dilma Rousseff, the country faced a downturn, since it began to suffer with the international economy, some embassies were shut down and the state-owned energy company Petrobras was involved in corruption issues that affected all government structures. Therefore, the image that the Brazilian administration was trying to construct internationally was put aside by its leaders in favour of domestic reforms.

Finally, this period should also be considered an exception in the construction of Brazilian cultural diplomacy, especially in view of the country's direction after Dilma Rousseff's impeachment. In fact, most recently there has been a re-articulation of the domestic proposal in which one perceives, on the one hand, the attempt to silence perspectives of diversity, by means of a discourse that points, again, to a culture without great differences, in a return to the idea of racial democracy. At the same time, there is the end of the Ministry of Culture, a very contested fact in the country. Lastly, the new actions of the federal government point to strategies for linking to the interests of the United States in the international field and, judging by the actions taken, with a strong propensity to conservatism, thereby legitimising force instead of soft power and cultural diplomacy.

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To cite this article:

BOY, L.; MENEZES, C. (2019). Brazilian cultural diplomacy in Europe in the early 21st century: bridging the gap between nations with international events. *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, 9 (1), pp. 18-37.

Forgotten legacy: an endeavor to highlight heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins

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ABSTRACT

Despite the issue of food heritage having an important debate around the globe, there is still inconclusive literature addressing Egyptian heritage food in general, and particularly the gastronomic heritage of Egyptian Bedouins. The main argument of the current study is firstly to identify a set of genuine heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins by using explicit criteria. Then, transfer the data to develop a documented recipe book for these meals, which is intended to be an initial phase of promoting them as a unique component of the Egyptian cultural legacy. The target population of the study is the Egyptian Bedouin society, both in the western and eastern deserts. Through a qualitative approach, 15 semi-structured interviews with elderly local people were undertaken before conducting a focus group with six Bedouin experts. The findings section reported eight heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins and produced a recipe book for them.

Keywords:

Cultural Heritage

Heritage food

Egyptian Bedouins

Bedouin food

Food heritage

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our endless gratitude to all Egyptian Bedouins who helped us to compile the field data. Thanks, are also due to the Egyptian cultural office in Rome and the Egyptian ministry of higher education, for being the sponsor of the researcher during his stay in Italy.

Introduction

The 1980s marked a turning point towards the expansion of empirical and theoretical scientific efforts concentrating on food originating from a diversity of social and cultural perspectives (Warde, 2016; Becuţ & Puerto, 2017). Following in the gradual evolution of the growing global concern in the food of our present societies, the attention paid to food and eating by social sciences has recently been transferred from undertaking the issue as an area of interest to discussing it as a concern constructed as a research topic (Becuţ & Puerto, 2017). As for the debate on food heritage, it dates back to the 1990s, when the focus was on Europe and North America. In 1992, the EU established a system related to the Protected Designation of Origin, an institute that notarized the inclusion of the origin place of several food products (Choi & Kim, 2015).

One of the efforts to preserve this highly valued gastronomic heritage as unique legacies is to explore, determine, and document them in appropriate categories and functions (Ardriyati & Wiwaha, 2016). Besides, investigating the history of a product may be useful for the purpose of marketing and health wellness (Asensio et al, 2008). Hence, several researchers clarified broadly food heritage as the discipline relating to a specific agricultural territory and the origin of food as a featured product of the local community (Ramli et al, 2016).

The concept of gastronomy has had a deep relationship with heritage, especially under the effect of the mass culinary media that created the mainstream consciousness (Hwang et al, 2005). For food, as for other consumer goods, there are two main claims in the debate of its role in cultural systems (Crang, 1996). The first claim confirms the international homogenization of patterns of consumption, marketing and trade – e.g. the process of *Coca-Colafication* or *McDonaldization* (Hughes, 1995). The second claim leads to paying attention to the local products that feature every region (Miller, 1987).

Food is a defining merit in every culture. Despite its central mission of sustaining life, it directly affects the society, culture, and heritage in every territory around the globe in numerous observed and hidden ways, including the arts and stories of each region (Highfield, 2017). Food also fits well into several heritage definitions, involving the long renowned cultural tradition of the hospitality sector, or the fine craftsmanship of specific types of traditional foods (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). However, food heritage is also an area of conflict, it has been clarified that the feelings to local food and other products are a result of the mass movement of fast food into homes and restaurants. (Gracia & Contreras, 2005; Poulain, 2002).

The term "Bedouin" comes from the Arabic Badiya (desert), referring to desert dweller or pastoral nomad, a way of life traditionally linked to pastoral herders who resided in the desert in tent dwellings constructed of goat-hair (Layne, 1994; Gregoricka & Judd, 2015). The Bedouins live in different regions within Egypt, precisely in the coastal zone of the western desert and Sinai, in the eastern desert (Alary et al, 2016). The current study seeks to document a set of heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins.

Although a considerable number of authentic foods and diversity of cooking styles and techniques have been available around the world, today most of them are disappearing because of the 'modernization' of dietary modalities (Adikari & Lakmali, 2016). Furthermore, The Malaysian experience confirms that food is a significant antecedent in attracting international tourists for their traveling objective to the destination (Omar et al, 2015). Likewise, touristic destinations around the world, such as Indonesia and Sri Lanka, have depended on heritage food marketing as a competitive advantage.

Despite food heritage being the focus of many debates around the globe, there is still inconclusive literature addressing Egyptian food heritage in general, and particularly the heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins. Accordingly, there is very little information available on the food culture of Egyptian Bedouins. It is necessary to document these treasures so as not to lose them due to modern trends that may replace the traditional ones.

The focus of the current research is first to explore a set of genuine heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins, then develop a documented recipe book for these dishes. The importance of filling such a scientific gap is the need to attempt to conserve the cultural legacy of Bedouins and shed light on their identity. The aforementioned argument comes in line with several authors who addressed the relationship between heritage food and feelings of belonging in local communities (Parsa, 1998; Burstedt, 2003; Tellström et al, 2006; Caputo, 2011; Santich, 2012; Becuţ & Puerto, 2017). In addition, there are social, political, and economic benefits that might be generated by the significant exploitation of this inheritance (Hughes, 1995; Ardriyati & Wiwaha, 2016).

To undertake such research, we firstly

"IN MANY MULTI-CULTURAL COUNTRIES, IT IS IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF TRADITION AND AUTHENTICITY, TO HAVE A COMMONLY ACCEPTED FOOD IDENTITY TO REPRESENT THE IMAGE OF A NATION. IN ADDITION, PEOPLE ARE EXPERIENCING EXTERNAL PRESSURES ON THEIR CULTURE AND TRADITION"

performed a desk study, gathering studies related to the perspective of gastronomic heritage, to build a structured theoretical framework of reference and identify the most convenient methodology. As for the field study, we reviewed the demography of Egypt to recognize the most known territories of the bedouin presence and also communicated with trusted local coordinators to facilitate the process of raw data collection. The data collection phase included three steps: 1) creation of the criteria to be followed while determining heritage foods; 2) execution of semi-structured interviews with aged Bedouins to collect the heritage foods information; and 3) conducting focus group discussion with Bedouin experts for more validation of the data gathered in step two.

The paper is structured into four sections. The first one describes the theoretical framework of reference. While the second section explains the research design, the third one illustrates the findings obtained so far. The last section offers some concluding remarks and insights for future research developments.

Theoretical framework

Heritage food concept

The Oxford English Dictionary states that the word "heritage" derives from the Old French *heritage*, from *hériter* "legacies" and defines it in different ways as property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance, valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural rituals that have been passed down from earlier generations, indicating or relating to things of distinct architectural, historical, or natural value, conserved for the nation and denoting a traditional brand or product marked as symbolic of fine craftsmanship, as well as a breed of livestock or poultry that was once traditional to an area but is no longer produced in large numbers (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018).

Moreover, the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) defined intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (Viriaere & Miller, 2018). With regard to food, although it deals with tangible and consumable materials, the style and manner of consumption remain a part of the intangible culture (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018).

"As a heritage, food does not only come from places, organically growing out of them but also makes places as symbolic destinations, being deployed in the construction of various imaginative geographies" (Cook & Crang, 1996, p. 140). In other words, the concept of heritage not only includes the demarcating social features of food but also introduces new claims of contemporary beliefs, cultural structure, as well as political and economic advantages (Matta, 2016). Bessière & Tibère (2010) defined food heritage as

> *a set of material and immaterial elements of food cultures, which have been considered as a shared legacy or a common product. This food heritage includes agricultural products, ingredients, dishes, techniques, recipes and food traditions. It includes table manners, the symbolic dimension of food and in its more material aspects, cooking artifacts and the table setting: utensils, dishware, etc. (cited in Matta, 2013, p. 2).*

Instead, Wahid et al (2009) classified heritage foods into two categories. The first category refers to common foods that are part of our daily life; whereas the second includes foods that face the risk of extinction. More exactly, they were once part of our culture, but are slowly disappearing (Ramli et al, 2016). The current study focuses on the second category.

Based on an interdisciplinary point of view, Abdulmawla et al, (2018) argued that the concept "food heritage" is different and more comprehensive than the concept "heritage food". They built their claim on various definitions of food heritage, which reported that food is a material component of the large process of food heritage, besides other immaterial elements (Bessière, 1998; Ishak et al, 2013; Graham et al, 2016). Thus, it is necessary to distinguish between the two concepts before starting in studies in this field.

Heritage food and human identity

Food and meals are a central field in cultural interaction. Otherwise, ethnologists (e.g. Köstlin, 1975; Salomonsson, 1984) highlighted the economic and political utilization of heritage food as part of a process that reinvigorates the belonging feelings to local identity (Tellström et al, 2006). The belief that food -what and how humans eat- is a fundamental of national identity and hardly new (Santich, 2012). The phrase "Tell me what you eat and I'll tell you who you are" is often quoted to demonstrate that food -a basic common physiological necessity for all sentient beings- is also used to expose the singular identity of an individual and the remarkable identity of a social group (Becuţ & Puerto, 2017).

Food is also used as a marker for identity regardless of geographical, social and political differences featuring the populations (Ramli et al, 2016). In other words, without a shared identity, a nation will have a vague and incompatible identity due to a lack of agreement which creates an adverse image and impacts the social integration of a country (Ramil et al., 2016, cited from Lin et al, 2011).

People's habits related to food, including procurement, preparation, cooking, preservation, and consumption are often passed on from one generation to another as holy texts and family traditions, consequently, ethnic groups take more pride in the preservation of their food habits that holds them together (Parsa, 1998). As food heritage becomes a valuable legacy, there is a prominent concern and attention being given to the conservation of traditional cuisine since it is closely related to the ingredients, production method, dishes, and eating habits. This conservation of cultural heritage is difficult, as it is associated with values, beliefs, behaviors, and rules of the society (Ramli et al, 2016).

Salomonsson (2003) proposed that food can serve as a highlighter of many contrastive identities. In so doing, the labeling of food with texts and pictures offers a symbolic domain that is linked with meaning, where issues of difference and categorization, belonging and pride are discussed (Salomonsson, 2003). As the history of humanity is above all, the movements of cuisines and food products have generated transformative processes affecting local cultures, consumer expectations, economic and political developments (Becuţ & Puerto, 2017).

In many multi-cultural countries, it is important, especially in terms of tradition and authenticity, to have a commonly accepted food identity to represent the image of a nation (Ramli et al, 2016). In addition, people are experiencing external pressures on their culture and tradition, including the threat of missing their food heritage or identity due to the rise in population, massive development, and new styles of consumerism in many parts of the globe (Ramli et al, 2016). Hence, academia has paid prominent attention to the issues of authentic and heritage food to sustain them, and it seems like everybody is worried about this issue (Hamzah et al, 2015).

Occidental cities offer a diversity of Chinese, Italian, Russian, Greek, Indian, Thai and Mexican restaurants, this disclaims the notion that globalization and supranational politics will lead to the neutralization of diversity of food culture (Burstedt, 2003). When the national or regional origin of a specific food is defined, the dish or the meal appears as a unique alternative (Burstedt, 2003). Within the small social units, food habits play an essential role in the individual and familial interactions, and in the creation and sustaining of socio-cultural identities (de Solier & Duruz, 2013). Additionally, our food preferences and its related habits usually attach to our culture and disclose our identity (Savarin, 2009).

Food is so vital to the everyday reproduction of culture that when groups travel, they carry their food legacies with them into new host nations (Hage, 1997). Across societies, food habits are essential as the food itself because they often indicate familiarity, shared legacy, and belonging feelings of a specific social group (Collins, 2008). The food preferences, preparation, presentation and preservation practices, the use of utensils, seating arrangements, and eating manners, all reinforce social bonds and reproduce aspects of culture (Simmel, 1997; Bessière &Tibère, 2010). Furthermore, food heritage has been used globally as a typical factor in the convergence of taste, hence, it can be marked as one of the ideal identities, identification and nation-building tools in a country. (Tibere & Aloysius, 2013).

The global concern of heritage food

Historiographies have remarkably clarified how gastronomic heritage represents the common interest in all human cultures for historical continuity and conservation of a shared sense of community membership (Poulain, 2002). Meanwhile, research around the heritagization of food has been expanding globally ever since which reflects the growing number of recent issues and practices towards the globalization of food (Sammells, 2014). Abdulmawla et al. (2018), investigated 30 scientific works from four disciplines in the perspective of heritage food and found out that 24 countries around the world have been mentioned in the reviewed works, which reveals the great attention paid to the issue.

> **"FOOD HERITAGE HAS BEEN USED BY MANY NATIONS AND COMMUNITIES AS A SYMBOLIC BORDER IN THE CONVERGENCE OF TASTE. HENCE, IT CAN BE SEEN AS ONE OF THE IDEAL IDENTITIES, IDENTIFICATION AND NATION-BUILDING TOOLS IN A COUNTRY"**

Moreover, "UNESCO encourages communities to identify, document, protect, promote and revitalize such heritage since it can be vulnerable to the effects of globalization, social transformation, and intolerance" (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018, p.4). As a result, between 2001 and 2005, UNESCO declared 90 Masterworks followed by the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008 (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). The first inclusion by UNESCO of food on its list was in 2010 (France, Croatia, Mexico), hence, there has been a growth of efforts by various nations concerning their food and beverage legacy (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). Mexican gastronomy became the first cuisine to be classified as an intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO in 2010 (Littaye, 2015).

So far, seven themes of city-industry are earmarked under the UNESCO named city of literature, city of music, city of crafts and folk art, city of design, city of media arts, and city of gastronomy. To date, 25 cities around the world have been labeled as "City of Gastronomy", namely, Popayan and Buenaventura in Colombia; Östersund in Sweden; Shunde, Macao, and Chengdu in China; Gaziantep and Hatay in Turkey; Jeonju in South Korea; Rasht in Iran; Tsuruoka in Japan; Tucson and San Antonio in the USA; Parma and Alba in Italy; Zahlé in Lebanon; Cochabamba in Bolivia; Belém, Florianopolis, and Paraty in Brazil; Panama city; Denia and Burgos in Spain; Ensenada in Mexico; Phuket in Thailand, and Bergen in Norway (UNESCO, 2019).

Furthermore, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) declared that culinary heritage is emphasized as one of the leading segments in the cultural tourism global business, thus, governments should sustain their competitiveness of food by adopting well-planned strategies to promote the sustainability of their food heritage as a cultural tourism product (Ramli et al, 2016). Otherwise, there has been a rapid growing in the number of traditional or heritage foods and drinks seeking Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) or Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) according to the European Union (EU, 2015).

Methodology

Identifying heritage food

Radzi et al, (2010) argued that food heritage research should cover the basic principles of food intake, ingredients in food, cooking techniques, food and cultures, and meals, which current research will try to adopt. However, firstly the concept of "heritage food" needs to be identifed, as well as through which criteria we can determine whether a type of food may be considered as heritage or not.

Indeed, several authors proposed that heritage food is defined as traditional food (Abdulmawla et al, 2018), while others have used the concept "local food" to refer to "heritage food" (Tellström et al, 2006; Littaye, 2015). Reviewing literature, it is evident that authors frequently repeat three words (local, traditional, heritage) to express the same concept, so much that Bessière (1998) in his pioneer study used the three terms in the same title "Local Development and Heritage: Traditional Food and Cuisine as Tourist

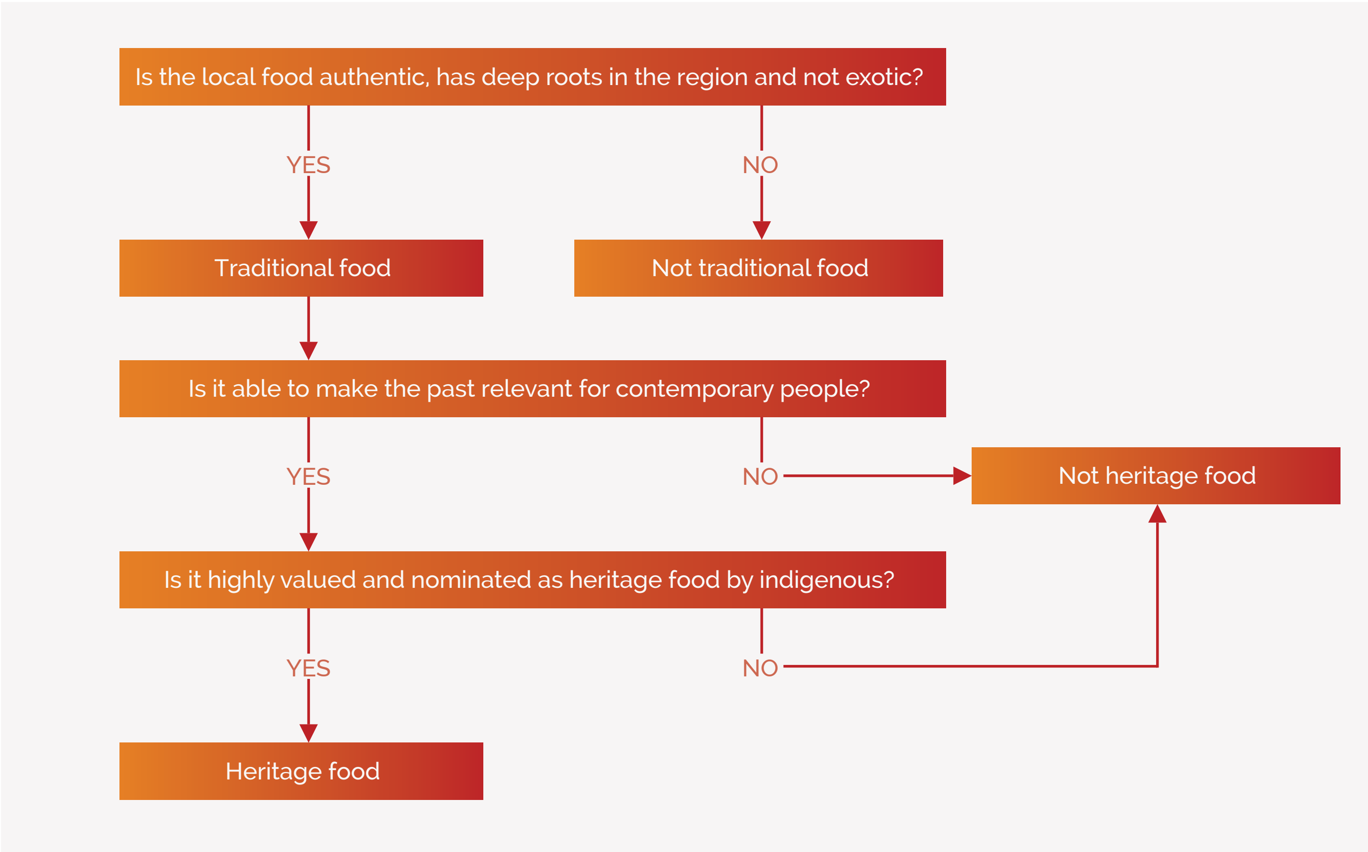

FIGURE 1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCAL, TRADITIONAL, AND HERITAGE FOOD
Source: Abdulmawla et al (2018).

Attractions in Rural Areas", reflecting the high interlock between the three concepts.

In contrast, the fact that local or traditional foods had deeper roots, did not automatically lead to their gaining higher priorities of protection (Gugerell, 2017). In addition, heritage is the part of traditions that is highly valued and acclaimed as heritage by the community, and at the same time, it must be able to make the past relevant for contemporary people (Aaltonen et al, 2015). Also, as already argued in a previous study (Abdulmawla et al, 2018), it cannot be asserted that all local traditional foods be considered heritage food and hence a diagram was suggested to formulate the relationship between the three concepts, based on a systematic review of 30 scientific works upon the literature of the last 20 years. This diagram (figure 1) has been used in the first step of the methodology of the current study to help us in deciding whether our collected field data of Egyptian Bedouin food could be true heritage food or not.

After identifying the heritage foods of the Bedouins using the diagram above, we began to collect the required data to formulate the recipe book of those dishes. The methods of data acquisition are detailed in the following section.

Sampling and data collection instruments

The target population of the study was the Egyptian Bedouin society. It is well-known that people who have Bedouin roots are now living in most of the Egyptian governorates, especially after their immigration from the desert to the city for better opportunities. Moreover, people who continue the nomadic lifestyle live in three major regions in Egypt: the western desert, the eastern desert (north and south Sinai), and the north coast of the western desert. Hence, the study focused on heritage food of these areas, precisely the regions of Sinai, Matruh, and Siwa.

Regarding the determination of dishes under investigation, an initial online survey was conducted, targeted in more than 1,000 Egyptian Bedouins on Facebook groups, which are specialized in Bedouin affairs. The survey aimed to define the most renowned foods in Bedouin heritage, as well as reach out to the expected qualified participants in the upcoming steps. We also contacted representatives of the union of Arab tribes in Egypt – a non-commercial organization – to provide us with names of experts who could serve as sources of our field data. The results of the initial survey produced 12 Bedouin dishes supposed to be heritage, namely: *Mebakkbaka (Macrona jaria), Mashwy Hofra, Qadied* (Dry Meat), *Gerisha, Assida, Tannour* Bread, *Sagg* Bread, *Qarasa* Bread, Bedouin sparrow soup, Bedouin rice with liver and nuts, Bedouin *Kishk*, and *Harira*. Hence, the study highlighted those 12 dishes as its sample.

Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were used to collect data about the heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins. The instruments used are common in cultural and ethnographical studies because they allow, on the one hand, the exchange and correction of ideas among the participants, as well as between the participants and the researcher. As described by Adikari & Lakmali (2016), the fieldwork targeted people who have had the experience and are concerned with Bedouin affairs in general and particularly, the Bedouin food. Based on the results of the initial survey and contact with the Bedouin organization mentioned above, 15 semi-structured interviews with elderly local people were undertaken before transmitting the information to the focus group of six Bedouin experts (two participants from each region) under one Bedouin coordinator. Conducting both interviews and the focus group was done to ensure the consistency and validity of the collected data from different sources.

A guide consisting of three parts to be applied during data acquisition was elaborated. Part one included the profile of participants: (name, age, region, and contact) to verify the factors of being older and belonging to "*Badyia*". Part two is consistent with the first concern of the research: determining a set of genuine heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins, and including the three dichotomies questions suggested by Abdulmawla et al (2018), in addition to dish name: (what is/are the name/s of the local food?; is the local food authentic, not exotic, and does it have deep roots in the region?; is it able to make the past relevant for contemporary people?; and is it highly valued and nominated as heritage food?. Part three consisted of a group of open-ended questions used to collect primary data about heritage foods as pictures, ingredients, preparation methods, and periods of use around the year. The latter part was established to fit into the second topic of the research – developing a documented recipe book for these dishes, the criteria agreed with the claim of Salomonsson (2003) regarding cultural studies.

Data presentation

During the documentation, profiles of heritage foods were given in their original names and pictures with a complete description of each type of food concerning production methods from the raw ingredients to the final products. Besides, Bedouin areas that are famous for using each type of typical food were also mentioned. The data were arranged according to the food category (meals, desserts, and bread) in a table.

Findings

Table 1 shows the recipes studied after the careful selection of eight heritage foods. The table includes dish name/s, most reflective pictures of the dish, brief description of the nature of food and Bedouin areas associated with it, dish ingredients, and standard preparation methods as well as steps of cooking.

It was observed that Bedouins ordinarily cook many types of raw foods in the same dish and then serve them as a complete meal. Furthermore, they use primitive tools such as wooden hands, tree branches, tin barrels, tin pots, clay furnaces, and cloth pieces in preparing their food which reflects the nomadic lifestyle. Cooking methods are usually baking using coal and sand, as well as burying food in a hot hole. Quantities of ingredients often standardized using spoons and cups. Herbs and spices are always used in quantities as desired.

In spite of the notable effect of immigration, media, and social movement, Egyptian Bedouins still prepare, eat, and are proud of their heritage food and cultural legacy. Such feelings of belonging lead them to be more informed about different aspects of their food heritage, which in turn made the process of determining of heritage foods much easier for us. With better-formulated words, once a traditional meal was mentioned, the Bedouins started to recount all the details about it including their consensus or not that the food has or does not have Bedouin roots. That situation enabled us to ensure carefully the validity of our data regarding the eight heritage recipes.

As for the social aspects of the documented recipes, the participants confirmed the relationship between the nature of the occasion and the kind of food cooked. For instance, they cook *Mebakkbaka (Macrona jaria)* as a meal and *Asida* or *Gerisha* as a dessert at happy events such as: (weddings, having a baby, or accomplishing a business deal, etc). On these occasions, usually, four or five people are invited to share the same tray while eating. Otherwise, the different types of goat and sheep meat dishes are often costly for families, especially when using a whole animal in preparing *Mashwy Hofra (Mashwy Shawirma)* and sometimes *Qadied*. Therefore, preparing these

Food name and pictures	Description	Ingredients	Preparation method
Mebakkbaka (Macrona jaria) 	The most popular Bedouin meal in all Egyptian nomadic areas. Especially in the western desert and north coastal regions.	• 500 gm meat or skin-free chicken • 500 gm medium size Macaroni • Two onions • Three garlic cloves • Corn oil • Four tomatoes • Two tablespoons tomato paste • Salt • Black pepper • Turmeric • Coriander • Hot green pepper	• Put the pot on the stove and then add about seven tablespoons of oil. • Add the grated onions in the hot oil until browned. • Add meat, stirring well. • Stir in the mashed tomatoes and two tablespoons of sauce. • Add all spices and green pepper. • After stewing, add the water and leave it for 15 minutes. • Add the pasta and reduce heat until cooked.
Mashwy Hofra (Mashwy Shawirma) 	This method is common in the *Siwa* oasis. Therefore, many hotels usually ask *Siwa* people to prepare it for tourists in the hotel.	• A whole sheep or goat • Potatoes • Onions • Tomatoes • Lemon • Green pepper • Salt • Spices • Butter • Garlic	• Stuff the sheep with onions, potatoes, tomatoes, lemon, pepper, spices, and garlic. • Make a hole of 1m × 1m and 30 cm depth and put the glowing coal inside. • Place the sheep above the fire using a tree branch. • Spread butter on the meat occasionally to avoid burning the meat on the outside. • Wait until done and serve alone or with rice.
Qadied (Dry Meat) 	One of the most important and oldest traditional dishes in Matruh, Alexandria *Badiya*, and Oases. It is preferred during the month of "*Ramadan*" fasting because of its flavor and healthy qualities.	• Sheep or goat meat • Salt • Coriander • Black pepper • Hot sauce	• Place the meat and all the spices and leave it for four hours in the seasoning. • Put a rope in a place exposed to sun and air. Then spread the meat on it like hanging clothes. • After 15 days collect meat and keep it at home or in the fridge. • Cook the meat with your favorite preparation methods.

Food name and pictures	Description	Ingredients	Preparation method
Gerisha  	One of the most used heritage meals in North Sinai and South Sinai *Badiya*, Ismailia, and *Suez* gulf. A permanent component on the tables of the Bedouins of Eastern Egypt especially during "*Ramadan*" and happy celebrations.	• Whole grain wheat • A small onion • Olive oil • Salt • Spices • Milk • Butter • A small portion of meat or skin-free chicken cubes	• Put three tablespoons of olive oil in a pan and then add the grated onions to the hot oil. • Add two large cups of soaked wheat. • Stir in three cups of chicken or meat broth as well as salt and spices. • Add a few pieces of boiled meat or chicken and stir constantly. • Ten minutes before ready, add butter mixed with milk and stir with a wooden spoon constantly. • Serve hot.
Assida  	A famous heritage dessert in the ancient and Egyptian *Badiya*. Usually eaten as breakfast in winter because it provides the body with energy and essential nutrients as well as providing warmth.	• Soft flour • Water • A small spoon of salt • Butter • Black Honey • Bee Honey • Nuts	• Fill a pan with water and heat until boiling and then add a small spoon of salt to it. • While boiling add the flour, stirring constantly. • After it is cooked, put the food on a plate. • Add hot butter, nuts, and various types of honey as desired.
Tannour Bread  	One of the types of Bedouin bread is often made in the home garden.	• Flour • Water • Salt	• Put the flour on a tray then add water and salt. • Knead the mixture until it is firm. • Make a hole in the sand. • Place a tin barrel in the hole. • Light the coal on the sand in the barrel. • Clean the sides of the barrel using a wet cloth. • Put the bread on the edges of the barrel until cooked.
Sagg Bread  	A type of bread in the Egyptian desert: *Sinai, Matruh, Suez, Ismailia, Fayoum, Minya, Assiut, and Beni Suef*. The Widespread use is due to its unique taste and quick preparation. Its diameter is up to 80 cm.	• Flour • Water • Salt	• Put the flour on a tray then add water and salt. • Knead the mixture until it is firm. • Cut the dough and put it on a clean cloth. • Dust with a light layer of flour to prevent sticking. • Put a plate above the clay burner and light the fire. • Separate the dough by using a wooden stick. • Put thin slices upon the hot plate on both sides until cooked.

Food name and pictures	Description	Ingredients	Preparation method
Qarasa Bread 	The bread used by camel and sheep herdsmen or hunters of birds and falcons in the desert because of the length of the grazing period that might reach 15 days. In addition, frequent mobility and time constraints usually prevent the creation of a baking oven.	• Flour • Water • Salt	• Put the flour on a tray then add water and salt. • Knead the mixture until it is firm. • Cut the dough and put it on a clean cloth. • Dust with a light layer of flour to prevent sticking. • Light the coal on the sand. • Put the bread on the hot sand and cover it completely with burnt coal for 8 minutes. • Drag the baked bread and clean it from the remains of sand and ash. • Eat it hot.

TABLE 1. HERITAGE FOODS OF EGYPTIAN BEDOUIN
Source: Authors' own elaboration.

high-cost foods once or twice a year would be acceptable for most domestic Bedouins. The situation may differ for wealthy Bedouins and *Shikhes*, who usually host the reconciliation between the rival tribes, which is often accompanied by the slaughter of more than one animal.

Despite the masculine nature of the Bedouin society, the role of women was evident in the process of milking sheep and goats for the milk used in the food production, as well as collecting firewood and making clay kilns necessary to prepare the various types of bread associated with their identity and local culture as: *Tannour, Sagg,* and *Qarasa* bread. The mother regularly performs these tasks with the help of daughters, while the father and sons are devoted to grazing or hunting activities.

Indeed, the research reported that the name of food may vary from one Bedouin territory to another, while the ingredients and cooking methods remain stable (i.e. *Mebakkbaka* that also called *Macrona Jaria* and *Mashwy Hofra* that is also called *Mashwy Shawrma*). The results of the focus group revealed that there is a marked similarity between the heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins and Heritage food of Libyan Bedouins. The participants argued that the similarity is due to the same Bedouin roots of both Egyptians and Libyans especially Bedouins of the western desert of Egypt bordering Libya. Therefore, many people from both countries belong to the same tribe (*Qabila*) and regularly exchange visits.

Conclusion and implications

While conducting the research, a methodology cited from a previous study was adopted, aiming at identifying the concept of heritage food. According to this methodology, we created our inclusion and exclusion criteria for the selected Bedouin traditional foods: which is heritage food, and which is not. The total selected number was 12 dishes. However, after getting the answers to the three questions in (figure one), four had to be excluded, considering that they were local traditional foods, but had not been defined as heritage by indigenous people. Thus, the final number of heritage dishes was only eight as shown in (table one).

The study is expected to contribute to methodology and knowledge. Using specific questions based on the literature to identify heritage food (figure one) may help researchers in formulating an effective instrument while addressing food heritage issues. After specifying heritage food and beginning data collection, a guide of focus groups or semi-structured interviews that can be applied in future studies (appendix one) was suggested.Otherwise, in cultural studies, participants must be well informed older people (Adikari & Lakmali, 2016) to gain a complete and valid description of the old heritage of a specific territory.

The contribution to knowledge is represented in providing a recipe book of some heritage foods of Egyptian Bedouins. This cultural scientific effort might be used for educational purposes, as well as to shed

"THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UTILIZATION OF FOOD HERITAGE AND ITS RELATED POLICIES IN EGYPT ARE STILL LIMITED AND NEED MORE CONCERTED EFFORTS AMONG GOVERNMENTAL, ACADEMIC, AND BUSINESS ENTITIES TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINABILITY AND ADOPT POWERFUL STRATEGIES OF CULTURAL POLICY"

light on Bedouin's legacy in Egypt that might open the door for future studies, especially with the scarcity of research that targets these regions. The concern of heritage food in Egypt could lead to successful heritagization of those treasures and direct the world's attention to it. For instance, the failure of all African cities to earn the title "UNESCO City of Gastronomy" (UNESCO, 2019) prompts us to administer more scientific efforts in this field to achieve such recognition for Egypt one day. Indeed, after our humble endeavor, we could demonstrate that Egyptian Bedouins have an excellent food culture, unique cooking techniques, and unique food habits. For instance, consider the kinds of Bedouin bread prepared using firewood, hot sand, and the clay kilns in the desert.

Furthermore, further research targeting discussions on the topics of immaterial food habits is still needed, as well as measuring the nutrition composition of heritage foods to check if they are sufficient for human needs. The contemporary economic and social utilization of food heritage and its related policies in Egypt still limited and need more concerted efforts among governmental, academic, and business entities to achieve sustainability and adopt powerful strategies of cultural policy. This claim comes in line with the discourse of the Egyptian minister of tourism when she said: "We have to change the concept 'Egypt has many potential' to 'Egypt realized its potential'; consequently, we launched our national sustainable tourism development initiative 'People to People' to involve local people in the development processes, mainly in Sinai and Matruh". Therefore, incorporating selections of heritage foods in tourism development will help to achieve successful cultural management of food legacy resources besides supporting the welfare of Bedouin inhabitants.

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To cite this article:

ABDULMAWLA, M.; IMPERIALE, F.; MORSY, M. A.; SAAD, H. E. and QOURA, O. (2019). Forgotten legacy: an endeavor to highlight heritage food of Egyptian Bedouins. *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, 9 (1), pp. 38-51.

APPENDIX 1. Guide of Focus Group and Semi-Structured Interviews

Dear Participant,

This discussion aims to collect data about the authentic food of Egyptian Bedouins. It will take not more than 30 minutes, and we will use the recorder only if you allow. The collected data will be only used for scientific purposes, and we would be grateful if you answer the following questions.

1. Personal Data:

- Name and Bedouin tribe:________________________
- Age:____
- Bedouin region:______________________________
- Contact:___________________________________

2. Identifying Heritage Food

- What is the name/s of the local dish?
- Is the local food authentic, has deep roots in the region and not exotic?
- Is it able to make the past relevant for contemporary people?
- Is it highly valued and nominated as heritage food by Bedouin indigenous?

If one answer to the last three questions is NO, it is not "heritage food", so move on to the following dish. If all the answers were YES, then complete the next questions:

3. Collecting Data About "Heritage Food"

- What are the ingredients of the dish?
- What are the cooking methods of it?
- What are the most famous Bedouin areas with it?
- What are the old stories related to it?
- Have there been any changes in its ingredients and form over time?
- What are the food habits associated with this dish?
- When do you usually eat it, is it prepared on certain occasions?
- With whom do you usually prepare and eat it?

Thank you, please tell us if you wish to add something else.

Managing and enhancing the intangible heritage: the experience of "Literary Parks"

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the concept of cultural heritage has changed to include artistic, archaeological, architectural and environmental heritages, including intangible forms of these. The potential of intangible heritage has yet to be fully exploited, and there are many opportunities for its enhancement and protection still to explore. The meaning of intangible heritage in social development, and its social and cultural potential is described through a case study of the Literary Park circuit in Italy. The Italian experience shows that there is potential in setting up networks in remote areas, and in the process of recognizing and enhancing the intangible heritage of a country. Heritage, particularly intangible heritage, is an alternative approach to promoting a sense of belonging and active participation in a community. It can attract financial resources and boost social development of the local cultural ecosystem. Surveys and interviews are used to assess the limits and potential as well as strengths and weaknesses of Literary Parks.

Keywords:

Cultural management

Intangible heritage

Economic performance

Literary Park

Cultural value

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the Literary Parks Association, and the Director, for valuable support in the research. Our sincere gratitude also goes to the museum services managers of the various parks involved in this study.

Introduction

Literary heritage as an intangible cultural asset

In recent years, the concept of cultural heritage has been continuously redefined and updated from academic and legislative perspectives in order to cover new social, cultural and environmental dimensions. It has now come to include intangible assets, and has achieved formal recognition through European Union directives, charters and international resolutions.

A recent anthropological approach to heritage considers it as a social ensemble of many different, complex and interdependent manifestations (Kurin, 2007), rather than simply a combination of artefacts and human-made creations. It is now widely recognised that, given differences between cultures, value is not solely a matter of physical existence defined unequivocally on the basis of fixed criteria. Material heritage does not have the same significance for all cultures, and attention towards materiality and its physical conservation is the result of a western philosophical approach (Gruzinski, 1993). A more comprehensive approach to heritage reflects the complexity and extension of the historical heritage of various places, up to and including the intangible and landscape dimension (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009), and underlines its role in identifying values and memories (McDowell, 2016; Kuutma, 2015).

In this perspective, literature has played and continues to play a key role. The set of literary works of a country, in fact, represents its socio-cultural context and development, in various manifestations, over the centuries (Leseman, 1994). In particular, because Italy consisted of different peoples throughout much of its history, and was unified at a relatively late date, there is a great deal of variety in literature, as in other features and in other types of art, across the country.

Literature can in fact be defined as a crucial cultural heritage for a country in representing the traditions and way of life of the inhabitants. The value of Italian literature is acknowledged internationally, and it thus contributes to the communication and enhancement of Italy's intangible heritage to a wide range of potential users. Although its economic and cultural importance is clear (Herbert, 2001) the intangible nature of the asset makes the challenge of management and enhancement extremely complex (Squire, 1994). There is a need for efficient projects and schemes which enhance literary sites without unduly exploiting or plundering them.

Starting from a discussion of the semantic notion, this paper discusses the key issues in the enhancement and management of intangible heritage. The case study of Literary Parks in Italy provides indications on the opportunities and threats for management of an intangible heritage, and how this can be linked with sustainable local development.

The literature on Literary Parks is mainly composed of geography studies (Dai Prà, 2002), with some contributions focussing on tourism (Vavassori, 2000; Rao, 2006). Both approaches emphasize the potential of Literary Parks, but tend to focus on the aggregate level in analysing mainly the dynamics of supply and demand.

This paper focuses on Literary Parks as organizations and their relationships with the outside world. It examines the ability of Literary Parks to manage intangible capital, taking into account internal variables (company structure, personnel organization, forms of financing), and external variables (partners, presence in networks, coordination with other stakeholders). The aim of this paper is therefore to describe the current situation of Literary Parks in Italy with particular reference to management methods, the financing system, and effectiveness in achieving institutional goals.

Towards a formal recognition of intangible heritage

In a normative approach, the concept of cultural heritage has been enshrined in legislation. For this, it was necessary to use a univocal, subnational and objective definition of the concept of heritage (Vecco, 2010). The first important step in this process was the definition of Heritage given by ICOMOS (1964) in the Venice Charter, of which Article 1 reads: "The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event" (ICOMOS, 1964). A more comprehensive approach appears in the subsequent UNESCO Convention on the Protection of World, Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), in which the expression "cultural heritage" refers to "groups of buildings and sites" as well as monuments. The definition was enlarged to include intangible heritage in 1994, and almost a decade later the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) recognised intangible inheritance as a key factor in cultural diversity which also guarantees lasting

"BY OFFERING SERVICES TO THE PUBLIC SUCH AS ITINERARIES AND SIMILAR, LITERARY PARKS, WITH THEIR DIVERSIFIED MIX OF RESOURCES CAN ADD VALUE TO LOCAL AREAS GIVING A TANGIBLE INSTITUTION TO INTANGIBLE HERITAGE WITH A BIG REDUCTION IN THE ECONOMIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL COSTS"

development. It added the values of identity and capacity of the object to interact with memory to the parameters of artistic and historic importance (Vecco, 2010). The introduction of the term "cultural landscape" in the 2003 Convention emphasizes the importance of cultural spaces and the relationship between nature and culture (Smith & Akagawa, 2008). Article 2 of the Convention also specifies what is meant by intangible cultural heritage, emphasizing as a discriminating criterion for inclusion stakeholder awareness of the importance of heritage:

> *The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. 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 Council of Europe Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2005) broadens the meaning of the term "heritage" to take on a double connotation: first as inheritance handed down from the past, and second as heritage projected towards the future. In the second definition, a future-looking heritage is not an intrinsic value, but rather a value that comes from the reiteration of people's activities and places, based on the meaning and the uses that the communities attribute to it.

Between rhetoric and practice: the management of intangible heritage

The relationship between the management and culture has been widely discussed (Peacock, 1998; Throsby, 2001; Blaug, 2001; Rizzo & Throsby, 2006). The genesis of the definition of heritage, defined as an intangible asset, was important in order to identify its needs in terms of management and organization (McKercher & du Cros, 2006). The failure to perceive the specific need for adequate safeguarding and enhancement has in fact impacted negatively on management studies in the field. Previous research has mainly focused on defining the term heritage with tangible and intangible characteristics (Vecco, 2010). The few existing studies on practical implications mainly refer to the effect on tourism (Herbert, 2001) and identity (González, 2007): the specific value of an area and its real strength as a tourist destination lie in its legacy as a non-replaceable identity (ibid.), or convey the value of local tradition. Management literature identifies two ways of converting heritage into a possible tool for development of a local economy. The first is organisation of festivals, which can play an active role in the enhancement of intangible heritage (ibid.) and the second is setting up more structured institutions such as museums, which provide tangible evidence and a long-lasting structure (Alivizatou, 2016).

Both methods however have side effects. In the first case, the *festivalisation* of cities may lead to short term exploitation of local communities (Logan, 2009). On the other hand, a fixed structure may be unsuitable for the flexible and changing nature of an intangible heritage (Del Barrio et al, 2012). It is unclear which solution ensures the highest standards of physical and intellectual accessibility to the entire cultural heritage, and there is an ongoing search for management methods which can ensure the creation of value and lasting economic sustainability for all stakeholders.

By offering services to the public such as itineraries and similar, Literary Parks, with their diversified mix of resources can add value to local areas giving a tangible institution to intangible heritage with a big reduction in the economic and organizational costs, typical of more structured institutions such as museums. Literary Parks fit perfectly into this path, precisely because they are linked to the territory, a portfolio of coordinated experiences and in full respect of the typicality and peculiarities of history and places. This is particularly true in outlying and rural areas, as well as areas not affected by mass tourism. The resources offered can thus be organized and managed not simply as an aggregate, but as an experience of local life itself and local identity.

Literary Parks: places of memory and heritage enhancement

The association between place and literature goes back to mythological times. Poetry and literature have always typically been linked to geographical sites (Herbert, 2001). The concept that best reflects Literary Parks is that of "places of memory" in which the actual features of a place enrich their image in literature, and are in turn enriched by literature. This is a process of "active" memory, and refers to the modern concept of heritage as a process of elaboration, formation and definition of identity:

> *Parts of territories characterized by different combinations of natural and human elements that illustrate the evolution of local communities through literature.*
>
> *A method of interpretation of the territory that allows us to give meaning to places in a balanced combination of landscape, cultural heritage and economic activities (parchiletterari.org).*

The idea underpinning Literary Parks in fact was based on combining heritage and tourism using the cultural sector as a whole as the basis for development strategy. The Literary Park is analysed in this research on the basis of the specific decisions taken in three key aspects of the management of territorial systems: the form of management, the setting of the internal organizational system and the definition of relations with other subjects in the area.

The Italian experience of Literary Parks

"Literary Parks", with the registered trademark (Parchi Letterari®) came into being in 1992 and was based on the ideas of Stanislao Nievo. In the early days, they were mainly publishing schemes and took the physical form of places and paths of memory set up by the Stanislao Nievo Foundation. The first fifteen Literary Parks were all located in southern Italy. Their aim was to combine memory and imagination with landscape and literature, using landscape-territorial enhancement strategies through promoting "sentimental journeys".

In the first phase, Literary Parks was set up through private initiative with the collaboration of local administrations, as well as other institutions such as *Youth Entrepreneurship* and the *Italian Touring Club*. The second phase was marked by a substantial grant of 14,850 million euros, received in the years 1998 - 2001 as the "Global Grant for Literary Parks" under European Union Regional Funding, which aimed at reducing economic and social disparities, fighting depopulation and promoting rural development.

Setting up Literary Parks in the south of Italy, which is comparatively underdeveloped and poorer, in fact reflected EU Regional Funding priorities. The funding aimed at two types of activity: promotion of Literary Parks and creation of related network activities. In the first case, local authorities, public-private partnerships, associations and foundations benefited from funding. In the second case, the recipients were mostly young people who were supported in starting and developing businesses.

Literary Parks can also take the form of designated regional areas, or cultural tourism routes, and be supported by initiatives such as concerts, theatrical performances, and various local tourism businesses. Another important initiative which provided incentives to set up Literary Parks was a competition in which public and private entities were invited to present proposals for new parks. The initiative was successful and about 240 projects were presented by municipalities, associations and consortia, of which 17 were approved (1 in Molise, 5 in Campania, 2 in Basilicata, 2 in Puglia, 1 in Calabria, 5 in Sicily and 1 in Sardinia).

The "literary landscape" originally meant a place where a writer lived and drew inspiration, and Literary Parks offers the opportunity to re-read the place using his or her works (Vavassori, 2000). The potential for economic development of the project is underlined by several sources, and the concept of conservation is no longer considered to be in conflict with valorisation (Lee et al, 2005). Literary Parks can in fact revitalise traditional production activities, raise employment levels and promote environmental sustainability, and are thus a driving force for socio-economic development as well as a boost for a sense of belonging, and a potential for strengthening local identities (Bruce & Creighton, 2006; Nasser, 2003).

From an economic point of view, the potential of parks is recognized as a tool to increase the value of an area, but also the need to define indispensable management guidelines has been noted (Barilaro et al, 2006). Key issues become for example: creation of tangible institutions such as documentation centres to complement valorisation events; activating exchanges with other parks or surrounding activities; involving a wider public; promoting culture which attracts people in numbers without becoming mass culture; and obtaining funding from diversified sources (sponsors, direct sales, admissions) to ensure long-term sustainability. However, despite the potential and the interest shown by different actors, especially associations, in running and sponsoring Literary Parks, and although cultural events have often been held, these have tended to be sporadic, and a lack of systematic planning and effective coordination has led to the closure of most of the parks over the years. Those which remain open have seen a complete overhaul of structures and programs. Empirical evidence thus reveals the need for in-depth research in order to provide management with strategic tools and guidelines.

Literary Parks saw a new lease of life in the mid-2000s when a new body, Paesaggio *Culturale Srl* (Cultural Landscape Ltd.) was set up to run them at national level. The *Dante Aligheri Company* was added in 2012. Literary Parks has evolved continuously from its early days of conflict between their utopian objectives and economic valorisation processes, which reflected the complexity of the challenge of enhancing intangible assets. In their new chapter, Literary Parks aims to leave behind its former ad hoc planning strategy. In order not to remain "parks on paper" they nowadays eschew cultural activities held exclusively inside the park, but aim rather towards building a complex of structures using an organic framework of tools. New operational and management guidelines are taking shape reflecting different geographical perspectives. Now that the European Union funding phase is over, Literary Parks in Italy is a network using a joint image. They are all under the umbrella of *Paesaggio Culturale Srl,* which governs the use of registered trademarks for an annual fee and lays down guidelines on various aspects including methods of accreditation. *Paesaggio Culturale Srl* also promotes theoretical guidelines underpinning member activities, including a holistic approach to the territory, which involves a transversal interpretation of place.

"THE POTENTIAL OF THE LITERARY HERITAGE, ECONOMIC AND OTHERWISE, HAS LONG BEEN RECOGNISED, AS IT CAN BE SEEN FROM THE PROLIFERATION OF EVENTS AND CENTRES EXISTING ACROSS ITALY: DOCUMENTATION CENTRES, THEME PARKS, PRIVATE MUSEUMS AND FESTIVALS"

The potential of the literary heritage, economic and otherwise, has long been recognised, as it can be seen from the proliferation of events and centres existing across Italy: documentation centres, theme parks, private museums and festivals. The idea underpinning Literary Parks is not in fact particularly innovative, if it was not for the emphasis placed on planning at the network level in the area and the attention given to their endogenous development.

Methodology

The history of Literary Parks in Italy highlights the need to develop management strategies to enhance them and generate the many cultural and economic advantages they are able to produce. The potentialities of the Parks to increase the value of the territory are in fact widely recognized, but the difficulties in managing them are clear, and compromise their durability in the medium-long term.

Mapping the current situation is essential in order to identify the strengths of existing management forms which need to be continued, as well as weaknesses requiring improvement. Research findings enable us to trace, in the conclusion, broad policy guidelines for current Literary Parks managers who wish to increase efficiency and effectiveness, and for stakeholders considering investing time and / or resources in the entrepreneurial initiative of Literary Parks.

To investigate the characteristics of the parks, a three-part questionnaire was constructed. Each section focuses on one of the three key areas of the park business model:

1. Management of activities: information about the legal ownership structure of the Park, management and owners, management methods of services and personnel.
2. Economic performance: how the park acquires and uses resources.
3. Institutional effectiveness: the effectiveness of the Literary Park in achieving its institutional goals and, therefore, the ability to generate a positive relationship with the area it is located in.

Before being sent out to participants, the questionnaire was validated by the Chairman of *Paesaggio Culturale Srl*. The objective of the validation was to verify the capacity of the questions to investigate specifically the areas described above,

Name	Territory	Year	Name
Giosuè Carducci Park	Castagneto Carducci (Livorno)	1995	Nature trail, study center and museum
Gabriele D'Annunzio Park	Anversa degli Abruzzi (L'Aquila)	1997	Nature trail and documentation center
Carlo Levi Park	Aliano (Matera)	1999	Nature trail and documentation center and picture gallery
Francesco De Sanctis Park	Morra (Avellino) and Irpinia	1999	Nature trail, museum, library
Grazia Deledda Park	Galtelli (Nuoro)	2001	Nature trail and documentation center
Pierpaolo Pasolini Park	Ostia (Rome)	2005	Nature trail
Albino Pierro Park	Tursi (Matera)	2010	Nature trail and documentation center
Francesco Petrarca Park	Euganean hills (Padova)	2012	Nature trail and museum
Giuseppe Giovanni Battaglia Park	Aliminusa (Palermo)	2013	Nature trail and museum
The lands of Dante Alighieri	Ravenna and Florence	2014	Nature trail
Tommaso Landolfi Park	Pico (Frosinone)	2014	Nature trail
Eugenio Montale Park	Liguria	2015	Nature trail
Alessandro Manzoni Park	Trezzo sull'Adda (Milano)	2016	Nature trail and documentation center
Giuseppe Antonio Borghese Park	Polizzi Generosa (Palermo)	2016	Nature trail
Federico II Park	Melfi (Potenza)	2016	Nature trail and documentation center

TABLE 1. THE ITALIAN LITERARY PARKS

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

without neglecting the particular characteristics of the Literary Parks. The Chairman was also interviewed in order to enrich the data collected by the questionnaires and gain a greater understanding of the Literary Park system, among other aspects. The questionnaire was then administered by email or telephone to the Literary Park managers. For those parks owned and run by municipalities, the person in charge was identified as the Mayor or the head of the cultural office, and for those managed by non-profit associations or public-private partnerships, the questionnaire was sent to the Presidents of these associations or partnerships, as indicated by institutional websites.

Data collection lasted three months (October-December 2017). Subsequently the answers were collected, coded and analyzed in aggregate and anonymous form.

The results of an empirical study

Currently, there are fifteen Literary Parks in Italy. Table 1 shows the name of each park i.e. the writers it is named for, the location, its year of establishment, and the type of park it is.

The questionnaire was sent to parks with at least one year of activity, so the Giuseppe Giovanni Battaglia Park and the Federico II Park, set up in July and December 2016, were excluded from the sample. This was because the answers to the questions could be affected by a possible lack of experience in park management, or in any case, greater difficulty in identifying management characteristics.

Twelve out of thirteen parks responded to the questionnaire, which means a response rate of around 92%. The survey sample can therefore be considered to be well representative of the population. Only the Pier Paolo Pasolini Park did not respond to the questionnaire.

The geographical composition of the sample is as follows: four are in the north of Italy (33%), three in the centre (25%), and five in the south or in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia (42%).

It is important to note that 40% of Italian Literary Parks were established in the three-year period 2014-2016, which highlights the growing attention to such initiatives in recent times and also the fact that only a small percentage of them were part of the historic nucleus of Parks set up under European funding.

Area 1 – Management of activities

Literary Parks in Italy are differentiated and diverse, fit with different landscapes and ideas, and are based on different heritages. They are small territorial systems which include various entities linked to local entrepreneurship, with particular reference to culture and craftsmanship.

In most cases, the Literary Park is owned by the Municipality (67%), while in the remaining ones, the park is owned by a non-profit organization, association or cooperative (2 cases) or a public-private partnership (2 cases). In all cases, the owner and the managing body are the same. However, specifically in four cases, the management takes the form of an association between the owner with other public or private non-profit organizations.

Except for two Literary Parks which can be visited 24 hours a day, seven days a week, all parks have very restricted opening hours. In many cases they are open only for a few hours per day, generally in the morning, and / or only on certain days of the week (either Monday to Friday or weekends and holidays). Two can be visited only by appointment.

As far as service management is concerned, all parks except one have support tools for visitors. 42% of Literary Parks use more than one support tool, from which the most common ones are information brochures (75%) and information boards (67%). Video presentations and audio guides are rare, and digital tools such as QR codes are present in only one park.

A positive aspect is that 75% of the Literary Parks combine traditional visit activities with educational activities aimed at young people. This reveals particular attention towards cultural development of users, and the fact that services on offer are differentiated for different types of users. Particular attention is paid to the segment of schools and educational trips, identified as strategic for the parks.

Looking at facilities for disabled visitors, it is worth noting that only two parks are completely accessible to those with motor disabilities, while 83% are only partially accessible. The area of accessibility therefore requires improvement. Particularly critical is the lack of facilities for blind and partially sighted users, and dedicated pathways are offered in only one case.

It is important to evaluate additional services from the quantitative point of view, prior to the visit (ability to attract a greater number of visitors and revenues) and from the qualitative point of view, during the visit (improvement of quality of the visit). In this area, there are severe weaknesses: only five parks (42%) offer accessory services (in three cases, there is a bookshop; in another one a cafeteria, and in only one case both services are provided).

"LITERARY PARKS ARE A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF INTEGRATION BETWEEN VARIOUS CULTURAL SECTORS, FROM ARCHITECTURE TO PHOTOGRAPHY AND PUBLISHING, AND ARE THEREFORE EXTREMELY APPROPRIATE FOR COMMUNICATING AND MANAGING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL LEGACY"

Finally, in the area of personnel management, the findings of this paper show that Literary Parks largely rely on volunteers. The ratio between volunteer staff and employees is around 2 to 1: on average the parks have 2.4 employees and 5.5 volunteers. The data between the different parks is however highly diversified. There is a clear tendency for longer established parks – those set up for more than 15 years now – to have a greater number of employees (3.5 versus 1.6) and volunteers (7.2 versus 2.7) than more recent Literary Parks.

Several issues emerge from the data which need to be taken into account in making parks more accessible to tourists and locals. These range from lengthening opening hours to offering a wider set of additional services for differentiated type of users such as children, the elderly and the disabled. Some of the requirements by *Paesaggio Culturale Srl* for becoming a park are provision of an information point, a strong local network and reasonable opening hours. In practice, however, there is no point of reference, and where for example the park is run by a municipality, it may be open only during staff working hours rather than peak visiting times at weekends.

Despite these problems, various parks have put in place solutions to structural limitations and lack of personnel, such as engaging volunteers and setting up learning activities for children. These services are however supplied *ad hoc*, and are often unclear and poorly planned, and there is a great deal of room for improvement in all areas.

Area 2 – Economic performance

The second area of analysis is the financing systems of Literary Parks and the ways in which resources are used. The first finding is that only four parks (33%) have an autonomous budget, or provide a clear statement of costs and revenues, and it is complicated to analyze the economic-financial area in the remaining ones. With reference to income diversity, Literary Parks show great dependency on transfers of public funds. Only five parks impose an admission charge, on average 5 euros per ticket, which, in any case, has a very limited impact on total revenue (less than 10%). The other accessory services (bookshops, hiring our premises, laboratories, etc.) also generate low, if not almost non-existent, revenues.

Furthermore, there are sponsorships and / or fundraising activities with private individuals in only one case. The financial autonomy of the parks is thus very limited. Finance for running daily activities derives primarily from resources transferred from the Regional Authority, from the state and lastly from the municipality.

It is true that free admission and low entrance fees increase access and ensure community involvement, and it is positive that the majority of parks opt for this strategy. But it needs to be accompanied by other types of fundraising activities if high dependence on public transfers is to be avoided. Literary Parks' low ability to attract resources is a shortcoming. Our data shows that both financial and managerial autonomy need to be strengthened in order to build a wider net of private investment. More investment should be made in publicity and other initiatives to strengthen and diversify funding need to be taken.

Regarding the use of resources, the largest cost item is employees, which impacts for approximately 51% of total costs. The second largest cost is communications, which are just under 3,000 euros per year on average. Communications and publicity is a strategic area for investment in order to increase the visibility and attractiveness of Literary Parks. It is disconcerting to find that only 65% of the parks have their own updated website. Finally, there are more residual cost items linked to maintenance and other general costs, which account for 13% and 15% of total costs respectively.

Area 3 – Institutional effectiveness

The third area investigates the effectiveness of Literary Parks in achieving its institutional goals. All the parks state that their mission is to enhance the figure of the author to whom the park is dedicated and to promote the local area. The link between park and territory is very strong: 75% of the parks explicitly mention the enhancement of the territory as a fundamental element of their mission. The effectiveness of the park in creating a network of initiatives and collaborations with the area and the community of reference has thus been investigated in this paper.

In 2017, each park had an average of around 4,500 visitors. The most effective Literary Parks in terms of visitor numbers per year are the Giosuè Carducci Park, (13,500) and the Lands of Dante Alighieri (10,000). The parks also organize on average two types of initiatives per park annually. Specifically, one park out of two organized public exhibitions. The next most frequent types of initiative are publications of books or magazines (42%), restoration (42%) and temporary exhibitions (33%). There were no cases of live shows.

With regard to the development of networks in the territory, only 50% of the Parks have established any type of partnerships with other local cultural institutions. These collaboration schemes were made especially with non-profit companies (3 cases), public bodies (2 cases), and for-profit companies (1 case). Furthermore, only four of the parks are included in a wider museum system which includes other museums and institutes in the area. However, interpreting this data, it is important to note that not all the parks answered the question (i.e. two failed to reply). Note also that where collaboration occurs, it often involves several levels and a number of other organizations.

As regards the active involvement of local citizens in park decisions and activities, the data are also somewhat disappointing. Only around 40% state that park management is participatory, and in only 50% of cases publicity campaigns are carried out and are specifically targeted at local people.

These data suggest that it would be useful to strengthen relations with the local network, strengthen initiatives and activities to increase the number of visitors, and improve relations with the local community. In this sense, tangible initiatives such as documentation centers, a museum or house to visit are useful, but of course result in a sharp increase in costs, which are already difficult to manage. Other initiatives can be effective and perhaps more cost effective. The Landolfi park, for example, offers an itinerary accompanied by an information system, interactive and virtual and also available as a leaflet, which helps visitors to interpret the historical, artistic, architectural and environmental features. There are twelve panels showing quotations from Landolfi, a map of the route indicating key sites, and a dedicated website, using new technologies such as the QR Code.

One of the major problems can be access, and although an institutional response is often slow, or lacking, there have been attempts at finding solutions by individual parks and private initiatives. For example, the Carlo Levi park at Aliano was initially inaccessible for tourists staying on the coast. Private buses linking the coast with inland museums were then provided by the park, and as public response was positive, the municipality then activated a new bus route. The existence of a tangible component (admission ticket and services) helps park management as well as users to evaluate the value provided by the park.

This type of facility can also have a positive impact on cost reduction, taking advantage of existing networks and making fewer resources redundant. In this regard, half of the Petrarch Park staff – those involved in management – come from the shop owners' association, which is part of a local network, and 50% staff are on-site guides employed by the Euganean Hills Park.

Conclusion

Over recent decades, the concept of heritage has undergone changes which entail rethinking strategies for preservation and sustainability. The markedly dynamic nature of intangible heritage makes it not suitable for exploitation by the traditional business model. This study discusses Literary Parks as an inspiring and interesting solution in the process of enhancement of intangible heritage and history of the country.

Literary Parks are a perfect example of integration between various cultural sectors, from architecture to photography and publishing, and are therefore extremely appropriate for communicating and managing intangible cultural legacy. They are also a clear example of enhancement of intangible heritage. They do not rely on transitory experience, as a literary festival does, and neither are they embedded in a static structure, which may not fully reflect the immediate nature of the heritage.

In this study, the literature-territory heritage is analysed as a system of resources which can enhance a geographical area and boost the local economy through the development and exploitation of a local feature. A Literary Park is much more than "a literary walk", it enables local systems to enhance the territory in its entirety.

In some cases, the parks have been able to bring together the experiences of various small municipalities in rural areas, and operate in synergy in a system. They have been able to display and enhance the existing cultural heritage of an area by way of picture galleries, sites, libraries, documentation centers and foundations. The process of creating such a system can take up to ten years. In early phases, parks were often supported in formal recognition processes and promotional activities by the umbrella organisation. Later each park acquired its own structure and an ad hoc channel for promotion.

The interpretation of the results of this study must be made in the context of Italy, which is characterized by an extensive and diffuse cultural heritage. However, the experience of Literary Parks could be extended to different sectors aiming to promote and enhance intangible cultural heritage.

The empirical analysis suggest that value created for an area derives from efficient use of planning, organization and control mechanisms as well as the potential of individual elements. In order to define strategy, the specific heritage as well as its tangible and intangible resources, need to be defined on the basis of its identity and vocation. The Literary Park can be seen as the organ governing and managing different resources and inputs from the community and place, which all together are indispensable for the conservation and enhancement of intangible heritage. It can become strategic in increasing tourist numbers and in creating value for all stakeholders involved in conservation and enhancement (citizens, businesses, non-profit organizations, etc.).

Management choices therefore need to be closely related to missions, and cannot be separated from the specific context (Sharma, 2000). Strategy can vary, but should always include the progressive involvement of multiple actors, multiple forms of financing and multiple activities that exploit it.

In fact, the strength of a development strategy lies in the close integration between the activities of the sector itself, and those of the interconnected sectors in the production chain (Winstanley, 1998). In Literary Parks, school education, professional training, specialized production and crafts, in addition to educational tourism, play a crucial role. Key elements in a strategy of territorial enhancement are the synergy of different elements of tangible and intangible capital and natural capital.

Literary Parks in Italy, which take the form of itineraries, sites, and museums dedicated to particular writers, can be regarded as possible model. Although there is clearly no "one type fits all" model, the experiences of Italian Literary Parks show that there is potential in setting up networks in remote areas, and, in the process of recognizing and enhancing the intangible heritage, a previously untapped resource can be used for the economic and social development of an area.

"ALTHOUGH THERE IS CLEARLY NO 'ONE TYPE FITS ALL' MODEL, THE EXPERIENCES OF ITALIAN LITERARY PARKS SHOW THAT THERE IS POTENTIAL IN SETTING UP NETWORKS IN REMOTE AREAS, AND, IN THE PROCESS OF RECOGNIZING AND ENHANCING THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE"

This research is a preliminary investigation into the state of the art of literary parks and provides an overview of intangible heritage enhancement and three economic aspects of development. Future research involving further case studies is needed to deepen our knowledge of the challenges in the three areas.

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To cite this article:

DONELLI, C. C.; FANELLI, S.; MOZZONI, I. (2019). Managing and enhancing the intangible heritage: the experience of "Literary Parks". *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, 9 (1), pp. 52-63.

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Co-funded by the
Creative Europe Programme
of the European Union