



UNCHARTED

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1. INTRODUCTION

This section examines values in European cultural policies by addressing a set of case studies corresponding to twelve national, regional, and local administrations. Our case study analysis aims to identify the plurality of values of culture and their existing tensions within EU cultural administrations.

Multiple values can serve as the rationale, aiming or legitimating ground of cultural policies, including the aesthetic, social, economic and institutional values of culture (Bennett 1995; Gray 2007; Hadley & Gray 2017; O'Brien 2014; Throsby 2010). These different frameworks, which have been conceived as intrinsic or instrumental values (Holden 2004; Liu 2016), are embedded into discourses, valuation processes, philosophies of action and goals for cultural policies. Specific instrumental values have been identified within these market-oriented cultural policies across EU nation-states, albeit to varying degrees (Alexander & Peterson 2020). At the same time, a unidirectional trajectory of these policies towards the framing of these values has been questioned (Dedieu et al. 2020).

Taking this complexity into account, we have used a diversity of criteria to select case studies. Firstly, the criteria of different cultural policy models mirroring a plurality of policy regimes ranging from social-democratic countries to illiberal experiences. Secondly, the diverse policy orientations within those models, for example, creative or entrepreneur approaches, or the commons' conceptions of cultural participation. Thirdly, levels of government. Our 12 studies include country capitals, peripheral cities and different kinds of substate national entities. This selection configures a vast plurality of value orientations and approaches to cultural policies from their socio-genesis, institutional dynamics and models standpoints.

Two methodological strategies have been applied to their examination. On the one hand, we have developed extensive documentary research¹ of 12 cultural administrations at different territorial levels in 6 countries (Spain, Portugal, France, Norway, UK, and Hungary). Recent cultural planning documents, activity reports, cultural information, legislation and budget reports were consulted. On the other hand, we used fieldwork research to collect additional data about the 4 Spanish and Portuguese cases taking advantage of their particular accessibility. These cases were approached using several semi-structured interviews and focus groups with relevant actors². Both methodological strategies focused on current policy action having historical developments and contexts -particularly marked by the effects of post-2008 and COVID-19 crises- as backgrounds.

The above strategy has been implemented to fulfil three goals. First of all, to draw a complete picture of the European scenario of predominant values and value tensions in cultural policy administrations based on the 8 case studies addressed through documentary review only. Secondly, to analyse from a pragmatic perspective the tensions of value that appear in the 4

¹ The main difficulties in the documentary review relate to the large amount of information produced by State bodies in some countries -such as France-, on one extreme and the scarce number of documents produced and the lack of transparency in other cases -such as Hungary-. Both issues were addressed by systematic classification of documents and interviews with experts.

² A total of 33 interviews with politicians, technical staff in cultural institutions, external advisors, and participants in evaluation processes, and 4 focus groups: 3 with members of the third cultural sector organizations interacting with these administrations and 1 with high-level technical professionals in the Ministry of Culture of Portugal.

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cases examined more profoundly through fieldwork. And finally, through a comparative analysis of all 12 cases, to identify axiological affinities among the cases which refer to certain common value principles and to elaborate a synthetic representation of the main tensions between them. This Deliverable is structured following this rationale.

2. THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

This section identifies the central values in European cultural policies to draw the context for the four Iberian cases that we study in-depth in the following section. This is done by analysing, comparatively, eight national and local case studies. After the local and entrepreneurial turn of cultural policies during the eighties, national and local policies became fundamental for this domain of public action (Menger 2010). Our examination focuses on these two levels of governments, also covering three main models and orientations in cultural policies. Table 1 summarises these cases' institutional focus, models, governance models and addressed governments.

Table 1. European context cases and policy framework

Case study and institutional focus	Cultural policy model	Governance model	Governmental context
France- Ministry of Culture	Architect State. Central-European	- growingly decentralized - important weight of local administration and partnerships (cultural pacts) - regions are relevant/State national entity	Since 2017, <i>La République en Marche</i> . Centre-Liberal oriented party. Led by Emmanuel Macrón.
Norway- Ministry of Culture	Social democrat -Nordic	- decentralized - important weight of local administration. - regions increasingly relevant/National entity	Since 2013, Conservative-liberal coalitions. Led by Erna Solberg.
England- English Arts Council	Patron State/ Arm's length	- decentralized - important weight of local administration - regions are relevant/Federal system	Since 2010, Conservative-liberal party. Led by Boris Johnson (2019).
Scotland- Creative Scotland	Patron State/ Arm's length	- decentralized - important weight of local administration. - regions are relevant/Federal system/National entity	Since 2007, Social-democrat and nationalist administration. Led by Nicola Sturgeon.
Hungary- Secretary of Culture	Mixed-Illiberal state	- growingly centralized -top-down decision making	Since 2010, Conservative far right. Led by Victor Orbán.
Bergen City Council	Social democrat -Nordic	- decentralized - important weight of local administration -co-capital dynamics	Governed by a liberal-left coalition. Since 2019, led by Roger Valhammer.

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Montpellier City Council	Architect State. Central-European	- decentralized - important weight of local administration.	Governed by the socialist party. Led by Mayor Michaël Delafosse since 2019.
Budapest City Council	Architect- Mixed	- decentralized at the local level - growingly centralized at the state level	Governed, since 2019, by the progressive “Momentum” coalition.

Source: authors' elaboration.

2.1 Case studies briefing

The following summary of case studies describes their main contextual factors, values, value emphasis and distinctions.

French Ministry of Culture

The responsibility for designing and applying cultural policies rests with the Ministry of Culture. According to the priorities outlined by the ministry and under its supervision, such policies are applied regionally by the *Directions Régionales des Affaires Culturelles – DRAC*.

Macron's party acknowledged the importance of the cultural sector and maintained its previous coordination: creation, access to culture and artistic education³, heritage and Francophonie. The Ministry of Culture plays a central role in cultural policies, with a regulatory role, implementing and supervising legislation with direct intervention. Still, decentralization stands out as a major orientation in French policies. This factor complexifies territorial autonomy and cooperation partnerships (see, for example, Law No. 2016-925 of July 7, 2016).

Heritage, support for cultural and artistic creation, and education (Asdo/Ministry of Culture, 2020)⁴ are the main areas of political intervention reflecting values focused on social development and reducing inequality (Wolff 2016). Moreover, following its historical tradition, one of the central values in cultural action is safeguarding French and French-speaking communities. Thus, this configuration of values integrates social and identity values of cultural policies as core elements (for instance, in Law No. 2016-925 of July 7, 2016). They are followed by a social-oriented understanding of economic development and innovation, which places particular importance on workers' rights -including gender equality- or citizens' access to digital production (for instance, in Decree No. 2019-1011 of October 1, 2019).

Norwegian Ministry of Culture

In Norway, there is a consensus regarding the value of culture and the need for public subsidisation. The country's cultural policy model remains deeply rooted in a welfare-state framework of action. Albeit with minor changes in orientation, the different liberal-conservative governments in charge during the last state legislatures have followed a social-democrat

³ “Higher Education — Culture” (*Enseignement Supérieur Culture — ESC*).

⁴ Order of July 12, 2019 (Official Journal No. 0223 of September 25, 2019) and Order of 13 July 2019.

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orientation when it comes to cultural policies. In this sense, public spending on cultural activities has been on a gradual but steady rise and many support programmes are covering different artistic fields.

A humanist value conception of culture is identified, where arts and culture are seen as ways of tightening communities (Norwegian Ministry of Culture 2019; Arts Council Norway 2020). Instigating democratic participation and political engagement, reflecting on climate change and social injustice, and protecting cultural heritage and fostering artistic quality and autonomy are also introduced as critical goals. Cultural education is stressed in this context (Norwegian Ministries of Culture; Ministry Education and Research 2019). However, in recent years, the Ministry of Culture has been drawing increasing attention to other aspects of cultural policy, namely the potential of culture in terms of economic development, urban regeneration, sustainability and international cooperation (Norwegian Ministry of Culture 2017a). To sum up, the creative economy, new business models, the internationalisation of Norwegian artists or the digitalisation of cultural activities are slowly gaining momentum.

Creative Scotland

Creative Scotland (CS), founded in 2010, is an executive non-departmental public body responsible for national arts organizations' funding. It works together with Scotland's 32 local authorities in territorial and sectorial cultural policies. The second non-departmental public body addressing cultural policies is *Historic Environment Scotland* (HES), which, since 2015, has aimed at researching, protecting and promoting the national historic environment.

Central and transversal identified values to these institutions are excellence in the arts and culture, social access and participation, and economic development (Creative Scotland, 2014, 2016, 2019; Government 2020; Creative Scotland Group 2020)⁵. This value scheme can be placed under mixed models of cultural policies, combining central European and liberal goals and means. Arm's length mechanisms are reflected in many ways, such as powers' delegation in cultural institutions, reflecting values such as transparency, accountability and autonomy. Such values coexist with social democrat principles such as the educational and social justice contribution of culture.

Identified values show specific associations between them as both, policy framing and legitimisation discourses. The importance given to environmental aspects and historic places can be considered an innovation regarding classic cultural policy frameworks. They are elements strongly associated with the right to culture but also creativity facilitators. An attempt to capture the anthropological value of culture is also manifested in other registers, for instance, concerning nation building related to places. Diversity is valued at different constitutive levels, i.e., it is opposed to excluding ethnic minorities and "exclusionary nationalism".

English DCMS

Primary statutory responsibility for arts, culture and creative industries is on the Department for

⁵ Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act 2010.

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Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), a ministerial-State department supported by 45 agencies and public bodies operating from the arm's length perspective. Arts Council England (ACE) is the national agency responsible for supporting arts, museums and libraries with government and National Lottery funds. Creative England agency and Creative Industries Federation joined forces in 2020, aiming to grow the nation's creative economy and use the UK's creativity to build a "more prosperous and inclusive society".

Cultural policies and their associated narrative are infused with the idea that culture is good for society and can help achieve several social policy objectives. The focus of the cultural policy agenda has increasingly grafted with notions of development, sustainability, resilience, social impact, wellbeing, regional disparities in funding and cultural diversity. However, studied documents also reflect the preservation of a solid economic oriented and instrumental approach to culture, which is reflected in policy internationalization and innovation discourse and claims for finding mixed forms of funding for the sector (DCMS, 2015, 2016; Arts Council England 2020).

In brief, English cultural policies combine economic values, from an instrumental standpoint, with a strong focus on the importance of culture for social development and cohesion, for which social access should be boosted. In this context, excellence is a transversal value to the whole value chain and seen as a bridge towards other values such as internationalization. Lastly, environmental and public health aspects are increasingly integrated into cultural policy discourses.

Hungarian Secretariat of Culture

In 2011, the Ministry of Culture was transformed into a Secretariat within the new Ministry of Human Resources. The Secretariat oversees heritage, museums, arts and part of international cultural relations.

Three elements should be highlighted regarding values in Hungarian cultural policies. Firstly, high importance is given to the uniqueness of national culture, language and historical heritage as key coordinates for organizing public cultural action. Secondly, other traditional values in the country's cultural policies are preserved, such as excellence in the arts, which is reflected, for instance, in budget allocation or political discourse (Budapest Observatory 2019). Thirdly, references to the value of cultural diversity are found in the Constitution, from a fundamental rights standpoint, in tension with the above homogenizing dominant approach in political statements and action.

Lack of information or materials reflecting values prioritized by Hungarian cultural policies is mainly associated with the lack of strategic planning and transparency for the area (Personal interview, 11-05-2021). The Fundamental law stresses the importance of institutional autonomy. However, cultural policy administration has been characterized by discretionary interventions over arts institutions or local governments. It has also shown the instrumentalization of culture by Fidesz related clientele networks (Personal interview, 11-05-2021). This whole dynamic shows the dominance of values opposed to public accountability, aligned with illiberal policy systems.

Along these lines, the central identified tensions between values in cultural policy are not reflected in official documents but manifested in public protest or vindications by artists or other

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political actors. Values disputed and held in this context, relate to freedom of speech and artistic independence, which have become increasingly relevant in the above scenario.

Bergen City Council

Bergen, the second largest city in Norway, has a thriving art scene, supported by a dynamic cultural activity and an extended network of public infrastructures alongside historical institutions.

The present cultural strategy (2015-2025) defines a new vision for the city with the following goals: ensure quality and uniqueness of artistic production, raise the level of competence in the artistic and cultural communities and among the public, develop cultural knowledge among children and young people, develop a culture of cooperation and networking, among others (Bergen City Council 2015). This happens in a context of shift of focus from institutions to events, where culture is seen as a strategic device for stimulating economic growth and urban regeneration, while leveraging international reputation (Bergen City Council 2018).

The main objective is to transform Bergen into a place of cultural experience – there is a tendency for a certain branding of the city in cultural terms. In this sense, Bergen City Council seems more focused on the economic value of culture, namely by promoting internationalisation, cultural/artistic excellence, urban development, creativity and innovation, cooperation and networking.

Montpellier City Council

In Montpellier, cultural policies achieved autonomy and were also diversified in the last decades. This coincided with the transference of cultural equipment to the local government. As a result, Montpellier is today an example of French decentralisation, materialised in the creation of the network of the Regional Directorates of Cultural Affairs, with the mission to transpose the major French political orientations to local idiosyncrasies.

In recent years, broad access to culture, local cultural heritage, decentralization, cultural and artistic education, social cohesion, and the attractiveness of the territory are central values in local cultural policies (Montpellier Méditerranée Métropole 2015). However, the new party movement "Nous Sommes Montpellier" opposes the actual sitting-party, proposing to facilitate access to cultural facilities according to a "cultural democracy" orientation (Nous Sommes Montpellier 2020). In contrast, the socialist Michael Delafosse discourse combines different measures oriented to support artistic creation and cultural capital distribution with actions seen as more aligned with the creative orientation of cultural policies.

Budapest City Council

Budapest has a very decentralized administrative system, with a total of 23 district local governments. After the 2019 elections, more than half are governed by the opposition. In this context, top-down cultural governance is currently limited while an essential part of cultural information and resources is managed by the districts (Personal interview, 11-05-2021).

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The central values identified in Budapest cultural policies revolve around socioeconomic development, urban space and cultural diversity (Budapest Mayor's Office 2014). While urban regeneration is placed as a driver for creativity and social development, diversity is mostly framed from the social cohesion standpoint (Budapest City Council 2017). The City Council stresses its capital character represented by its internationally known cultural equipment and activities.

In the last two years, the far-right central government led by Fidesz has sought to reinforce its national narrative through centralization and control over the academic and educational system, which led to different conflicts between the central and Budapest administration. Along these lines, cultural values of culture identified in cultural policies, political narratives, as well as analysed documents at the national level seem to be recently displaced from arts or governance aspects to the fundamental rights axis. As part of this "cultural war", the City Mayor has underlined the need for protecting "cultural freedom" from the central government influence.

2.2 Values identified for the European context

Overall, studied national administrations share common values revolving around cultural policy institutionalization and the need for public support to the cultural sector. Under this consensus, artistic excellence, diversity, national identity and culture as citizenship rights are values somehow manifested in all cases.

However, the unequal positioning and differential importance given to those values and the relevance given to other values should be considered since they often define boundaries between policy models and value regimes. Furthermore, institutional interpretation and operationalization of these values within different political scenarios significantly differ by country and city. In this regard, identified configurations of values can be interpreted as mixed between social and economic values of culture, often understating one of them as the primary source of legitimacy for this policy. Value accents, their "equilibrium" (Holden 2015; Liu 2016) and tensions are, therefore, primarily inscribed within these two driving positions, as we can see in the following Table.

Table 2. Values and value framing

Case study and institutional focus	Main values (<5)	Secondary values (<5)	Main internal value tensions
France-Ministry of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal access to culture • Fostering decentralization • National and cultural heritage • Ensuring arts education • Decent work and equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender equality • Creativity and innovation 	<p><u>Intrinsic cultural value vs Economic performance</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recent shift towards further measuring economic outcomes of arts education and support to creation, i.e., rejection of Pass Culture initiative, framed as consumerist by the opposition

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<p>Norway- Ministry of Culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural participation/ Cultural literacy ● National/Cultural heritage ● Sociocultural diversity and cohesion ● Artistic/Cultural excellence ● Social value of culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Economic development ● Urban regeneration ● Sustainability ● International cooperation ● Media pluralism 	<p><u>Economic performance vs Social return of culture</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Recent discursive shift stressing economic value of the cultural sector in a certain tension with dominant social policy agenda
<p>England- English Arts Council</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social development and cohesion ● Economic growth ● Excellence in the arts ● Wellbeing ● Creativity and innovation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural diversity ● Protection of environment 	<p><u>Economic vs Social values</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Implicit tension between public subsidization to the arts (and some of its explicit outcomes, such as wellbeing or public access) and privatization claims
<p>Scotland- Creative Scotland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Excellence in the arts and culture ● Social access, participation and education ● Economic development ● Creativity and innovation ● Identity and social cohesion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Art workers' rights ● Preserving environment and places ● Institutional autonomy, transparency, and efficiency ● National identity (non- exclusionary) ● Gender inclusion 	<p><u>Local cultural values vs Economic performance</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● There is a certain implicit tension in the broad scope of values addressed, which range from local place development to sectoral internationalization <p><u>Public support to arts innovation vs Institutional reputation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negative externalities of public support to subaltern art expressions (experimentation) in terms of institutional image
<p>Hungary- Secretary of Culture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Uniqueness of national culture ● Excellence in the arts and culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● National identity (exclusionary) ● Internal diversity and European unity (in contradiction to main values) 	<p><u>National identity vs Diversity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tensions between national culture and diversity values (used as part of the discourse). It is manifested in documents ensuring the right to diversity (such as the Constitution) and the vindication of freedom of speech and artistic independence
<p>Bergen City Council</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cultural participation ● Artistic/cultural excellence ● Protection of national/cultural heritage ● Social cohesion ● International cooperation & networking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Promotion of urban regeneration ● Promotion of cultural diversity ● LGTB+ rights 	<p><u>Sectoral development (local) vs Internationalization</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● In the context of a participatory approach to cultural policies, a tension between local demands of creators and intense internationalization policies has been identified
<p>Montpellier City Council</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Enhancing local heritage ● Promoting decentralization ● Cultural and artistic education ● Cultural participation ● Environmental protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Creators working conditions ● Co cultural-capital branding ● Quality of life ● Access to culture 	<p><u>Creative vs Cultural focused orientations of cultural democracy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tensions between different cultural democracy orientations sharing environmental claims

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<p>Budapest City Council</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social development ● Urban development ● Artistic freedom and autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural diversity and social cohesion ● Protection of local heritage and facilities ● Cultural freedom 	<p><u>Institutional autonomy vs Illiberal intervention</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Central tensions revolve around the protection of artistic freedom and institutional autonomy
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Source: authors' elaboration.

Significant differences exist between values and value ranking established within the frameworks of the architect or liberal models of cultural policies. These variations are generally in line with the literature findings (Zimmer & Toepfer 1999; Wesner 2010; Blomgren 2012; Vestheim 2009; Hadley & Gray 2017; O'Brien 2014; Throsby 2010). On the one hand, more interventionist approaches emphasise the social outcomes of the policy and “support art that meets community rather than professional standards of artistic excellence” (Chartrand & McCaughey 1989:3). This includes cultural capital preconditions for the effective exercise of cultural rights and the reduction of different kinds of social -gender, workers, and territorial-inequalities. On the other hand, liberal models place particular attention on the value of excellence in the arts as a meritocratic framework for public action in the field and frame creative assets as a basis for economic development. In a third position, the Hungarian orientation also reads the value of excellence as decisive for policy intervention, but from an approach ranging between the architect and engineer model of cultural policies (Bonet and Zamorano, 2020), where excellence is more attached to national identity and pride.

Except for Hungary, these valuation schemes show limited dependency on governments' ideology. We can notice social-oriented cultural policies driven by conservative administrations, such as in France, and liberal grounds of cultural policy systems preserved by social-democrat and nationalist administrations, such as in the cases of Norway or Scotland. This should be contextualized with a tendency, revealed by the literature, towards mixed models in cultural policies (Stevenson et al. 2010; Saint-Pierre & Gattinger 2011). An additional factor to be considered in this regard is how government and institutional powers that frame the scope of policy action define specific orientations and discourses at the local level, partially prefigured by limited competencies. This includes implementing a particular understanding of the creative project by the Montpellier socialist government or the development of an internationalization-led strategy by the Bergen progressive coalition.

Further differences identified between values express a rationale concerning how social or economic outcomes of cultural policies can and should be operationalized into governance dynamics. In this line, the idea of participation is prioritized in Norway or Scotland, leading to set this value as a required “mean” for effective social cohesion and democratic economic development. Instead, even under distanced prioritization of values, the Hungarian, French, and English cases share a less central view of social participation, at least at the central government and discursive levels.

Moreover, both liberal and central European cultural policy models also share an increasing integration of social-inclusion triggers and accents, particularly concerning cultural workers conditions, gender and environmental dimensions of culture. They are present in the French, Norway, Scotland cases and, to a lesser extent, in England or Montpellier. Issues concerning

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some of these collectives (women, immigrants) can be associated with third-generation rights, which, although more actively embedded in cultural policies since the seventies (Matarasso 2019: 156), are particularly explicit and specified. However, these values are not framed as the basis for the overall constitutive transformation of policy models or orientations.

Finally, it is important to note how national values “permeate” to the local level in two directions. They are replicated at the local level, such as in the cases of education and decentralization in the French case or cultural participation in the Norwegian one. Nevertheless, they are also contested, such as in the Hungarian case. Here, national identity and homogenization are antagonized with autonomy and civic freedoms. Moreover, these cities express a different framing of urban values, particularly concerning the vindication of urban space as heritage -or commons- in Montpellier or as a creative and internationalization asset in Bergen. Instead, these particularities of urban cultural policies are diffused in Budapest due to the forefront dimension of arts and cultural freedoms.

3. FOUR IBERIAN CASE STUDIES

This section introduces the analysis of the four Spanish and Portuguese case studies, addressing their central values, valuation processes, and value tensions. The mixed methodology used for examining these cultural policies was aimed at identifying and problematizing its guiding values. It was based on a combination of a thorough documentary review (official legislation, cultural plans, reports, information, statistics and budgets) and fieldwork. We have conducted semi-structured interviews⁶ with high-level politicians, administration technicians, experts participating in cultural grants evaluation, and external cultural advisors. The data collection process also included three focus groups with four representatives of third-sector cultural organizations and another focus group with high-level technical professionals in the Ministry of Culture of Portugal. This technique was used to capture tensions and contending approaches between the values that drive cultural valuation processes and cultural policy making in each context.

3.1 Barcelona City Council

For more than two decades, Barcelona cultural policies were framed and shaped under the “Barcelona Model”, an urban planning approach established by the Socialist Party of Catalonia in the 1980s. This model was distinguished by its aspiration to combine social cohesion and economic objectives as well as by the role of culture and cultural megaevents as an urban development resource (Marshall 2000; Rodríguez Morató 2005). Particularly, under the umbrella of the Olympic urban regeneration project (1986-1992), the local government created and improved urban infrastructures, social services, and facilities.

As part of this extensive renewal and internationalisation process, high culture and community culture facilities were built and promoted (Rius-Ulldemolins 2006). In addition, the administration fostered public-private governance to support these policies, focusing on the

⁶ The total number of conducted interviews includes: 13 in Barcelona, 14 in Galicia, 3 in Bragança and 3 for the Portuguese administration.

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access to culture concerning social groups traditionally excluded from it, while promoting local creation (Rodríguez Morató 2008; Barbieri et al. 2012). In this shifting context, the City Council created, in 1996, the Cultural Institute of Barcelona (ICUB), a public agency aimed to coordinate the cultural sector, introducing a strategic management approach.

However, since the beginning of the 20th century, ICUB policies have been increasingly aligning with a global and market-oriented creative city approach (Zamorano & Rodríguez Morató 2014; Sánchez Belando 2017). This entrepreneurial approach was reflected in the first Culture Plan of ICUB in 1999. Influenced by Anglo-Saxon theses, it sought to instrumentalize cultural assets and the city brand with economic development goals (Politician 1, 15-03-2021). According to different authors, this reframing of cultural policies favoured a relegation of those initiatives aimed at social and neighbourhood-level development (Sánchez Belando 2015).

Despite this policy trend, it should be noted that local cultural policies continued balancing local welfare and citizen participation actions (as Public Libraries and Cultural Community Centers networks) with a strongly funded sectorial and pro-industry strategy. For instance, the 2006 Culture Plan reoriented cultural policy discourse towards cultural rights and education, reconsidering urban space's relation with international dynamics related to tourism and heritage under the influence of the 21 Agenda for Culture (Personal interview, Advisor 1, 28-02-2021). This dual perspective has coexisted as two value frameworks that have had the discourse of the creative city as a background after the nineties' entrepreneurial turn. The latest approach was, in part, welcomed and accentuated by the first local government not directed by the PSC in four decades, in the hands of the liberal and Catalan nationalist *Convergència i Unió* between 2011 and 2015 (Sánchez Belando 2017).

3.1.1 Barcelona institutional and political scenario

Once in office, the new government led by the *Barcelona en Comú (BeC)*, left-wing and new electoral coalition, explicitly manifested a desire to resume more inclusive and communitarian cultural policies, with a narrative rejecting their entrepreneurial turn (Comú, 2015). However, the initial project of the ICUB was subjected to different tensions and suffered several changes. The institution has been led by Berta Sureda (BeC- 2016-2017), Jaume Collboni (PSC- 2017-2018) and Joan Subirats (BeC- 2019-2021). Moreover, the intervention of PSC in cultural policies and the City Council position regarding state and Catalan politics have shaped cultural policies.

Nowadays, cultural policies are headed by the ICUB, under the *Area of Culture, Education, Science and Community*, led by the BeC. The ICUB manages municipal cultural facilities and services, including 52 Cultural Community Centers (called *Centros Cívicos*), 40 public libraries, and promotes and coordinates several public and private platforms and cultural projects in the city. The City Council also has a Culture Council (2006), initially conceived from an arm's length approach (Politician 1, 15-03-2021). It counts with the representation of local parties and cultural sectors and has consultative and executive powers. Additionally, the “Department of Tourism and Creative Industries” is also part of municipal cultural policies. It was established in 2019 and the PSC leads it.

The bicephalous system has sought to solve tensions that occurred since 2015 within the cultural administration between the two dominant parties in the coalition regarding the priorities of

cultural policies (Advisor 1, 18-02-2021).

3.1.2 Values in Barcelona City Council's cultural policies

Dominant values identified in Barcelona cultural policies can be categorized into two value frameworks. On the one hand, those related to the notions of *public service*, *common good* or *cultural rights* (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016a). On the other hand, those conceiving this policy from *sectorial*, *creative industry* or *economic assets* standpoints. This opposition has also been framed as social values versus others related to "economic development" or productive instrumentalization of cultural policy (Politician 1, 15-03-2021; Politician 2, 13-04-2021).

While some actors stress an historical consensus about the importance of supporting and democratizing culture and ensuring cultural rights (Advisor 1, 18-02-2021), the above antagonism reflects how and to what extent these rights must be operationalized, particularly concerning the reduction of cultural and social inequalities. Equality is, nowadays, a core value for ICUB actions (High-level professionals 1, 2). Criteria to reduce inequalities and promote inclusiveness have also integrated values regarding gender parity, for instance, within the Culture Council or as part of grants design (High level professional 1, 09-04-2021).

Overall, the current administration approach, inscribed within the "culture as a right" value, can be seen as reorienting cultural policies. This whole perspective has recently materialized in a 2021 Policy Measure titled "Culture is a right"⁷, where actions are framed according to the following conception:

"Culture as a right (...) has long-term implications. Because a right can be enforceable. Obviously, we are not yet talking about culture as something required. But the right perspective opens a different line for us in that sense. It would facilitate the idea that culture is part of the basic needs of individuals, such as health and education. This is the bottom line. These would be reflected in concrete measures of the Government, in subsidies, in the calls for creation aid and in the emphasis that we make to the large cultural facilities so that they modify their programs in the sense of incorporating much more an educational and civic dimension in their approaches." (Politician 2, 13-04-2021).

Ongoing change in this regard has been framed mostly as a transition *from negative to positive rights*. This would involve, among other things, going beyond setting several spaces for citizens to access culture. Instead, it means the proactive facilitation of participation in the process that goes from policy design to cultural enjoyment (Advisor 2, 12-03-2021). A series of political and conceptual innovations related to this value framing should be stressed for the studied period. Firstly, it involves a transversal understating of cultural policies to local public policies. Actors underline that this transversality is not in the direction of creative/productive domain or economic policies as in other historical moments but towards education and science (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2019a; High level professional 2, Advisor 1, Politician 2, Expert 1-

⁷ See introduction at <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/premsa/2021/06/15/presentacio-de-la-primera-mesura-de-govern-del-pla-fem-cultura-cultura-als-barris-i-accio-comunitaria-dret-a-les-practiques-culturals-i-noves-centralitats/>

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Focus Group, 4-06-21). Secondly, it involves reforms in the cultural administration model and institutional framework of the ICUB to dynamize horizontal and vertical governance, with a focus on the neighbourhood level and the citizen involvement (Expert 2-Focus Group, 4-06-21; Advisor 1, High level professional 2; Politician 2). Thirdly, changes in the rationale of cultural policies involve modifications in the conception and measurement of cultural policy outcomes, from a quantitative or audiences' approach to a more qualitative and participatory conception (High level professional 2, Advisor 1; Expert 1- Focus Group 4-06-21, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020b; Colombo and Font, 2020).

This policy can be conceived as a certain reframing of cultural democracy, where limits between high culture centralized equipment and neighbour life become blurred (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016b; Ajuntament de Barcelona 2020d; Ajuntament de Barcelona 2020e; Ajuntament de Barcelona 2021). Reterritorialization and reform in a participatory direction seek to have impacts on identity and pedagogic strategies. These policies also seek to address big equipment obsolescence without establishing new facilities (Politician 1, 15-03-2021). In practice, this agenda includes renewed or reoriented policies such as the "In residence" ("*En Residencia*") program, consisting of an artist's stay in a secondary school for one year. In operation for ten years, went from ten to twenty-five institutes in the studied period.

The current scenario is particularly marked by the impact of the COVID pandemic, which two of its consequences should be stressed. On the one hand, the reduction in tourism-related cultural demand changed political strategies and positionings related to how culture should be used or experienced. This is evident, for instance, in the lack of references to gentrification or big events in our fieldwork. On the other hand, this changing dynamic exposed the poor participation of the local population in using cultural facilities, such as museums or heritage centres, which highly depend on tourists. It also unveiled cultural workers' precarious condition.

3.1.3 Value tensions within Barcelona City Council's cultural policies

During 2016, the new government presented social valuation of cultural policies in the direction of constitutive change, which allowed it to differentiate its postulates concerning the ones of the creative city (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a). Although the dialectic between social and economic values has been seen as a "false dichotomy" (Advisor 2, 12-03-2021), this value opposition has played a critical discursive and strategic role within municipal political strategies. Moreover, it has grounded political disputes between the city council and other political actors.

This has also been seen as part of power balance strategic dynamics (Politician 2, 13-04-2021; Politician 4, 04-15-2021). As mentioned above, this value dispute has adopted a specific governance model by establishing two separate structures led by BeC and PSC and approaching the culture area to the educational area. This is seen as a dispersion related to different ongoing views on "how cultural life has to be structured" (Advisor 1, 28-02-2021). Therefore, tensions between BeC and PSC, and between the administration and social actors still represent a binary conception of public cultural action. The following BeC and PSC positions regarding the territorial dimension of cultural policies illustrate this debate:

“the problem that I see the most is that it raises a very hegemonic discourse of <Barcelona still has to be like the showcase of the Mediterranean capital of the

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big city based on its creativity....> In this discourse, proximity always enters as new audiences. The actor who is in the territory, political subject x, never enters as a subject with agency capacity to be able to think about sovereignty or the ability to generate equipment or to dialogue with it. He always enters as a spectator who has to access the culture.” (High-level professional, BeC 2, 22-03-2021).

“The role of a library, the role of a Civic Center, is not of a purpose-based and isolated organization. Essentially it is about knowledge management; it means that knowledge, which is created or developed, ends up being the content base that nourishes the library of new content. It is precisely a powerful cultural and editorial policy that feeds a library with content or a civic center with imaginaries. Because they must absorb what happens in reality”. (Politician 4, PSC, 04-15-2021).

Many other values and tensions between policies and values fall under the above antagonist dynamic, such as top-down vs bottom-up policy understandings of citizenship participation in cultural policy (Advisor 1). Moreover, tensions between sectorial/artists vs social demands (planning, budgets, & Politician 4) or sectorial demands vs new education-culture governance projects (i.e., rejection of new artistic programs deployed in high schools by music conservatories) have been highlighted (Politicians 2, Advisor 2; High level professional 2). Changes in grantmaking, further aligned with values of equal opportunities, transparency and fairness, are increasing tensions with some culture sectors related to both clientele dynamics and opposed understandings of ground criteria (Expert 1 and 2-Focus group 04-06-21, Politician 1, 2, 3). The latest primarily relate to disputed evaluation frameworks based on quantitative performance indicators (often related to economic productivity or audiences), on the one hand, and to other value framings focused on aesthetic quality or innovation, on the other.

Along these lines, it is essential to point out that the above macro tensions between value framings have also been identified within micro valuation processes. Examples include manifested tensions between aesthetic elitism or quality on the one hand and public demand for social performance indicators from high culture facilities, grant-making processes, or awards selection on the other (Expert in gran making 1, Experts 1 and 2-Focus group, 4-06-21). Furthermore, related tensions and associations between values have been linked to attempts of abandoning the instrumentalization of artistic excellence or “hype” as a branding resource (High level professional 2, 22-03-2021).

3.2 Xunta de Galicia

Galicia is considered one of the three "historical" nationalities in Spain and the Constitution grants it broad powers and control over both administrative and normative dimensions of cultural policies (Article 151, Spanish Constitution). As a result of a profound decentralization process, the main actor in this area is the Galician government of the Xunta de Galicia through the Regional Department of Culture, Education and University. Other instrumental entities such as the Galician Agency for Cultural Industries (AGADIC) and the Galician City of Culture Foundation are also attached to this Department.

The Galician Culture Council (*Consello da Cultura Galega*) is a statutory institution for the defense and promotion of the cultural values of the Galician people. It was established in 1983 as an advisory and consultative body, acting independently of the powers of the Autonomous

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Community and its Administration. The Galician Culture Observatory depends on this institution and publishes annual reports and statistics about cultural practices in Galicia. In addition, non-governmental organizations, cooperatives, private companies, and their associative network play an essential role in the Galician cultural scene.

It is possible to identify two stages in developing cultural policies, each one with its own model, as Lage et al. (2012: 142) mentioned. The first covers the PP four consecutive terms and the current one. The Partido Popular (PP) — liberal-conservative— governed the region from 1989 to 2005 and returned to power in 2009. Cultural policies are closely mixed with tourism ones, with little planning, high hierarchization, and a lavish fund (Lage et al. 2012). The government directly and discretionary funds cultural projects linked to specific agents. This is done through corporate subsidies based almost upon acquaintance and without policy design and planning. The decision-making process is centralized and framed by the idea of culture as a commodity, thus tending towards programming mega-events (centralized in Santiago, "City of Culture" and Santiago's Way) (Linheira et al. 2018).

The second stage refers to the coalition government (2005-2009) integrated by Socialist Party-PSOE- and Left Nationalist -BNG-, which first decision was to revoke all mixed competencies in Tourism from the newly created independent Regional Ministry for Culture and Sports. The Ministry budget was very constrained by the high expenses arising from the large-scale mega-construction "City of Culture"⁸. There was a shift from heritage policies to cultural fostering measures and a commitment to explore new managing schemes through the first Galician Agency for Cultural Industries (AGADIC) (Pose Porto 2006; Bouzada 2008; Lage et al. 2012; Lorenzo 2017). The basic idea behind this reorganization was the need to establish a clear difference (and different strategies) between offer and demand and — besides guaranteeing people's access to cultural activities— to strengthen Galicia's cultural identity.

The cultural policy model emergent of this historical development is characterized by a hybrid orientation based on a conservative vision of culture. It is also distinguished by an intervention approach that includes low planning and involves implementing highly hierarchical cultural activities with low density and diversification. Moreover, it is characterized by asocial intervention of a reactive nature, shallow and with an instrumentalizing bias (Lage et al. 2012). In this framework, the Xunta cultural policies stand out as cultural policies that, at the regional level, represent a discretionary and contradictory model.

3.2.1 Values in Xunta de Galicia's cultural policies

The conception of regional cultural policies is centered on the idea of culture subordinated to tourism and at the service of socio-economic development (Politician 1, May 2021). They are significantly associated with promoting the UNESCO Santiago's Way and the Xacobeo Holy Years cycle every seven years as a typical Galician event. It is also linked to large cultural infrastructures such as the City of Culture and the international visibility of Galicia. Primary values of Galician cultural policies are condensed in these policies: an instrumental orientation of culture is developed. Culture is prioritized as a resource of economic and a uniquely symbolic value where

⁸ See project at <https://www.cidadedacultura.gal/en>

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cultural destination branding becomes an instrument for economic development.

Public regional budgets have faced significant cutbacks during the last government terms due to austerity measures after the 2008 crisis: according to the Galician Statistical Office (IGE), the Regional Culture Ministry budget has fallen from 141M€ in 2009 to 74€ in 2020, a reduction of 47% (Instituto Galego de Estadística, 2020).

In 2021, for the first time, a specific strategy aimed at the field of culture has been promoted: the Galician Culture Strategy (*Estrategia de la Cultura Gallega*)⁹. The strategy sets out the following general objectives: to strengthen the cultural industry; to extend basic cultural production and distribution to favour the inclusion and participation in culture of the whole society; to ensure public cultural services and to promote stable channels that favour greater collaboration between public administrations in cultural policies. Thus, this program seems to be distanced from the historical value framing proposed by the regional Popular Party.

However, the opposition parties have criticized the plan for lacking concrete actions in which the strategic lines will be materialized and having no proposals for the evaluation of results. The document has also been accused of presenting a very general view that reflects an excessive weight of the mercantilist vision of culture (Politician 3, May 2021). Along these lines, it has been mentioned that cultural policy orientation is "Clearly liberal, it is segmented and does not allow evidence of the diversity that cultural values have for citizens" (Politician 3, May 2021).

Our research reveals a certain internal incoherence in terms of values and issues related to the Autonomous Community cultural policy. The guiding principles, the criteria and the operative elements established in the scarce official documentation related to Galician cultural policy's strategies seem not to be well aligned. The most crucial dichotomy in this dialectic relates to statements on culture's intrinsic and identity values (Xunta de Galicia 2014)¹⁰. In practice, cultural policy is mostly focused on the value of culture defined in economic and touristic image terms. Therefore, central, and transversal values identified in the discourse of the Xunta cultural policies revolve around socioeconomic development from a liberal perspective associated with digital innovation, cultural industries, heritage, and tourism (Xunta de Galicia 2015). This policy is mostly addressed to a cultural offer with a high cost in investment and maintenance as well as the mass consumption of cultural products (Interviews 1, 2, 3). Values behind this agenda coexist with other values such as identity, access, and social participation at a secondary level.

This policy is inscribed under the impulse of an entrepreneurial regionalism style that uses large cultural complexes as an element of economic development and territorial brand repositioning. On the contrary, resources are detracted from democratizing and proximity cultural policies (Linheira et al. 2018). Cultural policies lack of focus on citizenship cultural rights can be identified on the absence of internal demand reflected that Galician cultural consumption rates are significantly lower than the Spanish average (Lago & Lorenzo 2019).

Moreover, the anthropological value of culture is often understood as a national building process associated with branding. All political forces insist on the need to position identity values as a significant brand. However, the lines are divergent: the cultural policy of the left and

⁹ See at <https://www.cultura.gal/es/estrategia-cultura-gallega-2021>

¹⁰ For instance, reflected in the legal provisions: Law 7/2021, of February 17, on museums and other museum centers in Galicia and Law 5/2016, of May 4, on the cultural heritage of Galicia.

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nationalist parties defends a culture of authentic self-identity, working for the common, social and integrated cultural values around heritage. Instead, the right-wing scheme offers a centralist scenario of measures that prioritize economic values of profitability and growth, with a projection of external elements of a touristic rather than cultural nature. Furthermore, it should be noted that cultural policies often focus on their possible publicity effects from the institutional and reputational side (Politician 5, May 2021).

Still, a competing orientation regarding the above political model and the strategy for culture published by the Xunta seem to be recently integrated at the institutional level. In 2021, the autonomous public body, Consello da Cultura Galega (2021), has developed a “Decalogue for a sustainable culture in Galicia”. The decalogue narrative focuses on culture as a citizen right, sustainability, culture education equality, and non-discrimination. Moreover, the document explicitly rejects entrepreneurial approaches to cultural policies based on megaevents and big infrastructures.

3.2.2 Tensions between values in Xunta de Galicia’s cultural policies

Two central value tensions have been identified in Galician cultural policies. On the one hand, a core of instrumental values is observed in practice (economic value, touristic image) and in discourses (cultural excellence, identity and inclusion). These values compete with others focusing on local development, cultural sustainability participation, diversity and equality. On the other hand, a second tension is identified concerning values and valuation processes surrounding the Galician language, a key factor framing national identity. Opposed conceptions of this value include a view centred in its social and identitarian nature and another dismissing such character.

The above hegemonic conception of values in cultural policies is often opposed to more contextual and social-centred perspectives. In this regard, political actors within opposition forces to the current government outline cultural policies stressing some specific deficits. For instance, it is suggested:

“The need for a better articulation between cultural and educational policies ... as well as considering the cultural participation of citizens, going beyond the audience approach to integrating many forms of intervention, such as community practices or the promotion of participation in the design and elaboration of policies” (Politician 6, April 2021).

It is also considered a priority, “in an eminently rural society, that cultural policies designed for the rural be implemented” (Politician 6, April 2021).

Another crucial element driving value tensions in Galician cultural policies relates to its constitutive role in fostering the Galician language. It has been noted that regional culture and, above all, the Galician language is experiencing a situation of domination, substitution, and regression (Xunta de Galicia 2015, Politician 7, May 2021). Upon this scenario, two main visions concerning the national culture and the Galician country are identified: one prioritizing the value of linguistic promotion and the other giving an instrumental character to this value. Actors place this factor as a “battleground” where it is necessary to operate since it is called to be one of the objectives of cultural policy, i.e., an active policy of positive discrimination or specific support

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for cultural production and cultural development in Galician. For some actors, this involves a strategic attempt of the government for reducing Galician presence in the public sphere:

"The current cultural policies of the Xunta, from 2009 onwards, are aimed at reducing the number of Galician speakers, that is, absolutely the opposite of what it should be ... the use of Galician is not promoted, and this is something fully planned and strategic" (Politician 3, April 2021).

Other value tensions relate to the absence of an active and strategic cultural policy. Therefore, different agents underline the need for designing a long-term action based on a good diagnosis, planning, monitoring and evaluation and, in turn, greater inter-institutional cooperation.

"In the only thing that there can be some planning, and I think this is one of the great problems of Galician culture, it is around the Camino de Santiago and the Xacobeo.... a paradigm or a metaphor of what cultural policy is for the government: self-promotion, institutional propaganda, spectacularizing, major events, etc. " (Politician 3, April 2021).

Within artistic actors' understanding, the lack of planning and collaborative efforts in cultural policy governance is part of the regional policy model (Focus group, May 2021). This conception combines direct intervention seeking political and clientele instrumentalization with weak public services aimed at democratizing creation and consumption. It has been suggested that the various deficits of coordination, cooperation and consensus coupled with the political competition between the different Galician political parties may have resulted in a considerable waste of effort, economic and human resources, which has worn down the cultural policy system (Lage et al. 2012). Generally, this diagnosis of PP fragmentary cultural policies and contradictory value discourses, can be opposed to the program recently articulated by the *Consello da Cultura Galega* and the opposition and delineated in the ephemeral left and nationalist government.

3.3 Portuguese Ministry of Culture

Cultural policies in Portugal may be analysed in the context of the prominent recent landmarks of political history. The long Dictatorship (Estado Novo Dictatorship, 1926-1974) is followed by the Revolutionary Period (1974-1976), initiated with the April Revolution in 1974. The Democracy Stabilization period (1976-1995) paved the way to a period of strengthening of cultural policies (1995-2011). Since 2011, we identify a period of global crisis and beyond, including the current COVID-19 pandemic.

During the last decades of the XX century, the values of national identity strongly persisted, anchored in three main areas: Portuguese language, valorisation of the historical period of Portuguese Maritime Discoveries, and Heritage safeguarding. In 1996, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) was created, unifying Portugal, Brazil and 7 African countries. The internationalization of culture and language has also been promoted by the Camões Institute. At the national level, the Portuguese language has been the object of major books, libraries and literacy policies, and a National Plan for Reading (PNL) was launched in 2006. In the 90s, multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, and gender equality were included in public policies.

Since the democratic stabilization, the governments have observed a switching logic between

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the Socialist Party (PS) and the Social Democracy Party (PSD). The recognition of culture as a specific area of public policies (with the setting of a Ministry of Culture) is usually a feature of PS administrations. Nevertheless, a consensus has been observed since the end of the 80s about establishing partnerships between central and local governments, to set up cultural facilities in the territory. Also, the central and local government dependence on EU funding encouraged continuity rather than a change in policy orientations (Garcia et al. 2016:3-4). So, consistently, central cultural values are universal access to culture, heritage safeguard, internationalization of Portuguese language and culture, culture decentralization. More recent governments' aims have included measures for promoting the creative industries and incentives to bring culture closer to the economic sphere.

The statute of employment in the cultural sector, mainly characterized by precarious labour conditions, has been discussed for a long time. The current COVID-19 pandemic has deepened cultural sectors' labour difficulties.

3.3.1 The current system of Portuguese cultural policies

Because of the global financial crisis of 2008, Portugal suffered, between 2011 and 2014, an international intervention for a financial adjustment. From 2011 to 2015, culture in the Portuguese government was downsized to a Secretary of State for Culture with the Governments led by PSD. The electoral change came in 2015, when PS formed its administration for the XXI Government (2015-2019) and was re-elected, being now the XXII Government (2019-2023). This political change was responsible for a recovery in cultural policy, with the reestablishment of a Ministry of Culture.

There are two Secretaries of State: Cultural Heritage, and Cinema, Audio-visual and Media. Under these Secretaries, many territorial or sectorial Directorates lead cultural policies in the heritage (DGPC), arts and theatre (DGArtes), libraries and archives (DGLAB). And four regional Directorates for Culture in the country (for the North, Centre and South areas), playing territorialized support to cultural agents (reinforced in the COVID-19 context).

Another crucial institution for the cultural policy system is the technical office is GEPAC (Office for Cultural Strategy, Planning and Evaluation), which represents Portugal in international Programmes and Working Groups, and controls 14 cross-sectoral governmental programmes (e.g., migration; racial discrimination; disability rights; National Plans for Health and for Youth; Plan for the Valorization of the Inland, etc.). Lastly, inter-ministerial collaboration is very rich for other programmes, namely, for 3 National Plans: The National Plan for Reading (PNL), the National Plan for Cinema (PNC) and the National Plan for the Arts (PNA).

3.3.2 Values in Portuguese Ministry of Culture's cultural policies

The chapter for Culture in the XXI Programme has the title "To invest in culture, to democratize its access" and, in the XXII Programme, it is entitled "Renewing the investment in culture". Both Programmes present an integrated view of culture, where its intrinsic value is enhanced across other areas of society and governance, such as education, the economy and innovation, development and territorial cohesion.

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The Ministry's last two Programmes reveal dominant values linked to heritage, democratization and participation, artistic creation, Portuguese language, cinema, decentralization and networks, digitization and innovation, media pluralism and access. These values are reflected in measures such as valorization of heritage, investment in heritage aiming economic, territorial and tourism development, cultural participation and literacy programs (e.g., National Plans for Arts and for Cinema and for Reading) or strategies for fostering cultural participation to all citizens (specific measures and accessibility through digital means).

The analysis of the legislative activity (in the period 2015-2021) shows its accordance with the programmes. Most measures concern National heritage. Secondly, the Support to the arts, with several support Programmes, the PNA, investment in 3 Foundations, and the National Network for Theatres and Cinema-Theatres (an old project of previous administrations). Other provisions address decentralization, the transfer of management competencies and responsibilities to municipalities regarding material heritage safeguard, museums, performing arts' supervision, and recruitment of cultural heritage workers.

Areas of Tourism and Cinema have a common instrument for investment and internationalization. For Portuguese Language literacy, the second phase of PNL 2027. Also, regarding National Identity, there were two resolutions of the Council of Ministers for programmes of national commemoration, both allusive to the Maritime Discoveries period of the XV century.

In accordance with the legislative activity, the analysis of the most recent cultural budget (OE 2021) shows that cultural heritage represents one of the most supported sectors, followed by support for artistic creation and production (performing and visual arts). The film industry gains significant importance, with clear internationalization objectives. The library and book sector remains a most highly valued area, through funds directed to its Directorate-General.

Another level of analysis concerns values associations. The economic advantages coming along with investment in heritage and arts are very evident. Heritage safeguard also means "anchors of supply and demand and promotion of economic activity, with the leverage of investment in the territories and job creation, with urban requalification and the attraction of visitors and tourism sustainability" (OE 2021:10). Furthermore, "Valuing artistic creation, cultural life and material and intangible heritage as pillars of the promotional image of Portuguese tourism" (Programme, 2015-2019:204). Another example is the Lusophony concept (i.e., the space of Portuguese speakers: migrants' communities in the CPLP countries and the world).

An association with the social value of culture was identified when inclusion, cultural democratization and citizenship purposes, as well as community and territorial development, are fostered. Networks and inter-sectoriality are essential for these purposes. For example, "one important criterion underlying the PNA design is, within territory and local municipalities, creating a network of agents, such as cultural facilities, schools, municipalities, sponsors, companies and foundations (High Level Professional 4; Focus Group, 19-05-2021). Or projects developed with inter-municipal communities through the municipal libraries, and the role of itinerant libraries (High Level Professional 3, 1-06-2021). Regarding democratization, there is a commitment of "leave no one behind, regardless of socio-economic status and territory" which is simultaneously a purpose of social inclusion, along with the new audiences, in prisons, or citizens with disabilities (High Level Professionals 1 and 2, 1-06-2021). This is underlined by

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DGLAB's free internet access services from libraries and free internet access to 50 million digitized documents.

It is thus observable that the above-mentioned primordial values have in association, another level of valuation, directed to economic outcomes (tourism, local and territorial development, urban regeneration, cultural industries), internationalization, and an important social value (access of all citizens and communities, citizenship, literacies).

Regarding COVID-19 specific legislation, the Government's budget document (OE, 2021) states the commitment to culture in the pandemic context. (OE 2021:5). Some of the recent government measures on culture relate to the pandemic situation such as the Regulation of Measures to Support Culture was approved (and amended in April)¹¹.

3.3.3 Tensions and associations between values in Ministry of Culture's policies

Within the Ministry's structures, there is a large coincidence about scarcity of human resources and the lack of capacity or autonomy for recruitment. (High Level Professionals 1, 2, 3, 1-06-2021, High Level Professionals 4, 5, Focus Group, 19-05-2021). So, public administration's organizations have difficulties in renewing staff, and technical experts are missing in some specific areas. The National Plans for Arts and for Reading suffer from the lack of professional artists as mediators for reading and artistic activities. One reason is that "There is no General Secretariat of the Ministry of Culture, so all actions are more time consuming for execution in terms of processing" (High Level Professional 3, 1-06-2021).

Regarding resources, "the fragility of the literacy concept" is manifested in several ways: "the prevalent culture of entertaining" (e.g., in the media), the scarcity of material resources in schools and literacy levels of teachers and families (High Level Professional 5, Focus Group, 19-05-2021). As for the Cinema Literacy, the obstacle is about turning more movies legally available to schools, which makes it difficult to respond to specific projects in schools (High Level Professional 6, Focus Group, 19-05-2021).

About the articulation of the Ministry and its stakeholders in the Associative field, both interviewed Associations have fruitful experiences. Association A, working with DGArtes could establish two funding lines to support the artists with disabilities, and accessibility services (sign language and audio description) in cultural events; it also took part in the discussion of the statute of cultural professionals (however, relationship with DGPC is not so easy) (Association A, Focus Group, 26-05-2021). For Association B," the initial problem was that the Ministry didn't recognize us as partners (...) and now there is an openness to know us. We are cultural agents, like any theatre director or museum, the difference is that we have a bar and catering as related activities" (Association B, Focus Group, 26-05-2021).

Other difficulties lie in some divergence of perspectives on culture. Association A thinks the vision of culture in policies does not go beyond the idea of leisure, being understood in the same way in other areas (namely, the Working Group on the integration of migrants and refugees, and in the Integration Plan for People with Disabilities). Association B speaks of a need to redefine the value of culture beyond museums, heritage, or large buildings, valuing also local talents,

¹¹ Ordinances: Portaria N.º 37-A/2021 and Portaria N.º 80-A/2021.

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street artists, and crafts: “We [live music programmers] are known as ‘alternative spaces’ even after 20 years of work! We are intermediate spaces (...) Between black and white there are 9 shades of grey. Among these shades lies the great value of culture”. For this Association, what is missing is the consolidation of funds for cultural programming in the sector of live show (Association B, Focus Group, 26-05-2021).

Association A also points to the need to enlarge the concept of access, which is not always about investment, but mentality. Also, “the law of accessibility is not fulfilled, nor in new spaces whose projects advance without this requirement fulfilled” (Association A, Focus Group, 26-05-2021).

A major challenge has been the pandemic of COVID-19. The National Plan for Reading suffered from the scarcity of digital resources in schools which, along with the recognized insufficient levels of literacy in families, led to a decrease in the literacy levels of students (High Level Professional 5-Focus Group, 19-05-2021). However, for the three Plans, there was a consensual statement about the opportunity to develop digital resources (and in the Plan for Arts, also the online formation for teachers) (High Level Professionals 4, 5, 6, Focus Group, 19-05-2021; High Level Professionals 1, 2, 1-06-2021).

The Associations’ perspective points some structural lacks in the cultural policies, not surprisingly, relating the labour statute of artists (Association A says that “In cultural spaces, people have been discarded”; however, Association B adds that “On the artists’ side there is also work to be done, in the relationship with Social Security and Finance national services”). Association A also points some fragilities in the accomplishment of institutions’ mission, namely museums: “With the pandemic many museums found that they felt very comfortable with tourism but had forgotten the local community” (Associations A, B, Focus Group, 26-05-2021).

3.4 Bragança City Council

Considering the framework of European public policies, Portugal’s fundamental distinctive characteristic is the cultural policy model of an Architect State in a country with some territorial asymmetries. The case study of Bragança Municipality allows the analysis of an inland city playing a particularly rich cultural life, regardless of its low-density territory.

The democracy stabilization (after the April Revolution in 1974) favoured a consistency in cultural policies in Portugal in the mid-1990 decade, operationalized in 5 main areas: Books and reading; Heritage; Creation in Arts; Decentralization; Internationalization. Regardless of the governments’ main switching logic, between the Socialist Party and the Social Democrat Party, a lasting and common tendency has been the establishment of partnerships between central and local government, aiming to set up cultural facilities (libraries and cine-theatres) all over the country (Garcia et al. 2016:3). This consensus is about the value of creating and enjoying culture, but also, about reducing the financial burden on the central government. Since 1995, this has become the main source of public funding for cultural activities (in the framework of important central and local government dependence on EU funding).

Decentralization is marked by two legislative moments. In 2006, as part of the reform of the Public Administration, the Directorates-General for Culture were created. In 2019, the framework for transferring competencies to municipalities in the field of culture is stipulated¹².

¹² Decreto-Lei nº 215/2006 and Decreto-Lei n.º 22/2019.

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Regarding fieldwork¹³, it should be noted that the second Party in the local government (PS) participated through a testimony of the 2 elected councillors. An interview was conducted with the Department of Culture. Moreover, a Focus Group was conducted with 3 local cultural associations (working in the areas of music, theatre, artistic creation, intangible heritage and local development, and usually participants in the municipal cultural events).

3.4.1 Bragança City Council's current political scenario

Bragança belongs to the so-called low-density territories in the inland (Santos & Baltazar 2016). Situated in the northeast of Portugal, in the region of Trás-os-Montes (*Behind-the-Highlands*), it is bordered to the north and east by Spain (Zamora Province), to the southeast and southwest by three other municipalities. The most recent characterization reveals an area of about 1170 km², with 39 parishes and a resident population of 33607 inhabitants, of which 2384 foreigners with resident status.

Since 1997 – during six mandates of local government – the municipality is governed by social democracy executives (PSD), and the second political force has been the Socialist Party (PS). The current PSD Executive is now concluding two mandates (2013-2017 and 2017-2021) led by the same President. The first mandate coincided with the closure of QREN Community Framework and the beginning of Portugal 2020, in a cycle of attracting new companies and jobs creation. In 2017, tourism growth was above 21% (higher than Northern and national averages). The municipality is part of the European Group for Territorial Cooperation Léon-Bragança and promotes exchanges with nine twin-town cities from Spain, France, Italy, São Tomé e Príncipe and Brazil.

3.4.2 Values in Bragança City Council cultural policies

The Municipality of Bragança assigns an important role to culture within its planning and budgeting. The expenditure during the period 2014-2019 observed a continuous growth in the investment on culture, having developed from the initial 3,48% to 8,55% along 6 years (with one single exception in 2017, figuring 2,42%)¹⁴. In 2019, a comparison between the average national for “total expenditure on cultural and creative activities per inhabitant” - which was €50,5 – reveals that in Bragança the expenditure was €139,2¹⁵.

A strategic perspective about tourism is observable in the early years of the first mandate, focusing an “Integrated Program of Cultural Tourism and Urban Development of the Municipality of Bragança, based on 5 strategic axes”: Cultural programming and community participation; Gastronomy; Tourist mediation and quality of urban space; Innovation and entrepreneurship; Branding and communication (GOP 2015:19).

The set of cultural facilities managed by the municipality is broad in number and scope, allowing

¹³ The meaningful actors are the politicians in the City Council (the elected Executive and the elected councillors of the second Party) and technicians in the Department of Culture (technical office for planning and evaluating measures and the applications for funding). The Municipality does not have an advisor for culture.

¹⁴ Activity Reports (2014:127; 2015:123; 2016:128; 2017:126; 2018:125; 2019:131).

¹⁵ National Statistics Institute, *Regional Statistical Yearbooks – 2019*.

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a rich possibility for programming and important networks within the municipality and other territories. There is, thus, a regular and consistent practice of creating protocols and networks, with a wide range of stakeholders: local cultural associations, local schools, national cultural entities (theatres, museums and foundations), the Bragança Polytechnic Institute, several national Universities, the North Directorate for Culture, and other municipalities, Portuguese and foreign.

Main facilities in the city are: a considerable number of museums (Iberian Museum for Masks and Costumes since 2004, Centre for Contemporary Art since 2008, Centre for Photography since 2013, Centre for Interpretation of Sephardic Culture in the Northeast and its Documentation Centre since 2017, the National Railway Museum since 2019), the Municipal Theatre (since 2004, and partner of National Theatres Network), two libraries (integrating a Cultural Centre, Trás-os-Montes Academy of Literature, Dance and Music Conservatory) (other facilities: 2 museums, a science teaching centre, the Iberian Academy of Masks).

This set of cultural facilities, some of them recently created, is an indicator of the dynamics of investment and networking. For example, collaboration with the Universities was fundamental for the creation of the recent Sephardic Centres, for the project of the Museum of Portuguese Language (now in construction), and for the artistic and research teaching project created in 2018 with the Centre for Contemporary Art Graça Morais (Laboratory of the Arts in the Mountain). As for these new museal facilities, it is worth saying that they were installed in rehabilitated buildings and structures, some of them in the historic city centre.

As for the support to the associative movement, documents could inform about the establishment of 70 protocols of cooperation and collaboration with 30 cultural associations between 2017 and 2020. The main cultural areas subject to support are Traditional Music (31,5%), Masks (24%), Universities' Music and Theatre Groups (17%) and Theatre/Performative Arts (13%).

The regular schedule of festivals and municipal festivities is diverse, mainly directed to heritage themes, such as the Carnival of Caretos (north-eastern masked characters made of leather, brass or wood, painted with vivid colors); Land(s) of Sephard - Meetings of Jewish-Sephardic Cultures; the Feast of History; the Mask Biennial – MASCARARTE; Lombada - Festival of Music and Tradition. Another artistic event is Sm'arte - Street Art festival of Bragança - with national and international artists, “enhancing creativity and improving the attractiveness of the city” (PSD Electoral Programme 2017:34).

In terms of values, the preservation of heritage, cultural participation, and support for the associative cultural movement are three fundamental orientations of this municipality. Some traditions and historical heritage are supported and are the object of identity and community preservation. This is achieved through the programming of municipal events and the support of the work of cultural facilities and respective educational services (in solid connection to schools). Moreover, it is the subject of the activity of the supported local associations; these themes are also elements of tourism marketing, necessarily linked to promoting the local economy. They are essentially about the tradition of masks and carnival, traditional music, and the Sephardic past in the northeast territory (to which gastronomy and crafts are added).

Two illustrations are important about valuation procedures operated in the Department of Culture. For cultural planning, criteria are “Minimum investment for greater return on

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population satisfaction and growth of the local economy”, in a process of “Discussion among the technicians of the different services, for a programme and respective budget, to propose for Executive’s approval” (High Level Professional, 23-05-2021). To subvention the associations, the used criteria are audiences targeted, formative and artistic scope, artistic and knowledge area, number of partners, accountability of the association and previous work in community. In the process, applications for municipal support are analysed and scored, and proposed to the Councilor for Culture and the President, and finally discussed at a general meeting of the Municipality.

The interviewee in the Department of culture synthesizes the vision underlying cultural policy:

“Priorities have been material and intangible heritage and formation of new audiences – which are expected to be strengthened in the future, fostering external audiences and boosting local economy, benefiting thus, the local community. Also, one current urgency is the dynamic of the aesthetic-artistic Educative Service in cultural facilities” (High Level Professional, 23-05-2021).

In conclusion, there is an identified continuity in political lines for culture across the two mandates: coherence of the electoral programme, the planning activities for each year, and the correspondent accountability reports.

3.4.3 Values tensions within Bragança City Council’s cultural policies

Tensions were identified in the relationship of the City Council executive with two types of actors. First, the agency of the second Party within the local government. The 2 interviewed elected councillors stated that their participation in cultural policies is highly constrained and limited:

“PS Councillors do not hold any specific municipal assignment, namely in the cultural field; however, their participation, as a rule, is restricted to the presence in the events held, and in the formation of a final collegiate decision in the Municipal sessions; nevertheless, participation in the decision-making process does not exist” (Politicians 1 and 2 - PS Councillors, 19-05-2021).

Which are the reasons pointed out?

“The position and political-party functioning of PS, for a specific order of reasons, and the majority of PSD Municipal Executive (centralizing and excluding in character), does not allow us to have an apprehension, understanding and participation in the definition, planning and implementation of municipal cultural policies” (idem).

Yet, the last electoral process in 2017 was referred to as not relevant in cultural policy debate issues: *“I am not aware that, in the last election campaign, there were significantly opposing lines of cultural policy that have provoked relevant discussion/debate”* (High Level Professional, 23-05-2021).

The second source of tensions relates to associations. However, there is consensus among the 3 associations about the Municipality's availability for supporting their activities (Association B says *“there is an interest and an effort [about culture], and there are answers to our proposals”*,

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and Association C states *“I’ve never received a NO from the Municipality”* (Focus group, 24-05-2021). There is also agreement about the value of cultural programming, and the growing cultural participation, however *“Municipality has [programming] in quantity and quality, but perhaps to the detriment of local artistic and cultural production, which is less stimulated”* (Association A-Focus group, 24-05-2021).

The lack of a channel of communication is referred:

“Why not establish open calls for projects, with adequate financial allocation, as a way to hold the associative movement accountable and valued? Policies to support associative movement must value and demand accountability in equal parts” (Association A -Focus group, 24-05-2021).

Another consensual opinion claims valorisation of local associations: *“Artists from outside the Municipality are paid, locals are always treated as volunteers”* (Associations B and C; Focus group, 24-05-2021), and *“Volunteering has its contours defined, but it cannot be synonymous with exploitation”* (Association C-Focus group, 24-05-2021).

Addressing the role of cultural enterprises in the organization of municipal events, there is the shared opinion that big amounts of funds paid to enterprises do not mean real investment in culture: the organisation of those events could be participated by associations, who always work *pro bono*.

Finally, regarding the COVID-19 situation, participants (high-level professional and associations) highlighted the need to support the recovery of most affected sectors, namely, contemporary live arts, and the need of mobilizing the audiences again.

3.5 Values identified for the four Iberian cases

This section analyses the four previously described Iberian cases of cultural policies. Considering the perspectives of different actors that participate in the policy process and a plurality of administrative and policy practices, not only policy documents or budgets but also the production of policy programmes or grant making, here we will identify the predominant values and the value tensions that emerge in those cases.

With respect to the 8 contextual cases that we have examined in section 2, the four Iberian cases represent certain subregional singularities. Concerning general commonalities between Portugal and Spain, two factors should be stressed. On the one hand, both countries share the late institutionalization of their cultural policy systems seeking European standards after long dictatorships ended in the 70s. On the other hand, both have suffered reductions in their "European convergence" rhythm after the 2008 crisis (Rubio Arostegui & Rius- Ulldemolins 2020).

However, the two cases also have numerous differences and differential contributions to the comparative analysis. Firstly, although both countries share a limited national investment in cultural services (below 0.5% of the GDP in both cases¹⁶), the “cultural euro” is much higher in

¹⁶ See: Eurostat 2019: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Total_general_government_expenditure_on_recreation,_culture_and_religion,_2019,_%25_of_GDP.png

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Spain than in Portugal (149 to 69 in 2010 respectively¹⁷). Secondly, they are very different in terms of their internal cultural diversity and cultural policies’ level of decentralization. Even though lately both studied countries adopted a central European model of cultural policies and show an inclination towards devolving powers in regional and local authorities, the role and nature of these administrative units significantly differ (Garcia et al. 2016; Rius-Ulldemolins & Zamorano 2015). In particular, decentralization started sooner, and it is greater in Spain (Rodríguez Morató & Zamorano 2018). Thirdly, we can mention relevant variations in terms of cultural policy coordination, which is weaker in Spain. In order to understand this fact, we shall consider the central position of the Ministry of Culture in Portugal, the orientation of cultural policies developed by substate national and pro-independence regions in Spain or the limited articulation of its quasi-federal system. Finally, cultural consumption and participation are more robust in Spain than in Portugal.

Upon this macro institutional background, we have selected four cases contributing to address specific cultural administrations in different territorial, cultural and socio-political contexts. Firstly, not being a capital city, Barcelona is one of the cultural epicentres of the Mediterranean, counting with a vigorous creative sector and inscribed in a region with a solid nationalist movement. Secondly, Galicia is a regional entity with a dense cultural heritage but with less industrial power. It also shares the national character of regional culture and language. Thirdly, the Portuguese Ministry of Culture represents a state organization, which was conceived mirroring the French model from a centralizing conception. It preserves relevant power over the general system in a country with a rich cultural heritage. Braganca, a city with 35 thousand inhabitants, is an urban space with a thriving cultural heritage shaping its dynamic cultural field. Still, it has less institutionalized cultural policies when compared to cities such as Lisbon and Oporto.

Our examination reveals four specific configurations of values, as shown in the summary table below. These value prioritization schemes remain partially explained by the above-described differentiation between social and economic dominant value framings and their forms of association with historic cultural policy models.

Table 3. Values and value tensions within Iberian cultural policies

Case	Main values	Secondary values	Main internal value tensions
Barcelona City Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural rights • Arts education • Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development • Decent artwork • Gender inclusion 	<p><u>Aesthetic excellence vs Social performance in cultural facilities</u></p> <p><u>Administrative change vs Changes in grounds of cultural policies focusing on social and sectoral actors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance change (i.e., towards education) and sectorial demands
Bragança City Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation and promotion of heritage (material & intangible) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism and local development 	<p><u>Consensual and diversified policy goals but contested participation schemes</u></p> <p><u>Local/endogenous value vs Exogenous/ Cosmopolitan value</u></p>

¹⁷ See: <https://www.culturalpolicies.net/statistics-comparisons/statistics/funding/>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural participation/ cultural literacy • Support to the arts • Networking in the culture domain • Economic value 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undervaluation of local artists/ associations (supporting creation, payment, role in events' programming)
Xunta de Galicia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Touristic value of culture • Economic development • Promotion of heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internationalization of Galician culture • Digitalization of Galician culture • Galician language promotion 	<p><u>Partisan/corporatist power vs Social value</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political instrumentalization and the social value of culture <p><u>Public support to tourism-oriented culture vs Poor valuation of sectoral development</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of attention to sectoral necessities and demands <p><u>Local development vs International cultural branding</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural branding abroad against poor rural strategy and limited attention to Galicia's own language
Portuguese Ministry of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratization/ Participation • Protection and promotion of heritage • Artistic creation • Support to Portuguese Language • Cinema development • Digital transformation & innovation • Media pluralism and public access to culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural-based internationalization • Territorial equality • Cultural-based urban regeneration • Cultural industries • Cultural tourism • Promotion of citizenship and literacies through culture 	<p><u>Ambitious and diversified policy goals but limited resources invested</u></p> <p><u>Traditional definition of cultural consumption vs valuation of an enlarged catalogue of cultural experiences</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restricted definition of culture (audiences, equipment) against emergent experiences

Source: authors' elaboration.

3.5.1 Interpreting predominant values

How the social and economic values of culture are interpreted, internally balanced with other intrinsic cultural values and operationalized in each case significantly differ.

The cases of Barcelona and Bragança administrations in the studied years, despite their contrasted political orientations (left-wing and centre-right), both share the development of robust cultural policy systems with dynamic intervention. As part of their policies, cultural democracy and cultural democratisation goals are assumed to be achieved through arts and cultural literacy and social participation without focusing on traditional mechanisms of the creative city. Under the above premises, values differ, particularly concerning Barcelona's emphasis on constitutive change and transversalization of culture within other policies and social domains, such as science.

Differences in the understanding of social and sectoral participation are illustrated in manifested forms of bottom-up participation, which can be defined as more traditional in the case of

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Bragança and seek to be more self-management oriented and neighbourhood-centered in Barcelona. In the Portuguese city, horizontal governance is mostly channelized through sectoral associative networks. Proximity with local actors, demands and problems is observed in the city, where the values of heritage or local and international networks and cultural economy are particularly explained by their capacity to support local development. Instead, in the Catalan capital, targeted groups are increasingly diversified, intersectional (i.e., through women representation in the Local Council) and sought to be involved in decentralized policy design and implementation.

Analysing actors' demands and opinions has allowed us to understand further the relationships between value and value operation within these governance dynamics. In Barcelona, the value of cultural rights, education, and participation are operationalized through local projects sought to be "integrated" into traditional high cultural facilities, which bring their activities into the city periphery. This redistributive strategy coexists with more market-oriented policies and values (headed by the PSC area), framing strong productive and internationalized sectors as one of the prerequisites for social development. Instead, the focus of Bragança cultural policies in expanding aggregate demand in the cultural sector expresses values regarding socio-economic development, as well as different needs and political agendas. These different framings mark governance relationships. Identified sectoral demands in Bragança tend to highlight the lower level of support they receive compared to other sectors or territories. Alternatively, in Barcelona, third cultural sector actors' demands focus on achieved or required changes in grants and direct support valuation criteria. Along these lines, grounds for grantmaking in Bragança seem to be more connected to the quantitative performance of cultural projects. In Barcelona, discourses and valuation processes reveal a certain "transition" to a more qualitative approach, in which the value of equal access "competes" with others, such as artistic excellence.

Tourism also has a significant role in both policies. While in Bragança, culture-based tourism is legitimized as a source of local development, in Barcelona has been displaced to a lateral position within the cultural policy systems and programmes. Still, two lines of action exist in the city: high culture is disseminated in the periphery by the BeC project, the PSC also promotes a more decentralized cultural-based tourism.

Therefore, considerable inequalities between these cities in terms of available budget, infrastructure and needs within the cultural field, as well as the historical trajectory of each policy, can explain all the above pointed out differences.

Competencies' distribution partially shapes differences between local and regional and national policies. While in cities values and normativity operate within more direct and proximity relations between the administration and cultural actors, a different approach is observed in the case of the Xunta de Galicia and the Portuguese Ministry of Culture, regional and national administrations that put strategic and constitutive values at the forefront.

The Portuguese Ministry of Culture, led by the Socialist party, manifests the integration of values associated with a contemporary and entrepreneurial understanding of the cultural democratization paradigm, where leisure and spectacle are highly valued, confirming the literature discussion on this model (Garcia et al. 2016; 2014). On the one hand, it focuses on access to culture, maintenance of heritage and language promotion. On the other hand, it addresses digitalization, creative industries and internationalization as intrinsic instruments for

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national development. In this second register, culture is framed as a legitimate instrument for nation branding, leading to increase the country's competitiveness and social development. Moreover, in line with an instrumental understanding of cultural diplomacy, the rich Lusitanian heritage is understood as a strategic mechanism for tourism and economic investments attraction.

Along these lines, Galicia represents an example of a mixed model of cultural policies where liberal policies are fostered, focusing on the instruments of big events and territorial branding. Programmes developed since the eighties by the Popular Party -hegemonic in the region- have been inscribed in a Spanish decentralized system that provides comprehensive culture competencies to Autonomous Communities (Rius-Ulldemolins & Zamorano 2015). Nevertheless, this situation has not fostered a coherent model of action in the cultural sphere. The region's cultural policies unveil a specific trajectory concerning direct intervention, which is poor and unsystematic. This has led to a liberal public action characterized by low patronage activity and direct action often marked by clientele dynamics. In this context, the prioritized economic values are instrumentally associated with Galician heritage and traditions.

3.5.2 Explaining value tensions

Internal value tensions are explained by contextual dynamics such as specific sectoral demands manifested by public and third sector actors (i.e., local support to the arts in Bragança or further attention to the Galician language and identity). They can be classified into two main dimensions. On the one hand, the questioning of reduced material resources for cultural policies and their assignment distribution. On the other hand, the administrative characteristics of cultural policy systems and its capacity to adapt to internal or external demands for change (i.e., limited decentralization in Portugal, lack of integration of BeC philosophy within the ICUB structure, poor planning and decentralized action in Galicia or scarce participatory mechanisms at the institutional level in Bragança).

Furthermore, tensions are also manifested in the balancing between economic and social outcomes of cultural policies. In this regard, market-oriented policies have led to the consolidation of an instrumental and event-based cultural action in Galicia, which is actively contested by actors expressing antagonistic values such as excellence, rural identity or artists' working conditions. In Barcelona, this tension is expressed within the current administration concerning the two philosophies behind the cultural policy system, led by PSC and BeC. The binomial culture-education and culture-tourism/creative sector led by each of these parties express this mixed policy.

Lastly, Bragança and the Ministry of Culture cultural policies, headed by centre-right and centre-left governments, further integrate the creative sector and entrepreneurial value framing into their cultural policies. These policies value tourism, digitalization, specific creative markets and internationalization for the cultural field. In parallel, attention is paid to traditional democratizing values such as cultural participation, education and literacy as an instrument for social inclusion. Social actors dispute value priorities, for instance, by opposing what are seen as more intrinsic values of culture, associated with aspects such as local identity or artists' work conditions, when presenting demands to public authorities advancing these mixed cultural

policy projects.

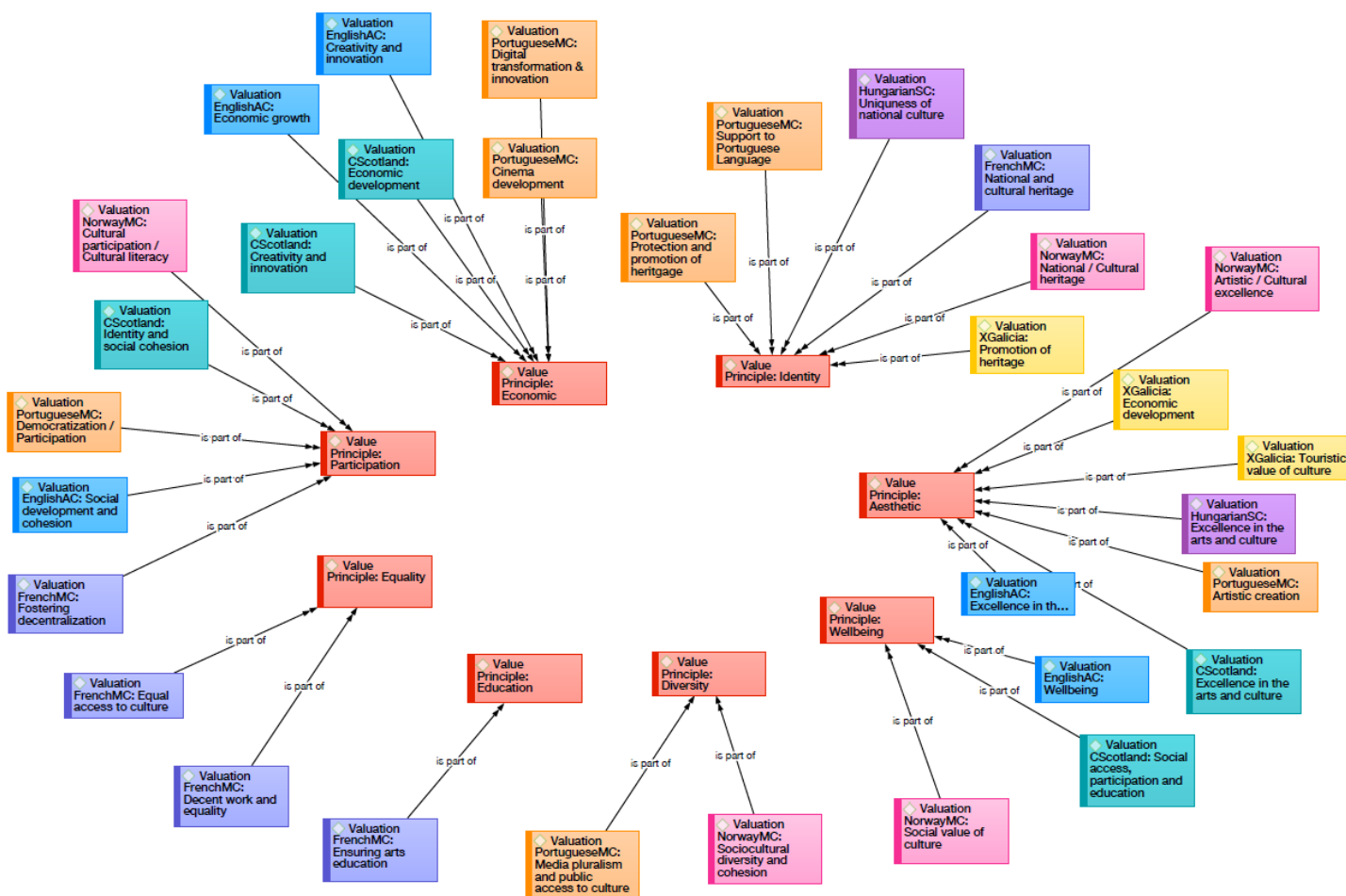
4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 12 EUROPEAN CASES

This section will present a comparative analysis of values identified in the 12 case studies examined in previous sections, leading to identifying specific value configurations, dominant associations between values and value principles, and central value tensions to these value configurations.

4.1 Common value principles among cases

Based on a comparative analysis, we have identified affinities between the central values explored in our 12 cases (tables 2 and 3). We have replicated the logic of semantic network analysis in grouping the similar values detected in studied cultural policies into semantic affinity areas and associating them with more general common value principles (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Value principles detected in national and regional cultural administrations



Source: authors' elaboration.

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As we can see in Figure 1, we have detected eight value principles for national and regional administrations. These principles are described and organized below according to their frequency of appearance in tables 2 and 3:

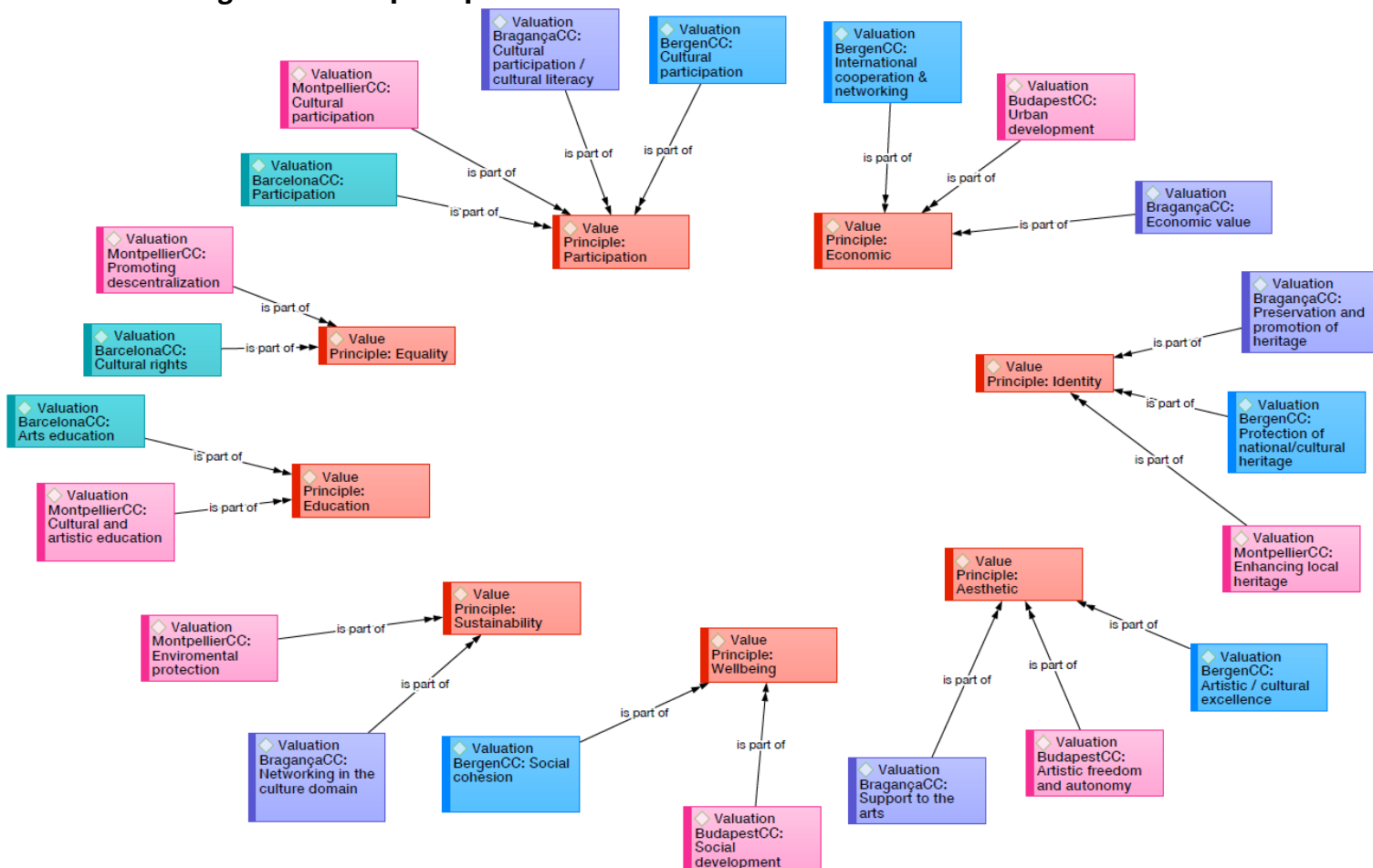
Frequency	Value principle	Definition
8	ECONOMIC	Focused on the importance of quantitative performance and profit, generated by products, heritage and artistic-cultural assets targeted by cultural policies. These outcomes are particularly associated with innovation, territorial growth, exports and investment.
6	IDENTITY	Associated with cultural policies' constitutive dimensions, such as nation building, ethnic grounds, heritage, language or territorial branding.
5	AESTHETIC	This principle is mainly associated with formal aspects of cultural products, arts and heritage, in terms of excellence, quality and distinction.
4	PARTICIPATION	Associated with the integration of different social and sectoral actors into cultural activities or in cultural policy design. This may also be achieved through decentralization, fostering social cohesion.
2	CULTURAL DIVERSITY	Linked to the positive valuation and promotion of the diversity of cultural practices and discourses ensuring media pluralism and sociocultural inclusion, often concerning immigrants.
2	EQUALITY	Based on different educational and cultural policies, as well as governance models, oriented towards ensuring (gender, immigration, socioeconomic, etc.) equal social inclusion in and through culture and the arts.
2	EDUCATION	Associated with the centrality given to formal education as a space for cultural capital redistribution impacting the cultural field/life.
2	WELL-BEING	Linked to the positive valuations of comfort, quality of life, health, safe places and clean environments.

Based on the above, the main value focus of national and regional policies is placed on economic, identity, aesthetic, and participation value principles. The frequency of these value principles manifests three main elements. Firstly, the overall value framing reveals a tendency towards the instrumentalization of culture as regards its productive capacity. This is also associated with heritage, cultural industry, and arts' capacity to generate commercial externalities. Secondly, the following value principles in the list show other traditional values within national and regional cultural policies, such as artistic quality and the contribution of culture to nation or

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identity building. Moreover, the issue of participation is placed as a ground for the promotion of cultural democracy or legitimate public management of culture. Thirdly, the importance of values inscribed within the principles of education, diversity, equality, and well-being speaks of a certain balancing between economic and social-oriented approaches to culture.

Figure 2: Value principles detected in local cultural administrations



Source: authors' elaboration.

As we can see in Figure 2, in the analysis of local cultural administrations, we have identified nearly the same value principles (7 out of 8) except for **Diversity** which is absent among our local cases and another value principle which only appears at this level:

- **Sustainability.** Related to the contribution of cultural policies to strengthening the resilience of the cultural sector or to the contribution of culture to environmental protection.

The eight **value principles identified** for local administrations are organized below according to their frequency of appearance:

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Frequency	Value principle
4	PARTICIPATION
3	ECONOMIC
3	AESTHETIC
2	IDENTITY
2	SUSTAINABILITY
2	EQUALITY
2	EDUCATION
2	WELL-BEING

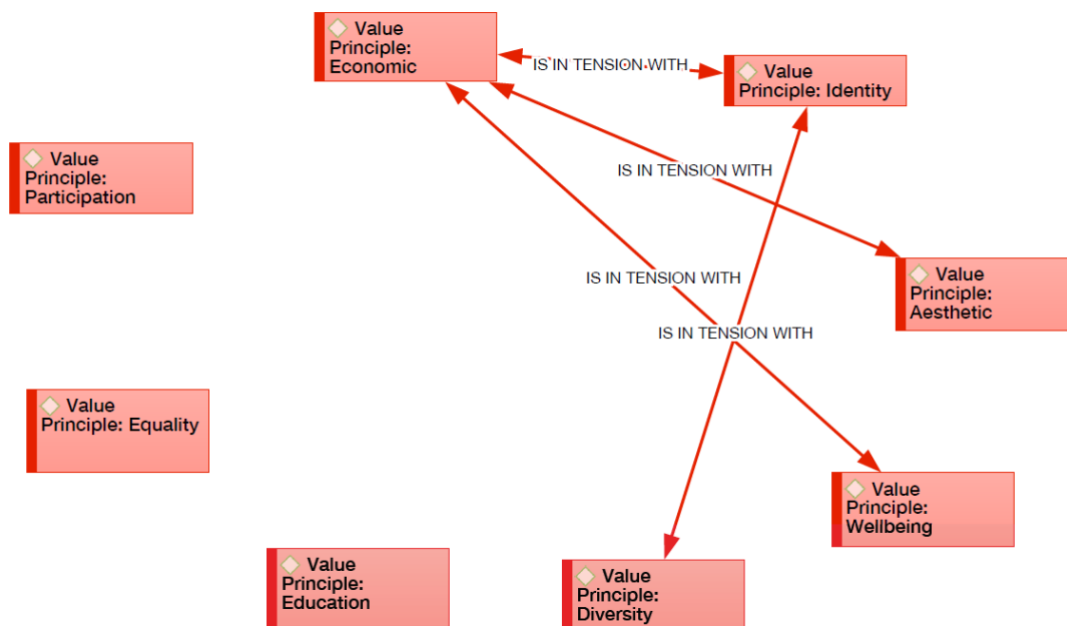
Relevant differences between national/regional and local administrations chiefly concern value principles accents. First, the municipal level push importance given to economic-related values back. Moreover, differently than at national/regional state levels, participation, which is characteristic of proximity policies and first-hand administration of cultural facilities, is of utmost importance. As a result, the other two classic drivers for cultural policies, namely economic and aesthetic values, are moved to the second and third positions in relevance.

Furthermore, interestingly, the value principle of identity is still a vital value at the local level, although having slightly different associated values and discourses focusing on urban, historic, and environmental heritage. Cultural diversity, distinctly manifested in state and regional cultural policies, is not depicted in the studied value municipal configurations. Instead, sustainability claims, policies and discourses replace it, which can be explained by the more specific character of these policies to local public action (i.e., in the context of the organization of festivals or culturally based urban regeneration policies). Lastly, we can observe how equality, education and wellbeing are also placed as value principles to be operationalized through cultural policies, including participatory dynamics and programs.

4.2 Tensions between values

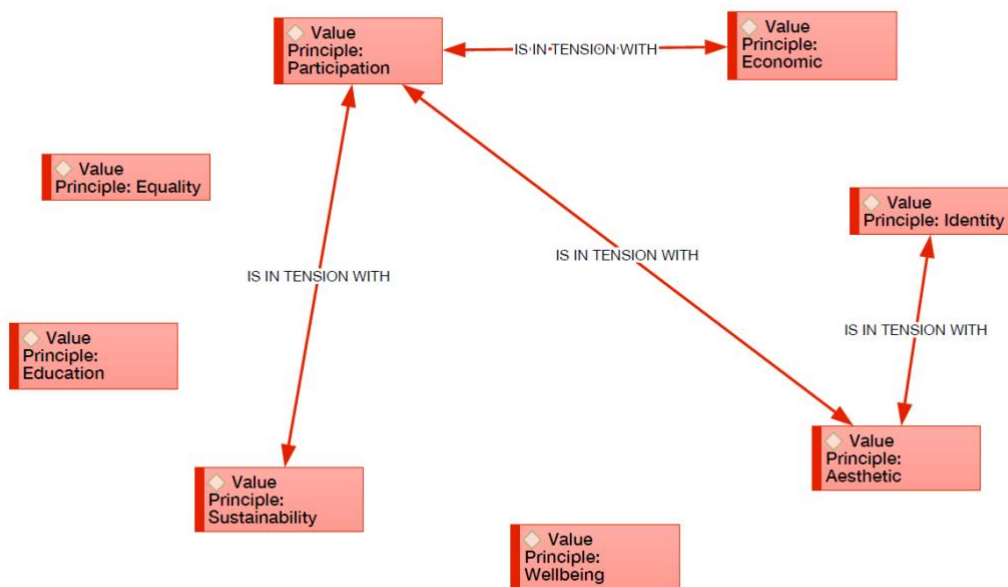
Our previous analysis -both on the cases that we have studied on an exclusively documentary basis and on the Iberian cases that we have investigated more thoroughly- has allowed us to detect a series of axiological tensions, manifest or latent, specifically defined within each context. We have previously collected the main values and the main value tensions that appear in each case in Tables 2 and 3. Looking at the cases from a comparative perspective, these specific tensions can be assimilated to more general tensions between the value principles that we have just identified. Figures 3 and 4 below represent these more general axiological tensions. They have been elaborated transposing specific tensions identified in tables 2 and 3 into tensions at a higher level of abstraction, between those value principles that correspond to the particular values appearing in both poles of the specific tensions. This correspondence between values and value principles has been established following the same logic that in figures 1 and 2).

Figure 3: Value tensions in national and regional cultural administrations



Source: authors' elaboration.

Figure 4: Value tensions in local cultural administrations



Source: authors' elaboration.

In the configuration of values corresponding to national and regional administrations, the tensions detected concern in particular the values that we have identified as the most predominant (Economic, Identity and Aesthetic). The Economic value is opposed, to begin with, to the Aesthetic value, making the original tension of the cultural field resonate, in the case of

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the French Ministry of Culture. Nevertheless, it is also opposed to several other values. In the first place, to the Identity value, in the cases of Creative Scotland and the Xunta de Galicia, in which the nationalist drive is translated into an appreciation of the local that sets limits to the promotion of internationalization (either from the perspective of government, as in Scotland, or opposition, in the case of Galicia). Moreover, to the Wellbeing value, in the cases of the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and the English Arts Council, where the agenda of social benefits induced by culture exerts an implicit counterweight to the pursuit of economic objectives. Finally, in the Hungarian Secretary of Culture case, the tension between Identity and Diversity emerges, as it corresponds to a situation in which the nationalist impulse struggles to go beyond the liberal framework.

In the configuration of values corresponding to local administrations, the values previously identified as the most predominant (Participation, Economic) are also those that give rise to the most prominent tensions. In particular, the Participation value, which appears as central at the local level, is contrasted with the Aesthetic value in various ways (innovative programming vs programming suiting everyone's tastes in Barcelona; involvement of excellent international artists vs involvement of local artists in Bragança or Bergen). Furthermore, in Montpellier, it is opposed to the Sustainability value. This same value, moreover, is placed in implicit tension with the Economic value in the case of Bragança and explicitly and sharply in that of Barcelona, where the contrast is organically translated into the constitution of two separate services in the hands of two different political forces: one aimed at promoting participation and the other at economic promotion through culture. Finally, the Budapest City Council, in the conditioning context of current Hungarian national policies, favourable to the imposition of nationalist guidelines (Identity), defends artistic autonomy (Aesthetic).

Beneath the surface of these configurations of axiological tensions, which represent a synthetic summary of the lines of force structuring the dynamics of valuation of the analysed cultural administrations, there are other dimensions of complexity that here we can only point to. An important underlying tension, which our research design did not focus on, since it was going to be the object of specific analysis within WP4, but which has been made clear to us anyway in the work we have carried out, is the tension between the values embodied in political discourse (laws, programs, objectives) and the values embodied in actions and budgets. In this regard, strong and very explicit dissonances have been identified in some cases (in the Xunta de Galicia, in relation to the protection of culture in the Galician language, for example) and much more implicit and attenuated contrasts in others (in the Portuguese Ministry of Culture, where the ambition of the stated objectives does not seem to correspond adequately to the scarce mobilized, organizational and economic resources). This level of contrast, in any case, is of capital importance and has many nuances. The investigation that we will carry out in WP4 will analyse it in detail.

Finally, it should also be said that the in-depth analysis of the four Iberian cases, in which we have had the opportunity to contrast the different perspectives of the actors who participate in the game of cultural policy, has allowed us to glimpse another background dimension that structures the emergence of different values in this context: the dimension that is represented by the diversity of the types of actors and by the diversity of practical perspectives from which they act. This dimension, which we have not systematically analysed in this report, has led us to identify that sometimes tensions between values occur as tensions between actors (ruling and

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opposition politicians, high-level professional or technical staff, external experts, etc.). These different actors, in fact, are often linked to certain values in a characteristic way, so that the tensions that are drawn between one and the other are articulated through the various categories of actors, inside and outside the administrations.

5. CONCLUSION

Our study has tried to identify the plurality of values that are present in European cultural administrations, as well as the main tensions established between these values. The different analysed cases, which represent the great diversity of constitutive profiles of these administrations (the different territorial levels, political orientations and reference models), reveal the existence of relatively similar repertoires of values. But in their combination within particular configurations of axiological priorities, these sets of values also characterize the different profiles and above all they decline in very different ways according to the contexts.

In the national and regional cultural administrations that we have analysed, the predominant values are eight: **economic, identity, aesthetic, participation, diversity, equality, education and well-being**. But there are two that appear with special intensity and in a more generalized way: **economic** and **identity**. The prevailing values of the local administrations studied are not very different. There is just one new that appears, **sustainability** and from the previous repertoire only **diversity** is absent. But at this level the **participation** value is highlighted, but clearly less present in the other set of cases.

Both at the national and local levels, the most central values are those that structure the main tension axes. In the first, it is the **economic** value, which comes into tension with others, such as **wellbeing, identity** or **aesthetic**. While at the local level, the most central value is participation, and there it appears opposed to the **economic** or **aesthetic** values. But not all of these tensions are equally consistent. Some are ambiguous, such as the tension between **economic** and **identity**, which sometimes emerges as an explicit tension, while in other cases it is not manifested nor even results in an association.

Finally, we also note that tensions are not only raised between policy objectives, as disputes about priorities or compatibilities, but are often articulated as tensions between different types of actors within the political process. It is these various actors who, from their different positions and practices within that process, embody opposing axiological perspectives. And these tensions, moreover, are not restricted to the discursive sphere, but are also manifested as contrasts between discourse and action / results, a level of tension that feeds back the oppositions between the actors.

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