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THESIS TITLE

The Impacts of Participatory Governance on Cultural Development: Evidence from European Capitals of Culture

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Abstract

Participatory approaches to cultural decision-making are increasingly supported in the international and European discourses as means to foster cultural development, promoting capacity building, legitimacy, and social capital. However, their beneficial effects are both empirically contradictory and theoretically under-investigated.

With the aim of providing an evidence-based account of the function of participatory decision-making in culture, this thesis analyses how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance impacted on cultural development in four projects promoted in the two European Capitals of Culture of 2013 - Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia) – under the umbrella of the "City and Citizens" criterion.

The thesis combines the theoretical assumptions of the "expansive" theories of democracy (Warren, 1992) with the "pragmatic conception" proposed by Fung (2007) and adopts the methodological tools offered by the theory-testing variant of process tracing. Hence, it advances an analytical framework of causal mechanisms able to explain how and why the impacts of participatory governance of culture can change within different contextual conditions.

This work defines cultural development as a long-term process that includes cultural production and reception and is sustained by a network of cultural relations. In addition, it conceptualizes participatory governance as a three-dimensional institutional space (including representation, communication, and power delegation) that can trigger developmental dynamics thanks to consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue among a variety of cultural stakeholders.

Referring to the empirical evidence collected in the four case studies, the thesis argues that the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development depend on the intensity of trust that is reached among the actors involved in the process.

In presence of fully-fledged trust, as showed in the project PARCeque (Marseille) and in the Exchanger Obrody (Košice), participatory governance can lead to cultural development, activating a reinforcing chain of capacities, legitimacy, and social capital that nurture cultural relations in the long-term. On the contrary, in absence of fully-fledged trust (i.e. mistrust and "calculus-based" trust), as proved by the project Jardins Possibles (Marseille) and the Exchanger Važecká (Košice), participatory governance of culture can exacerbate feelings of manipulation or group dynamics, fostering contestation movements or isolated cultural production.

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Preface

1. Introductory remarks

Both public policies and cultural activities are increasingly characterized by the necessity of putting the voice of citizens and of the public at large at the center of their governance mechanisms. Far from being only a procedural characteristic of the decision-making processes, public participation is a broader social trend of the 21st century that has made people act as "makers and shapers" rather than "users and choosers" (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000).

For what concerns the public sector, the need of involving non-state actors in public decision-making processes is certainly linked to, but not limited to, the crisis of the representative system. The steady erosion of voter turnout in elections, the falling membership in political parties and the declining confidence in key public institutions have favored the recognition of participation as a means for fostering more meaningful citizen commitment in the public affairs.

At European Union level, the need of "reaching out to EU citizens" is connected with the fight against Euroscepticism and extremisms and with the promotion not only of acceptance but also emotional engagement with the Union by Europeans (European Commission, 2017). For public authorities, participation is a fundamental instrument for increasing transparency, accountability, and public trust. People themselves are requiring greater involvement in shaping policies that affect their lives, expecting that public officials take their views and knowledge into account. Thanks to the increased use of communication and information technologies, the public debate takes place far beyond the traditional decision-making arenas, making citizens' input necessary for dealing with the growing diversity and complexity of contemporary social issues.

Regarding the cultural activities, the focus on public participation can be seen as a paradigm shift from a hierarchical model based on patronage and preservation of cultural heritage *per se* to a diffuse and shared one, in which everyone is recognized as possible creator of cultural contents. With the advent of the so-called "culture 3.0" (Sacco & Teti, 2017), the distinction between cultural offer and cultural demand is blurred. Indeed, rather than within traditional market and institutional channels, culture is now increasingly created and diffused within open communities of practice and through digital means and social exchanges. In this scenario, cultural organizations are becoming more accessible to wider audiences, socially relevant and responsive to community needs. In addition, people show widespread desire of creating cultural contents and safeguarding cultural expressions that reflect their interests, experimenting innovative bottom-up approaches and alternative ways of expressing their creativity and aspirations.

Participatory governance of culture synthesizes and emphasizes these two social trends by promoting the active involvement of people in the public decision-making processes that affect their cultural life and the cultural development of their territories. Contrary to other policy areas such as environment, international cooperation and urban planning, public participation is a recent policy practice in the cultural field. Hence, while being promising and increasingly experimented on the ground, it is not free from unclear and controversial aspects, regarding both its implementation and the beneficial effects produced. This Ph.D. thesis tries to disentangle some of these controversies, focusing on the explanation of the different impacts produced by participatory governance on cultural development in four projects implemented in two cities nominated European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia).

2. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured into 7 Chapters, being 6 core Chapters and a Chapter 0 that illustrates the scope and methods of the research, plus the General Conclusions.

Chapter 0 elucidates the overall rationale of the research project and its methodological approach. The first section presents the research problem and the connected research questions to which the thesis tries to answer. Moreover, it clarifies the definitions of the key concepts addressed (i.e. participatory governance, cultural development, and culture) and briefly illustrates the reasons why the Democratic Theory has been chosen as the theoretical background and the European Capitals of Culture as the focus of the empirical analysis. The second section of the Chapter presents process tracing as the political science method that allows to study the causal mechanisms linking participatory governance (X) with cultural development (Y). It examines its basic assumptions and the ways they have guided the selection of case studies and the collection and analysis of evidence within this research. Finally, the third section reports the main argument of the thesis and discusses its original contributions to scholarship.

The first Chapter illustrates the origins and controversial aspects of participatory governance of culture. First, it discusses how it has emerged in the international and European cultural policy discourse, referring to the recent standard setting promoted by UNESCO (2003), Council of Europe (2005) and European Union (Council of the European Union, 2014a). Secondly, it evidences the definitional and evaluation conundrums of this policy paradigm, maintaining that there is a lack of clarity regarding the typology of actors that should be involved, the implementation processes and the theoretical and empirical proof of the proclaimed beneficial effects of participatory governance of culture. Thirdly, the Chapter links these critical aspects

with the general criticisms moved to the participatory approach, underlining that its performance is highly connected with power, group dynamics, and context-specific factors.

The second Chapter presents in detail the theoretical background on the basis of which the analysis of the impacts of participatory governance of culture has been pursued. On the one hand, the Chapter identifies the "expansive" tradition of the Democratic Theory as the one that, thanks to the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), provides a clear set of hypotheses for justifying the transformative and positive impacts of public participation on individuals and communities. On the other hand, it argues that, in order to conduct an evidence-based evaluation, this conceptual tenet should be combined with the "pragmatic conception" proposed by Fung (2007, 2012). This approach allows us to analyze the effects of cultural participatory processes according to the social circumstances and the specific contexts in which they are realized.

The third Chapter is the conceptual core of the thesis. It defines cultural development as a process that includes observable effects in terms of cultural production and cultural reception and is sustained by a network of cultural relations. Furthermore, it conceptualizes participatory governance as a three-dimensional space that varies according to the levels of representation, communication, and power delegation. This space functions as "trigger" of developmental dynamics when face-to-face dialogue is promoted among a variety of cultural stakeholders. Then, the Chapter designs an analytical framework of causal mechanisms linking participatory governance with cultural development. It argues that the presence of fully-fledged trust between the initiator of the process and the local actors involved makes the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) work as expected: under these circumstances, participants develop capacities, mutual understanding, and common good orientation and a network of cultural relations assures long-lasting cultural development on the territory. On the contrary, in absence of fully-fledged trust, i.e. in presence of mistrust or "calculus-based" trust, participatory governance produces two different outcomes: contestation and alternative cultural expressions or cultural production without social cohesion.

Chapter 4 serves as introduction to the empirical analyses that are carried out in Chapter 5 and 6. In the first section, this Chapter explains why, looking at the evolution of the Program, European Capitals of Culture of 2013 are an interesting object of analysis for studying the impacts of participatory governance of culture. In its second and third sections, the Chapter provides an illustration of the cultural programs of Marseille-Provence 2013 and Košice 2013, giving specific attention to the participatory initiatives promoted for responding to the City and Citizen criterion (Decision 1622/2006): the Program Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille and the SPOTs Program in Košice.

Chapter 5 and 6 represent the main empirical contributions of the thesis. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the illustration of the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development in presence of fully-fledged trust. It refers to two case studies: the project PARCeque realized during Marseille-Provence 2013 within the Program Quartiers Créatifs and the Exchanger Obrody, one of the seven cultural centers opened within the SPOTs Program during Košice 2013. The Chapter discusses, step-by-step, the causal chain that connects capacity building, legitimacy, mutual understanding, common good orientation, and observable effects in terms of cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations in the territories under investigation from 2013 to 2017.

Chapter 6 examines the impacts of participatory governance of culture in absence of fully-fledged trust. The case of the project Jardins Possibles promoted in Marseille in the framework of the Program Quartiers Créatifs provides empirical insights for testing the causal linkages between mistrust, participation, contestation, and alternative cultural expressions. The Exchanger Važecká opened in Košice within the SPOTs Program serves, instead, to empirically prove the linkage between participation and isolated cultural production in presence of medium or "calculus-based" trust.

The General Conclusions further discuss the results and the contributions of this research by providing additional considerations to those presented in the core Chapters. The first part of the conclusive section summarizes the main findings of the thesis in the form of statements and sub-statements, open to discussion, on participatory governance of culture and its impacts. It underlines the key role played by the contextual conditions in determining the outcome of cultural participatory processes and it provides further reflections about the importance of social capital dynamics in producing long-lasting cultural development. The second part presents the possible future developments of the research, underlining how the results of this study could serve as a basis for analyzing the topic of participatory governance of culture through other research designs or in an interdisciplinary perspective.

Chapter 0

Scope and Methods of the Research

1. The rationale of the research project

1.1 Research problem and research questions

The beneficial effects of cultural participatory decision-making processes are increasingly advocated in both the policy and the academic discourses (Adell et al., 2015; Council of the European Union, 2014a). Several authors have made the case that participation is a valid tool to "broaden the cultural offer as well as the range of people who participate in the arts" (Jancovich, 2015, p. 24), to solve the "crisis of legitimacy" of the cultural sector (Holden, 2006), to promote the social legitimization processes that support culture-led urban development (Sacco & Crociata, 2013) or to successfully manage the "cultural commons" (Borchi, 2018).

Looking at the international standard setting, participatory governance of culture is widely promoted as being crucial for fostering the sense of "identity and continuity" of local people (UNESCO, 2003, Art. 2.1), for the emergence of "heritage communities" valuing and protecting cultural resources in a democratic way (Council of Europe, 2005, Art. 2), and for the effective management of World Heritage List's sites with respect to the local context and localized needs (UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2007). This "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) reaches its maximum expression at European Union level, where "the involvement of the stakeholders in all stages of decision-making process" is promoted for pursuing a wide range of local cultural policy objectives, including urban regeneration, innovation, business development, and social cohesion (Council of the European Union, 2014a). Taking the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) initiative as an example, citizen participation has been introduced in order to make the cultural program "sustainable and integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, Art. 4.2).

While enthusiastically supported by policy-makers all around Europe and increasingly experimented on the ground through a variety of top-down and bottom-up approaches (OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018), participatory governance of culture is a topic that has only recently received attention in the scientific and policy discourses. Introduced in 2003 in the UNESCO domain together with the safeguarding of intangible heritage (Adell et al., 2015), it is a policy practice whose impacts are still under-investigated in the cultural policy literature. As it will be more extensively argued in Chapter 1 of the thesis, there are various problematic and controversial aspects with the so-called "participative turn" (Bonet & Négrier,

2018) in cultural policy. In the cultural participatory governance paradigm it is not clear who should participate and how communities should be identified and involved. Secondly, there are no concrete procedures, mechanisms, and models to be implemented for carrying on the processes of dialogue and negotiation among the various actors. Finally, and more importantly, the positive impacts of participatory decision-making in culture are empirically contradictory and theoretically under-investigated.

The involvement of a wide range of stakeholders in cultural initiatives proved to be linked with positive outcomes (Robinson, 2016) as well as with phenomena of rejection and contestation (Lähdesmäki, 2013). Consistently, civil society organizations consulted by the European Commission on the perspectives of participatory governance of culture expressed great concern and disillusionment about the contradictions of these processes and their supposed positive impacts (Voices of Culture, 2015). This is coherent with the broader scholarly debate concerning the effects of participatory governance. As it is well recognized in other policy areas, e.g. international cooperation (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012), local and environmental governance (Geissel, 2009; Newig et al., 2017), and urban planning (Savini, 2011), public participation is a promising but a contested practice. Though possibly linked with increased legitimacy, diversity, and social capital, participatory processes could also foster tyrannical forms of exercise of power (Cooke & Kothari, 2001a), conflict and ineffectiveness (Gugu & Dal Molin, 2016). The success of cultural participatory practices is not guaranteed because they usually unfold in a complex web of social interactions between heterogeneous agents with diverse interests, and are shaped by the reproduction and contestation of power relations (Sacco & Crociata, 2013; Ziakas, 2016).

These aspects have been partially addressed in the recent academic debate on participatory decision-making in culture. Only a handful of academic works deal with participatory governance of culture: they have focused on the analysis of the surrounding policy discourse, on the definitions and models adopted in various cases and/or countries, and on the structured mapping of existing participatory practices in culture. Virolainen (2016) analyzes the position that participatory governance of culture has in the Finnish, and broader European, cultural policy discourse. By proposing a classification of the various meanings attributed to cultural participation, she argues that participatory decision-making coincides with "the latest ethos of cultural policies to promote cultural participation" (p. 15). Jancovich (2011, 2015, 2017) has analyzed the rhetoric-reality gap that characterizes the implementation of participatory governance of culture in the UK, arguing that unequal power and resource distribution prevents participation from challenging the status quo in the broader arts sector. Bonet and Négrier (2018) maintain that participation can be articulated very differently, depending on the cultural policy

paradigm in which it is expressed and the objectives of the actors involved. Finally, the research project "Approaches to participatory governance of cultural institutions" (Kultura Nova Foundation, 2018) starts from the mapping and analysis of bottom-up participatory practices to delineate possible paths of institutional change able to break the "glass-ceiling" that characterizes the relationship between the public and the cultural institutions.

While useful in clarifying various aspects concerning the definition and implementation of participatory governance of culture, these works do not address the question of the impacts of this policy paradigm. Is participatory governance really beneficial for promoting cultural development at local level? If yes, why does this happen? Which are the contextual characteristics that, as showed in some case studies, make participation having positive or controversial impacts? The present thesis aims at addressing the lack of evidence-based knowledge on the function of public participation in culture, answering to two strongly interrelated research questions:

1. The first one relates to how and why participatory governance fosters cultural developmental dynamics at local level. The objective is that of uncovering the causal linkages through which participatory decision-making can produce long-term beneficial effects on the quantity and quality of the local cultural offer, on the receptive and creative involvement of audiences, and on the creation of cultural networks of interdependent actors;
2. The second one concerns the contextual conditions that allow participation to be a "trigger" of positive (or negative) impacts. Building on the studies that describe participation as a "performative" practice whose effects depend on the specific circumstances and the typology of actors involved (Turnhout et al., 2010), the research sheds light on the context-specific interactions that explain why participation could produce the expected (positive) outcomes or more unexpected phenomena of contestation or lack of social cohesion.

1.2 The core definitions

For the purpose of analytical clarity, the following section synthesizes the definitions of the key concepts addressed in this research project. A further illustration of their meaning and articulations is also provided in Chapter 3, presenting the analytical framework of the overall dissertation.

The first concept to be defined is that of participatory governance. Building on previous works (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Fung, 2006), in the present research

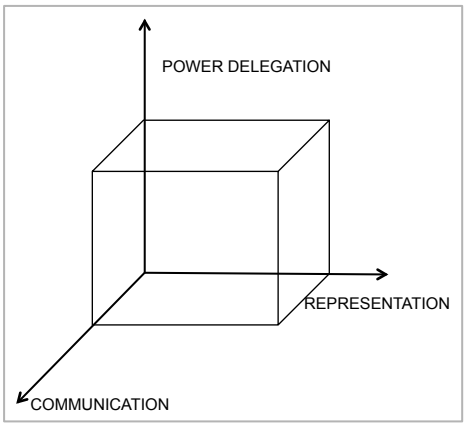
participation is conceptualized as a three-dimensional institutional space where a certain degree of involvement of non-state actors (private, civic, individual actors) in the formulation and implementation of a collectively binding decision is realized. In particular, the degree of involvement of non-state actors could vary along three fundamental dimensions, namely (a) the degree of representation of concerned stakeholders, (b) the direction and intensity of communication among participants during the decision-making process (dialogue and/or deliberation), and (c) the extent of power delegated to them over the formulation of decisions (see Figure 1).

Contrary to the first theorizations made in the domain of the participatory democracy theory (Arnstein, 1969; Kaufmann, 1960) that identify participation with the direct exercise of power, this definition allows us to take into consideration the multi-dimensional ways in which a variety of state and non-state actors can interact in the realm of a cultural decision-making process. This approach defines participatory processes not only on the basis of the influence of participants' decisions on policy outcomes (power delegation), but it also considers who is involved (representation) and how participants communicate with each other (dialogue and/or deliberation). By doing so, it is possible to include in the investigation the variety of transformative effects that public participation can have at the personal and societal levels, thanks to the contact between a diversity of actors, the promotion of social capital dynamics through communication, and the increase in legitimacy and capacities.

We assume that the initiator of the cultural decision-making process could carry the process with various degrees of participation, giving rise to an institutional space that is less or more extended according to the levels of representation, dialogue, and power delegated to participants (Newig et al., 2013). However, we also underline that, for participatory governance of culture to be a "trigger" of developmental dynamics, a certain degree of intensity should be achieved. We agree with Ansell and Gash (2008, p. 546) that participatory governance "is never merely consultative" and that actors "must be directly engaged in the decision-making process". By doing so, we also make our definition consistent with the one currently adopted at the European Union level. Indeed, the Council of the European Union (2014a) stresses that participatory governance of culture seeks "the active involvement of relevant stakeholders in the framework of a public action […] – in the decision-making, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of cultural heritage policies and programs" (p. 1). In the light of this, the following are considered the necessary and sufficient set conditions for a process to be considered participatory within the framework of this research:

- the opening-up of the decision making process in order to achieve the maximum possible representation of the local stakeholders (public, private, civic, and individual) affected by the cultural initiative;
- the activation of a face-to-face dialogue among them that is consensus-oriented and aimed at formulating a collective decision over a public cultural initiative that will be realized in a concerned territory.

Figure 1. Participatory governance as a three-dimensional space, including representation, communication, and power delegation



Source: Fung (2006)

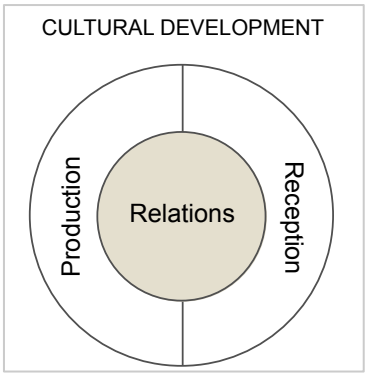
The second main concept to be defined is that of cultural development. In the present investigation, cultural development is taken as the expected outcome of participatory governance of culture, the auspicated result of participatory decision-making processes against which the "instrumental claim" has to be evaluated. Cultural development is conceptualized as a long-term process of expansion of the collective capabilities of producing and accessing to cultural resources and experiences, sustained by a network of actors engaged in cultural activities.

The definition of cultural development derives largely from Throsby's concept of "culturally sustainable development" and, in particular, from the emphasis that this author puts on the idea of "cultural ecosystems" (Throsby, 2011, 2017). Throsby conceptualizes "culturally sustainable development" as the need of assuring the constant safeguarding, reproduction, and development of the cultural capital of a concerned territory, also through a fair access to cultural resources across social groups and between present and future generations. In this author's perspective, a fundamental role in assuring cultural sustainability is played by the cultural ecosystems, namely the systems of interdependent actors that, attributing shared values to some cultural activities, sustain and develop them.

In the light of that, the present research identifies the following as the necessary and sufficient components of cultural development: 1) cultural production, 2) cultural reception, and 3) cultural relations. This means that for impacts on cultural development to be observed in a territory after a participatory process, an increase in all three dimensions should be detected in the following years. Cultural production and cultural reception are the most observable manifestation of cultural development, embedding, respectively, a sort of offer and demand side in the cultural domain. The "production dimension" relates to the quantity, continuity, and diversity of cultural activities realized in a concerned territory. The "reception dimension" refers to an enlarged, diversified, and deepened access to culture across social groups and inhabitants of the territory. The "relations dimension" – thus being observable in the constitutions of cultural networks in which different actors actively cooperate for the realization of cultural activities – refers also to an intangible process of long-term diffusion of shared cultural values and meanings, that makes possible both the continuity of the cultural activities over time and the presence of a common shared strategy around culture. The "relations dimension" – as for the Throsby's cultural ecosystem principle – is intended as being the central driving force from which both cultural production and cultural reception can be promoted (see Figure 2).

This definition of cultural development has a strong analytical benefit in the framework of the present investigation. As exemplified by the Council Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage (Council of the European Union, 2014a), in the policy discourse participation is supported for a fragmented variety of policy objectives, including promotion of social cohesion, local identity and traditional know-how, innovation and business development, urban regeneration and quality cultural tourism (par. 9-17). These objectives – while interesting for reflecting on the wideness of the expectations put on the positive effects of participation – are too diversified for being rigorously included and evaluated in this study. Cultural development is deemed to be, at the same time, conceptually broad enough to include a holistic vision of the possible impacts of participatory governance of culture and easy to be operationalized for individuating the observable fingerprints of these effects at the local level. Like the principles of the "culturally sustainable development", it can provide "a systematic framework within which to interpret the role of culture in development, and can serve as a practical basis for assessing whether or not cultural policies conform to various desirable properties" (Throsby, 2017, p. 143).

Figure 2. Conceptualization of cultural development as including the (more observable) components of cultural production and cultural reception sustained by a network of cultural relations



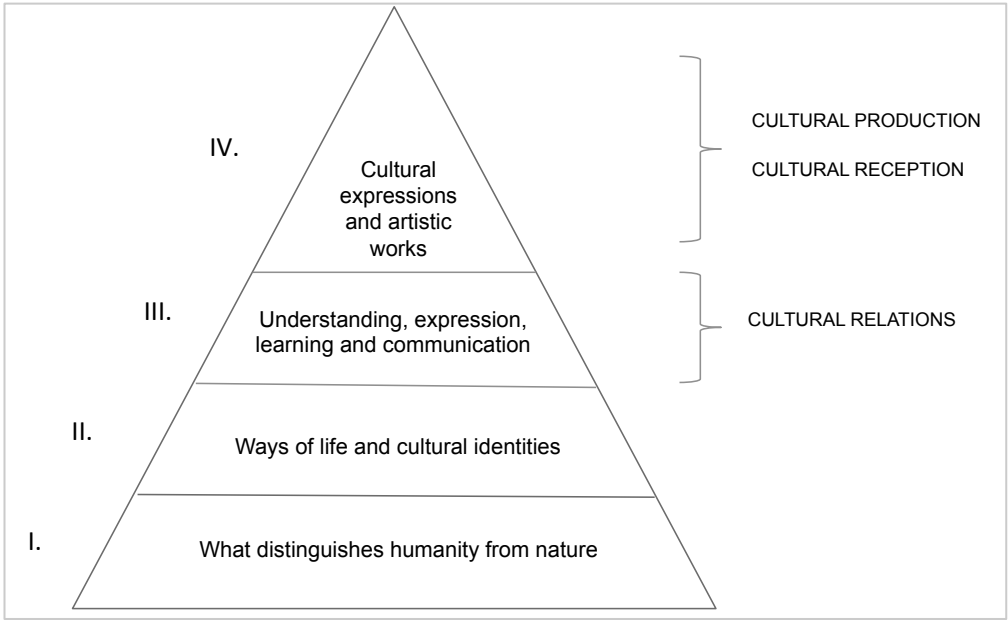
Source: Author's representation on the basis of the definition of "culturally sustainable development" (Throsby, 2017)

The last clarification concerns the term "culture" and its relation with the concept of cultural development. The word "culture" is used in a wide variety of contexts as an all-embracing notion that means many different things often not rigorously defined (Throsby, 1999). In both academic works and international cultural policy documents, the various definitional efforts focus on a binary understanding of the term. On the one hand, a "materialistic" or "functional" understanding sees culture as "the highest expressions of arts and culture" (Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 2009) or as "the cultural sector of the economy" (Throsby, 1999, p. 6); this view is strictly linked with the conceptualization of the "explicit" cultural policies as those that deal with the "consciously crafted symbolic works" and "consecrated forms of artistic expressions" (Ahearne, 2009, p. 144). On the other hand, a broader and "anthropological" approach defines culture as a way of life including belief systems, customs, and traditions (Williams, 1976); this is connected with the so-called "implicit" cultural policies, dealing with the unintended cultural side effects of various public initiatives. These binary distinctions, while being useful for identifying the observable and non-observable components of the cultural factor, do not consider their possible linkage, thus being in contrast with the idea of interconnectedness that characterizes the concepts of cultural development and of cultural ecosystem previously explained.

The four-fold classification of culture proposed by Romainville (2015) is more coherent with the systemic approach to cultural development adopted in this research. According to this author, at the first, broadest, conceptual level, culture can be considered as what distinguishes humanity from nature. At the second level, culture objectifies the human condition in a given society so as to be understood from a more anthropological perspective. It encompasses not only ways of life and cultural identities, but also "traditional housing, access to land, legal systems,

collective identities, patterns of behavior, and all subsystems of the society (economic, symbolic, and political) into an alleged coherent system" (Romainville, 2015, p. 419). At the third conceptual level, culture refers to a system, which, within the culture of society, includes the meanings of human and social experiences. "Culture is what enables individuals to exercise real freedom by giving them tools to shape their conception of a good life […]", encompassing "processes of understanding, expression, learning, communication, creation". At the fourth and most concrete level, culture includes the whole set of cultural expressions, practices and artistic works that express and exemplify the work on meaning carried out by culture in the third sense. At this level, culture "relates to the variety of cultural goods and services, to the multiple expressions of cultural heritage and to the richness of various artworks and heritages" (Romainville, 2015, p. 419). As summarized in Figure 3, the notion of cultural development adopted in this research includes the third and fourth meaning attributed to culture by Romainville. Specifically, cultural relations refer to the third conceptual level, including the immaterial processes through which interdependent actors share a set of values and objectives; cultural production and cultural reception, instead, are linked with the recognized cultural and artistic expressions that characterize the fourth conceptual level. Even if culture in the anthropological sense, i.e. the first and second levels of Romainville's classification, is not explicitly included in our notion of cultural development, the present conceptualization stresses that cultural ecosystems are based on the interrelation between artworks and heritages on one hand and the creation and diffusion of values and meanings on the other.

Figure 3. The meaning of "culture" within the concept of cultural development



Source: Author's representation on the basis of the four-fold definition of culture (Romainville, 2015)

1.3 The Democratic Theory as theoretical background

The impacts of participatory governance on cultural development are investigated using the Democratic Theory as a theoretical lens. Since the experience of the Athenian polis, the reflection on democracy – the "rule (*kratos*) of people (*demos*)" – is intrinsically linked to the concept of participation, intended as the *trait d' union* between the exercise of the State's power and the expression of people's will. The "models of democracy" (Held, 2006) developed and discussed over time within the Democratic Theory are characterized by attributing different functions and expectations to participatory procedures. Hence, their analysis has allowed us to identify the core arguments concerning the possible positive (and negative) impacts of participatory governance. As it will be further explained in Chapter 2, the theoretical background of the present investigation combines two theoretical tenets developed within the Democratic Theory: the "self-transformation thesis" formulated within the "expansive" approach of democracy (Warren, 1992) and the "pragmatic conception" of participation proposed by Fung (2007, 2012).

The Democratic Theory is characterized by two opposing traditions regarding the role and expected impacts of participatory governance: the "standard liberal" or "protective" tradition and the "expansive" or "developmental" one. The "standard liberal" tradition, including the political thought of authors such as Machiavelli (1532/2008), Locke (1690/1997), and Madison (1788/1966) and the more recent theorizations of Dahl (1956) and Sartori (1987), emphasizes the necessity of limiting participation to the aggregation of pre-political interests and to the act of vote. By offering interesting insights about the possible negative consequences of direct forms of democracy, this approach maintains that participation serves to ensure "the conditions necessary to the individual to pursue their interests without risk of arbitrary political interferences" (Held, 2006, p. 86). The "expansive" tradition, articulated in the political thought of authors such as Rousseau (1762/1968), John Stuart Mill (1859/1982) and Dewey (1916), stresses the positive and educational impacts of participation on human nature and society, thus providing an effective theoretical justification of the international and European instrumental claim on participatory governance of culture. An "expansive" lexicon permeates the whole research because an analysis of the impacts of cultural participatory decision-making processes cannot be pursued without an underlying assumption regarding their transformative potential.

The "expansive" theories of democracy provide the investigation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture with a useful set of hypotheses against which the transformative effects can be assessed. This set – named by Warren (1992) as the "self-

transformation thesis" – includes four main theoretical assumptions that justify the intrinsic and instrumental value of a broader participation in public decision-making. First, it is assumed that individual interests are not shaped externally but internally to the governance processes. Political discourse and participation highly affect the way people shape their preferences and their perceptions in the broader social context. The more space is given to meaningful interaction among people, the more possibilities are given to them to transform selfishness into mutual understanding and common good orientation. Secondly, participation is supposed to foster self-government and autonomy. Through democratic discourse, negotiation, challenge, compromise, and consensus building individuals gain both a more complete picture of themselves and a renewed awareness of their commonalities with others. Thirdly, participation is seen as an instrument for identifying new common and emergent interests and for improving the substantive outcomes of collective decisions, making them more able to address public issues and deploy local knowledge. Finally, the thesis assumes the capacity of participatory processes to enhance stability, governability, and consensus, reducing the causes of conflict and the use of power as means of political interaction.

The "self-transformation thesis" has been adopted and further developed by two modern theories of democracy: Participatory and Deliberative theories. These theories, while being extremely useful, are not sufficient to analyze how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance impacts on cultural development. Participatory theories (Barber, 1984; Mansbridge, 1983; Pateman, 1970) stress the perverse effects of representative systems and the importance of the direct activity, commitment, and engagement of citizens in all societal spheres for the attainment of public good. According to participatory theorists, empowerment and direct involvement in public decision-making have an intrinsic and indisputable value for the effectiveness of public policies. Deliberative theories (Bessette, 1980; Sunstein, 1985) connect the effects of the "self-transformation thesis" with the discursive procedure, namely the inclusive exchange of reasons and arguments that should characterize the decision-making process. They pose ideal standards of communication and interactions, without taking into consideration possible "group dynamics" (Cooke, 2001) and without paying attention to the implementation of the decisions and their actual impacts. Both Participatory and Deliberative theories are highly normative and propose ideal standards and one-fits-all recipes that do not allow the researcher to analyze the context-specific effects of cultural participatory processes and to explain both their positive and negative impacts.

In order to investigate not only how and why but also under which circumstances participatory governance impacts on cultural development, the present study needs to combine

the arguments derived from the "self-transformation thesis" with the "pragmatic conception" of participation proposed by Fung (2007, 2012). Originated as a response to the so-called ideal conceptions of democracy, i.e. Participatory and Deliberative theories, the pragmatic conception underlines the importance of the context in which participatory practices are realized, evaluating their results according to the problems to be solved and the social and historical circumstances in which the governance response should be articulated. In this perspective, the values and normative prescriptions become standards that help the analysis of the effects realized on the ground by the implementation of the governance arrangements. The "self-transformation thesis" is neither refused nor accepted but it becomes a set of working hypotheses to be empirically tested.

For what concerns the evaluation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture, the pragmatic conception offers two important theoretical tools, i.e. the "pragmatic equilibrium" and the "practical reasoning" (Fung, 2007). The "pragmatic equilibrium" refers to the relationship between underlying values, institutional prescriptions, and empirical facts. "A conception of democracy is in pragmatic equilibrium just in case the consequences of its institutional prescriptions realize its values […] across a wide range of problems and contexts" (Fung, 2007, p. 443). The process of "practical reasoning" is subsequent to the analysis of the "pragmatic equilibrium": it refers to the revisions and adjustments that can be made once a theory of participation has been subject to empirical reflection. Reflecting on the "pragmatic equilibrium" of participatory governance of culture means evaluating whether the transformative effects proclaimed by recent international and European policy instruments have been realized empirically through specific institutional arrangements. Whether unintended consequences have been observed on the ground, the "practical reasoning" allows us to explore the contextual conditions that have played a role, thus revising the validity of the theory and of its assumptions.

1.4 The empirical analysis: European Capitals of Culture and the City and Citizens criterion

This research analyses the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development focusing on the empirical evidence collected in four participatory projects realized in two cities nominated European Capitals of Culture in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia).

As already mentioned, the participative turn in cultural policies has been promoted by a variety of international and European organizations through standard setting and specific policy initiatives. However, the evolution of the European Capitals of Culture Program (ECoC) is

particularly representative in this sense: it embodies not only the increasing emphasis put on public participation in the design and implementation of cultural initiatives but also the strong instrumental claim that characterizes it, namely the idea that participation should be promoted for its beneficial effects on cultural development and on the effectiveness and sustainability of cultural policies.

When the ECoC Program was initiated in 1985 (Resolution 85/C/153/2), the aim was to develop a cultural dimension to the work of the European Community as a way of bringing people closer together. The richness and diversity of European cultures and a greater mutual understanding between European citizens were mainly linked with the nomination of recognized (European) cultural centers (Athens, Florence, Berlin, Paris), the promotion of high arts, and of the most excellent expressions of European cultural heritage. However, the nomination of Glasgow (1999) and of other industrial cities willing to use culture as a means of economic regeneration, image transformation, and mobilization of the local population was the starting point of a reflection on the broader objectives of the Program.

As far as the legislative framework is concerned, the attention to citizen participation as an instrument for assuring the social impacts of the ECoC Program was firstly mentioned in Decision 1419/1999 (Article 5) and then officially codified in Decision 1622/2006 (Article 4). Regarding the selection and evaluation of candidate cities, this document introduced the City and Citizens criterion in addition to the European dimension one. Requesting to candidate cities to "foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings […] *in order to be sustainable and integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city* [italics added]" (Article 4.2), this criterion proves the presence of a strong instrumental claim surrounding participatory governance of culture in the ECoC domain.

Because of transitional arrangements, Decision 1622/2006 entered into force for the cities nominated European Capitals of Culture in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia). These two cities were the first ones to be officially selected and then evaluated also in the light of the City and Citizens criterion and are, for this reason, particularly interesting for collecting evidences regarding the impacts of participatory governance of culture. These cities have designed and implemented their participatory initiatives between 2010 and 2013. Hence, the present investigation includes the analysis of their effects on local cultural development in the following four years, from to end of 2013 to the end of 2017.

As it will be illustrated in detail in Chapter 4, the two cities have applied the City and Citizens criterion in different ways in the framework of their candidature and their cultural program, according to their specificities and the broader objectives of the Title year. Marseille-

Provence 2013 based its program on the concept of "The Euro-Mediterranean Laboratories" with the twofold objective of creating a permanent hub for intercultural and Euro-Mediterranean dialogue (sub-theme "Sharing the South") and of improving the city and its living conditions (sub-theme "The Radiant City"). In Marseille, the participatory decision-making processes required by the City and Citizens criterion were activated through a specific initiative, the Program Quartiers Créatifs. This Program aimed at promoting urban renewal through a series of long-term artistic residencies realized with the direct involvement of the local population of some disadvantaged neighborhoods. Through this initiative, in 2010-2013 various participatory artistic projects were promoted in 14 areas (7 in Marseille and other 7 in the surroundings Municipalities) recognized as being in need of both urban and social cohesion interventions.

The cultural program of Košice 2013 was structured around the idea of "Interface", intended as a way to promote creativity and innovation by fostering collaborations between sectors, institutions, groups and individuals. Even if the City and Citizens criterion was mainstreamed throughout all the program lines in a long-term approach to the transformation of the city, participatory governance of culture found its highest expression in the SPOTs Program. The Program aimed at transforming 7 unused buildings – former heat exchanger located in the residential areas of Košice – in "cultural hotspots", able to bring culture and creativity outside the city center and to promote the active involvement of the local residents. Thanks to a deep analysis of the context and of the specific "civic demand" of local actors, each heat exchanger became a cultural center with its specific focus in terms of artistic and social activities.

Recalling the definition of participatory governance adopted in this research, both the 14 Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille and the 7 heat exchangers in Košice can be imagined as a three-dimensional institutional spaces that are more or less extended for what concerns the dimension of representation, dialogue, and power delegation (see Figure 1). In each of these participatory initiatives, it is possible to analyze how and why the interactions among a wide variety of public, private, civic, and individual actors (including local public authorities, the management teams of the ECoC event, cultural operators and artists, NGOs, local enterprises, and various groups of citizens) has affected the local cultural development in the years following the ECoC event (2013-2017), shedding light also on the contextual conditions that have played a role in producing expected or unexpected outcomes. The selection of the four case studies included in the present investigation – the projects PARCeque and Jardins Possibles in Marseille and the Exchangers Obrody and Važecká in Košice - responds to a methodological choice that is explained and justified in the section 2 of this Introduction.

2. The methodology adopted

2.1 Studying the impacts of participatory governance of culture through process tracing

This research has the objective of analyzing how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance produces observable long-term impacts on cultural development at local level. Taking participatory governance as the independent variable (X) and cultural development as the dependent one (Y), this study aims at individuating the causal mechanisms that connect the two, dividing the cause-effect link into smaller steps for which empirical evidence can be collected. Process tracing is the political science method that allows the researcher to identify these causal mechanisms. Indeed, "if well constructed, it may allow one to peer into the box of causality to locate the intermediate factors lying between some structural cause and its purported effect" (Gerring, 2007, p. 45). The following paragraphs illustrate the main assumptions, variants, and guidelines of the process tracing methodology in order to explain how this methodological approach has been applied to the present research, guiding the design of the analytical framework, the selection of case studies, and the collection and analysis of empirical evidence.

2.1.1 Basic assumptions

The discussion of the assumptions that, according to Beach and Pedersen (2013, 2016), form the ontological foundations for studying causal mechanisms is deemed to be fundamental for illustrating the application of process tracing in the present investigation.

The first assumption relates to the nature of causation. Process tracing is based on a mechanism-based and deterministic view of causality rather than a variance-based and probabilistic conception of it. The variation-based understanding of causation – typical of large-N studies realized with statistical regressions – sees causality as patterns of regular empirical association between X and Y. The idea, based on a probabilistic vision of the social reality, is that, since we cannot measure the "secret connection" that links causes and effects, we should define causes merely in terms of constant conjunction (correlations) between factors. Variance-based research builds on population level mean causal effects in which probabilistic assumptions make more sense. It deals with a world in which there are random (stochastic) properties, often modeled using error term, and in which hypotheses take the form of "Y tends to increase when X increases". In variance-based research designs, "causation is therefore taken to mean nothing but the regular association between X and Y, controlled for other possible causes […] the actual process whereby X produces Y is black-boxed" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 25).

On the contrary, the mechanistic understanding of causation looks for the analysis of a deeper connection between a cause and an effect. By studying mechanisms, scholars gain what Salmon (1998) terms "deeper explanatory knowledge" (quoted in Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 26): in these types of designs, researchers try to grasp not whether a given X tends to co-vary with a given Y in a large sample but rather the theoretical process whereby X produces Y and, in particular, the transmission of causal forces from X to Y in specific cases. Hence, the study of causal mechanisms is the methodological approach that best allows us to properly answer to the previously stated research questions: how, why, and under which circumstances does participatory governance impact on cultural development at local level? The analytical added value of tracing the mechanisms linking participatory governance with cultural development is that we actually understand how they are causally related, finding empirical evidence in the case studies.

If variance-based designs are linked with a probabilistic view of the social reality, mechanistic-based ones are deterministic at the ontological level. Contrary to the assumption of randomness on which probabilism is based, determinism claims that events and social phenomena are path dependent, i.e. they depend on prior states and should be explained referring to them. It is worth noticing that in process tracing ontological determinism goes together with epistemological probabilism. Indeed, "while the social world at the ontological level can be claimed to be deterministic (i.e., things do not happen randomly), our empirics-based knowledge about why things occur will always be imperfect" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p. 9).

This is why the inferential power of the empirical evidence is crucial in determining the strength of the causal claims made while studying mechanisms. "The more we can trust our empirical measures, the stronger the inferences we can make" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p. 9). In process tracing researches, the uncertainty moves from the ontological to the epistemological level. We assume that there are specific reasons why participatory governance can have positive or negative effects on cultural development and specific reasons why participation affects individual behaviors and attitudes. However, by adopting this methodological approach we have to accept that we will never be able to reach a complete and indisputable knowledge of how this happens empirically.

The second assumption concerns the understanding of mechanisms as systems. Recalling the most frequently quoted definitions found in literature, causal mechanisms should be seen as "complex systems, which produce an outcome by the interaction of a number of parts" (Glennan, 1996, p. 52) or as "processes through which agents with causal capacities operate in specific contexts to transfer energy, information or matter to other entities" (Bennett, 2010, p. 207).

Studying causal mechanisms implies dividing the causal arrows that connects the X with the Y in smaller steps composed of entities engaging in activities, with entities being the factors engaging in activities, whereas the activities are what actually transmit causal forces from X to Y (Machamer et al., 2000). The understanding of mechanisms as systems is fundamental for recognizing that each of the steps has no independent existence in relation to producing Y; instead they are integral parts of a system that transmits causal forces to Y. This is why "a good theory of a mechanism does not have logical holes, thereby ensuring what Machamer, Darden, and Craven term the productive continuity of the mechanism in-between causes and outcomes" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p. 6).

For what concerns the present research, the causal linkage between participatory governance and cultural development has been designed and empirically tested following the systemic model represented in Figure 4. As it will be explained in detail in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, the dialogue activated in participatory governance settings among a variety of public, private, civic and individual stakeholders is considered as the factor that triggers the overall causal chain leading to cultural development (Y). Once dialogue is activated, the actors involved in the decision-making process (entities) not only realize specific cultural outputs but also change their perceptions and behaviors through capacity building or social capital dynamics (activities). Thanks to the cumulative effects activated at each step of the chain, it is possible to explain the observable impacts produced on cultural development. As far as the productive continuity is concerned, this is assured by a constant reference to the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), the set of assumptions derived from the "expansive" theories of democracy through which it is possible to justify the transformative power of participatory forms of decision-making processes.

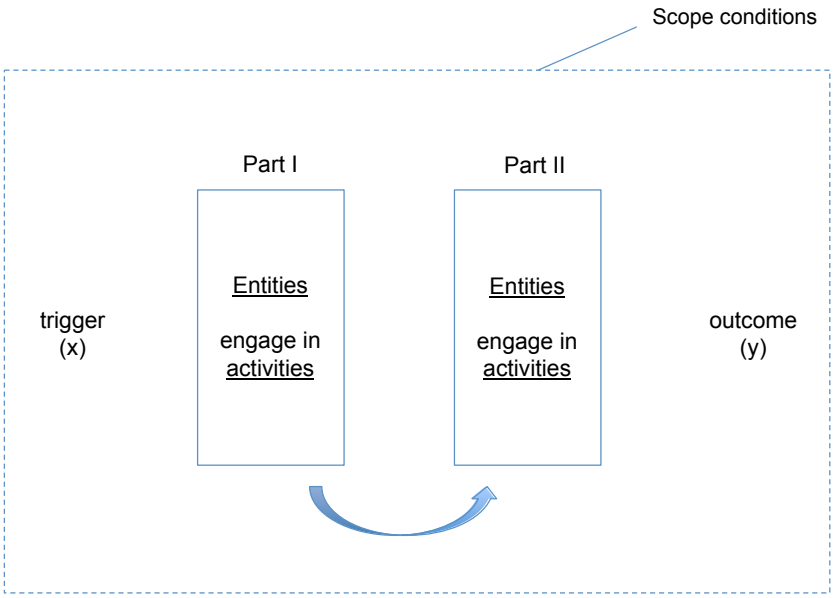
The third assumption, strictly linked with the ontological determinism and the understanding of mechanisms as systems, regards the importance of the context in process tracing. Deterministic causal claims are possible only when dealing with small population of cases: "if we want to make inferences referring to a broader, more heterogeneous population, we have to hedge our bets by only making probabilistic claims" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p. 10). The study of the linkages between a specific cause (X) and its effects (Y) has to operate with small, bounded populations of cases that are as causally homogeneous as possible.

Causal homogeneity implies that for mechanisms to operate correctly in a case, the requisite scope conditions need to be present (Falleti & Lynch, 2009). Contextual (or scope) conditions are defined as "[…] relevant aspects of the setting (analytical, temporal, spatial, or institutional) in which a set of initial conditions leads […] to an outcome of a defined scope and

meaning via a specified causal mechanism or set of causal mechanisms" (p. 1152). In the light of that, as represented in Figure 4, the study of the causal mechanisms linking participatory governance with cultural development had to pay attention not only to the intermediate causal steps composed of entities engaged in activities but also to the contextual conditions that, empirically, affect the interaction between X and Y.

The focus on the context is highly coherent with the "pragmatic conception" (Fung, 2007, 2012) adopted as theoretical background of the present investigation: the idea that evaluating forms of democracy means, above all, focusing on their capacity of responding to specific problems in specific contexts. Contextualizing the causal mechanisms that link participatory governance with cultural development allows us to reflect on the "pragmatic equilibrium" of participatory forms of cultural decision-making, asking ourselves not only how and why, but also under which conditions they produce the expected results.

Figure 4. The systemic model followed for designing the causal mechanisms



Source: Hilde van Meegdenburg – Process Tracing II: Evidence and empirical testing - ECPR Summer School in Methods and Techniques (2017)

2.1.2 The theory-testing variant

According to the purpose of the research, the typology of research questions and the current state of knowledge regarding the topic of interest, process tracing can be applied in three different variants: theory-testing, theory-building, and explaining-outcome (Beach & Pedersen, 2013). The aim of this paragraph is to underline the specificities of each of them, discussing the reasons why the present research has followed a theory-testing approach.

Theory-testing process tracing is a deductive research method, testing whether a hypothesized mechanism exists in reality. Its ambition is nomothetic, since the main scope is finding an explanation that is, to a certain degree, generalizable to cases that are causally homogenous to the one(s) under investigation. Causal mechanisms are here considered as "middle-range" theories (Pawson, 2000), namely theories that connect high-level theoretical explanations with empirically observable patterns, standing between abstract generalizations and concrete events. As such, these theories are expected to be valid in a population of cases when both the "trigger" and the scope conditions are present. Theory-testing process tracing is used when the researcher knows both X and Y and has either a) existing conjectures about a plausible mechanism or b) is able to deduce one from existing theorization relatively easily. Even if conceptualization in theory-testing process tracing is a deductive exercise, in practice theory-testing has inductive elements, especially regarding the operationalization of empirical tests, where we draw on existing empirical work to make case-specific empirical predictions of what evidence we should see if the theory is valid (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 56).

The theory-building variant has the same nomothetic ambition of the theory-testing one. The aim is that of evidencing generalizable patterns of social reality, taking as point of departure the inductive analysis of empirical material rather than already existing theorizations. It is the inductive variant of process tracing, where empirical evidence is used to build a hypothesized theory, inferring that a more general causal mechanism exists from the facts of a case. As in the theory-building variant, the objective is to identify a (relatively) parsimonious theory of a systematic causal mechanism that is generalizable outside the context of the individual case. According to Beach and Pedersen (2013, p. 60), theory building is used in two different research situations: 1) when we know that a correlation exists between X and Y, but we are in the dark regarding potential mechanisms linking the two (X-Y centric); and 2) when we know an outcome (Y), but where we are unsure what are the causes (X) (Y-centric).

Contrary to the previous two variants, the explaining-outcome process tracing has idiographic and case-centric ambitions. The aim is not to build or test more general theories; instead the ambition is to craft a (minimally) sufficient explanation of a specific case/historical event. Sufficiency is here defined as an explanation that accounts for all the important aspects of an outcome with no redundant factors being present (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 63). In this variant, theoretical causal mechanisms are employed in eclectic combinations and the analysis incorporates non-systematic elements linked to specific facts. The use of this eclectic combination of theories makes the individuated causal mechanisms not generalizable to other cases.

The investigation of how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance impacts on cultural development has been conducted following the theory-testing variant of process tracing. The aim, indeed, was not that of crafting a minimally sufficient explanation of the results of a specific cultural participatory process but that of building a theorization on the impacts of participatory governance of culture that could be eventually generalizable to a well-defined population of other cases.

Moreover, the theory-testing variant has been preferred to the theory-building one because:

- we knew that X and Y were present in specific cases, i.e. we identified participatory governance practices that were successful in producing cultural development and others that brought about phenomena of contestation or lack of social cohesion;
- even if, as argued in the previous section of the Introduction, participatory governance of culture is an unexplored topic, we were able to deduce possible causal linkages with local cultural developmental dynamics drawing from existing theorizations of the impacts of participatory practices in other policy fields. Among others, the Scheme for the Comparative Analysis of Public Environmental decision-making processes (SCAPE) developed by Newig et al. (2013) for studying the effects of participation on environmental governance processes has been fundamental for formulating the core set of hypotheses linking participatory governance with cultural development.

2.2 The selection of the case studies

As already explained, the present research analyses the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development focusing on specific participatory projects implemented in two cities nominated European Capitals of Culture in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia). Taken together, the Program Quartiers Créatifs (Marseille-Provence 2013) and the SPOTs Program (Košice 2013) promoted a total of 21 participatory projects (14 Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille-Provence 2013 and 7 renovated heat exchangers in Košice 2013) that could potentially be included in this study. The aim of this paragraph is to explain why, according to the process tracing methodology, the research focuses on these four cases: the projects PARCeque and Jardins Possibles in Marseille and the Exchangers Obrody and Važecká in Košice.

"Selecting appropriate cases requires some form of prior cross-case knowledge of the population of the given theoretical relationship" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p.12). The project PARCeque and the Exchanger Obrody were chosen as "typical cases", namely as cases in which, according to previous information collected and to experts' knowledge, we expected the

theorized relationship participatory governance → cultural development to be present. Indeed, in both cases it was possible to document in a transparent fashion that the participatory process implemented in 2013 during the ECoC year had observable impacts on cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations in the period under investigation (2013-2017). The research started with the analysis of these two "typical cases" according to what is called a "mechanism-centered" design (Beach & Pedersen, 2016). The project PARCeque and the Exchanger Obrody allowed us to prove how and why participatory governance impacts on cultural development, sustaining and/or refining with empirical evidence the hypotheses previously formulated and derived from the literature. "Typical cases are the only type of cases where it makes sense to test whether a hypothesized causal mechanism was present or build a theory about the mechanism linking X and Y […]" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016, p. 10).

The analysis of the two typical cases shed light also on the importance of trust between the initiator of the process and the various actors as a contextual condition that allows the mechanism participatory governance → cultural development to be present. The empirical evidence showed that the reinforcing chain between capacities, mutual understanding, legitimacy, and common good orientation theorized referring to the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) was strongly linked with the typology of relationship established among actors during their first interactions. In the light of this, the study of "deviant cases" was deemed to be fundamental for theorizing and testing not only how and why, but also under which circumstances participation produces cultural development.

Both the project Jardins Possibles and the Exchanger Važecká are two participatory projects that, instead of cultural development, produced two alternative outcomes: the former led to contestation and the latter promoted cultural production but also lack of social cohesion. Moreover, a preliminary data collection evidenced that, in both experiences, the first dialogic interactions were not as successful as in the "typical cases" in promoting trust among the actors. As it will be better argued in the analytical framework of Chapter 3, we observed that:

- in the "typical cases" (the project PARCeque and the Exchanger Obrody), when participatory governance led to cultural development, participation was implemented in conditions of fully-fledged trust, i.e. people were willing to accept vulnerability to the others' actions and nurtured positive expectations towards each other (Rousseau et al., 1998);
- in the Exchanger Važecká, the participatory process was realized in conditions of medium or "calculus-based" trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996) since, as in a professional

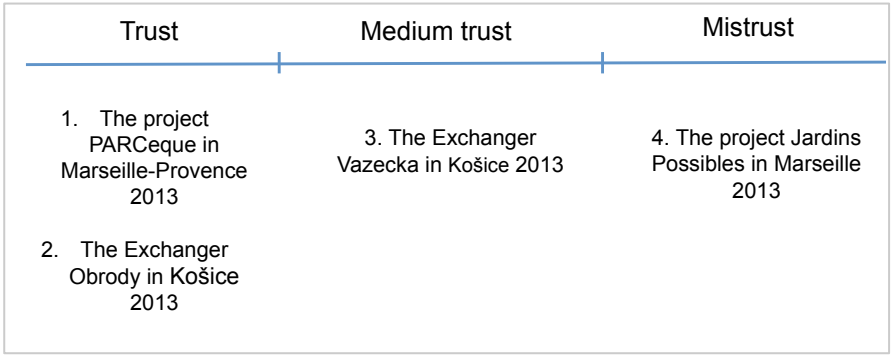
relationship, participants founded their interactions on a rational calculation of the costs and benefits of the collaboration;

- in the project Jardins Possibles, participation was promoted in total absence of trust between the initiator of the process and the other (civic) actors involved: they lacked confidence in each other and neither willingness to accept vulnerability nor positive expectations were present.

By adding the analysis of the Exchanger Važecká and of the project Jardins Possibles, the research evolved from a "mechanism-centered" to a "condition-centered" design. The objective of the latter is to test which scope conditions, i.e. which intensity of trust, are necessary to make the hypothesized mechanisms work. Figure 5 represents how the selection of the four case studies is justified according to the intensity of trust, allowing us to test its importance in the framework of the causal relationship between participatory governance and cultural development.

As argued in Beach and Pedersen (2016), the "condition-centered" design is both complementary and subsequent to the "mechanism-centered" one and it considerably fosters the strength of the causal inferences. "[…] We only employ this type of design after we have positive results when tracing mechanisms in one or several typical cases. […] Once we are confident about what it is going on in typical cases, investigating the deviant ones is very important for developing better theories. Using an analogy, once we are certain about the mechanisms that enable airplanes to fly, we would want to investigate accidents to develop a better understanding of the contextual conditions under which planes can fly safely" (p. 26). Only when we are able to know how and why participatory governance produces cultural development, we could ask ourselves under which circumstances this happens. Both the analysis and the selection of case studies can be justified in the light of this principle.

Figure 5. The selection of case studies according to the intensity of trust



Source: Author's elaboration

2.3 The collection and analysis of evidence

Testing whether causal mechanisms are present in process-tracing analysis involves investigating whether our theory-based predictions for what we should see in the empirical record are matched in reality. The collection and analysis of empirical evidence is a fundamental part of the study of causal mechanisms. Indeed, it is the examination of "diagnostic pieces of evidence" that allows the researcher "to support or overturn alternative explanatory hypotheses" (Bennett, 2010, p. 208). The theory-testing variant of process tracing adopted in the present investigation has at its core the structured empirical test of whether the causal chain deducted from the literature is actually present in the evidence of a given case. "Our inferences about the presence of the whole mechanism are only as strong as the weakest link in our empirical tests. If we are unable to infer that the mechanism was present, the conclusion is either that the mechanism was not present or that a round of theory-building should be done to develop a more accurate causal mechanism" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 91). This paragraph aims at explaining the methodological principles that have guided the collection and analysis of empirical evidence regarding the causal linkage between participatory governance and cultural development in the four cases under investigation. Moreover, it discusses and critically assesses the inferential strength, the typology, and the reliability of those evidences. A specific attention is dedicated to the illustration of both the realization and the analysis of interviews to key stakeholders, which constitute the main empirical sources of this investigation.

2.3.1 Typology and inferential strength of the empirical tests

In process tracing the use of empirical evidence for detecting the presence of a hypothesized causal mechanism is based on the Bayesian logic of inference (Bennett, 2008). The Bayes' theorem affirms that our belief in the validity of a hypothesis is, after collecting evidence (posterior), equal to the probability of evidence conditional on the hypothesis being true relative to other alternative hypotheses (likelihood), times the probability that a theory is true based on our prior knowledge (prior)[1]. In simple terms, the Bayesian logic of inference argues that the

[1] The following is the version of the Bayes' theorem adopted in Beach and Pedersen (2013, p. 96):

$$p(h \mid e) = \frac{p(e \mid h)p(h)}{p(e)}$$

$p(h \mid e) = posterior$

$p(h) = prior$

$p(e) = evidence$

$p(e \mid h) = likelihood$

purpose of empirical tests is to update our degree of confidence in a hypothesis in the light of the empirical evidence that has been found[2].

According to the Bayesian logics, designing empirical tests for the theorized causal mechanism is as important as the formulation of hypotheses. "In designing empirical tests, we need to state clearly what type of evidence we should expect to see if a hypothesized part of a mechanism exists" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 100). An observation becomes relevant evidence after having been evaluated in the light of the contextual knowledge of the specific case and the underlying hypotheses that the researcher wants to test. Pieces of evidence in process tracing are not comparable, as they take many different forms depending on what type of evidence is best suited to test a particular hypothesized part of a causal mechanism. According to Beach and Pedersen (2013), four distinguishable types of evidence could be relevant in the analysis: pattern evidence, sequence evidence, trace evidence, and account evidence.

Pattern evidence relates to statistical evidence, fluctuations, demographics, GDP, public opinions polls etc.; it illustrates expected distributions and changes and their directions. Sequence evidence shows the chronology and spatial pattern of occurrences/events/activities predicted by a hypothesized causal mechanism. Trace evidence is the actual "fingerprint" of a causal relation; its mere existence provides proof that a part of hypothesized causal mechanism exists. Account evidence concerns the narrative – written, spoken, video – of the "eye-witnesses" of an occurrence/event/activity.

According to the Bayesian logics, the inferential strength of these typologies of evidence (the *p(e)* in the theorem) – namely their ability to discriminate between our hypothesis (*h*) and alternative ones (_*h*) – is crucial in increasing our posterior confidence in the theory compared to the prior one. Van Evera (1997) affirms that the inferential power of evidences can be assessed along two dimensions: uniqueness and certainty. Uniqueness relates to predicted evidences, namely those that we expect to find in the case when we formulate our theory. Unique predictions are those empirical evidences that do not overlap with those of other theories; finding them increases our confidence in the existence of the part of the mechanism in relation to plausible alternatives. The second dimensions (certainty) relates to what types of inferences we can make when we do not find the predicted evidence. Certain predictions are those that should be present for our hypothesis to be valid.

[2] To demonstrate an application of Bayes' theorem, we can suppose that we have a covered basket that contains three balls, each of which may be green or red. In a blind test, we reach in and pull out a red ball. We return the ball to the basket and try again, again pulling out a red ball. Once more, we return the ball to the basket and pull a ball out - red again. Based on the empirical evidence collected, we form a hypothesis that the balls are all, in fact, red.

Van Evera (1997) classifies different types of empirical tests along these two dimensions, resulting in four ideal-typical types of tests:

- "Straw-in-the-wind" tests are empirical predictions that have a low level of uniqueness and a low level of certainty. These tests do little to update our confidence in a hypothesis, as both passed and failed tests are of little if any inferential relevance;
- "Hoop" tests are predictions that are certain but not unique; the failure of such a test reduces our confidence in the hypothesis, but finding them does not enable inferences to be made; "hoop" tests are often used to exclude alternative hypotheses;
- "Smoking gun" tests are highly unique but have low or no certainty in their predictions. Here, success strongly confirms a hypothesis, but failure does not strongly undermine it;
- "Doubly decisive" tests combine both certainty and uniqueness. If the evidence is not found, our confidence in the validity of the hypothesis is reduced; at the same time, the test discriminates strongly between evidence that supports the hypothesis and alternatives.

This research has employed mainly account and trace evidence; pattern evidence was also used, when available. Account evidence, collected through 35 interviews to key stakeholders involved in the four participatory projects, report the eye-witnesses' narrative about the realization of the participatory process, the intensity of trust established among the actors, the transformative effects felt during the process (capacities, mutual understanding, common good orientation), the emergence of other group dynamics ("waking sleeping dogs" scenario, "in-group out-group" separations, etc.), and the cultural life of the territory after 2013. Trace and pattern evidence are mainly connected with the research of the actual fingerprints – the impacts – of the participatory processes in terms of cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations in the period 2013-2017. To name few examples, the mere number of cultural activities realized in the Exchanger Obrody in 2017 has been considered as a proof of the impacts on cultural production and the increase in public attendance in the period 2010-2017 as a demonstration of the effects obtained in terms of cultural reception. Similarly, the number and typology of partnerships activated around a local theatre after the project PARCeque has been seen as the actual fingerprint of the establishment of cultural relations in the period 2013-2017.

In terms of inferential strength, the evidence employed can be classified as being either "smoking gun" or "hoop" evidence. The majority of the pieces of evidence collected through the interviews could be considered as "smoking gun": the narratives of a variety of stakeholders regarding the effects of participation in terms of capacities, mutual understanding, and common good orientation are unique in the sense that they hold a high confirmatory power for the hypothesized steps of the mechanism. Other trace and pattern evidence are instead "hoop"

evidence. For example, the list of existing partnerships activated around the local theatre after the project PARCeque (Marseille) is a "hoop" type of evidence because if no partnerships were established after 2013 it would not have been possible to affirm that there was an increase in cultural relations. However, the existence of the partnerships itself does not confirm the hypothesis that they were fostered by the "common good orientation" of the people that participated in the project PARCeque. As in the majority of researches, no "double-decisive" tests have been realized in the present investigation. Indeed, "in real-world social science research, it is almost impossible to formulate predictions in such a manner given the difficulty of finding and gaining access to the type of empirical evidence that would enable doubly decisive tests" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 102).

2.3.2 Realization and analysis of interviews

Apart from the official reports of ex-post evaluation commissioned by the European Commission to the consultancy ECORYS (ECORYS, 2014), which dedicate only few pages to the Program Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille-Provence 2013 and the SPOTs Program, few other secondary sources such as reports, background documents, and magazine articles on these initiatives were available at the time the data collection was realized. The causal mechanisms advanced in this investigation have been mainly tested and refined conducting interviews to the key stakeholders involved in the four participatory processes analyzed.

Interviews can play a particular role in facilitating the process tracing method and in providing the kind of data that can be critical in uncovering the causal process and in formulating causal explanation (Tansey, 2007). Through interviews, researchers ask open-ended questions to first-hand participants of the processes under investigation, enabling them to talk freely without the constraints of having to answer to fixed categories. "When interviewees have been significant players, when their memories are strong, and when they are willing to disclose their knowledge of events in an impartial manner, interviews will arguably be the most important instrument in the process tracer's data collection toolkit" (p. 767). By using interviews as means of data collection, we were able to shed light on the hidden elements of the cultural participatory processes under investigation and to grasp the changes undergone as far as participants' way of thinking, attitudes, and beliefs are concerned. This paragraph aims at illustrating the process of realization and analysis of those interviews, as well as at discussing their reliability and accuracy.

Within this thesis, 35 interviews to key stakeholders were realized in order to confirm, disconfirm, and/or refine the hypothesized causal steps linking participatory governance with cultural development or alternative outcomes, i.e. contestation and isolated cultural production.

As summarized in Table 1, interviews were mainly conducted with the following typologies of actors: 1) public authorities involved in the design and implementation of the Program Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille and of the SPOTs Program in Košice, including the members of the ECoC Management Team, the representatives of other relevant public bodies such as those carrying out urban renewal policies and the artistic teams in charge of the realization of the activities and 2) civic actors, such as representatives of the local associations engaged in realizing cultural and/or social activities in the various neighborhoods. When involved in the participatory process, also 3) private actors, such local enterprises having a stake in the urban and cultural regeneration activities of the areas, and 4) individual actors, including other artists and inhabitants that have taken part in the initiatives realized, were interviewed[3]. These typologies of actors are coherent with those included in the "stakeholder structured mapping approach" (see Chapter 3, par. 2.2) used for identifying both the participants in cultural decision-making processes and their position as far as cultural development is concerned.

Table 1. Number and typology of actors interviewed for each participatory process

		GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL	Sub. Tot.
Marseille-Provence	PARCeque	6	1	6	-	**13**
	Jardins Possibles	4	-	3	-	**7**
Košice	Exchanger Obrody	6	-	1	2	**9**
	Exchager Važecká	2	-	2	2	**6**
Sub. Tot.		**18**	**1**	**12**	**4**	
TOTAL		**35**				

Source: Author's elaboration

As suggested by Tansey (2007), the selection of interviewees was done according to a non-probabilistic sample technique. The aim of process tracing is not to draw a representative sample of a larger population in order to make generalizations about the full population, but to evidence the causal connections linking specific phenomena in well-defined cases. Consequently, "random sampling runs against the logic of the process tracing method, as it creates a risk of excluding important respondents from the sample purely by chance" (p. 765). In the light of this, the data

[3] The Reference section of the thesis reports the list of people interviewed, indicating their role within the participatory process as well as the date of the interview.

collection was based on a combination of "purposive" and "snowball" sampling (Tansey, 2007, pp. 769-770). According to the former, the researcher has identified the actors to be interviewed on the basis of "positional criteria", individuating, thanks to previous knowledge of the cases under investigation, the persons whose role was crucial within the participatory process analyzed. In addition, consistently with the "snowball" technique, the researcher has asked to this initial set of respondents to suggest the names of other subjects who were involved in the projects and played an important role ("reputational criteria"). This process has continued until respondents began repeat names "to the extent that further rounds of nominations were unlikely to yield significant new information" (Tansey, 2007, p. 771). The combination of those techniques has allowed for the identification of both the more and less visible participants in the cultural decision-making processes analyzed.

The interviews were realized between April and July 2017 and were conducted in person, together with a field visit of the most significant places where the four projects were realized. When needed for asking clarifications or further materials, follow-up Skype calls were also organized with some of the interviewees. Each interview had an average duration of one hour and a half and it encompassed a combination of direct and probing questions focusing on the following three thematic areas: 1) description of the actors involved, of the typology of relationship among them (e.g. the intensity of trust), and of the development of the participatory process; 2) illustration of the effects of the process on the participants (in terms of new capacities, mutual understanding, common good orientation etc.); 3) the changes in terms of cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations observed in each territory in the following four years after 2013 and their possible explanation. The list of questions was used in a flexible way during the interviews, allowing the interviewees to express additional considerations and/or to add specific factors to the discussion. The open-ended nature of the interviews was fundamental for assuring the emergence of further empirical insights on the basis of which the theorized causal mechanisms were refined. Moreover, meetings were scheduled with each person separately for avoiding that people had the chance of agreeing on the answer to be given or could be affected by other's opinions and perceptions regarding the events discussed.

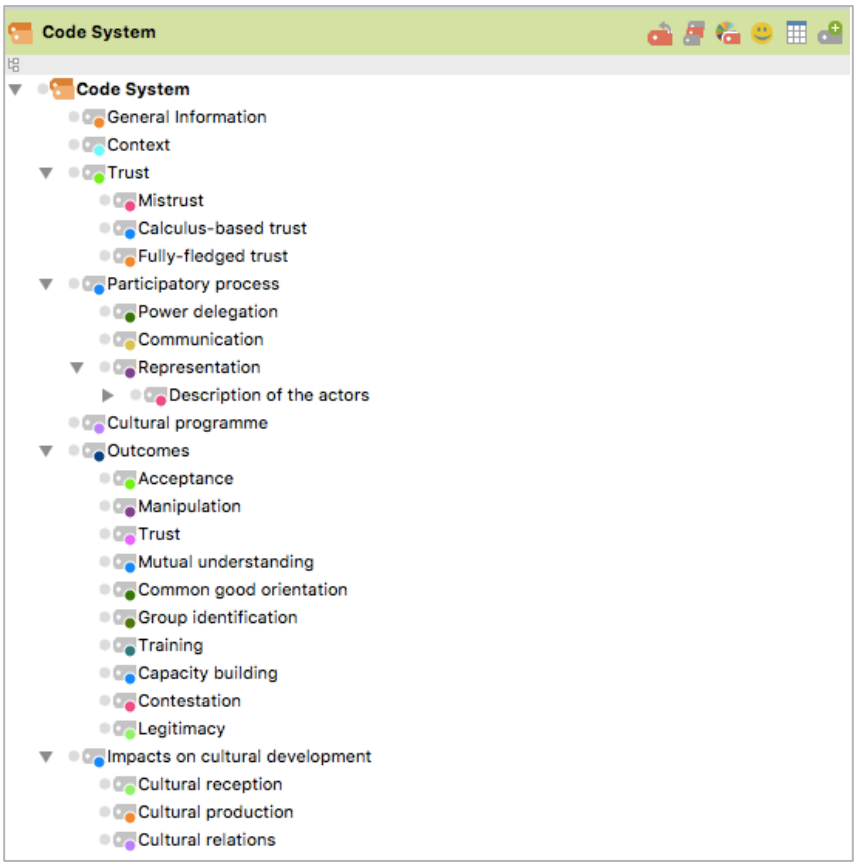
For what concerns the analysis of the data collected, the first step was the transcription of all 35 interviews. Those texts were then reduced in order to eliminate redundancies and elements that were not interesting for the research design. Finally, they were coded using the software MAXQDA12. This qualitative data analysis software uses a code-and-retrieve process and includes a number of data management features such as the ability to code in multiple colors, count the number of segments included in the various codes, create memos, and retrieve coded

segments. A code system including all the aspects of interest of the present research (e.g. characteristics of the participatory process, the changes produced in actors' behaviors and perceptions or the impacts in terms of cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations) has been designed in the MAXQDA12 platform (see Figure 6). The system was used for classifying text segments (words, sentences or paragraphs) of interviews or other relevant documents.

The code system has consistently contributed at limiting the selection bias that can characterize the data analysis. As qualitative researchers, "we deliberately search for observations that allow us to infer whether the hypothesized part of the causal mechanism was present" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 123), making the data analysis favor a particular direction (confirmation/disconfirmation). The MAXQDA12's coded segment window, in which all texts segments coded for the same code can be displayed, was extremely useful in realizing a "constant comparison" of evidence (Humble, 2009), assuring that both the interpretation and the detection of specific concepts were implemented consistently and uniformly throughout the whole data analysis process[4].

[4] Unfortunately, in the framework of this Ph.D. research it has not been possible to realize a team-based analysis of data. The "investigator triangulation", namely the involvement of a team of researchers in the analysis of the same data according to a common code system, would have significantly reduced the selection bias. Indeed, this type of triangulation is deemed to be particularly effective in balancing out the subjective influence of the individual in the realization of qualitative researches (Flick, 2004).

Figure 6. The code system realized on MAXQDA12 for data analysis



Source: Author's elaboration through MAXQDA12

In addition to a possible selection bias in the data analysis, the use of interviews within the present investigation presents a number of limitations that should be taken into consideration. First, it is worth remarking that there was a considerable difference in terms of accessibility to data between the Marseille and the Košice cases. The fact that the researcher could fluently speak French has facilitated the interaction with the key stakeholders of the projects PARCeque and Jardins Possibles realized in Marseille. At the same time, the impossibility of speaking Slovakian and the necessary presence of an interpreter during the interviews has considerably affected both the quantity and the quality of the information collected in Košice[5]. Even if more problematic in terms of data accessibility and linguistic barriers, the inclusion of the Košice cases was necessary

[5] The difference in terms of data accessibility between the Marseille and the Košice cases is visible looking at the number of interviews conducted in each city (21 in Marseille, 14 in Košice). Moreover, comparing the number and typology of interviews realized (Table 1 of this paragraph) with the Tables 2 included in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 (reporting the "structured stakeholder mapping" of the Exchanger Obrody and Exchanger Važecká), we observe that, contrary to the Marseille cases, in Košice it was not possible to interview all actors that were involved in the first dialogic interactions of the participatory processes. Due to linguistic barriers and difficulties in contacting people involved in the SPOTs Program, interviews focused on those persons that other interviewed actors considered as having a crucial role in the participatory projects and in the explanation of their impacts. Since the researcher's previous knowledge was scarcer in the Košice cases than in the Marseille ones, the "reputational criteria" typical of the "snowball" sample technique were fundamental for both individuating and getting in touch with the key actors involved in the Exchangers Obrody and Važecká.

for analyzing the impacts of participatory governance of culture in the period under investigation (2013-2017), according to the research design. On the one hand, the analysis of the Exchanger Obrody added empirical evidence to the study of the causal mechanisms explaining how and why participation impacts on cultural development. On the other hand, the study of the Exchanger Važecká clarified which intensity of trust is necessary for participation to trigger its transformative effects[6].

Secondly, since the data collection was conducted in 2017 regarding events and processes implemented in 2010-2013, during the preparation and realization of the ECoC event, the accuracy of some reconstructions/interpretations can be diminished by the "imperfections of human memory" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 134). Moreover, most of the terms/phenomena discussed during the interviews have a strong subjective component and are characterized by social desirability. Outcomes such as trust, capacities, mutual understanding, and common good orientation could be linked with the characteristics and perceptions of the individual (good memories of the project, personal inclination etc.) rather than with the effects of the participatory process. At the same time, considering the roles of the actors interviewed (ECoC project managers, directors of cultural institutions, artists involved in the realization of the artistic initiatives etc.), it should be noted that some of them could be highly inclined to affirm and recognize the beneficial effects of the participatory projects realized. This is why it has been much easier to collect information for the project PARCeque and the Exchanger Obrody, whose effects were more positive sounding, than for the project Jardins Possibles and the Exchanger Važecká. In those cases, the influence of the actors' role on the opinion expressed and the attempt to defend their own interests and position were much more evident during the interview.

Triangulation has considerably helped us in enhancing the reliability of the interviews in spite of selection bias and the subjectivity and social desirability of the issues discussed. "Interviews will never be a perfectly reliable measuring instrument. Reliability can, however, be improved through the careful use of triangulation both across different persons and between different kinds of sources (interviews, archival observations, and so forth)" (Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 135). Our confidence in the presence of a hypothesized mechanism increased if various actors having different roles and interests within the process mentioned the same outcome (e.g. trust building) or causal relation (e.g. common good orientation leading to more cultural

[6] The necessity of including cases that are not data-rich if no other alternatives are available is also discussed in Beach and Pedersen (2016, p. 22): "If we do not speak Spanish, it might be difficult to interview civil servants in Costa Rica, meaning that we probably would not select it as a case *unless we have no alternative* [italics added]".

relations). The realization of separate interviews with each actor was fundamental for increasing their independence, maximizing the effects of triangulation on the reliability of the data collected.

3. The contributions of the study

3.1 The main argument

As it will be further explained in Chapter 3, this thesis argues that the potential of participatory processes to produce cultural development depends on the intensity of trust that is achieved during the first dialogic interactions among participants. Trust building and face-to-face dialogue among stakeholders are, together, the necessary and sufficient conditions for the mechanism producing cultural development to be activated.

In presence of fully-fledged trust, namely when participants accept vulnerability to the actions of the others and nurture positive expectations towards them, participatory governance can lead to cultural development. As theorized by the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) and empirically proved in two case studies (the project PARCeque in Marseille-Provence 2013 and the Exchanger Obrody in Košice 2013), within these contextual conditions participation activates a virtuous cycle of capacity building, legitimacy, and social capital. Thanks to this, in the four years following the ECoC Title (2013-2017), it is possible to observe not only an increase in cultural production and cultural reception, but also growing cultural relations among interdependent actors, that became able to make "cultural ecosystems" alive in the long term.

In absence of fully-fledged trust, i.e. in presence of mistrust or "calculus-based" trust, participatory governance of culture produces two alternative outcomes: contestation and cultural production without social cohesion, respectively. In conditions of mistrust between the initiator of the process and the local actors involved, as showed in the project Jardins Possibles in Marseille-Provence 2013, participatory governance could exacerbate power imbalances and foster phenomena of contestation, giving rise to alternative but one-off forms of cultural expression, designed and implemented in opposition to the ECoC event.

When implemented in presence of medium trust or cost-benefit calculations ("calculus-based" trust as defined in Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996), participatory processes prevent phenomena of contestation but do not lead to a long-term cultural development of the territory. As proved by the case of the Exchanger Važecká (Košice 2013), when not enough time is spent for initial trust building and relationships between actors are more professional than based on a set of common values, participation promotes cultural production but does not foster social cohesion in the concerned territory in the years following the ECoC event (2013-2017). The

sustainability of those cultural expressions – and the connected perspectives of cultural development – are linked with the future capacity of local actors to create a network of cultural relations able to make those expressions widely accepted and recognized.

3.2 The contributions to the literature

"Extensive and systematic scientific studies on participatory governance of culture do not seem to exist in Europe" (OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018, p. 13). Indeed, while some case-based investigations concerning participatory governance of culture have been conducted (Barbe et al., 2015; Hertz, 2015; Jancovich, 2011, 2015, 2017), a theoretical explanation of its functioning and impacts is missing at the moment. The first ambition of this thesis is that of providing an original contribution in this sense, filling an existing gap concerning the analysis of cultural participatory decision-making processes and their effects. The research has tried to address the definitional, methodological, and evaluation conundrums that characterize this new cultural policy paradigm: it proposes a "structured stakeholder mapping approach" to answer to the difficulties of defining the term "community" and its boundaries (Hertz, 2015); it suggests the necessary and sufficient conditions for a process to be considered participatory in a framework in which there is lack of clarity about the mechanisms through which participation shall be carried out (Urbinati, 2015); finally and more importantly, it attempts to explain the reasons why participatory governance of culture can foster developmental dynamics as well as contestation and lack of social cohesion.

In response to the normative and value-laden views promoted in the international and European cultural policy discourse, the investigation is particularly concerned with the need of providing evidence-based knowledge on the instrumental function of participatory governance of culture, shedding light on how, why, and under which circumstances participatory processes hold their promises concerning the increased effectiveness and sustainability of cultural interventions. On the one hand, this objective is coherent with the proclaimed need for "in-depth, comprehensive research on the impact of participatory processes" (OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018, p. 57) in order to "contribute to the development of strategic approaches to cultural heritage" (Council of the European Union, 2014a, par. 27). On the other hand, it responds to the necessity of countering the "great profusion of participation rhetoric" in the cultural domain (Sani et al., 2015, p. 4) and the diffusion of "a seductive mix of buzzwords that are persuasive and positive sounding" (p. 69) by providing an evidence-based account of both positive and negative effects of participatory governance of culture. As it will be further elaborated in Chapter 1, the research has systematically reviewed all the criticisms that have been

moved to the participatory paradigm, considering it a possible terrain of tyrannical exercise of power (Kothari, 2001), of manipulation of local knowledge (Mosse, 2001) or of emergence of dangerous group dynamics (Cooke, 2001). This study challenges the aura of optimism surrounding participatory governance of culture by underlining its transformative and positive potential as described by the "expansive" theories of democracy (Warren, 1992) as well as its possible functioning as a "contested field of meaning" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010) whose beneficial effects are highly context-dependent.

Both the theoretical background and the methodology adopted are functional to the innovative pragmatic stance through which this investigation looks at the "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) on participatory governance of culture. Concerning the theoretical tenets, the adoption of the "pragmatic conception" proposed by Fung (2007) allows us to transform the values proclaimed by the policy discourse on participatory governance of culture into empirical standards through which it is possible to evaluate its impacts according to the specific social and historical circumstances. Regarding the methodology, process tracing makes it possible to analyze how the transformative effects of participation work in practice, gaining a "deeper explanatory knowledge" (Salmon, 1998; quoted in Beach & Pedersen, 2013, p. 26) sustained by the collection and analysis of "diagnostic pieces of evidence" (Bennett, 2010, p. 208) related to the case studies. To sum up, the most innovative contribution of this thesis to the field of cultural governance and cultural policies is that of proposing a "middle-range" theory (Pawson, 2000) on participatory governance of culture and its impacts, able to combine abstract conceptualizations with concrete and observed phenomena.

By analyzing participatory governance of culture and its effects on cultural development, this thesis contributes also to the broader strand of literature that deals with the impacts of participatory decision-making processes in various policy areas. As affirmed by authors such as Pateman (1970) and Mansbridge (1999), participatory theories have always faced the difficulty of empirically proving the proclaimed "positive effects on individual character of democratic participation" (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 292). "The subtle changes in character that come about, slowly, from active participation in democratic decisions cannot easily be measured with the blunt instruments of social sciences" (p. 291). This is why, "while a list of claims for what *might* occur is long, the number of studies which present systematic evidence of what outcomes *do* occur is relatively few" (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012, p. 2400). By investigating how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance impacts on cultural development, this research tries to respond to the measurement failure that has long characterized the "self-transformation thesis" supported by the "expansive" theories of democracy.

This has been done building on models proposed in various studies that have analyzed the impacts of participatory governance in other policy areas, such as environment, international cooperation, local governance, and urban planning. Particularly important for the development of the main hypotheses tested in this research has been the reference to the work of Newig et al. (2013, 2017) in the field of environmental governance. Starting from the assumption that the way decision-making processes are designed and carried out matters for the quality of decisions, their implementation and (other) social outcomes, the Scheme for the comparative analysis of public environmental decision-making (SCAPE) (Newig et al., 2013) individuates the possible causal linkages between contextual conditions, process characteristics, and process outcomes in terms of social, economic, and environmental aspects, social learning, trust building, public acceptance, and conflict resolution, to name but a few. This Scheme – "meant to be applicable to a wide range of public decision-making processes, focused on but not limited to environmental governance processes" (Newig et al., 2013, p. 5) – was fundamental for deducing the possible causal mechanisms linking participatory governance with cultural development, consistently with the theory-testing variant of process tracing.

In accomplishing this task, the literature on collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2011) was also particularly useful. Ansell and Gash (2008) review 137 cases of collaborative governance across a range of policy sectors, individuating the critical variables that influence the successful collaboration, the development of the process and the achievement of positive results for the actors involved. Emerson et al. (2011) propose a framework of collaborative governance including "a larger system context, a collaborative governance regime and its internal collaborative dynamics and actions that can generate impacts and adaptations across the system" (p. 1). Other researches from various policy areas have also been of great help in the theorization phase. Through a meta case study analysis of 100 participatory projects implemented in the development field, Gaventa and Barrett (2012) show how participation, while contributing to the construction of active citizenship, the strengthening of practices of participation, the building of responsive institutions, and the promotion of social inclusion and cohesion, can also lead to reduced sense of agency, tokenism, bureaucratic walls, and exclusion. Geissel (2009) discusses how participatory processes can improve civic skills and social capital but can also lead to less effectiveness and sustainability. Through the study of 10 deprived neighborhood in Catalonia (Spain), Parés et al. (2012) affirm that participation can foster more comprehensive and social oriented approaches to urban regeneration, but these vary a lot according to the characteristics of the neighborhood. This research proposes an original combination and integration of all these perspectives and applies them to the unexplored domain of participatory decision-making in culture. By doing this, it both increases the validity and

generalizability of the claims of these studies and refines them with the insights collected in the cultural sector.

All above-mentioned researches stress the fact that the performance and the impacts of participatory governance are contingent on a series of contextual conditions. To mention some examples, Newig et al. (2017) consider as relevant a wide array of process-related and actor- or issue-related conditions, including process facilitation, trust building, not excluding important groups and stakeholders' orientation and capacities. Ansell and Gash (2008) identify, as the "starting conditions" of collaborative governance, power and resource imbalances, incentives to participate, and prehistory of antagonism and cooperation (initial level of trust), while Emerson et al. (2011) theorize a complex "system context" including resource conditions, policy legal framework, prior failures in addressing the issues, power dynamics, levels of conflict/trust, and socio-economic characteristics. Parés et al. (2012), instead, emphasize the importance of "prior structural elements" such as the location of the process within the urban context, the availability and characteristics of the local social capital or the existence of previous social conflict. Instead of taking into consideration such a broad variety of conditioning factors, the present investigation isolates and sheds light on the specific role played by just one contextual condition, always mentioned in all works dealing with the functioning and performance of participation: the intensity of trust among the stakeholders involved. Based on the insights gained with the analysis of two "deviant cases" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016), the research argues that trust is the key explanatory factor of the impacts of participatory governance of culture. When the auspicated outcome, as in the case of cultural development, has a prominent relational dimension, a strong initial level of trust proved to be fundamental for participation to trigger the series of social capital outcomes theorized within the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992). Because of the importance attributed to this specific scope condition, the research integrates the participatory governance literature with some social psychology studies that analyze the development of trust within interpersonal relationships (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996; Rousseau et al., 1998).

Finally, a third level at which this research contributes to scholarship concerns European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) and the evaluation of their impacts on the concerned territories. Since its first launch in 1985, the ECoC Program has evolved into a complex platform that cities have used for pursuing a wide range of objectives, including economic and tourism development, urban regeneration, image transformation, and attractiveness. This has stimulated numerous researches that focus on the effects of the Title on individual cases (see, for example, Griffiths, 2006; Latusek & Ratajczak, 2014; O' Callaghan, 2012; Richards & Wilson, 2004) or evaluate them in comparative perspective (see, for example, the model proposed by Sacco & Tavano

Blessi, 2007 on Genoa and Lille 2004). While the impacts of the ECoC event on urban regeneration (Bianchini et al., 2013) or on cultural and identity politics (Lähdesmäki, 2014) have been widely studied, the governance aspects are less addressed in literature and, when considered, focus more on ECoC as terrain of multi-level governance (Németh, 2016; Palonen, 2011) than of participatory decision-making. Also one of the most advanced models of ECoC impact evaluation (Liverpool Impact 2008 Initiative) only takes into consideration the broad governance structure and financing of the ECoC event and evaluates participation in terms of volunteering and audience development and not as active involvement in the planning and implementation.

The only works dealing with participatory governance in ECoC are the one of Nagy (2015) concerning ECoC in Central and Eastern Europe and those of Eriksson and Stephensen (2015) and Jancovich and Hansen (2018) on Aarhus 2017. These contributions focus on the way participation is articulated in the official policy documents, through specific projects and across a range of different actors. However, they do not deal with the impacts of cultural participatory processes after the Title year. In general, despite an increasing importance attributed to citizen participation in the ECoC domain, "relatively little information emerges through the main sources to identify what cities did to engage citizens, and particularly what were the mechanisms and detailed approaches" (García & Cox, 2013, p. 91). The research contributes to fill this gap by providing an investigation of the participatory decision-making processes implemented in Marseille-Provence 2013 and Košice 2013, according to a theoretical model (Fung, 2006; see Figure 1) that can be easily replied for analyzing governance arrangements in other past and future ECoC. This is also the first academic work that analyses the Program Quartiers Créatifs of Marseille-Provence 2013 and the SPOTs Program of Košice 2013. Indeed, apart from the reports commissioned by the European Commission (ECORYS, 2014), the documents written by the artists involved (PARCeque, 2014) and some articles in magazines (Adolphe, 2014), no other publication has been found on these initiatives.

This research offers some original insights also concerning the methodology of evaluation of European Capitals of Culture and the typology of impacts that are considered. Various authors have underlined that most evidence of impact of the ECoC event is of a short or medium-term nature (García & Cox, 2013; Richards, 2000). While economic and infrastructural effects are easier to study, "other areas of impacts – from wider cultural and social impacts to political effects – are harder to prove" (García & Cox, 2013, p. 21). This happens also because of the difficulties to engage local stakeholders to participate in data collection activities (Montalto & Iglesias, 2014). This research represents the first attempt to use process tracing as a technique for evaluating ECoC impacts and including both the observable dimensions (i.e. cultural production

and cultural reception) and the non-observable ones (i.e. the social capital dynamics leading to cultural relations). Thus being limited to small-n populations of cases and presenting restrictions in terms of generalizability of the results, this method has allowed us to identify and discuss the causal linkages between processes and initiatives implemented during the Title year and their long-term effects in the following period (2013-2017), considering not only material facts but also the subtle changes in actors' behaviors and perceptions that are so difficult to grasp through other methodological approaches.

Chapter 1

Participatory Governance of Culture: Origins and Controversial Aspects

Introduction

This Chapter presents participatory governance as the emerging paradigm of the international and European standard setting on cultural policies and critically discusses its most controversial aspects. By doing so, it delineates a possible research agenda on this topic.

The first section illustrates how the focus on community involvement, firstly formulated within the UNESCO Convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (2003) as a necessary requirement for the recognition of the value of cultural expressions, has then been further developed by the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society (2005) and adopted also by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (2007), in full compliance with the human rights paradigm (Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 2009). European Union's cultural governance standards fully reflect this trend, promoting participatory approaches to cultural decision-making in order to pursue a wide variety of policy objectives, from sustainable development to social cohesion (Council of the European Union, 2014a).

The second section discusses the definitional, methodological, and evaluation conundrums of participatory governance of culture. It highlights the difficulties in identifying the boundaries of the term "community" and the consequent impossibility to define which are the concerned actors that are involved in participatory processes. It also emphasizes the lack of clear models, mechanisms, and procedures for the concrete implementation of participation in cultural decision-making processes. Finally, it sheds light on the most critical aspects of the "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) on participatory governance. While being promoted as a key element for a more effective, sustainable, and democratic cultural policy-making, participation leads to contradictory empirical results on the ground, producing positive outcomes as well as phenomena of contestation and conflict.

The third section discusses the contradictions of participatory governance in the light of the general criticism moved to participatory approaches. From the 1970s, participation was introduced in a broad range of policy areas, such as international cooperation, environmental governance, and urban regeneration, in order to increase both the effectiveness of the interventions and the empowerment of people. However, a number of theorists have argued that participation could lead to the dominance of the most powerful interests over the others, the

reproduction of forms of cultural control, and the replacement of individual critical thinking with dangerous group dynamics. These aspects make the analysis of the concrete impacts of participatory governance of culture both more complex and necessary.

1. The international and European discourse

1.1 The international focus on communities

The analysis of the evolution of the international standard setting on cultural heritage and cultural policies, especially in the last fifteen years, reveals the emergence of an increasing accent on the role of communities and of their participation in the definition, conservation, and management of tangible and intangible cultural expressions. This tendency has been described as a "shift from the preservation/safeguarding of cultural heritage for the public at large to the preservation/safeguarding of cultural heritage with communities, involving them in the processes of identification and stewardship" (Human Rights Council, 2011, p. 2). It represents a "participative turn" (Bonet & Négrier, 2018) with important consequences for the emergence of new global cultural governance standards that are profoundly affecting the way in which cultural policies are implemented and evaluated also at the European, national, and local levels.

As argued by some scholars (see, for example, Adell et al., 2015), the origins of the entrance of "participation" and "community" in the international discourse on heritage and cultural policies should be dated back to the formulation and adoption in the UNESCO domain of the Convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (ICH Convention) in 2003. Defining "intangible cultural heritage" as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated – that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, Article 2.1), this Convention acknowledges the participation of communities and their informed consent as necessary prerequisites for the inclusion of a cultural expression in the ICH list. Communities, groups or if appropriate, individuals – "the CGoiaIs" – "are crucial not only to the conceptual scheme set forth by the ICH Convention but also to its operationalization" (Hertz, 2015, p. 30). If Articles 11 and 15 of the ICH Convention state that the CGoiaIs should be involved in the identification, maintenance, transmission, and management of intangible cultural heritage, the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2006) translate this participatory principle into concrete provisions. Indeed, State parties are encouraged to establish "functional and complementary cooperation" with communities (Article 79) also through the creation of a "consultative body or coordination mechanism" allowing them to identify, define,

and draw up inventories of ICH, elaborate and implement programs, projects and activities, prepare nomination files, remove elements from lists, and transfer them from one list to another (Article 80).

The recognition of the importance of community involvement in the heritage identification and management is directly linked with the acknowledgement of an enlarged conception of culture. With the adoption of the ICH Convention, the international cultural policy community recognized that – as already debated within the academic field (Williams, 1976) – "culture" should be considered as including not only material or natural heritage, but also the immaterial realms of human life, linked with traditional, popular or expressive culture. "How should one – symbolically as well as legally – protect popular culture which is and should remain dynamic? Who should be responsible for the maintenance of collectively generated and executed practices generally lacking in clearly circumscribed ownership?" (Adell et al., 2015, p. 10). The expert-based criterion of the "outstanding cultural value" employed for assessing the artistic and historical value of the static monumental artifacts addressed by the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage List Convention was obviously no longer suitable for attributing value to immaterial, knowledge-based traditional practices. Instead of the experts and their authenticating authority, communities were recognized as the legitimate "heritage-bearers" who identify themselves with particular cultural elements.

From 2003 onwards, the participative turn connected with the increased focus on community involvement in the cultural heritage management has been further developed both within the UNESCO system and by regional organizations such as the Council of Europe. Defining in Article 1 "cultural heritage" as a group of resources inherited from the past which an "heritage community" identifies as reflection and expression of his constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and traditions and wishes to sustain and transmit to future generations, the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society (Faro, 2005) recognizes participation as a *sine qua non* condition not only of the identification and management but of the existence itself of cultural expressions (Carmosino, 2013). For what concerns the UNESCO system, also the World Heritage arena "has been striving to catch up" (Brumann, 2015, p. 273) in order to properly conform to these participatory standards. During the 2007 UNESCO World Heritage Committee, on the initiative of the New Zealand, an amendment to the strategic objectives of the Convention was made in order to add a fifth "C" for "community" to the four Cs of "credibility, conservation, capacity building, and communication". This focus on community involvement was promoted in order to assure that the conservation of the world's natural and cultural heritage would be done with the active engagement of

communities, from the preparation of tentative lists through conservation requirements for sites that are in danger (UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2007).

In general, the participative turn promoted by the international cultural policy community is coherent with the most recent official interpretations concerning the implementation of the human right to take part in cultural life, as enshrined in article 15 (1) (a) of the International Covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights. According to the General Comment n. 21 (Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural rights, 2009), the realization of this right encompasses a "tripartite" typology of negative and positive obligations, including the "freedom", the "access", and the "contribution" dimensions (Ferri, 2014; Odello, 2011). The "freedom" dimension of this right has to do with the choice and the expression of each individual's cultural identity. The "access" aspect relates to the informational and educational means that the person needs to understand and appreciate cultural contents and initiatives. Finally, "contribution" corresponds to the active involvement of people in cultural decision-making processes and in the creation and reproduction of the spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional aspects of the community. This is why participatory governance should be intended not only as part of the implementation of the human right to take part in cultural life but also as its fullest realization. Cultural participatory processes are opportunities for promoting "inclusive cultural empowerment", making individuals use their cultural competences for realizing cultural actions in their social context (Campagna, 2017).

1.2 The support for participatory governance of culture by the European Union

The international focus on communities as crucial partners and co-creators of cultural heritage is clearly reflected also in the most recent developments of the European Union's agenda on cultural governance.

"The importance of strengthening the involvement of the relevant civil society actors in order to make cultural governance more open, participatory, effective, and coherent" was firstly mentioned in the Council Conclusions on cultural governance (Council of the European Union, 2012). A participatory approach to cultural policy-making – pursued by stimulating the participation of civil society through appropriate dialogue and consultation – was recognized as crucial for both making "cultural heritage a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe" (Council of the European Union, 2014b) and promoting "an integrated approach" to its conservation and promotion (European Commission, 2014). In the light of the many dimensions of cultural heritage (cultural, physical, digital, environmental, human, and social), the collaboration of all

relevant actors is, indeed, considered essential for taking into account its manifold contribution to societal and economic objectives (European Commission, 2014, p. 3).

Participation clearly became one of the main European cultural policy standard thanks to the Council Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage (Council of the European Union, 2014a), in which the involvement of relevant stakeholders at all stages of the decision-making process – planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of cultural heritage policies and programs – is deemed to be necessary for pursuing a wide variety of policy objectives, from social cohesion to innovation and economic development.

This focus on participatory governance highly affected also the priorities and the related actions set in the EU Work plan for culture 2015-2018 (Council of the European Union, 2014c) and in the recent New European agenda for culture (European Commission, 2018, par. 6.1). In accordance with Priority B.1 of the Work plan (2015-2018), an Open Method of Coordination (OMC) Working Group was constituted in 2015 in order to formulate expert-based analyses and recommendations on participatory governance of culture. Forms of participation and involvement in cultural policy-making are also one of the thematic focuses of the Structured Dialogue between the EU Commission and the cultural sector. Various discussions on participatory governance of culture have been promoted between EU representatives and cultural organizations in the last two years, thanks to interactive online platforms and brainstorming sessions (Voices of Culture, 2015).

One of the most evident examples of how the participatory discourse permeated and affected the EU cultural policies can be found through the analysis of the evolution of the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) Program. From being focused on the valorization of the most excellent cultural projects and artistic movements with a European dimension, the Program's objectives have included the recognition of an increased importance of the participatory and social dimension of the initiative. In the light of this, the success of an ECoC is now measured by taking into consideration also "the active participation of its citizens, not only as audiences, but as protagonists already in the preparatory phase" (Sani et al., 2015, p. 51).

The specific objectives set for the declaration of 2018 as the European Year of Cultural Heritage are a further proof of the increased support of the European Union for the participative turn in cultural policies. Indeed, the Year was promoted in order to "encourage approaches to cultural heritage that are people-centered, inclusive, forward-looking, more integrated, sustainable, and cross-sectorial" and to "promote innovative models of participatory governance and management of cultural heritage, involving all stakeholders, including public authorities, the

cultural heritage sector, private actors, and civil society organizations" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2017, Article 2).

2. The controversial aspects of participatory governance of culture

2.1 The question of "who" participates

The necessity of including different stakeholders and involving local communities is often presented as a top priority in designing decision-making processes in culture. However, apart from having a fascinating rhetorical aspect, participatory governance of culture has generated several perplexities and doubts as far as its implementation and effectiveness are concerned. "Who are the actors? Who makes the decisions? Who decides what to preserve/to protect? Who allows others to participate?" These questions, expressed in the Brainstorming Report produced by the cultural civil society actors invited by the European Commission in the framework of the Structured Dialogue on participatory governance of culture (Voices of Culture, 2015, p. 5), give an idea of the sense of uncertainty and approximation that surrounds this concept, also in the eyes of the most relevant stakeholders in the field.

Different authors have expressed their concerns regarding both the definition of "who" participates in participatory governance of culture and the difficulties in establishing the boundaries of the terms "community" or "community of interest". Speaking in general terms, communities have never been clearly defined as legal entities capable of holding rights, neither at international nor at national or local levels. In addition to the ICH Convention, communities and other similar terms are employed in various international instruments (ILO Convention, Declaration on indigenous people, Biodiversity Convention). While participation of the "community" is promoted for what concerns the adoption of decisions and measures, the elaboration of policy instruments, the carrying out of activities, the sharing of benefits, and the creation of mechanisms and procedures, none of these instruments provide a definition of this entity (Urbinati, 2015, p. 125). This results in a discord between the "political usefulness" and the "analytic constriction" of the notion of community (Groth, 2015). Collective identities are necessary in the political discourse for formulating normative claims about participation but, because of the poor analytical development of this concept, it has not been possible to identify "who is allowed to draft and benefit from collective knowledge" and "how entitlements and benefits should be shared" (p. 63).

For what concerns the intangible cultural heritage, the 2006 Expert Report on community involvement (UNESCO & ACCU, 2006) was supposed to face the complexity surrounding the

identification of the "community, groups and, if applicable, individuals" providing operational definitions of these social forms, that could clarify who exactly populates the "bottom" invoked in the term "bottom-up". "Community" was taken to be the most inclusive term, encompassing both practitioners of the intangible cultural heritage and individuals for whom the tradition provided a sense of "belonging together, or a sense of identity, based on shared heritage" (UNESCO & ACCU, 2006, p. 9), whether or not they take an active part in its practice or possess specific knowledge in relation to it. The "group" was defined as a subset of the community or, after due consideration by the experts, as the "network" of people maintaining an active relation to the practice of the intangible cultural heritage in question. As such, a group was conceived as "composed of people in a community that perform specific roles in the practice and transmission of intangible cultural heritage such as tradition bearers, performers or custodians". For what concerns "individuals", they are considered as single people playing the same role as groups, and like groups, they may operate within or across a number of "communities" simultaneously (UNESCO & ACCU, 2006, p. 9).

Hertz (2015) has pointed out the contradictions of this definitional effort. She argues that while the notion of "community" has a "foundational" or "relational" connotation rooted in history, ethnicity, and historical constituted relations to land and natural resources, the concepts of "groups" and "individuals" have a functional character, since they are described as "networks, contingent practice- or performance-based collective actors" (Hertz, 2015, p. 51), similar to "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991). These analytical contradictions and the repetitive use of the phrases "community, group or, if applicable, individuals" throughout the ICH Convention and the Operational Directives suggest that the reference to these entities is a "real live legal fiction", a phrase that has been coined during the negotiation between State parties and the UNESCO so that it can circulate as "a currency in international exchange" (Hertz, 2015, p. 40).

For what concerns the concept of "heritage communities" introduced by the Council of Europe Faro Convention (2005), this has been welcomed by some scholars (Zagato, 2015) as a possibility for clarifying and reinforcing the notion of "community, groups and, if applicable, individuals" employed in the ICH Convention. Indeed, while "natural communities" are based on membership of an ethnic group, a territory or a history, the "heritage community" is a collective aggregation that is created during the process itself, beyond any fixed belonging and without any ethnic or radical implications. The Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage, and Landscape of the Council of Europe has tried to enucleate the basic features of "heritage communities" by referring to criteria such as "the assertion of a group defined by a specific heritage, the existence

of a demarcated territory to which a collective imagination is associated, the capacity to produce territorial narratives […] or the openness towards empowerment practices" (Council of Europe, 2015, p. 7). However, Sani et al. (2015) have recognized that this definition is vague and does not distinguish itself from other concepts employed in literature and broadly defined, such as "source communities" or "communities of origins", "interpretive communities", "communities of practices" or "virtual communities".

2.2 The question of "how" to implement participatory governance

The participation of communities, citizens or of "all relevant stakeholders" in the cultural policy arena rises not only definitional but also practical issues, linked with the design and implementation of new governance processes (Blake, 2009; Carmosino, 2013; Dolff-Bonekämper, 2009). "Governance" can be conceptualized as the "steering mechanism" of a collective system, including both the jointly defined rules and norms and the typology of actors involved in their definition and implementation (Schmitter, 2002). Participation brings about important and profound changes in cultural governance systems: not only it contributes at broadening up the range of possible interested and concerned stakeholders, but it also reshapes the norms and procedures on which their power relations are based and the resulting decisions are taken. However, no clear guidelines on these changing norms and procedures have been formulated in the various policy instruments dealing with participatory governance of culture. They use general formulations such as "that local communities are involved in these activities" or "each Party shall evaluate, with the participation of affected populations", without establishing through which mechanism the participation shall be carried out (Urbinati, 2015).

The Operational Directives of the ICH Convention encourage the State Parties to establish functional and complementary cooperation between communities, groups, individuals as well as experts, centers of expertise, and research institutes, also through the establishment of a consultative body or a coordination mechanism (UNESCO, 2016, Articles 79-80). However, how priority or relative legitimacy is distributed amongst these different actors in the case of disagreement or conflict is neither specified nor identified as a potential area for clarification. Moreover, no procedures are set for regulating the creation, functioning, and interaction of the "bodies" and "mechanisms" (Hertz, 2015).

Similarly, the inclusion of the fifth "C" for "community" in the UNESCO World Heritage List domain was accompanied by the acknowledgment of the necessity of developing an explicit methodology for the identification and involvement of communities and for the resolution of

possible conflicts between their interests and the existing strategic goals. However, no relevant progresses have been registered so far for what concerns the development and testing of these methodological tools.

As far as the European Union level is concerned, the mapping of practices of participatory governance of culture among Member States reveals that while a variety of processes is being activated, a lot of them cannot be labeled as truly participatory practices (Sani et al., 2015, p. 3). Hence, a shared methodology and in depth qualitative investigations are needed to analyze how the organizational structure and the management procedures of the institutions involved have changed to become participatory. Likewise, most European Capitals of Culture have stressed the importance of involving local people in the planning and delivering of the year. However, because of the lack of a specific model for evaluating the governance arrangements adopted, it has not been possible to identify and compare the participatory practices and their effects in the various cities (García & Cox, 2013).

2.3 The uncertain beneficial effects

Notwithstanding these definitional and methodological conundrums, participatory governance of culture is described and promoted in the various international and European policy documents with an aura of positivity and optimism.

In the ICH Convention, participation of communities to the identification of intangible cultural heritage is promoted in order to assure for them "a sense of identity and continuity" and to promote "respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO, 2003, Article 2.1). For what concerns the WHL Convention realm, the inclusion of the fifth "C" for "community" among the strategic objectives is linked with the awareness that "heritage protection without community involvement and commitment in an invitation to failure" (UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2007, p. 2). In this framework, community participation is seen as a "win-win" scenario. It is considered as a crucial element for assuring cultural heritage conservation and preservation, since "often it is the local/traditional and/or indigenous people who have the knowledge of how to successfully conserve sites of heritage value" (p. 8).

Regarding the Council of Europe Faro Convention, the support for the development of "innovative ways for public authorities to cooperate with other actors" is linked with both the supposed complementarity between voluntary activities and the roles of public authorities (Council of Europe, 2005, Article 11) and the capacity of non-governmental organizations to act according to the public interest, being "partners in activities and constructive critics of cultural

heritage policies" (Article 12). Democratic participation – and the need of taking into consideration "the value attached by each heritage community to the cultural heritage with which it identifies" (Article 12), is considered necessary not only for encouraging a sense of responsibility and a feeling of belonging in all social stakeholders, but also for identifying values, defining priorities, and managing heritage-led projects in a sustainable manner (Council of Europe, 2015, p. 3).

The highest expectations on the beneficial effects of participatory governance of culture have been formulated at European Union level. Indeed, the analysis of the different policy instruments reveals a strong accent on the linkage between participatory governance and the effective and sustainable realization of a wide range of cultural policy objectives. In the Conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for sustainable Europe, the Council of the European Union (2014b) stresses that the dialogue with cultural heritage stakeholders is necessary to identify and implement coordinated policies and actions for the sustainable management and development of cultural heritage (par. 10). In the Communication "Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe", the European Commission (2014) affirms that a participatory approach is needed in order to take into account the manifold contributions of cultural heritage to societal and economic objectives as well as its impact on other public policies (p. 3).

The "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) on participatory governance – the fact of seeing it as a sort of universal recipe for successful policies of protection and promotion of cultural heritage and of activation of cultural development processes – reaches its fullest expression in the Council Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage. In stressing the importance of including stakeholders at all stages of the cultural decision-making processes, the Council of the European Union (2014a) affirms that participation is beneficial for promoting not only democratic values such as accountability, transparency, and public trust (par. 9), but also sustainable development, the contribution of culture to smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth, the transmission of cultural heritage to future generations (par. 4), and social cohesion, being a fundamental means for addressing the "needs of all members of society" and facing "the social, political and demographic challenges of today" (par. 8). In addition, participation is considered beneficial for increasing "public awareness about cultural heritage" (par. 10), for protecting and enhancing local identity and traditional know-how (par. 11), for boosting innovation and business development (par. 12, 24), for contributing to urban regeneration, to the innovation and revitalization of European towns (par. 17 and 24), and to the quality of cultural tourism (par. 17).

Participation entered in the policy objectives of the European Capitals of Culture Program with the same optimistic prospects. The City and Citizens criterion introduced by Decision 1622/2006, required to possible candidate cities to foster the "participation of citizens living in the city and its surroundings" in order to make the cultural program "sustainable and integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city" (Article 4.2). The report commissioned by the European Parliament (García & Cox, 2013) in order to analyze the success strategies and the long-term effects observed in cities that hold the Title, underlines that people engagement is considered a key element for a successful ECoC year. Therefore, demonstrating citizen participation is important both to ensure an authentic bid and a bid which could conceivably deliver some of the changes which it promises (García & Cox, 2013, p. 62). The power of dialogue with local people is stressed also for what concerns the continuity and sustainability of the cultural program after the event: demonstrating broad participation in the process from cultural organizations, business, and residents can also help to set a benchmark and a tone for achieving high levels of participation post-designation and an effective implementation of the various phases of the cultural program.

In the light of the promises that participation seems to hold for the success of cultural policies and supported by the increasing rhetoric built around this concept within the international and European policy discourses, participatory experiments in the cultural field are currently proliferating all around Europe. As showed in the study prepared by Sani et al. (2015), participatory practices are spreading in a wide range of cultural policy sectors and domains, including built heritage and urban spaces, theatre, museums, and intangible and natural heritage.

However, the beneficial impacts of these processes are far from being scientifically proved at the moment and the evidence collected until now suggests contradictory results in terms of causal linkages between participation and concrete economic, social, and cultural improvements.

Quite a number of participatory processes described in the mapping conducted by Sani et al. (2015) seem to be connected with a range of positive outcomes. In the Italian context, for example, the collaborations activated for the development of the World Heritage Site Management Plan of Modena Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande and for the realization of the project "Cities as Common Goods" (Bologna) fostered as sense of co-responsibility among citizens and increased cooperation between them and the public authorities. In the UK, the participatory practices promoted in the Fagan's Open Air Museum (Cardiff) and by the initiative "TakeOver" realized at the York Theatre Royal proved to have transformative effects on the social attitudes of the volunteers involved and on the development of professional skills in the artistic sector. On the contrary, other participatory practices described in literature had

detrimental and conflicting effects on the actors and the territory involved, giving rise to contestations and oppositions among local people for what concerns the management of cultural heritage or the activation of a cultural program.

As far as the application of the principles of the Faro Convention and of the emergence of the "heritage communities" are concerned, four case studies have been individuated by the Council of Europe (2015) as civic initiatives that could be labeled as "Faro Appreciations": Hotel du Nord, the resident's cooperative established in Marseille (France), the urban revelation workshops and the heritage walks realized in Pilsen (Czech Republic), in Viscri (Romania) and in Venice (Italy). In these four cases, participation is instituted locally in the framework of public policy (program of urban regeneration in Marseille), of official regulation (participation rules and bureau in Venice), of European incentives (requirement for being European cultural capital in Pilsen) or of European directives (integration of the Roma community in Viscri). In all these situations, "the participatory process is imposed unilaterally, and either refused (Marseille), regulated (Venice), disregarded (Pilsen) or not understood (Romania)" (Council of Europe, 2015, p. 6).

This evidence is coherent with the broader reflections on cultural heritage and cultural events as "contested fields of meaning". Culture and cultural heritage are, first and foremost, the results of a collective attribution of meaning and a process of social sharing, interpretation, and valuation. The more people share them, the more negotiation and moderation will be needed, since some actors could be interested in dominating the interpretation and in determining the meaning of cultural heritage. Conflict is inherent to all kind of cultural production, because all cultural expressions raise the question of who has the right or can claim the right to determine their value, activating all kinds of debates and disagreements (Dolff-Bonekamper, 2010). The close link between participation and possibility of conflict has been proven also from a cultural governance perspective. In their study, Gugu and Dal Molin (2016) show that when actor diversity in cultural networks increases, participants have a more complex view of the collaborative governance dimensions, because of a "largely hierarchical structure of power relations" and a "heightened sense of inequality and competition" (p. 257).

The civil society organizations involved in the Structured Dialogue with the European Commission on the perspectives of participatory governance of culture expressed great concern and disillusionment about the contradictions of these processes and their supposed beneficial effects (Voices of Culture, 2015). They recognized the strong power gaps intrinsic to the cultural sector, where "top cultural managers are not often open to participation by communities", where there is a "language gap between experts/institutions and citizens/communities" and the "lack of

transparency makes it hard for citizens to penetrate the institutions and make their voice heard". Hence, considering that "community interests are often a contested area" and that there are "divided societies where heritage is, by nature, contested", not everyone of the civil society actors involved in the brainstorming session considers "the widening of participation and participatory governance as desirable" (Voices of Culture, 2015, pp. 5-6).

As proved by the evaluation reports of the Program "Creative People and Places", promoted in the UK, it seems that the beneficial effects of participatory governance of culture vary greatly according to the context and the typology of actors involved, "depending on how the local communities react to the grants and to the subsequent projects" (Sani et al., 2015, p. 51). This scattered, contradictory, and context-dependent insights on participation explain why the Council of the European Union (2014a) ends its Conclusions stressing the need of promoting evidence-based research on the impacts of participatory approaches in cultural heritage policies and governance in order to contribute to the "development of strategic approaches to cultural heritage" (par. 27). For the moment, the promise of participatory governance – and the consequent justification of the instrumental claim – is suspended between myth and reality.

3. Critical perspectives on the participatory approach

3.1 Origins and diffusion

Only recently, from 2003 onwards, the participatory approach entered in the cultural policy lexicon. However, the diffusion and the practice of participation in public decision-making processes is linked with a much broader tendency that originated at the end of the 1970s and involved different policy areas. A brief overview of the insights and the critical perspectives formulated since then is deemed to be useful for further discussing the challenges intrinsic to the evaluation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture.

Coherently with the principles of participatory democracy firstly claimed by the Students for a Democratic Society in the Port Huron Statement (1962), the 1970s witnessed a great awareness of the importance of opening-up decision-making processes in all spheres of society for involving those that were affected by them. The field of international cooperation and development was particularly pioneering in this sense, thanks to the introduction and experimentation of the so-called Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).

Described as an "approach and method for learning about rural life and conditions from, with, and by local people" in order to "enable local people to share, enhance, and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan, and to act", the PRA was presented a response of the

"past ignorance" of theorists and practitioners of local development, who, implementing projects in a centralized way, caused failures and short-comings of developmental interventions (Chambers, 1994, p. 953). Because of an assumed hierarchy between the expert-based knowledge and the local one and the "arrogant and ignorant manners" of the project managers, "threated as incapable, poor people behaved as incapable" (p. 964). The promoters of PRA tried to change this pattern introducing practices and standards that are now a common repertory of the development lexicon and part of a "new orthodoxy" of participation (Henkel & Stirrat, 2001).

The standards of this orthodoxy include, first of all, a stress on "bottom-up" rather than on "top-down" approaches, in order to make projects planned and implemented by the beneficiaries and not imposed on people. Second, there is an accent on the need of promoting empowerment because through this "people will escape poverty" (Henkel & Stirrat, 2001, p. 170). Moreover, participatory approaches always include a focus on the "marginal", namely on "almost any group of people who can in some sense or another be seen as excluded from the mainstream society, usually defined in terms of formal power relations". Finally, participation is seen as a celebration of local or indigenous knowledge opposed to scientific or external technical knowledge, frequently "presented as antipathetic to development and thus to be deprecated" (p. 171).

In general, participatory governance is promoted as being both more rational and morally superior. Participation is considered as a crucial means for achieving more effective development. This not only because it leads to a richer and better informed analysis of the situation in which the project intervenes but also because it builds a sense of commitment among the beneficiaries, who are more likely to contribute to the implementation of the plan. In addition, participation is promoted as an end. Through participatory practices, people are given the control over development processes and the possibility of transforming their consciousness, thus becoming aware of both the structural sources of their oppression and of the ways they could change them (Cooke, 2001, pp. 104 -105).

Thanks to the introduction of the PRA, the field of international cooperation and development became a privileged terrain for implementing participatory projects and observing their effects on the ground. Following the practices realized in this policy area, since the mid-1990s, words such as "participation", "empowerment", and "bottom-up" planning have become increasingly common also in the international policy discourse. Firstly sustained by the World Bank (1994) as a means to "improve the quality, effectiveness, and sustainability of projects and strengthen the ownership and commitment of government and stakeholders" (p. 1), the beneficial effects of participatory approaches have been further sustained by the OECD (2001), the UNDP (2002) and the United Nations system (2008), in which citizen engagement has been considered

as being “an important governance norm that can strengthen decision-making arrangements and produce outcomes that favor the poor and the disadvantaged” (United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs, 2008, p. 23).

From the development field, the participatory approach started to be applied to a wide range of other policy areas such as the management theory (see Gee et al., 1996), environmental policies (see Newig et al., 2017), social and employment issues (see Aurich-Beerheide et al., 2015), urban studies and urban regeneration policies (see Parés et al., 2012) and, more recently, cultural policies.

Since the early stages of diffusion of this new orthodoxy of participation, scholars have questioned its real capacity to produce beneficial impacts, shedding light on the most unclear and controversial points of this paradigm (Mosse, 1994; Stirrat, 1996). Even the most recent and methodologically advanced accounts on the impacts of participatory governance (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012; Geissel, 2009; Turnout et al., 2010) show that participation could have unexpected and not always positive effects, such as “disempowerment and reduced sense of agency”, “lack of accountability and representation in networks”, “denial of state services and resources”, “social, economic and political reprisals”, “violent or coercive state response”, “reinforcement of social hierarchies and exclusion”, and “increased horizontal conflict and violence” (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012, p. 2400).

The widespread use and diffusion of participatory approaches, without a concomitant collection and critical analysis of empirical evidence concerning their long-term effectiveness in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people and as a strategy of social change, made scholars refer to participation as a “buzzword” (Penderis, 2012), as an “Hurrah word bringing a warm glow to its users and hearers” (White, 1996) or as an “act of faith” full of heroic claims (Cleaver, 2001). One of the most complete critiques moved to the participatory approach is the one articulated in the book edited by Cooke and Kothari (2001a), who illustrate and discuss the multiple forms through which participation could lead to a tyrannical exercise of power. Their point is that not only participation is an empty concept that does not bring any positive effect but that is a complicated construct that produces outcomes that are contrary to the positive ones – legitimacy, effectiveness, sustainability – for which it is promoted.

Maintaining that the illegitimate or unjust exercise of power is “both a real and a potential consequence of participatory development, counter-intuitive, and contrary to the rhetoric of empowerment”, Cooke and Kothari (2001b) seek to challenge the naivety of assumptions about the authenticity of motivations and behaviors in participatory processes. They try to show “how the language of participation masks a real concern for managerial effectiveness” and “how an

emphasis on the micro-level of intervention can obscure, and indeed sustain, broader macro-level inequalities and injustice" (p. 14). A more detailed overview of these possible tyrannical derivations of participation and of the multiple and less visible forms of exercise of power in participatory settings is deemed to be fundamental for having a complete picture of the challenges and contradictions that participatory governance of culture, as every form of participation, causes.

3.2 The relationship between participation, power, and the context

In order to properly understand the conditions under which participation could become a tyranny and the consequences of this transformation in terms of impacts of the participatory processes, it is necessary to analyze its intrinsic but often underestimated relationship with power.

Trying to challenge the assumption that participation is a "catch-all" recipe that takes place in a neutral space, White (1996) offers one of the most authoritative accounts of the political nature of every participatory process. She affirms that participation can be promoted and implemented for a wide variety of objectives, which change according to the type of actors involved. While top-down actors, those who design and implement development programs, are interested in the various forms of participation for "legitimization", "efficiency", and "sustainability", other participants join the processes for being included ("inclusion"), for achieving cost-effectiveness ("cost"), and for influencing local policies ("leverage"). Top-down and bottom-up objectives usually do not match. This makes participation an intrinsically conflicting political arena, where "there is a tension over which elements – or combination of elements – will predominate at any time". Only in "transformative" participation both promoters and participants aim at generating "empowerment", namely "the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action to fight injustice" (White, 1996, p. 8).

Interests are not just negotiated within the process but also shaped and constructed by the participatory process itself. "Empowerment", for example, "must be transformative not only for the weaker partner but also for the outside agency and for the relationship between them" (White, 1996, p. 13). The changes brought by participatory processes might be difficult to accept, especially when they aim at changing patterns of dominance, opposing instead of reproducing existing power relations.

This vision of participation as a potentially transformative conflicting context is coherent with the conception of power recalled by Kothari (2001). According to this author, rather than being embedded in "dichotomies of macro/micro, central/local, and powerful/powerless", power

should be seen as intrinsic in the "creation of norms and social and cultural practices at all levels" (Kothari, 2001, p. 141). Since all individuals are potential vehicles of power, participatory processes could become "insidious modes of inclusionary control", perpetuating forms of dominance "that are not simply articulated in the direct and immediate relationship between participants and observer but also historically constructed through all sorts of social practices and rituals" (p. 143).

Power affects also the production of knowledge in the framework of participatory processes. Indeed, contents and information are strongly shaped by the way in which actors construct their needs and pursue their objectives. According to Mosse (2001), participation replaces "people's knowledge" with a "planning knowledge" that reflects existing power relations and adapts the multitude of local perspectives to program priorities and bureaucratic requirements.

Group dynamics constitute an additional aspect of the relationship between participation and power. Indeed, because of its social psychological implications, participation could contain "the seeds of its own destruction and, worse, harm those it would claim to help" (Cooke, 2001, p. 102).

First, because of the "risky shift" dynamic, group discussions could lead group members to take more risky decisions than they would have taken as individuals. Secondly, for a phenomenon known as the "Abilene paradox", people involved in participatory settings subconsciously collude to make decisions they know they are wrong, in order not to be contrary to what they think everyone else wants.

Thirdly, as showed by Janis (1972), the more cohesive the group, the greater the danger that independent critical thinking will be replaced by groupthink, which is likely to result in irrational and dehumanizing actions against those who are out of the group. Among the symptoms of groupthink Janis recognized: the illusion of invulnerability and the over-optimism about the power of the group, the collective construction of rationalizations, the inherent morality of the in-group, the stereotypical views about "enemy groups", the pressure applied to who expresses contrary positions, the self-censorship through which individuals minimize their doubts, the illusion of unanimity, and the presence of the "mind-guards", individuals that protect leaders and fellow members from adverse information. Finally, because of "coercive persuasion", group processes could lead to malign changes in ideological beliefs or consciousness.

All these four dynamics negatively affect the potential of participation to act as a means for increasing effectiveness and rigor in analysis, planning, and action. They also prevent

participation to foster empowerment. Indeed, when they decide under the power of the group, participants lose their sense of control over their own development.

What all these critical perspectives tell us is that the possibility for participatory processes to bring real positive changes or, on the contrary, to activate a tyrannical exercise of power is highly linked with the context, the typology of actors, their interests, the way they articulate them, and the degree of their openness to change for what concerns power relations and new balances. Recalling Turnhout et al. (2010), it seems useful to see participatory practices as "stages performances in which the various actors, based on the script, the instructions of the director, and their improvisation skills, play their part" (p. 11). This "performative" conception of participation sheds light on the importance of analyzing not only its actual effects and impacts but also the context-specific interactions by which it is surrounded.

Conclusions

Participatory governance is widely promoted as a guarantee for the success of cultural policies. Introduced in the UNESCO domain together with the reflection on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003), community involvement was then recognized as a top priority of the cultural governance field by the Council of Europe (2005), the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (2007) and more recently by the European Union (Council of the European Union, 2014a). Especially at the European Union level, the support for participatory approaches to cultural decision-making is accompanied by a strong "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012). Participation is promoted to foster not only the "sustainable long-term cultural and social development of the city" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, Article 4.2), but also a wide variety of policy objectives such as transparency and accountability, social cohesion, promotion of local identity, urban regeneration, innovation, and business development.

In spite of its promising and optimistic aura, a closer analysis of the definitional and methodological aspects concerning participatory governance of culture reveals a wide range of problematic, unclear, and controversial aspects regarding both its implementation and the evaluation of its impacts. First, it is not clear "who" is entitled to participate and how the "community" should be identified and involved in cultural decision-making processes. Secondly, models, procedures, mechanisms, and rules for the concrete implementation of processes of dialogue, negotiation, and cooperation between different actors have not been established. Finally and even more importantly, the strongly claimed beneficial effects of participatory processes for cultural policies are far from being proven both empirically and theoretically.

Empirically speaking, while participatory experiments are currently proliferating all around Europe (Sani et al., 2015), the evidence concerning their beneficial effects is quite contradictory. Some of these practices produced positive outcomes concerning the actors and the territory involved, whereas others had detrimental effects, causing contestations and phenomena of rejection and opposition to the cultural initiatives from the local population.

The picture becomes even more complicated if, theoretically speaking, one analyses the impacts of participatory governance of culture taking into consideration the general criticisms that have been moved to the participatory approaches. Increasingly introduced since the 1970s as a way for enhancing the effectiveness of public interventions and the opportunities of empowerment for local people, participation has been criticized not only for being a mere "buzzword" (Penderis, 2012), but also for being connected with a tyrannical exercise of power. Instead of being a vehicle for effectiveness and empowerment, participation could also become a conflicting political arena where insidious forms of social and cultural control are promoted (Kothari, 2001; White, 1996). Participatory processes might transform "local knowledge" in a "planning knowledge" shaped by dominant interests and agency objectives (Mosse, 2001) and replace the individual critical thinking with a series of group dynamics (Cooke, 2001).

Both culture and participation are potential sites of conflict and contestation. On the one hand, conflict is inherent to all kind of cultural production, because all cultural expressions raise the question of who has the right or can claim the right to determine their value, activating debates and disagreements. On the other hand, participation is an arena where both conflicting interests and radical changes in power relations could make the actors willing to dominate each other. Participatory governance of culture has, inevitably, to face this intrinsic contesting and conflicting drift.

What both empirical and theoretical analyses suggest is that the potential of participation to produce the expected positive outcomes or to foster conflict and contestation is highly context-dependent, being linked with the typology of actors and the relationship between them. This is why a research agenda on participatory governance should take into consideration not only how and why possible positive effects are produced, but also under which circumstances this could be the case. Without this evidence-based attempt, the promise of participatory governance of culture is condemned to remain suspended between myth and reality.

Chapter 2

The Impacts of Participatory Governance through the Perspective of the Democratic Theory

Introduction

In the first Chapter participatory governance has been presented as an emerging international and European paradigm that, while holding a promise for the effectiveness of cultural policies, is far from having scientifically proved beneficial effects. An analysis of its impacts, in the light of the different contextual conditions in which it is implemented, is deemed to be necessary for solving the evidence-dilemma that is entrapping the promotion of cultural participatory decision-making processes between myth and reality. This second Chapter sets the theoretical background against which this evaluation could be pursued. The objective is twofold.

On the one hand, after a reference to the experience of the Athenian polis, this Chapter analyses the two opposing traditions that have characterized the debate on the functions of public participation within the Democratic Theory: the "standard liberal" and the "expansive" approach. The aim is showing why the latter offers precious conceptual insights for the present investigation. Indeed, while the "standard liberal" approach supports a protective and limited function of public participation, the "expansive" one maintains that participation should be promoted for its positive transformative potential over individuals and society. The arguments employed by the "expansive" theorists of participation – authors such as Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and Dewey have been summarized in the so-called "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), which provide a set of theoretically well-grounded hypotheses that could guide the analysis of participatory governance of culture and of its possible impacts.

Secondly, the Chapter maintains that, while providing an extremely useful theoretical background, "expansive" theories of democracy – Participatory and Deliberative theories – are not sufficient for analyzing how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance impacts on cultural development. Because of their highly normative and value-laden contents, these theories are not suitable for conducting an evidence-based evaluation. In light of this, we argue that the "self-transformation thesis" should be combined with the "pragmatic conception" proposed by Fung (2007, 2012). Conceptualizing participation as one possible arrangement in a menu of other institutional alternatives, this approach introduces a functional vision that allows a scientific analysis of cultural participatory processes according to the specific problems that they address and the context in which they are inscribed. For what concerns the evaluation of the

impacts of participatory governance, the "pragmatic conception" provides the present research with two important theoretical tools, the "pragmatic equilibrium" and the "practical reasoning" (Fung, 2007), which are discussed in the fourth section of this Chapter together with the benefits of this theoretical standpoint.

1. Participation and Democratic Theory: back to the Athenian polis

The etymology of the word "democracy" explains its intrinsic linkage with the concept of participation. Derived from the Greek word *demokratia,* the roots of which are *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule), democracy means "rule by people". The fact that people participate in governing the public life is exactly what distinguishes democracy from other political systems, such as oligarchy or monarchy. Participation is seen as the necessary *trait-d'union* between the exercise of the State's power and the expression of people will. Indeed, by participating actively in political decision-making as well as by getting involved in the formation of the collective will through articulating their interests and demands, citizens exercise their sovereignty rights (Hosch-Dayican, 2010).

Even if "rule by people" could appear as an unambiguous concept, "the history of the idea of democracy is complex and marked by conflicting conceptions" (Held, 2006, p. 1). Both components of the word "democracy" – *demos* and *kratos* – could be subject to divergent interpretations. For what concerns the *demos* ("people"), issues emerge regarding "who are to be considered the people? What kind of participation is envisaged for them? What conditions are assumed to be conducive to participation?". Regarding the *kratos* ("rules"), one could ask "how broadly or narrowly is the scope of the rule to be construed? What is the appropriate field of democratic activity? If rules are to cover *the political*, what does this mean? Does it cover: (a) law and order? (b) relations between States? (c) the economy? (d) the domestic or private sphere?" (Held, 2006, p. 2). The combination of different conceptions of both the *demos* and the *kratos* and the variety of democratic ideals and institutional requirements lay at the basis of the different "models of democracy" that have signed the evolution of the Democratic Theory. A model of democracy is a "theoretical construction designed to reveal and explain the chief elements of a democratic form and its underlying structure of relations" (Held, 2006, p. 4). The "modeling approach" pursued within the Democratic Theory has allowed the systematic theoretical comparison between norms, institutions, and functions associated with democracy (Warren, 2017).

The analysis of the various models of democracy reveals that the nature, extent, and function of participation are among the main issues on which theories clash. The role recognized to participatory decision-making in the different democratic theories is strictly connected with basic assumptions about the human nature, the political capabilities of individuals, and the way they form and express their views and preferences. Since it served as an archetype for many modern democratic theories (Fuchs, 2006), a reference to the experience of antique Athenian democracy is fundamental for explaining these differences and for discussing the assumptions that subsequent authors have criticized or further developed.

The notion of an active, involved citizenry in a process of self-government was central in Athens, "where the governors were literally the ones to be governed" (Held, 2006, p. 25). For what concerns the *kratos* (rules), certain aspects of the institutional structure of democratic government in antique Athens are relatively similar to those of the modern democratic system: there was a citizens' assembly which fulfilled a legislative function, the "council of the five hundred" which functioned as an executive, and people's courts whose members were chosen yearly by lot. These institutional arrangements actually ensured that the *demos* itself literally ruled. By permanent rotation of rulers and the ruled, the choice of office-holders by lot, and especially the concentration of the power to make binding decisions for the city-state (*polis*) in the assembly, it could be achieved what modern democracy theory calls the "identity of rulers and the ruled" (Hosch-Dayican, 2010, p. 21).

Regarding the *demos,* the Athenian system was based on the idea that every citizens – namely only male people with an Athenian background – should have access to the decision-making process of the polis, without any distinction based on level of education or social status. "The demos held sovereign power, that is supreme authority to engage in legislative and judicial functions" (Held, 2006, p. 25). Thanks to this equality in access to the governance processes and to the presence of material gratifications as well, the Athenian system registered a great extent of political engagement: all citizens met to debate, decide, and enact the law and a good portion of them was involved each year by holding and exercising public office (Robinson, 2011).

The decision-making process had a strong deliberative component. Public opinion was formed through what Pericles defined as "proper discussion" (Held, 2006, p. 15), namely free and unrestricted discourse, guaranteed by an equal right to speak in the sovereign assembly. Therefore, collective decisions were always more than an aggregation of individual opinions. Moreover, political deliberation was not limited to the assembly; discussions were conducted also in other public spaces like the marketplace, the gymnasium etc. This made the *demos* of the Athenian democracy "not an imagined collective subject (as in the case in the modern Nation

States) but a tangible collective subject" (Fuchs, 2007, p. 33, quoted in Hosch-Dayican, 2010, p. 22).

However, what represented the most important Athenian legacy for the development of the Western political thought regarding the role and function of participation was the accent on the notion of "civic virtue". Implicit in the original ideal of democracy was the assumption that only through participation in political life the individual could reach the highest expression of his personality, combining the use of his "material powers" with the tension toward the *telos* (goal or objective) of the common good (Held, 2006, p. 25). As Pericles said, "we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all" (as cited in Held, 2006, p. 14). In the light of this, the political order was presented as a vehicle for expressing and realizing the human nature.

This approach was coherent with both the broad Athenian understanding of *paedeia* (education, development) and with the Aristotelian affirmation that "man is by nature a political animal" who, under the laws of a good polity, can develop the justice, goodness, and proper quality of character that he sought (Papadis, 2006). Participation in the Athenian democracy was deemed to have a positive, transformative potential over the individuals, making them live honorably as citizens in and through the polis. "This larger life of talking, judging, and partaking in communal ritual had the effect of developing the characters of the citizens in the way that nature intended" (Mansbrigde, 1999, p. 294).

On the basis of their position as far as this philosophical background is concerned, the literature (Cunningham, 2002; Held, 2006 Warren, 1992) has individuated two opposing traditions of political thought regarding the role and expected impacts of participatory governance: the "standard liberal" or "protective" tradition and the "expansive" or "developmental" one. A discussion of the main arguments developed by both approaches will clarify the theoretical background of the present research.

2. The "standard liberal" view

2.1 "Protective" participation

According to Warren (1992), we can define as "standard liberal" the group of theories that seek to balance public participation against other desirable features of the political order (e.g. protection of rights and freedoms, pluralism, and governability) by limiting the spheres of society that are organized democratically. These theories see trade-offs between democracy and other goods, since they hold that "the self is defined by interests that are formed pre-politically, either

reflecting fixed desires or formed by social institutions and other circumstances that are outside of institutionalized politics" (Warren, 1992, p. 8). In their view, participation is a means for aggregating pre-political interests and should be limited in scope and domain just because it is instrumental to those interests and not a good in itself.

Standard liberal theories have also been defined as "protective" theories (Held, 2006). "Protective" theorists stress the instrumental value of participation for the protection of citizens' aims and objectives, i.e. their personal interests. Openly opposing the Greek ideal of the "civic virtue" and of the political life as the domain of the fullest expression of human personality, the protective tradition "emphasizes the highly fragile nature the civic virtue and its vulnerability to corruption if dependent solely upon the voluntary political involvement of one group" (Held, 2006, p. 45).

One of the first political theorists to raise this concern was Machiavelli (1532/2008). Conceiving politics as the struggle to win, utilize, and contain power and describing the generality of men as "self-seeking, lazy, suspicious, and incapable of doing anything good unless constrained by necessity", he maintains that the basis of public governance "may not just be a self-governing regime and a willingness to participate in politics, but also conflict and disagreement through which citizens can promote and define their interests" (Held, 2006, p. 52).

These theses have been further developed within the liberal and the utilitarian traditions of the 17th and 18th century. Indeed, liberalism – a political theory characterized by the aim of safeguarding the freedom of choice, reason, and toleration in the face of tyranny, the absolutist system, and religious intolerance – is considered as being one of the main sources of inspiration of the protective approach to participation (Cunningham, 2002; Held, 2006). The core conception of the political thought of one of the founding fathers of the liberal tradition, John Locke, is the view that government must be restricted in scope in order to ensure the maximum possible freedom of every citizen. Participation, in this sense, was conceived as a "formally equal capacity to protect their interests from the arbitrary acts of either the State or fellow citizens" (Held, 2006, p. 73).

In terms of institutional arrangements, representative systems were the direct result of the liberal tradition. The limited and protective role of participation was, according to Madison (1788/1966), best pursued at the level of a centralized State, by a system of political representation and a large electoral body. The ballot box made it possible to overcome the political difficulties caused by minority interest groups. The elected representatives could act as "trustee of the electors", being competent and capable of "discerning the true interest of their country" in a "refined" and "enlarged manner" (Madison, 1788/1966, p. 21). In addition,

Madison underlined that a representative system was able to protect citizens' rights only in an extended republic covering a large territory and embracing a substantial population. Indeed, both high social diversity and fragmentation of political interests were deemed to be beneficial for preventing an excessive accumulation of power.

The idea of the liberal democratic State and of a limited and protective role of participation was then also fully endorsed by utilitarian theorists such as Jeremy Bentham (1776/1948) and James Mill (1820/1937). In their view, participation in public life should be limited to ensure "the conditions necessary for individuals to pursue their interests without risk of arbitrary political interference, to participate freely in economic transactions, to exchange labor and goods on the matter, and to appropriate resources privately" (Held, 2006, p. 86).

2.2 Competitive elitism and pluralism

The "standard liberal" view of participation evolved in two strands of the modern Democratic Theory: the first is the "minimalist" approach or the "competitive elitism" – represented by authors such as Schumpeter (1943) and Sartori (1987); the second is the "aggregative" or "pluralistic" approach introduced by theorists such as Dahl (1956) and Berelson (1954).

Both approaches share a strong detachment from the Greek or "classical" idea of democracy. Their critique to the concept of "civic virtue" was based not only on the recognition of the substantial difference of conditions between the Greek and the modern society, but also on a profound negative view of the human nature. Since citizens where considered as apathetic, inactive, and uninformed about politics, these theories consider the classical democratic theory as unrealistic, demanding a level of rationality from the ordinary men that is just not possible. "To the ordinary man, only things of which he has everyday experience are fully real, and politics does not usually fall into this category" (Schumpeter, 1943, p. 258). According to Schumpeter, "common good" and "popular will" are not only impossible to reach in a highly pluralistic society, but they are also empty social constructs with little empirical basis, since "citizens have a weak background to make sound judgments about competing ideologies and policies" (p. 259).

This pessimism has an historical and a social explanation. From an historical perspective, both "minimalist" and "aggregative" approaches to democracy originated after the post-war establishment of totalitarian regimes based on mass participation. During those years, while the ideal of democracy remained strong, the emphasis on participation was regarded with increasing suspect, because of the shadows of populism and totalitarianism (Pateman, 1970, p. 2). From a

social perspective, data from large-scale empirical investigations into political attitudes and behaviors, undertaken in that period, revealed that the outstanding characteristic of most citizens is a general lack of interest in politics and political activity and further, that widespread non-democratic or authoritarian attitudes exist. The conclusion drawn was that the classical picture of democratic man was "hopelessly unrealistic", and moreover, that "an increase in political participation by present non-participants could upset the stability of the democratic system" (Pateman, 1970, p. 3).

Competitive elitism and pluralism agree on seeing the representative system as the best possible arrangement to pursue the protection of individual liberties and interests. However, the two approaches attribute a slightly different function to elections, based on a specific understanding of human interests.

Competitive elitists as Schumpeter (1943) and Sartori (1987) see democracy as a "political method" based on the competitive struggle for people's vote. Since "elections realize the value of public accountability by providing regular occasions for leaders to explain themselves to citizens and for citizens to sanction leaders" (Fung, 2007, p. 448), public participation should be kept at the minimal sufficient level "for making the electoral machinery working satisfactorily". In the minimalist view, participation is conceived as an operation in the economic market: "voters like consumers choose between policies (products) offered by competing political entrepreneurs and the parties regulate the competition like trade associations in the economic sphere" (Schumpeter, 1943, pp. 295-296).

The pluralistic view emphasizes the fact that since "citizens can and do have rational political preferences and these can be sensibly combined […], government is more democratic when laws and policies lie closer to the median voter" (Fung, 2007, p. 448). Elections are important because they lead to a "polyarchy" – "the rule of multiple minorities" (Dahl, 1956). Since power is considered as being distributed not only among a group of political elites, but also among many different groups of citizens, elections are the means through which it is possible "an extension of the number, the size, and diversity of the minorities that can bring their influence" (Dahl, 1956, p. 133).

Contrarily to the competitive elitism approach, the pluralist one requires more strict normative standards for what concerns the realization of elections. First, political equality – intended as the existence of universal suffrage (one man, one vote) and the equal opportunity to influence decision-making processes – was required to make the system mirror the various political positions. Secondly, education – what Dahl defined as "effective social training" (1956) – was deemed to be fundamental to make citizens develop a "enlightened understanding" about

their political choices and preferences. However, as in the minimal view, citizen participation is, also in the aggregative perspective, limited to the act of vote. The vote is seen as "a medium for citizens to express their preferences over the choices made by the government personnel […], an instrumental act through which they attempt to make the political system respond to their will" (Dahl, 1956, pp. 133-135).

Because of their limited role attributed to participation, these theories do not provide a conceptual lens for explaining the growing participative turn observed in the international and European discourse on cultural policies. Both minimalist and aggregative theories of democracy raise a point that is totally opposite to that policy discourse. They maintain that apathy and non-participation should not be contrasted but promoted and maintained because they are beneficial for the stability and the governability of the whole political system. According to Sartori (1987) the antidote to totalitarianism lies in the fact that "people must react […] they don't act; that is they react to the initiatives and policies of the competing élites" (p. 77). Similarly, Berelson (1954) argues that limited participation and apathy cushion the shock of disagreement, adjustment and change. This is why "the amount of participation that the system actually obtains is the exact amount that is required for a stable system of democracy" (pp. 322-323). By raising these points, the "standard liberal" tradition offers useful arguments to illustrate and explain the possible negative and controversial effects of public participation; on the other hand, it does not theorize any positive impact of participatory processes on either the individual or the social system.

The accent on the importance of citizen education and social training as a prerequisite for the successful functioning of the democratic system is a useful insight that the aggregative strand offers to our investigation of participatory governance of culture. However, since the whole theory is focused on "how decisions ought to be made rather than questions of policy and implementation […] and value competence in government" (Fung, 2007, p. 449), it is not sufficient as a workable framework for impact evaluation.

3. The "expansive" view

3.1 "Developmental" participation

The "expansive" or "developmental' tradition of the Democratic Theory (Cunningham, 2002; Held, 2006; Warren, 1992) provides an effective theoretical explanation to the international and European discourse on participatory governance of culture and its beneficial effects.

The "expansive" theories of participation argue for increasing the scope and domain of public participation, holding that standard liberal democracy fails to articulate goods that are inherent in the participatory process and exaggerates the threats posed by democracy to other goods. According to them, "protective" approaches do not allow for a proper consideration of the transformative impact of democracy on the human nature, a failure rooted in its view of the Self as pre-politically constituted. "On the expansive view, were individuals more broadly empowered, especially in the institutions that have most impact on their everyday lives (workplaces, schools, local governments, etc.), their experience would have transformative effects: they would become more public-spirited, more tolerant, more knowledgeable, more attentive to the interests of others, and more probing of their own interests" (Warren, 1992, p. 8).

In the broadest sense, "expansive" theorists stress the intrinsic value of political participation for the development of citizens as human beings. Their thought is strictly linked with the classical democratic heritage and with the Greek tradition, notably with the exploration of political participation as a necessary aspect of the good life and of the *polis* as a means to attain human self-fulfillment.

According to Held (2006), the "developmental" tradition of the Democratic Theory received a profound and striking articulation in the work of Marsilius of Padua (1275/80-1324), although it was not until the writings of Rousseau in the 18th century that it probably acquired its most elaborate statement. Seeking to refute the papalist claims to a plenitude of power and to establish the authority of secular rulers over the Church, Marsilius argued that the ultimate "legislator", or source of legitimate political authority in the community are "the people". In his view, "citizenship is the means of involvement in a shared enterprise orientated towards the realization of the common good; and political participation is the necessary vehicle for the attainment of the good" (Held, 2006, p. 47).

In the political thought of Rousseau and in his "Social Contract" (1762/1968) the basic hypotheses about the functioning and impacts of participation in a democratic polity reach their fullest theorization. Rousseau's contribution to the "expansive" theories of participation is threefold.

First, he argues that both political equality and interdependence should be recognized as the necessary preconditions for participation to be effective. Thanks to political equality – a situation where no citizen shall be rich enough to buy another and none so poor as to be forced to sell himself – individuals reach security and independence. Equality then leads to interdependence: "it is because the citizens are independent equals, not dependent on anyone else for their vote or

opinion, that in the political assembly no one need vote for any policy that is not as much to his advantage as to the advantage of any other" (Pateman, 1970, p. 23).

Secondly, Rousseau recognizes the central role of the individual participation of each citizen for the effectiveness of public decision-making processes. Thanks to participation, the only policy that will be acceptable to all is the one where benefits and burdens are equally shared. Since at the same time individual rights and interests are protected and the public interests furthered, a law emerges spontaneously from the participatory process and it is this law, not men, that governs individual actions. Participation produces the "general will", a substantive policy result that is always just (Pateman, 1970, p. 24).

Thirdly, consistently with the Greek idea of the *paideia*, Rousseau introduces an argument that will be crucial for the subsequent developments of the "expansive" theories, notably the fact that participation has a psychological and educative effect on participants, transforming them in better human beings. In Rousseau's ideal model of participation, the individual learns that he has to take into account wider matters than his own private interest if he is to gain cooperation from others, and he learns that the public and private interests are linked. As a result of participating in decision-making, the individual feels no conflict between his interests and those of the others. He is forced to deliberate according to his sense of justice because fellow citizens can always resist the implementation of inequitable demands (Pateman, 1970, pp. 24-25).

The participatory process has two additional developmental effects on the human personality. On the one hand, participation increases the feeling among individual citizens that they belong in their community. Thanks to this, individuals will conscientiously accept a law formulated through a participatory process. Participation increases legitimacy and enables collective decisions to be more easily accepted by the individual. On the other hand, through participation the individual increases his sense of freedom. Participation in decision-making gives him a very real degree of control over the course of his life and the structure of his environment, enabling him to be (and remain) his own master (Held, 2006, p. 54).

The educative function is what makes the Rousseau's participatory system self-sustaining. "Because the very qualities that are required of individual citizens if the system is to work successfully are those that the process of participation itself develops and fosters, the more the individual citizen participates the better able he is to do so" (Pateman, 1970, p. 25).

Thus belonging to two different historical phases of the political thought, John Stuart Mill (1859/1982) and Dewey (1916) have further explored and explained the transformative potential of participation.

J.S. Mill sees the educative function of participation in the same terms as Rousseau. He argues that the "private money getting-occupation" makes the individual use few of his qualities and focus his attention exclusively upon himself. When the individual can participate in public affairs, he has to be guided, in the case of conflicting claims, by another, superior, rule than his private partialities (Mill, 1859/1982, p. 230).

However, he also added two important points to Rousseau's theorization of participation. First, Mill argues that the necessary qualities underlying the participation of the individual have to be fostered and developed at the local level, where issues dealt with directly affect the individual and his everyday life. Secondly, he stresses that the educative function could be generalized to cover the effect of participation in all "lower level" authority structures or political systems. Since society can be seen as being composed by various political systems, the structure of which has important effects on the psychological qualities and attitudes of the individuals, the developmental effects of participation could be observed in a variety of societal settings, from the workplace to everyday situations (Mill, 1859/1982, p. 229).

Dewey (1916) proposes a conceptualization of participation as being not only a form of government but also – and more importantly – "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p. 93), which has an ontological value. According to this author, it is not possible to live as a genuine human being and not to live in a participatory way, since it is not possible to live in isolation as an abstract individual (Hewitt, 2006).

"The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate so that each has to refer his own action to that of others; and to consider the action of others to give a point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity" (Dewey, 1916, p. 94). In this sense, participation becomes an acquisition of knowledge as far as the human nature is concerned. "If the living, experiencing being is an intimate participant in the activities of the world to which it belongs, then knowledge is a mode of participation, valuable in the degree in which it is effective" (p. 102).

The recent international and European discourse on participatory governance of culture gains precious theoretical explanations thanks to the "expansive" or "developmental" theory of participation. The evolution of this strand of the Democratic Theory allows us to identify, employ, and put under empirical investigation the basic assumptions concerning the ways in which participation increases a "sense of identity and continuity" (UNESCO, 2003, Art. 2.1), assures the effectiveness and success of cultural policies from an economic, social, urban, and cultural point of view (Council of the European Union, 2014a), and promotes the long-term

cultural and social development of cities (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006).

An analysis of the impacts of participatory governance of culture cannot be pursued without an underlying theoretical assumption regarding its transformative, developmental, and educative potential. This is why an "expansive" lexicon inevitably permeates this whole investigation.

3.2 The "self-transformation thesis" and its applicability

Which assumptions among those formulated by the "expansive" theories of democracy are most useful for analyzing the impacts of participatory governance of culture? Which key concepts should be employed for formulating hypotheses as far as the beneficial effects of participatory experiments in culture are concerned? This paragraph argues that "expansive" theorists provide the investigation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture with a useful set of assumptions about the nature of the Self against which the transformative effects could be assessed. This set – named by Warren (1992) as the "self-transformation thesis" – has been described as including the following assumptions:

"The first is that increased democracy transforms individualistic and conflicting interests into common and non conflicting ones, in the process developing capacities of citizenship that reduce factional threats to rights and pluralism. Secondly, because these transformations reduce conflict, they allow reduced use of power as medium of political interaction. This would increase consensus and governability, as well as being desirable in its own right. Third, far from being a threat to the dimensions of the self protected by rights and freedoms, democracy is necessary to the values of self-development, autonomy, and self-governance – the values that rights and freedoms presumably are designed to protect" (Warren, 1992, p. 8).

Coherently with the arguments developed by Rousseau (1762/1968), John Stuart Mill (1859/1982), and Dewey (1916), the "self-transformation thesis" permeates the works of every modern scholar engaged in advocating the beneficial impacts of participatory processes.

De Tocqueville (1840/2003) reported how participation in town meetings changes citizen's character. "Town meeting are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use it and how to enjoy it. […] When a citizen practices the art of government, his character changes. He becomes somewhat conservative, or at least non-revolutionary: practical and incremental, preferring order, clear about duties to others and the state, and accepting limits in both power and rights" (p. 63).

Recalling directly Rousseau's principles, Pateman (1970) argues that participation contributes not only to the development of a sense of "political efficacy", namely a confidence in one's ability to participate responsibly and effectively and to control one's life and environment, but also to the "democratic personality", involving autonomy and resistance to hierarchy.

The hypothesis on the transformative potential of participation and on its capacity of having impacts is conceivable only in the framework of a specific vision of the Self and of the human nature. "Dependent, yet under democracy self-determining; insufficient and ignorant, yet under democracy teachable; selfish, yet under democracy cooperative; stubborn and solipsistic, yet under democracy creative and capable of genuine transformation" (Barber, 1984, p. 119). As affirmed in the Port Huron Statement on participatory democracy (Students for Democratic Society, 1962), the "self-transformation thesis" assumes that men have unrealized potential for "self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity" (Floridia, 2013, p. 7). The point is not that of assuming an intrinsic positive or optimistic vision of the human nature rather that of recognizing the possibility and potential for its improvement and transformation.

The most complete and rigorous formulation of the major theoretical aspects of the "self-transformation thesis" can be found in Warren (1992, pp. 11-13). The four dimensions elaborated by this author provide a sound theoretical background for identifying hypotheses on the impacts of participatory governance of culture.

The first theoretical dimension underlines the endogenous nature of individual interests in relation to the decision-making processes. "The interests and capacities that define the Self are determined not only by pre-political factors but also by the constraints and possibilities of political institutions" (Warren, 1992, p. 11). Since "the nature of the opportunities given for the expression of choices affects the formation of the will" (Bowles & Gintis, 1986, p. 149), the interests of the individual will be highly affected by the typology of the actors involved, their interactions, the internal discursive and structural organization of the group, and its location in the broader social context. According to this assumption, the selves characterized by selfishness, apathy, alienation, lack of knowledge, and prejudice, as described by the "standard liberal" theories, are not the product of limited capacities of citizens for self-governance but rather the result of a lack of meaningful political discourse and participation.

The second theoretical dimension concerns the justification of participation in terms of maximization of opportunities for self-governance and self-development and not in terms of advancement of pre-political wants and preferences. "Political participation is necessary for self-governance; self-governance is not simply a private matter" (Warren, 1992, p. 11). In the formulation of the thesis, self-governance is synonymous of autonomy. "Individuals are

autonomous if their preferences, goals, and life plans are not the result of manipulation, brainwashing, unthinking obedience, or reflexive acceptance of ascribed roles, but, rather, a result of their examining and evaluating wants, needs, desires, values, roles, and commitments" (Mansbridge, 1983, pp. 24-25).

Within the "self-transformation thesis", autonomy is conceptualized as being an intrinsic social capacity "that individuals develop through their interaction with others, by coming to know others both as separate human beings with their own unique capacities, problems, and interests and as beings with whom one shares at least some experiences, problems, and interests" (Warren, 1992, p. 12). Through democratic discourse, negotiation, challenge, compromise, and consensus building, individuals gain both a more complete picture of themselves, their needs, and expectations and a renewed awareness of the commonalities with their peers. "A narrowly selfish individual would probably discover a life entangled with others in ways he or she previously did not understand and an identity dependent on commitments and responsibilities to publics, communities, and groups in ways he or she previously did not recognize" (Warren, 1992, p. 12).

The third theoretical dimension underlines the intrinsic as well as the instrumental value of participation. Participatory processes do not only aggregate individual interests as in the competitive elitist or pluralistic views, but they also allow for the identification of new common and emergent interests. By raising one's wants, needs, and desires to the level of consciousness and by formulating them, participatory governance is deemed to be able to improve at the same time the substantive outcomes of collective decisions and the individual's sense of identity and autonomy.

The fourth dimension stresses the capacity of participatory processes to enhance governability. Contrary to the "demand overload" argument used by the standard liberal theorists for defending apathy as a necessary element of institutional balance (Berelson, 1954), the "self-transformation thesis" underlines that, since participation encourages substantive changes of the interests in the direction of commonality, conflict can be successfully transformed in the direction of consensus. "Democracy-inhibiting prejudice thrive on mutual isolation but begin to be called into question in the interaction that participation in joint processes facilitates" (Cunningham, 1987, pp. 76-77). In a framework that encourages interaction and discussion, people are likely to discover common interests, beginning to learn about reciprocity and tolerance (Barber, 1984; Warren, 1992). Thanks to participation, not only the cost-benefit calculus for self-interest is inappropriate, but also the structural causes of conflict (inequalities of wealth and power) could, under favorable circumstances, be mitigated.

According to Warren's formulation (1992), the "self-transformation thesis" is not applicable to all categories of public goods and, therefore, to all kinds of policy areas. "The key point is that of distinguishing between self-defining interests whose transformation democratic theory ought to view as possible and desirable and those which cannot be transformed without undesirable ends" (p. 17). Transformation without conflict is possible for those public goods that are "social, symbolic, non scarce, and non excludable", namely those defined as "social identity goods" (p. 19).

In order to discuss whether the cultural field is suitable for an application of the "self-transformation thesis" is necessary to briefly recall the definition of culture that is adopted in the present investigation, as already explained in the Introduction. Following Romainville (2015), we define "culture" as including the following four conceptual levels: 1) more broadly, what distinguishes humanity from nature; 2) secondly, the ways of life and cultural identities according to an anthropological perspective; 3) thirdly, the processes of understanding, expression, learning, and communication, and finally 4) cultural expressions and artistic works.

In all four conceptual levels, culture can be seen as a social, symbolic, non-excludable, and non-scarce good. Culture, as way of life, as means of expression or as ensemble of artworks, is not an individual but a social good. While attempts to transform individual goods in common directions produce oppressive effects, social goods, as culture, gain value the broader their recognition (Warren, 1992). As clearly exemplified by the concept of "heritage community" introduced by the Council of Europe Faro Convention (2005), the greater the cultural value the more people recognizes it. This is linked with the fact that cultural goods are symbolic and non-material goods. Even when considering private artworks, their "shared symbolic meaning" (Human Rights Council, 2011) makes them belonging more to the community than to the individual.

In addition, culture is a non-excludable good that requires and benefits from collective action. Since cultural goods encompass ways of life, symbolic meanings, and the exchange of immaterial and intellectual contents, in enjoying them individuals "may discover or create common interests" (Warren, 1992, p. 17). Finally, culture can be considered as a non-scarce typology of good, not only broadly available but also increasingly valuable when people enjoy, create, and disseminate it.

In the light of this, it is possible to affirm that the "self-transformation thesis" is applicable to the cultural sector and can be employed for analyzing the impacts of participatory governance in this field. Acknowledging that cultural goods are social, symbolic, non-scarce, and non-excludable does not mean that they are absolutely non-conflicting domains. As illustrated in the

first Chapter, culture – as attribution of meanings – is highly linked with phenomena of contestation and opposition. What the "self-transformation thesis" argues is that, contrarily to other policy areas and public goods, these conflicts, when attached to cultural goods, could be transformed, under specific circumstances, into common areas of collaboration without oppressive drawbacks. The empirical challenge is that of shedding light on the contextual conditions that make this transformation possible.

3.3 Main "expansive" theories

The following paragraphs discuss and compare the two main modern theories that could be considered as the direct derivation of the "expansive" approach to the study of democracy: the Participatory and the Deliberative theories. The aim is that of illustrating their main conceptual assumptions and points of convergence/divergence in order to show both their usefulness and their limitations as far as the investigation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture is concerned.

3.3.1 Participatory theories

Participatory theories are, generally speaking, characterized by the strong accent put on the direct involvement and the decisional power of citizens in the formulation of laws and policies that affect them (Fung, 2007). The term "participatory democracy", introduced for the first time in an article of Arnold Kaufman (1960), became of widespread use during the 60s and 70s, thanks to the Port Huron Statement, a declaration through which a group of American students (Students for a Democratic Society, 1962) stated their engagement for promoting the democratization of all spheres of society. Arguing that "decision making- processes must be conducted in public and participatory ways", they stressed the fact that "the political order should serve to solve public problems through the involvement of those that are more able to find a solution" (Floridia, 2013, p. 4).

The idea of participation as direct exercise of power was then further developed by other participatory theorists, such as Pateman (1970), Mansbridge (1983), and Barber (1984). The analysis of their works, thus evidencing peculiar characteristics for each of them, allows us to discuss the core elements of the Participatory theories.

First, common to these theories is "the accent on the perverse effects of representation" that is deemed to foster "the atrophy of individuals' political capacities, incentives to apathy, and passivity" (Floridia, 2013, p. 5). Participation was proposed as a crucial antidote for this.

According to Barber (1984), "strong" democracy – "a form of government in which all the people govern themselves in at least some public matters at least some of the time" (p. 119) – is the political regime that best responds to the "political condition", namely to the circumstances in which "there is a necessity for public action, and thus for reasonable public choice, in the presence of conflict and in the absence of private or independent grounds for judgment" (p. 132). Contrary to liberal – "thin" – forms, "strong" democracy rests upon the direct "activity, commitment, and engagement of citizens", fosters the creation of "public goods and public ends" and "acknowledges conflict but it ultimately transform it" through "on-going public talk" (pp. 133-134).

Secondly, Participatory theories are characterized by a focus on the local and communitarian level. A central role in the experimentation of citizen direct involvement in the exercise of power was recognized to local assemblies, town meetings, and participatory workplaces (Mansbridge, 1983; Pateman, 1970). "This political intimacy is essential for citizens to appreciate the interests and perspectives of those who disagree with them and to transform their own views in light of those differences" (Fung, 2007, p. 450).

Finally, and most importantly, these theories distinguish themselves from the Deliberative ones for the great significance given to the notion of empowerment through the direct involvement in public decisions and to its transformational effects on individuals and the whole society. "In Participatory theories, *participation* refers to equal participation in the making of decisions and *political equality* to equality of power in determining the outcome of decisions" (Pateman, 1970, p. 43). This notion is well expressed by the influential image of the "ladder of participation" (Arnstein, 1969), a ladder in which each "rung" denoted the different possible levels of citizen participative involvement, depending on the degree of power that they were able to exercise – from the lowest level of non-participation (manipulation, therapy), to tokenism (information, consultation, placation), to proper forms of citizen power (partnership, delegated power, community control). According to Arnstein (1969), "participation without redistribution of power – at the lowest rungs of the ladder – is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless" (p. 217).

The "self-transformation thesis" is, for participatory theorists, mainly linked with empowerment and direct involvement in decision making-processes. Thanks to the active agreement of citizens, it is assumed that "laws yield superior outcomes from the perspective of each party" (Fung, 2007, p. 450), promoting governability and acceptance. Moreover, the intrinsic value of empowerment lies in the transformation of individuals in democratic valuable

ways. Direct participation makes "the ideal of the self-governing community possible through the creation of common goals, public ends, and provisional flexible consensus" (Fung, 2007, p. 450).

Participatory theories have strongly contributed to the advancement of Democratic Theory for their stress on both the necessity of distributing and delegating decisional power to participants and the transformative potential that this process has over individuals and society. As such, they are essential points of reference for substantiating the "self-transformation thesis" into the investigation of participatory governance of culture and for explaining the international and European policy discourse on its beneficial effects. However, these theories have limitations regarding the analytical tools needed for conducting this research.

As effectively summarized by Fung (2006, p. 67) in commenting the Arnstein's ladder (1969), most of the existing Participatory theories fuse "an empirical scale that describes the level of influence individuals have with normative approval". In their perspective, participation is presented as a one-fits-all recipe to be applied across a variety of settings and social circumstances to promote successfully public policies. Because of this, Participatory theories are defective for analyzing the impacts of participatory governance of culture in two main ways.

On the one hand, these theories do not allow us to take into consideration the possible tyrannical derivations of participation and the multiple and less visible forms of power relations in which participatory settings usually unfold (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). As illustrated in the first Chapter, even when implemented with the objective of promoting the maximum possible involvement of people affected by the decisions, at the highest rungs of Arnstein's ladder, participatory decision-making may become a conflicting arena in which top-down and bottom-up interests constantly diverge and fight for supremacy (White, 1996). Contrary to the arguments presented by "expansive" theorists such as Pateman (1970) and Barber (1984), not only the representative systems but also the participatory ones can have perverse effects, linked with the exercise of subtle forms of control among groups (Kothari, 2001) and with the manipulation of local knowledge (Mosse, 2001).

On the other hand, Participatory theories do not offer any theoretical insight for understanding the failures of participatory governance of culture, its possible unintended consequences, and the context-specific interactions that affects the results of the governance arrangements. Observing that participatory governance of culture can lead to positive results in terms of cultural development as well as to phenomena of contestation and lack of social cohesion is one of the main research problems that this research wants to address. While the value-laden prescriptions of participatory theorists are extremely useful in understanding how and why participatory governance produces beneficial effects, they are ineffective in shedding light

on the contextual conditions that played a role, thus explaining the reasons why participation, as a "performative practice" (Turnout et al., 2010), has different effects in different settings.

3.3.2 Deliberative theories

Deliberative theories distinguish themselves from the Participatory ones for their emphasis on the positive and transformational effects of the type of communication that should be practiced during the decision-making process. This form of communication – the deliberative one – is characterized by the fact that decisions are "backed by reasons that all others can accept" (Fung, 2007, p. 449). "Participatory democracy is founded on the direct action of citizens who exercise some power and decide issues affecting their lives; Deliberative democracy, instead, is founded on argumentative exchanges, reciprocal reason-giving, and on the public debate which precedes decisions" (Floridia, 2013, p. 6).

Deliberative theorists share with the Participatory ones the critique to the representative model of democracy. However, they attribute more importance to the typology and intensity of communication among actors involved in the decision-making process than on the level of their engagement in the formulation and implementation of the decisions. The key argument lies in the contraposition between an "aggregative" model of democracy and a "discursive" one. They oppose the idea that individuals' preferences can only be "counted" and assumed as "data", maintaining that these can be formed and transformed in the course of a deliberative process or procedure (Elster, 1998).

While there could be some substantial overlaps between the two theoretical strands (Sintomer, 2011), in the sense that forms of deliberation can be more or less "participatory" and forms of participation can be more or less "deliberative", Deliberative and Participatory theories substantially disagree on the relation between participation and decision. For a participatory theorist, "to participate" means to have direct power on collective decisions and to be materially included in decision-making processes. To deliberate, instead, does not mean to make decision. Deliberation is a process of discursive formation and transformation of political decisions that is not linked with the actual exercise of power in the implementation of those decisions. A public procedure could be defined as deliberative and democratic if it is based on the exchange of reasons and arguments and if it is inclusive, involving all those affected by the public issue at hand (Cohen, 1989).

Deliberative theorists connect the effects of the "self-transformation thesis" to this discursive procedure. On the one hand, public debate and reciprocal reason giving serve to

produce better outcomes and to increase governability. Through deliberation, it is possible to attain a rational consensus or a shared solution around a collective problem, producing more effective decisions. Moreover, participants can circumscribe the reasons for disagreement or conflict in order to identify possible areas of equilibrium and compromise (Cohen, 1989).

On the other hand, deliberation transforms individuals' way of thinking. People transform their "more immediate, spontaneous, uninformed, and unreflective" preferences into public-spirited ones (Bessette, 1980, p. 106). These "adaptive preferences" lead directly to expression of the "public voice" and to the identification of the common good (Sunstein, 1985, p. 82). Within these theories, public or common good derives from "the collective capacity for deliberation, from the public quest for shared solutions, through debates and discussions" (Floridia, 2013, p. 37).

Deliberative theories provide clear indication about how a public debate or discussion should be conducted, including all interested parts and giving them space for expressing their reasons and arguments. Moreover, these theories shed light on the beneficial effects that such deliberative processes produce, transforming individual preferences into shared ones and giving shape to "public voice" and "common good". However, their limitation for what concerns the analysis of participatory governance of culture is twofold.

First, Deliberative theories pose ideal standards of communication and interaction that do not take into account the detrimental effects of the "group dynamics" as discussed in the first Chapter and proved through empirical observations (Cooke, 2001). This prevents us to evaluate how the effects of deliberative processes change according to the typology of participants, the composition of their interests, and the distribution of power among them.

Secondly, these theories focus their attention on the communication and interaction in public arenas without paying attention to the implementation phase. As it is well summarized by Warren (2017), "a model of deliberative democracy, insofar as it is centered on deliberation, is *not* a theory of power, *nor* of distribution of power, *nor* of inequality, *nor* of political decision making. It is a primarily a theory of communicative responses to disagreement, preference formation, and collective will formation, focused on mediating conflict through the give and take of reasons" (p. 40). As they do not take into account how the output of the deliberation is translated into policy actions, Deliberative theories, while giving precious insights as far as some dimensions of the "self-transformation thesis" are concerned, cannot be employed as a theoretical background for investigating the actual fingerprints of participatory processes in culture.

4. The benefits of a "pragmatic conception"

The study of the impacts of participatory governance of culture finds a promising theoretical background in what has been defined the "pragmatic conception" of democracy and of participation (Fung, 2007, 2012). The pragmatic conception originates as a response to the so-called "ideal conceptions of democracy", e.g. Participatory and Deliberative theories, with the aim of proposing a theoretical framework for studying participation able to avoid value-laden contents and normative prescriptions.

"Current conceptions of democracy operate for the most part in the realm of ideal theory. That is, they aim to articulate the principles and institutions of democracy under favorable circumstances rather than the highly imperfect contingent and historical circumstances in which societies actually find themselves. Such ideal conceptions of democracy layout freestanding views of what the idea of self-government by equal citizens requires and how best to realize that idea" (Fung, 2012, p. 610). The pragmatic conception distinguishes itself from the ideal ones for two main aspects.

First, it recognizes a central role to the context in which participatory practices are realized, studying the specific interactions between the decision-making processes and the social and historical circumstances. The key argument is that the variety of social problems could be addressed with a wide range of governance solutions. "Whereas an ideal theory of democracy specifies the correct standards to be met - standards of electing rulers, tallying preferences, or providing reasons, for example - pragmatic conceptions of democracy begin with proximate governance problems that face a given society. Whereas the main aim of an ideal theory of democracy is to clarify the fundamental values and standards of democratic governance, a pragmatic theory begins instead by characterizing the problems that are most urgent to a particular society embedded in its political, economic, and social circumstances" (Fung, 2012, p. 611). What matters is the typology of problems to be solved and the context in which the governance response should be articulated.

Secondly, a pragmatic conception of participation transforms values and normative prescriptions in empirical standards able to assess the performance of governance arrangements on the ground. "It aims to provide a set of working hypotheses about the most important problems of governance, about available alternatives, about how to judge public institutions […]. As a pragmatic conception, the issue is whether the elements of the theory are useful rather than whether they are true" (Fung, 2012, p. 623).

How does a pragmatic conception describe the function of participatory governance? This is, first of all, presented as a response to four possible empirical democratic deficits of the

representative system (pp. 612 – 614). The latter is imagined as being organized as a six phases-process: (1) citizens have fundamental interests, (2) form political preferences, (3) express political choices through voting, (4) those votes produce mandates for politicians or parties (5) who produce laws and policies (6) that are implemented by public agencies. The first deficit is linked with the fact that citizens might have unclear preferences regarding the public policies that best advance their interests; the second one with the fact that electoral mechanisms could provide only blunt signals to politicians and parties regarding the content of those preferences. The third deficit grasps the idea that the electoral mechanisms may prove too weak to hold the political and administrative machinery of government accountable, thus giving way to the "tyranny of powerful minority interests". Finally, the State itself might lack the capacity to produce outcomes that advance citizens' interests well (p. 613). With this diagnosis in hand, participatory governance is conceptualized as "a menu of institutional alternatives" (p. 615) that serves to guide and discipline efforts to find better methods and procedures to make collective decisions and take collective actions.

The pragmatic conception provides the evaluation of the impacts of participatory governance of culture with two specific theoretical tools, i.e. the "pragmatic equilibrium" and the "practical reasoning" (Fung, 2007). A brief illustration of both tools will further clarify the usefulness of this approach for the empirical study conducted in this investigation.

The concept of "pragmatic equilibrium" specifies a relationship among underlying values and goals, institutional prescriptions, and the empirical consequences of those prescriptions. According to Fung (2007), there are three components that make a conception of democracy complete. First, "it must offer an articulation of the values that relate collective decisions and actions to the interests and views of the individuals who compose a collectivity" (p. 444). Such values include, in addition to non-tyranny, principles such as public accountability, self-government, reasoned rule, private liberty, self-actualization, and competent government. Secondly, "every democratic conception must recommend institutions – for example, political liberties, competitive elections, universal suffrage, civic associations, referenda, town meetings, and peak bargaining arrangements – that advance its underlying values" (p. 454). Third, "values and institutional prescriptions are typically connected deductively by presuming empirical facts – often quite stylized – about the political psychology and capabilities of individuals and about socio-political dynamics". In the light of this, Fung (2007) states that "a conception of democracy is in pragmatic equilibrium just in case the consequences of its institutional prescriptions realize its values well and better than any other feasible institutional arrangement across a wide range of problems and contexts" (p. 443).

In Fung's (2007) conceptualization, the study of the "pragmatic equilibrium" is articulated in various analytical steps. First, (1) starting from a well-specified conception of democracy with clearly articulated values and institutional prescriptions, (2) the researcher identifies a set of problems that require collective decision and action. Then, (3) the research should test that conception by noting, through direct observation or informed reflection, if the institutional arrangements prescribed solve the individuated problems advancing the proclaimed values. This evaluation can be carried out also (4) considering the alternative ways in which collective decisions might be made and assessing their capacity to solve the problems in question.

In both its scope and application, the conceptual tool of the "pragmatic equilibrium" presents a strong linkage with the tradition of classical pragmatism and the theorizations of authors such as Pierce (1878) and James (1907/1975). The core of pragmatism is the "pragmatist maxim", a rule for clarifying the contents of hypotheses by tracing their practical consequences (Hookway, 2016). The main argument of the pragmatic tradition is that theories and concepts should be seen as "instruments, not answers to enigmas" (James, 1907/1975, p. 31). Hence, rather than on a metaphysical ground, their validity should be evaluated looking at the empirical facts connected with their assumptions.

Consistently, "pragmatic equilibrium" focuses attention on the empirical effects of institutional designs, holding that the meaning of a political idea or belief is given by its practical consequences. In this sense, "pragmatists are fallibilists" since they assume that institutions are likely to generate consequences that fail to realize its values because "the facts of the world depart from its stylized facts" (Fung, 2007, p. 445). This is why the concept of "pragmatic equilibrium" is not meant to sustain or promote a specific conception of democracy: "it is constructed as a tool for democratic theorizing rather than as a way to justify a particular model, position, or set of values" (p. 446).

The second conceptual tool – the "practical reasoning" – should be seen as a consequence of the results obtained through the analysis of the "pragmatic equilibrium". When a conception of democracy fails the test of "pragmatic equilibrium", showing inconsistencies between the proclaimed values and the effects realized by its institutional arrangements, the "practical reasoning" makes the researcher use the empirical findings for revising the theory in a way that bring it closer to fulfill the standards. According to Fung (2007), the mechanism is the same of practical reasoning for individual agents. "[…] Individual interests and goals can change when they act in concrete situations as a result of reflection, interaction, and discussion. […] When faced with new information, experiences, or situations, individuals may come to see the vagueness in their goals, recognize contradictions among them and even adopt new ends.

Similarly, a democratic theorist may adjust the institutional and ethical commitments of his conception of democracy by reasoning practically about which institutions will work best and then about what is democratically valuable" (Fung, 2007, p. 447).

With the "practical reasoning", the reflection on the unintended consequences of various institutional arrangements may guide the revision of the theory in two directions. On the one hand, when it becomes clear that a specific conception of democracy (e.g. the necessity of making everyone participate in direct deliberation) fails in promoting the values that justify it (e.g. self-government of participants or increased legitimacy of public decisions), the first response could be "to cast about for alternative institutional arrangements that better realize those values". On the other hand, the researcher could decide "to revise the democratic values themselves in ways that respond to the possibilities and constraints revealed by empirical analysis or to reduce vagueness and inconsistency in a conception's values" (Fung, 2007, p. 447).

Both theoretical tools, the "pragmatic equilibrium" and the "practical reasoning", are extremely useful for this research. Reflecting on the "pragmatic equilibrium" of participatory governance of culture means evaluating whether the values it proclaims (e.g. increased effectiveness and sustainability of cultural policies or long-term effects for what concerns local cultural development) have been realized empirically through the related institutional arrangements that prescribe the opening-up of the decision-making process to all interested stakeholders and the activation of a face-to-face dialogue among them. In this sense, the present investigation follows the analytical path indicated by Fung (2007): it starts by focusing on a well-specified conception of democracy (participatory governance) with clearly articulated values (as expressed in the already discussed "self-transformation thesis") and institutional arrangements; it identifies local cultural development as the issue of public interest to take into consideration and then it collects empirical evidence and observable facts for seeing if the expected results are realized on the ground. Since we find that unintended consequences such as contestation or lack of social cohesion are produced, the "practical reasoning" helps us revising the assumptions of the paradigm in the light of the new empirical facts collected, clarifying the conditions in which participatory governance works as expected and specifying which arrangements could be introduced for making the paradigm consistent with the values proclaimed.

Coherently with this theoretical background, the "self-transformation thesis" and all the assumptions of the "expansive" theories become a precious set of working hypotheses through which it is possible to test the promise – the "pragmatic equilibrium" – of participatory governance of culture. Does the participatory process transform individual, conflicting interests into common, collective ones? Does it maximize opportunities for self-development in the

cultural field? Does it make cultural policies more effective, producing positive impacts and addressing collective problems? If not, "practically reasoning", which are the contextual circumstances that have played a role? What implications do the new findings have for cultural policy making? The "pragmatic conception" allows us to ask – and find an answer to – these questions.

Conclusions

This Chapter has presented and discussed the theoretical background on the basis of which the analysis of the impacts of participatory governance of culture will be pursued in the framework of this research. It argues that, for responding to its research questions – how, why, and under which circumstances participatory governance promotes cultural development – the present investigation should combine two theoretical tenets formulated within the Democratic Theory: the "self-transformation thesis" proposed by the "expansive" theorists of democracy (Warren, 1992) and the "pragmatic conception" of democracy introduced by Fung (2007, 2012).

On the one hand, the Chapter maintains that an analysis of the impacts of participatory decision-making processes in culture cannot be pursued without underlying theoretical assumptions regarding the transformative, developmental, and educative potential of participation. The "expansive" or "developmental" tradition of the Democratic Theory is particularly useful for this scope. Contrary to "protective" theories such as the competitive elitism and pluralism, the "developmental" ones and the political thought of authors such as Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and Dewey emphasize both the psychological and educative effects of participation on the actors involved and its positive contribution to the effectiveness of the decision-making process.

In particular, "expansive" theories provide the present investigation with the so-called "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992): a set of assumptions about the nature of the self, the endogenous nature of his interests in relation to the decision-making process, and the linkage between participation, self-development, effectiveness, and governability that allows us to theoretically justify the positive impacts of participation. Since culture can be defined as a "social, symbolic, non-excludable, and non-scarce good" (Warren, 1992, p. 19) in all its declinations, cultural policies are a suitable terrain of application of this thesis. Indeed, unlike other policy areas, we could reasonably expect that, in the cultural sector, private interests can be transformed in public-oriented ones without fostering oppressive dynamics.

On the other hand, this Chapter demonstrates that "expansive" theories such as the Participatory and the Deliberative ones suggest precious conceptual justifications of the international and European discourses on participatory governance of culture but are not analytically sufficient for conducting an evidence-based investigation of its impacts. In both theories, even if attached to different elements of the decision-making process, the "self-transformation thesis" is assumed as being universally true: participatory theorists argue that the beneficial effects of participation are always linked with the direct exercise of power, whereas the deliberative ones stress the central role of communication and reason-giving in transforming conflicting attitudes into common good orientation among actors. Since participation and deliberation are always presented as one-fits-all recipes for successful public policies, the "expansive" theories do not consider the subtle power relations, the group dynamics, and the context-specific interactions that characterize participatory settings and affect their performance and impacts. Hence, while extremely useful in elucidating the reasons of the positive effects of participatory decision-making in culture, these theories do not allow us to analyze and explain also their possible adverse or unpredicted consequences.

Because of this, the present investigation should necessarily combine the "self-transformation thesis" (Warrren, 1992) with the "pragmatic conception" proposed by Fung (2007, 2012). By adopting this theoretical standpoint, the "self-transformation thesis" is neither rejected (as done by most "standard liberal" theorists) nor blindly supported (as done by a lot of "expansive" theorists), but becomes a set of useful working hypotheses to be submitted to empirical test. The benefit of analyzing the "self-transformation thesis" through the pragmatic lens is that this combination allows us to investigate not only the founding values but also the practical consequences of participatory governance of culture, taking into consideration its impacts in various contextual conditions.

This is made possible thanks to the consecutive application of the two conceptual tools suggested by the "pragmatic conception", namely the "pragmatic equilibrium" and the "practical reasoning" (Fung, 2007). Firstly, this investigation analyses if participatory governance of culture presents a "pragmatic equilibrium" between underlying values, institutional prescriptions, and empirical facts. Through direct observation, we shed light on how and why the proclaimed positive effects of public participation in terms of cultural development and effective cultural policies have been realized on the ground. Secondly, in case of observed unexpected consequences, such as phenomena of contestation or lack of social cohesion, the "practical reasoning" makes us using the empirical evidence collected to refine the expectations surrounding participatory governance of culture, revising the values and the assumptions of this

policy paradigm in the light of the contextual conditions that play a role in determining its impacts.

Chapter 3

Participatory Governance and Cultural Development: A Framework of Causal Mechanisms

Introduction

This Chapter represents the core conceptual contribution of the thesis. It proposes and discusses an analytical framework through which it is possible to analyze the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development. The framework responds to the attempt of solving some of the problematic, unclear, and controversial points regarding participatory governance of culture, its implementation, and evaluation, as underlined in Chapter 1.

First, as far as the definitional aspects are concerned, the Chapter introduces a definition of "cultural development" as a process that includes observable effects in terms of cultural production and reception and is sustained by a network of cultural relations. This concept, largely grounded in Throsby's definition of "culturally sustainable development" (CSD) (Throsby, 2017) is considered conceptually broad enough to include the fragmented policy objectives against which the "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) on participatory governance of culture is formulated and, at the same time, easy to be operationalized in the view of an empirical analysis.

Building on the work of Fung (2006), participatory governance is conceptualized as a three-dimensional institutional space that could vary for the levels of representation, communication, and power delegation. While this definition allows us to respond to the lack of clarity regarding "how" participation should be implemented, an application of the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" proposed by Newig et al. (2013) is used for introducing a classification of the actors that can take part to cultural decision-making processes, thus answering to the question of "who" participates in participatory governance of culture.

For what concerns the analysis of why and under which circumstances participatory governance produces beneficial effects, the analytical framework, coherently with the process-tracing methodology, adopts a mechanistic understanding of the relationship between participation (independent variable) and cultural development (its expected outcome). The cause-effect link between the two is unwrapped and divided into smaller steps composed of entities engaged in activities.

The starting point of the analytical framework is that face-to-face dialogue between a group of stakeholders reunited for realizing a public cultural initiative functions as a "trigger" of the

various mechanisms connecting participation with cultural development. Referring to the main assumptions of the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), it has been possible to justify the "productive continuity" (Machamer et al., 2000, p. 3) linking institutional characteristics, substantive outputs of the decision-making process, societal outcomes (such as capacity building, mutual understanding, and common good orientation), and impacts on the cultural life.

A particular attention has been put on the analysis of the contextual conditions in which the causal mechanisms take place. The main argument is that the potential of participatory governance to produce cultural development and to reach its "pragmatic equilibrium" (Fung, 2007) or, on the contrary, to give rise to forms of contestation or of isolated cultural production depends on the intensity of trust among participants. The presence of fully-fledged trust or its absence (i.e. mistrust or "calculus-based" trust) produce three different types of impacts of participatory governance of culture, namely three causal scenarios that are described in this Chapter referring to both theoretical explanations and empirical insights.

1. Cultural development as expected outcome

As exemplified by the Council Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage (Council of the European Union, 2014a), the instrumental claim surrounding participatory decision-making processes in culture links them to the realization of a wide and fragmented variety of cultural policy objectives, including promotion of social cohesion, local identity and traditional know-how, innovation and business development, urban regeneration, and quality cultural tourism (par. 9 – 17). In order to build a theoretical framework able to grasp the multiple observable impacts that participation could have on the local cultural sphere, this research introduces the concept of "cultural development" which is identified as the expected outcome of the participatory decision-making in culture.

The notion of "cultural development" adopted in this investigation is grounded in Throsby's formulation of "culturally sustainable development" (CSD) (2017, pp. 137-138). Imagined as a "practical basis for assessing whether or not cultural policies conform to various desirable properties" (Throsby, 2017, p. 143), this concept presents a twofold analytical benefit: on the one hand, being a sort of holistic standard regarding the effectiveness of cultural policies, it includes many of the various auspicated impacts of participatory governance as formulated in the European and international policy discourse; on the other, thanks to its rigorous formulation in Throsby's recent paper (2017) and previous works (Throsby, 1995, 1997), it encompasses a set

of clearly stated principles that are easy to be operationalized in the view of conducting an evidence-based impact evaluation.

The concept of "culturally sustainable development" (CDS) has strongly affected the international standard setting concerning the reflection on the role of culture in development and the importance of cultural diversity as a matter of social and economic importance (UNESCO, 2005, 2013, 2015). In Throsby's formulation, CDS is grounded in the theory of cultural capital and should be seen as a set of standards that could guide its effective management. According to this author (Throsby, 1999), cultural capital includes tangible and intangible cultural assets, both inherited from the past and created in the present by artistic or cultural endeavors, which embody or give rise to cultural value in addition to whatever economic value they possess. "However it arises, the stock of cultural capital available to a community or nation comprises a valued resource that has somehow to be managed, and it is this management function that can be interpreted within a sustainability framework" (Throsby, 2017, p. 136).

Throsby (2017, pp. 137-138; 2011, p. 356; 2010, p. 195) individuates five theoretical propositions that could guide the translation of CDS in policy terms:

1) the "intergenerational equity" refers to the necessity of protecting and enhancing tangible and intangible cultural goods in order not compromise "the capacities of future generations to access cultural resources" and "meet their cultural needs";
2) the "intragenerational equity" indicates equity in access to cultural production, participation, and enjoyment for all members of the community on a fair and non-discriminatory level;
3) the "importance of diversity" is linked with the need of protecting both the variety of cultures and of artistic means as well as languages through which cultures express (UNESCO, 2005), considering diversity an intrinsic value connected with the "human mosaic";
4) the "precautionary principle" has to do with the risk-adverse position that should be taken for avoiding the destruction of cultural heritage or the extinction of valued cultural practices;
5) finally, "interconnectedness" – recognized as "in some aspects the most fundamental aspect" (Throsby, 1995) – refers to the opportunity of pursuing an holistic approach, stressing the linkages between culture and other economic and social sectors as well as the relations among the various actors.

For the purpose of clearly distinguishing the components of local cultural development on which participatory governance is supposed to have an impact, the analytical framework that

guides this investigation synthesizes Throsby's five principles of CSD in a working definition of "cultural development" that includes three strongly interrelated dimensions: (1) cultural production, (2) cultural reception, and (3) cultural relations. In general terms, the present framework sees cultural development as a long-term process of expansion of the collective capabilities of producing and accessing to cultural resources and experiences, sustained by a network of actors engaged in cultural activities.

The dimension of "cultural production" relates to the quantity, the continuity, the diversity, and the innovative character of the cultural offer in a specific territory, including the preservation and promotion of the different forms of cultural heritage and cultural expressions that are part of the local identity and history. This dimension explicitly includes the principles of "intergenerational equity", "importance of diversity", and the "precautionary principle" (Throsby, 2017), grasping the idea of the necessary safeguarding and accumulation of local cultural capital, its sharing, and vitality. The expected impacts of participatory governance on cultural production are thus connected with the continuity of the cultural activities in the territory also after the participatory process and with the diversity and variety of cultures and cultural domains represented.

The dimension of "cultural reception" reflects the principle of "intragenerational equity" (Throsby, 2017), namely the fairness and non-discrimination in access to cultural goods and experiences and in participation in cultural life for all members of the community. Empirically, impacts in this dimension of cultural development refer to processes of enlargement, diversification, and engagement of audiences in cultural activities. Increased cultural reception can be observed if, after the participatory process, not only audiences augment in number (enlargement) but also if different social groups take part in cultural activities (diversification). Cultural reception encompasses also the active engagement of people in processes of co-creation of artistic expressions. Hence, reception is to be intended as encompassing both the attending and creative behaviors (UNESCO, 2009), including also amateurs' activities that constitute people's everyday cultural participation. The creative component of the reception differentiates from the production dimension for the fact of focusing on nonprofessional forms of artistic expressions.

The dimension of "cultural relations" indicates the interdependence and interconnectedness of all actors involved directly and indirectly with the cultural field, the idea that "no part of any system exists independently of other parts" (Throsby, 2011, p. 145). This holistic principle is best expressed by the role attributed to "cultural ecosystems" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141), namely the systems of interdependent actors that, attributing shared values to some cultural activities, sustain and develop them. Impacts on cultural relations – thus being observable in the constitution of

cultural networks in which different public, private, and civic actors cooperate for the realization of cultural activities – refers also to an immaterial process of long-term diffusion of shared cultural values and meanings that makes possible both the continuity of cultural activities over time and the presence of a common shared strategy around culture. As clarified by the graphical representation of "cultural development" reported in Figure 2 of the Introduction and then recalled also in Figure 2 of this Chapter, cultural relations are conceptualized as a sort of intangible driving force of the cultural developmental processes that manifest themselves in the visible increase in cultural production and cultural reception.

While "cultural production" and "cultural reception" represent the most observable expressions of cultural development, embedding, respectively, a sort of "supply" and "demand" side in the cultural domain, "cultural relations" are considered – as for Throsby's "cultural ecosystems" principle (2017) – the overall "systemic" framework in which both production and reception can be promoted. Recalling the fourfold definition of culture proposed by Romainville (2015) and as already discussed in the Introduction, we can specify that "cultural relations" correspond to the immaterial processes of "understanding, expressing, and learning" (p. 419). "Cultural production" and "cultural reception", instead, refer to the whole set of cultural expressions, practices, and artistic works that concretely exemplify these immaterial processes.

A concrete idea of this holistic vision of cultural development is given by the image of a "livable urban space" in which different cultural actors work in harmony between them and with other sectors to increase the cultural and creative atmosphere, promote employment, enhance social cohesion, and reduce intercultural tensions (Bailey et al., 2004).

2. Defining participatory governance

2.1 A three-dimensional definition

Building on the definitions proposed by various authors (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Fung, 2006) and already adopted and operationalized in other works dealing with the impacts of participatory governance (i.e. the works of Newig et al., 2013, 2017 in the field of environmental governance), the present investigation adopts a three-dimensional understanding of participatory decision-making processes. According to Fung (2006) and consistently with his "pragmatic conception" (Fung, 2007, 2012) discussed in Chapter 2, participation includes a "menu of institutional alternatives" that could vary along three dimensions: "Who participates? How do they communicate and make decisions? What is the connection between their

conclusions and opinions on one hand and public policy and action on the other?" (Fung, 2012, p. 615).

Our working definition conceptualizes participatory governance as:

> an institutional space, its governing rules and interactions, in which a certain degree of involvement of non-state actors in the formulation of a collective binding decision is realized. In particular, the degree of involvement of non-state actors could vary along three fundamental dimensions, namely (1) the degree of representation of the concerned stakeholders' field, (2) the intensity of communication among participants during the decision-making process (dialogue and deliberation), and (3) the extent of power delegated to them over the formulation of the decisions. Measuring the extension of the institutional space along these three dimensions means measuring the intensity of its participatory nature.

Like Ansell and Gash (2008), this definition refers to an institutional space in which the modalities of interaction between public authorities and non-state actors are formally conducted and aim at addressing public policies and collective issues. A clear distinction is made from more casual and informal forms of agency-interest groups interactions, in order to stress the importance of arrangements based on public organization and structure. Hence, the present theoretical framework analyses cultural decision-making processes whose objective is that of formulating a collective binding decision on the allocation public resources for the realization of cultural activities in a concerned territory. To mention but a few examples, the outputs of these decisions comprise public management plans of cultural institutions, cultural development strategies or public programs of cultural festivals and events, including the bidding processes for hosting cultural initiatives such as European Capitals of Culture or participating in cultural networks at international level.

The dimension of participatory governance linked with the degree of representation of the cultural stakeholders' field relates to the "participant selection" (Fung, 2006). It refers to the degree to which the various stakeholders become participants, namely "actors taking part in the decision-making process due to a position granted by the organizers" (Newig et al., 2013, p. 11). A sufficient level of representation is reached when all relevant and significant interests affected by the public decisions are identified and taken into consideration during the process (Innes & Booher, 1999). Since decision-makers could lack "knowledge, competence, public purpose or resources" (Fung, 2006, p. 57), giving voice to this multiple perspective could lead to the formulation of "more thoughtful decisions" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 12). In the cultural domain,

representation addresses issues such as the promotion of cultural diversity, the expression of local identities, and the public acceptance of cultural festivals and events.

The dimension of participatory governance linked with dialogue and deliberation refers to "how participants interact within a venue of public discussion or decision" (Fung 2006, p. 68). Both dialogue and deliberation are considered forms of thick communication, including a real and continuous two-way flux of information. Thanks to the exchange of points of view and the give-and-take of bargaining, dialogic processes are considered as "a basic premise for negotiation and aggregation of preferences among participants" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 558). Deliberation, instead, is a more demanding form of communication, supposed to follow the most "reasonable" argument and to orientate the decisions towards the common good. Indeed, in deliberative settings, the process of interaction and exchange among participants is guided by the research for an agreement based on reasons, arguments, and principles (Fung, 2006). Open and face-to-face dialogue could be an element of considerable importance in cultural decision-making processes, where the stakeholders' field is highly diverse, both for societal status and objectives pursued.

The dimension of power delegation describes the extent to which "the decisions that participants make become policies" (Fung, 2006, p. 59). Unlike settings in which participation is aimed at providing advice and consultation to public officials, involvement of participants happens when non-state actors have at least a certain degree of influence over public decisions, i.e. these acknowledge and include some of the inputs provided by people. Fung and Wright (2001) argue that the direct influence of those most affected by public programs increase effectiveness and accountability, giving the opportunity to lay citizens to realize actions that reflect their knowledge and interests.

Following Newig et al. (2013), the analytical framework assumes that, according to objectives pursed, the initiator and the organizer of the cultural decision-making process could carry on this process with various degrees of participation, giving rise to an institutional space that is less or more extended according to levels of representation, dialogue among participants, and power delegated to them (see the Figure 1 reported in the Introduction and included also in Figure 2 of this Chapter). However, consistently with Ansell and Gash (2008) and Freeman (1997), the framework states that for participatory governance to produce the expected outcomes – hence, in our case, to function as a "trigger" of cultural developmental dynamics – a certain degree of intensity along the three above-mentioned dimensions should be reached. As conceptualized in the present research, "participation is never merely consultative" and it implies both "a two-way communication and influence between agencies and stakeholders and also opportunities for stakeholders to talk with each other" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 546).

In the light of this, two conditions are assumed to be necessary for participatory governance to activate the mechanism that that will produce cultural development:

- The opening-up of the decision making process in order to achieve the maximum possible representation of the local stakeholders (public, private, civic, and individual) affected by the cultural initiative;
- The activation of a face-to-face dialogue among them that is consensus-oriented and aimed at formulating a collective decision over a public cultural initiative that will be realized in a concerned territory.

The definition of participatory governance adopted in the analytical framework is beneficial for pursuing the objectives of this investigation in two main ways. On the one hand, by defining it as a three-dimensional institutional space that could vary for the levels of representation, communication, and power delegation, it provides an answer to one of the most controversial aspects of participatory governance of culture: the question of the "how". As argued in the first Chapter, while the involvement of the community in the cultural policies is strongly promoted in various international and European instruments, no clear models, procedures, mechanisms, and rules for the concrete implementation of processes of dialogue, negotiation, and cooperation between different actors have been established.

On the other hand, stressing the importance of the involvement of all relevant stakeholders in a dialogic process that leads to the formulation of a public decision, this analytical framework is consistent with the current understanding of participatory governance of culture as promoted by the Council of the European Union (2014a) and various groups of European policy experts (OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018; Sani et al., 2015). Indeed, in the Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage, the Council of the European Union underlines that "participatory governance […] seeks the active involvement of relevant stakeholders in the framework of a public action […] – in decision-making, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of cultural heritage policies and programs" (par. 17). Similarly, the European Experts Network on Culture (EENC) affirms in a report that "the best way to define participatory governance in short […] is when it means shared responsibility" (Sani et al., 2015, p. 10).

2.2 The "structured stakeholder mapping approach"

The description of the three-dimensional institutional space of participation is linked with the necessity of addressing another unclear point of the current international and European discourse on participatory governance of culture: the question of "who" participates.

Defining stakeholder as anyone potentially affected by the collective issue at hand (Newig et al., 2013), many actors could be considered as having a stake in the cultural sector. As underlined by Throsby (2010), the range of stakeholders that have interests in the cultural domain "as producers, distributors, consumers or as policy-makers" (p. 22) could be broad and difficult to analyze in comparative perspective. For this reason, this framework proposes an application to the cultural sector of the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" introduced by Newig et al. (2013) in the field of environmental governance. This approach allows for "a structured, precise, and consistent mapping of actor-related features across a great variety of different cases" (Newig et al., 2013, p. 7). The classification proposed – summarized by Figure 1 - is aimed at systematically studying the kinds of actors that could take part in the institutional space in which cultural policies are designed and implemented.

First, the collection of organizations and individuals that are directly involved in the production and reception of culture is classified according to the social sector to which they belong, distinguishing between governmental, private and civic sector collective actors, and individual actors. For what concerns the governmental sector, this includes agencies and ministries that have responsibilities in the cultural sector, public cultural institutions of various sorts, such as museums and galleries, libraries, archives, heritage sites, as well as public artistic education and training schools. The private for-profit firms that produce cultural goods and services and the not-for profit firms and NGOs, including artists' cooperatives and collectives fall into the private and the civic sector, respectively. Finally, the mapping considers also individual actors, including lay citizens representing the audiences and the consumers of the different forms of arts and cultural expressions.

Secondly, the mapping classifies the actors according to the objectives pursued in the cultural field and to their position towards cultural development, distinguishing between "pro-excellence", "pro-economic impact", "pro-access", and "pro-innovation" actors. Derived from the classification of the cultural policy's objectives proposed in Throsby (2010, pp. 22-24) and from the ideal types of creative city policies delineated in Anttiroiko (2014, p. 857), these positions towards the cultural development are not mutually exclusive and aim at describing the principal motivations explaining the actors' priorities in the cultural scenario.

The “pro-excellence” position summarizes the concerns related to the preservation and promotion of artistic quality, judged against appropriate standards as set by professional practice in the relevant art form. This position mainly sustains what has been defined as the “intrinsic cultural value” (Holden, 2006), underling the impossibility of translating the aesthetic quality, symbolic meaning, uniqueness, and historical importance of pieces and expressions of arts in clear economic or social terms. The range of cultural objectives pursued by the actors sharing this position includes also the concern for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage, namely the ethical belief in the importance of continuity that stresses the value of cultural heritage as a link with both the past and the future of people and places’ identity.

The “pro-economic impact” position reflects what has been defined as the “instrumental cultural value” (Holden, 2006), underlying the role of the cultural and creative industries for the generation of business and jobs and for increasing the tourism-related attractiveness of cities and places (Herrero et al., 2006). This strongly market-oriented approach is linked with cultural policy’s objectives that focus, among others, on the increase of the private spending generated by cultural consumption and cultural tourism and on the promotion of employment and entrepreneurship in the cultural and creative sectors.

The “pro-access” position underlines the fact that “the cultural value of art becomes a reality only when it is experienced by someone” (Throsby, 2010, p. 25) and includes a range of objectives linked with the widening of access to artistic consumption in the community and the removal of the cognitive, social, and economic barriers that could impede the active contribution of people to the cultural life. Finally, the “pro-innovation” position collects cultural policy’s objectives that aim at extending artistic expressions towards new directions, fostering the development of non-conventional forms of arts, and the contamination between different artistic languages. This “pro-innovation” cluster includes also the support of any artistic and cultural expression strictly connected with the place where it is located, including urban and rural cultures.

As for the model proposed by Newig et al. (2013), the combined analysis of the typology of social sector – government, private, civic, and individual – and of the positions towards the cultural development – “pro-excellence”, “pro-economic impact”, “pro-access”, and “pro-innovation” – yields to a total of sixteen societal segments (see Table 1).

Table 1. The "structured stakeholders mapping approach"

	GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL
PRO-EXCELLENCE	1	2	3	4
PRO-ECONOMIC IMPACT	5	6	7	8
PRO-ACCESS	9	10	11	12
PRO-INNOVATION	13	14	15	16

Source: Author's elaboration drawing from Newig et al. (2013)

2. The analytical framework: basic assumptions

Coherently with the process tracing methodology, the present analytical framework is designed with the aim of unwrapping and dividing into smaller steps the cause-effect link that connects the independent variable (participatory governance) and its outcome (cultural development). By unpacking the causal arrows into observable parts, the investigator can look for the empirical fingerprints of each step, explaining and demonstrating the causal relations under scrutiny.

Hence, the relation between participatory governance and cultural development is presented as a series of causal mechanisms, namely individually necessary factors composed of entities that engage in activities (Beach & Pedersen, 2013). Entities (nouns) are objects, actors, institutions that accomplish actions in the social context. Activities (verbs) are the producers of change, what transmits causal forces throughout the mechanisms. The actors engaged in the decision-making process, because of the participatory dynamics, not only realize specific cultural outputs but also change their perceptions and behaviors, thus impacting on the various dimensions of cultural development.

The essence of the overall analytical framework lies in the connection between the characteristics of the institutional space, the outputs and outcomes produced during the decision-making process, and the observable impacts in terms of cultural development. Outputs refer to the substantive decisions made at the end of the process, that could be, for example, a cultural development strategy, a cultural management plan or a policy program related to public cultural initiatives. Social outcomes encompass the changes in human perceptions or action resulting from the participatory nature of the decision-making process. To name but a few, they could include gains in acceptance, conflict, trust, capacity building, and social capital.

In designing and conceptualizing the causal mechanisms, a particular attention is put on assuring and justifying a "productive continuity" (Machamer et al., 2000) between the various causal steps of the mechanism. This continuity refers to the fact that each of the parts should logically lead to the next part, with no logical holes in the causal story linking participatory governance and cultural development together.

The "productive continuity" of the analytical framework is assured by a constant reference to the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992). As illustrated in detail in Chapter 2, this "thesis" encompasses a set of assumptions derived from the "expansive" theories of democracy through which it is possible to justify the transformative power of participatory forms of decision-making processes. The framework is grounded in the hypothesis that meaningful political discourse and participation can change the attitudes and the interests of the individuals and increase their autonomy, their orientation towards the common good, and the overall effectiveness of cultural policies. By doing so, it is possible to assure the theoretical and logical consistency between the different steps of the causal relation linking participatory governance with cultural development.

Another fundamental characteristic of the analytical framework is its focus on the contextual conditions in which the supposed causal chain between participation and cultural development is grounded. Following Falleti and Lynch (2009), the framework recognizes that "causal mechanisms by themselves do not cause outcomes to occur, rather, the interaction between causal mechanisms and context does". Mechanisms are "portable and so may operate in different contexts. But depending on the nature and attributes of those contexts, the same causal mechanism could result in different outcomes" (Falleti & Lynch, 2009, p. 19).

As argued in Chapter 1, empirical data on cultural participatory decision-making processes show that they can lead to controversial results on the ground: they could be linked with beneficial effects (Sani et al., 2015) as well as with forms of contestation and opposition (Giovanangeli, 2015; Lähdesmäki, 2013). The present analytical framework stresses that "the indeterminacy of the outcome resides not in the mechanism but in the context" (Falleti & Lynch, 2009, p. 10). Following Bunge (1997), Falleti and Lynch (2009), and Pawson (2000) it is considered to be part of the context every relevant aspect of a setting (analytical, temporal, spatial, and institutional) in which a set of initial conditions leads to an outcome of a defined scope and meaning via a specified causal mechanism or set of causal mechanisms. The context is a complex ensemble of features that allows the hypothesized mechanism to be in place and produce the expected outcome. As such, its definition is strictly linked with the nature of the process and of the outcome of interest.

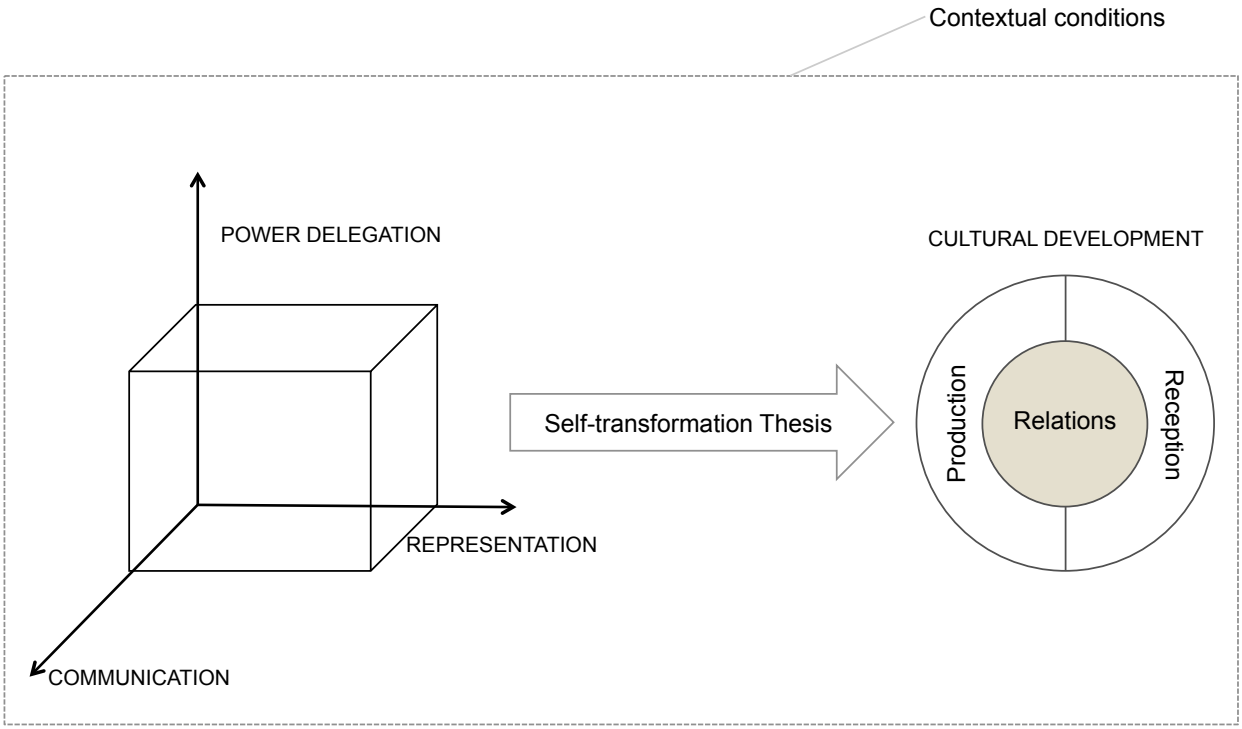
"Context plays a radically different role than that played by cause and effect; context does not cause X or Y but affects how they interact" (Goertz, 1994, p. 28, quoted in Falleti & Lynch, 2009, p. 10). In the framework, contextual conditions are essential parts of causation because "it is only in the interaction with these factors that the cause can have its effect" (Mackie, 1965, quoted in Falleti & Lynch, 2009, p. 10).

The focus on the context is highly coherent with the "pragmatic conception" (Fung, 2007, 2012) adopted as theoretical background of the present investigation: the idea that evaluating forms of democracy means, above all, focusing on their capacity of responding to specific problems in specific contexts. Contextualizing the causal mechanisms that link participatory governance with cultural development allows us to reflect on the "pragmatic equilibrium" of participatory forms of cultural decision-making, asking ourselves not only how and why, but also under which conditions they produce the expected results.

The theoretical assumptions and methodological choices that have guided the design of the analytical framework have been graphically synthesized in Figure 2. The following section provides a detailed explanation of the different causal mechanisms and scenarios in which participation could lead to cultural development or to alternative and unexpected outcomes.

Figure 2. The analytical framework: basic assumptions

The framework assumes that the consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue among a variety of actors realized within the three-dimensional space of participatory governance (X) activates causal mechanisms that, coherently with the theoretical background offered by the "self-transformation thesis", produce impacts on cultural development (Y). Cultural development includes the more observable components of "cultural production" and "cultural reception" and is sustained by the network of "cultural relations". According to the "pragmatic conception", it is assumed that participatory governance produces the expected outcome only in presence of specific contextual conditions.



Source: Author's elaboration

3. The causal mechanisms

3.1 Dialogue and trust building

Defining participation as a three-dimensional space characterized by various levels of representation, communication, and power delegation, this analytical framework attributes a central role to the face-to-face dialogue between actors belonging to different societal segments. Participation is described as a cyclical, iterative, virtuous cycle between communication, trust, commitment, understanding, and outcomes (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2011). Even if it is difficult to know where it starts, "communication is recognized as being at the heart of every form of collaboration" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 558). Hence, this framework assumes that all participatory processes build on face-to-face dialogue between stakeholders.

In the analytical framework, dialogue between different stakeholders of the local cultural sector is not only the "trigger" of the overall causal mechanism that could link participatory governance with cultural development but also a crucial moment for the creation of the necessary contextual conditions that make the mechanism function.

In contrast to more restricted participatory settings such as petitions or public hearings – dialogue allows the different parties to engage in a two-way exchange of opinions and information (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). Dialogue is defined as a form of "thick communication", a consensus-oriented process that is necessary for stakeholders to identify opportunities for mutual gain. "It is more than merely the medium of negotiation. It is at the core of the process of breaking down stereotypes and other barriers to communication that prevent exploration of mutual gains in the first place. It is at the heart of a process of building trust, mutual respect, shared understanding, and commitment to the process" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 558).

More specifically, we argue that dialogue is the first and fundamental arena of trust building among the participants in the cultural decision-making process. This is a crucial passage of the analytical framework. As clearly depicted in Figure 3, it is assumed that the potential of participatory processes to produce cultural development depends on the intensity of trust that is achieved during the first dialogic interaction among the participants.

Trust building is intended as the process that happens over time as parties work together, get to know each other, and prove to each other that they are reasonable, predictable, and dependable (Fisher & Brown, 1989). Following the psychological interpretation of trust development, trust is conceptualized as "the psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intention or behavior of the other"

(Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395). Essentially, trust implies two interrelated cognitive processes: the willingness to accept vulnerability to the actions of the other party and the presence of positive expectations regarding the other party's intentions, motivations, and behavior (Mayer et al., 1995; Robinson, 1996).

As widely underlined in the literature on the functioning and challenges of collaborative practices, public-private partnerships, stakeholder involvement, and inter-organizational collaborations (Alexander et al., 1998; Ansell & Gash, 2008; Beierle & Konisky, 2001; Brinkerhoff, 1999; Emerson et al., 2011; Imperial, 2005; Murdock et al., 2005; Vangen & Huxham, 2003), trust building is considered as a sine qua non condition for the process to be successfully pursued and implemented. According to Alexander et al. (1998) building trusting interpersonal relationships is fundamental for making people engage in collaborative efforts that require ceding authority. "Because community-based partnerships are both cooperative and voluntary, by definition, governance develops from a foundation of trust among partners rather than from legal mandates or formal authority" (Alexander et al., 1998, p. 330). Trust has proven to be linked with lower transaction costs, smooth and efficient resource exchange, and higher accuracy and reliability of the information flow among people (Granovetter, 1985; Imperial, 2005). A trustworthy environment affects participatory dynamics on multiple levels: on a personal scale, interpersonal trust makes people remove their guard and stop monitoring the actions of the others; on a societal and public scale, it facilitates delegation and sharing of responsibility (Beierle & Konisky, 2001, p. 522).

The presence of trust is highly linked with the prehistory of conflict or cooperation among stakeholders. If participants have a shared vision of what they would like to achieve through collaboration and a history of past cooperation and mutual respect, the social capital among them is more likely to grow and nurture future collaborations. If, on the contrary, the actors involved have a history of bitter division over some emotionally charged local issues and have come to regard each other as unscrupulous enemies, they are more likely to develop low levels of trust, which in turn will produce low levels of commitment, strategies of manipulation, and dishonest behaviors. "A prehistory of conflict creates a vicious circle of suspicion, distrust, and stereotyping" (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p. 553).

Since the lack of trust could be a common starting point for collaborative governance, various theorizations recognize the pivotal importance of including effective remedial trust building processes, even if they are time-consuming and could be difficult to cultivate in highly conflicting situations (Weech-Maldonado & Merrill, 2000).

This analytical framework adopts a transformational approach to the interpretation of trust. The unidimensional approach sees trust and distrust as bipolar opposites of a single dimension (Jones & George, 1998; McAllister, 1995) while the two-dimensional one argues that trust and distrust are two distinctly differentiable dimensions that can vary independently (Lewicki et al., 1998). Unlike these interpretations, the transformational approach recognizes that there are different types of trust and that the nature of trust itself transforms over time, becoming more or less intense while the relationship between actors evolves (Lewicki et al., 2006). In line with Vangen and Huxham (2003), the analytical framework is based on the idea that "trust building must be a cyclical process". "Each time partners act together, they take a risk and form expectations about the intended outcome and the way others will contribute to achieving it. Each time an outcome meets expectations, trusting attitudes are reinforced. The outcome becomes part of the history of the relationship, increasing the chance that partners will have positive expectations about joint actions in the future" (Vangen & Huxham, 2003, p. 11). Specifically, the proposed set of causal mechanisms assumes that, after the dialogic process, we could be in presence or absence of fully-fledged trust among the initiator of the process and the local actors involved.

We are in presence of fully-fledged trust when participants are willing to accept vulnerability to the others' actions and they nurture positive expectations towards each other. It is what has been defined the "knowledge-based trust" (Shapiro et al., 1992): this type of trust is grounded in the ability to know and understand the others well enough to predict their behavior. This knowledge is deeper than a cost-benefit calculation, since it involves positive expectations based on common principles and values. It prepares the ground for further collaborative dynamics and for the possibility of reaching identification between participants' objectives and orientations.

The absence of fully-fledged trust manifests itself in two main declinations: mistrust and medium or "calculus-based" trust. Mistrust is conceptualized as the total lack of trust: neither willingness to accept vulnerability to the other's actions nor positive expectations are present. Mistrust is absence of trust, namely the "lack of confidence in the other, a concern that the other may act as to harm one, that he does not care about one's welfare or intends to act harmfully, or in hostile" (Govier, 1994, p. 240).

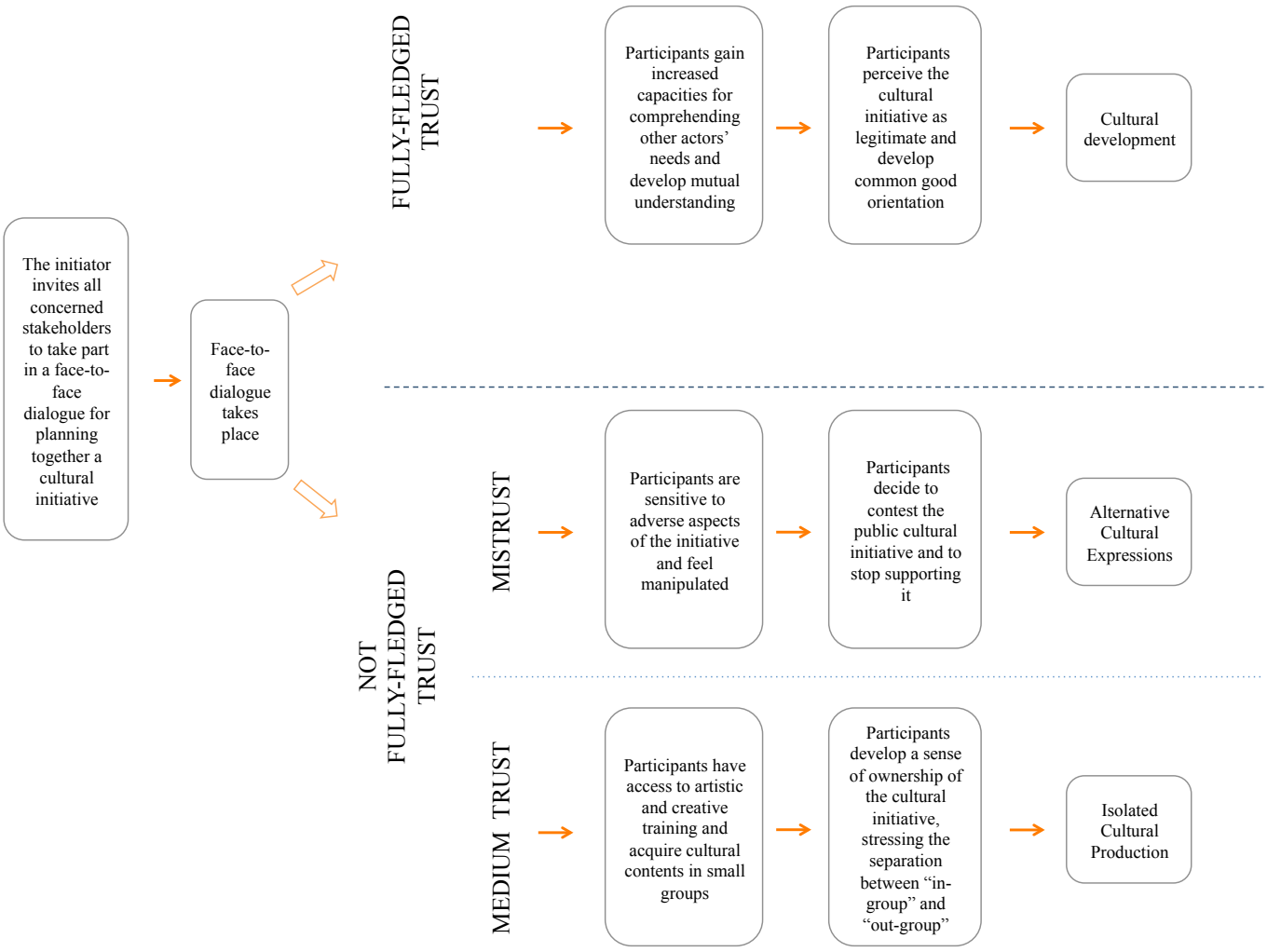
Medium trust is, instead, what Lewicki and Bunker (1995, 1996) define "calculus-based" trust, a calculation of the outcomes resulting from creating and sustaining a relationship relative to the cost of maintaining or severing it. This type of trust "can be based on a potential partner's reputation in the market place or on other social structures" (Vangen & Huxham, 2003, p. 10). With this level of trust, participants are willing to accept vulnerability to others' actions, but this

willingness is based on recognizing the possible benefits of their cooperation rather than on evaluating the others as trustworthy partners. “Some relationships never develop past the calculus based trust” (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1011). This could happen because the parties do not need a more complex relationship, because the interdependence between them is heavily bounded and regulated, because they have gained enough information about each other to know that the relationship is unlikely to further develop or because one or more trust violations have occurred.

The main argument on which the overall analytical framework is based is that participatory governance impacts on cultural development only if the initial dialogic process between actors produces fully-fledged trust, which then develops in further meaningful forms of collaboration during the process and overtime. Trust building and face-to-face dialogue among various stakeholders are, together, the necessary and sufficient conditions for the mechanism producing cultural development to be activated. In absence of fully-fledged trust, when previous mistrust is not overcame in the initial phase or when participation is only “calculus-based”, instead of cultural development, two other typologies of impacts could be produced: alternative expressions or cultural production with lack of social cohesion.

The three scenarios have been graphically represented in Figure 3 and will be described and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Figure 3. The causal mechanisms linking participatory governance with cultural development in presence or absence of fully-fledged trust



Source: Author's elaboration

3.2 Cultural development in presence of fully-fledged trust

3.2.1 Capacity building and mutual understanding

When the dialogic process produces fully-fledged trust among the actors involved, participation can activate a chain of causal steps that lead to observable long-term impacts in terms of cultural development on the territory.

The first causal step focuses on capacities: the main argument is that participation cultivates the roots of cultural development by increasing capabilities of policymakers, cultural operators, and the public. This first step is profoundly grounded in the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) and in the assumption concerning the psychological and educative effects of participation on individuals (Pateman, 1970).

Capacity building is linked with two features of the participatory process. On the one hand, by face-to-face interactions and exchange of information and knowledge, participants can develop an improved understanding of the issues at hand. Unlike more adversarial situations, dialogue can make participants engage in critical reflection and processes of mutual learning (Connick & Innes, 2003; Leach et al., 2014). On the other hand, the acquisition of new knowledge and skills can be fostered by the exercise of direct influence over the formulation and implementation of the cultural program.

As argued by Fung and Wright (2001), the direct involvement in public decision-making processes could foster capacity building in citizens "by grounding competency upon everyday, situated experiences" (p. 28). The main assumption – based on the theory of experiential learning (Dewey, 1938/1998) – is that most individuals develop skills and competencies more easily when those skills are connected to actual experiences and observable effects. Thus, participatory settings are supposed to function as laboratories of paraprofessional training in the cultural domain.

Thanks to the participatory process activated for formulating a cultural program or designing a cultural initiative, all actors acquire increased capabilities regarding the cultural issue at hand, considering both its meaning and its transmission. For what concerns participants that are not part of the cultural sector (i.e. public institutions and local NGOs active in other policy areas, individuals etc.), capacities refer to the acquisition of the necessary skills for understanding and appreciating cultural contents. Regarding artists and cultural operators, the learning process refers to the ability of making culture widely accessible, developing a communicative code that allows them to establish a relationship with other participants, understanding their needs and expectations as far as the cultural values to be transmitted are concerned.

In order to explain empirically the causal process, we can imagine the creation of a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998) at local level: cultural policy-makers, cultural operators, artists, and citizens engage in a process of creating, refining, communicating, and using their knowledge for the common purpose of realizing cultural activities in their neighborhood. By doing so, a kind of "dynamic knowing" is activated: individuals learn through their participation in specific communities made up of people with whom they interact on a regular basis.

Capacity building is linked with another fundamental outcome of the participatory process: mutual understanding. As theorized in the analytical framework, mutual understanding does not refer to the fact that participants agree on a shared set of values and goals, rather it encompasses the "ability to understand and respect others' positions and interests even when one might not agree" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 14).

As pointed out by Warren in the formulation of the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992, p. 12), the possibility of developing mutual understanding among the actors in a participatory decision-making process is highly linked with the individual sense of self-governance and autonomy. It is exactly because the individual gains a stronger sense of freedom and an increased control of his/her life that he/she becomes able to interact with others in a meaningful and respectful way, seeing and appreciating differences.

Participation allows the actors from the cultural field to see each other in a twofold renovated perspective: as separate stakeholders with their proper characteristics, positions, and objectives as far as cultural development is concerned and as potential partners, with whom one can share experiences and common projects. This is why mutual understanding in participatory setting is highly linked with the recognition of interdependence: by knowing themselves actors become able to perceive and pursue commonalities and venues for collaboration and to come to a new understanding of their relationship, even if they were not aware of being particularly interdependent before (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

3.2.2 Legitimacy and common good orientation

Capacity building and mutual understanding are directly linked with the second step of the causal chain linking participatory governance with cultural development: the increase of legitimacy. Legitimacy has been recognized as a crucial result of participatory settings since the earliest formulations of the "expansive" theories of democracy. Rousseau stressed that participation increases the effectiveness of public governance because it produces decisions and policy outputs that will be acceptable and just for all, as they are the results of the "general will"

(Held, 2006). Similarly, within the "self-transformation thesis", the linkage between participation and governability is explained in the same terms. The inclusion of different stakeholders in public governance improves the legitimacy of the substantive policy outcomes because it encourages changes of the interests in the direction of commonality, transforming conflict in consensus (Barber, 1984; Warren, 1992).

How is the previous step (capacity building and mutual understanding) linked with the increase of legitimacy of the cultural initiative? Thanks to increased capacities, the participatory process educates people to the appreciation of diversity, allowing the inclusion of the values different stakeholders can attach to the heritage at stake. Participation is linked with the legitimization of cultural diversity and the creation of "polysemic structures" (Ziakas, 2016) within the local space: when multiple narratives, genres, and symbols are included, cultural events and activities cultivate a greater array of emotions and meanings for participants.

In addition to that, mutual understanding "facilitates a sense of interpersonal validation and cognitive legitimacy" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 14). Through participatory decision-making processes, public, private, civic, and individual actors will be more likely to recognize the cultural initiative as a relevant and authentic expression of their cultural identity and of the cultural values of their territory. When artists and cultural operators engage in collaborative processes, evidence suggests that they are progressively perceived as legitimate interpreters of the local cultural heritage (Sani, 2015).

The increase in legitimacy is linked with an evolution of the social capital among participants that become able not only to appreciate differences among them but also to act according to a common good orientation. As affirmed also by Emerson et al. (2011), there is a reinforcing linkage between the initial level of trust, mutual understanding, legitimacy, and what they define as "shared commitment". "The informal interpersonal norms of trust and reciprocity guide the interactions and further reinforce confidence in the legitimacy and efficacy of collaborative dynamics. This leads to creating bonds of shared commitment which enable participants to cross the organizational, sectorial and/or jurisdictional boundaries that previously separate them" (p. 14).

The linkage between participation and common good orientation is one of the most prominent features of the "expansive" theories of democracy discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, the core of the educational potential of participation – also according to Rousseau's and Mill's ideal models and in Warren's formulation of the "self-transformation thesis" – lies in the fact that, in participatory settings, individuals can learn that they have to deliberate according to their sense of justice, taking into account wider matters than their own private interests.

As strongly maintained particularly by deliberative theorists, a certain type of communication, based on the adoption of decisions "backed by reasons that all others can accept" (Fung, 2007, p. 449), makes participants change their way of thinking, modifying their unreflective attitudes into common-oriented ones (Bessette, 1980).

The main argument of this final hypothesized causal step is that participatory cultural decision-making processes, allowing for mutual understanding, legitimate recognition of diversity, and discovery of interdependence, change profoundly the attitudes of the actors involved towards each other. Specifically, during the process, participants do not only negotiate and aggregate preferences, but they become able to make judgments inspired by the willingness of pursuing a common end as far as the cultural life of the territory is concerned.

Since decisions based on the sole self-interest will be difficult to defend in processes oriented towards a sense of commonality, participants are expected to transform their initial policy preferences into judgments that are public-spirited in nature (Miller, 1992). As showed by Barbe et al. (2015, p. 210), thanks to deliberative processes, local cultural assets become communitarian goods that, being grounded in a common past, are able to project inhabitants in a "future shared living".

The common good orientation produced in the final step of the causal chain brings about also a change in the intensity of trust among participants. The presence of a certain level of trust is considered as being the necessary scope condition for the overall mechanism to be in place: in order to produce cultural development, participatory governance has to be implemented in conditions of "knowledge-based trust", when people know and understand the others well enough to predict their behavior (Lewicki et al., 2006). This initial trust is supposed to grow and become more intense during the participatory process and thanks to the continuous interactions among actors. In this final step, one could reasonably expect to have the "identification-based trust", which occurs when the parties fully internalize the preferences of the others, becoming able to act for realizing the same goal (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1007). This transformative view of trust as an element that grows and evolves within the participatory process is coherent with the "trust building loop" theorized by Vangen and Huxham (2003). They suggest that "trust building is a cyclical process and that, with each positive outcome, trust builds on itself incrementally, over time, in a virtuous cycle" (p. 8).

3.2.3 The impacts on cultural development

The analytical framework presented in this investigation argues that the previously discussed changes in actors' behaviors and perceptions fostered by the participatory processes produce long-term effects on the three interrelated dimensions of cultural development (cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations). Specifically, we maintain that increase in legitimacy and acceptance impact on the observable dimensions of cultural production and cultural reception, while cultural relations are cultivated thanks to the development of common good orientation.

The legitimacy of the cultural initiative will impact on cultural production in the following years because it makes the public authorities involved in the process realize the importance and relevance of cultural interventions. When a cultural initiative is designed to respond to a variety of other urban and social policy objectives and priorities, cultural policy makers are more likely to become aware of the role that cultural interventions could play for activating developmental processes at local level. Moreover, the fact of being listened and actively involved in planning those initiatives and making them consistent with the work of their administration will foster for them the development of a sense of decision ownership (Brody, 2003; Newig, 2012).

This factor, together with the awareness of the importance of cultural interventions, will encourage them to be proactively engaged in allocating funds for cultural activities and in assuring their financial sustainability over time. This will result in an increased cultural production. As argued by Sani et al. (2015) referring to various case studies, engaging the public, alongside professionals, in the management of cultural resources, has proved to "create a sense of collective ownership in the community and facilitate the sustainability of the cultural organizations involved in the long run" (p. 9).

On the other hand, legitimacy assures that the cultural initiative will be accepted and appreciated by all social groups of residents in the concerned territory, thus impacting on the reception dimension of cultural development. Acceptance has to do with the "perception of authenticity" (Ziakas, 2016), namely with the fact that the cultural offer is able to provide symbolic interpretations and meanings that respond to community needs and concerns (Quinn, 2005). In this sense, acceptance is strongly related to cultural value as "the capability and the potential of culture to affect us" (Holden, 2006, p. 15). The more diverse the cultural program, the greater its possibilities to be meaningful and valuable for a larger number of people, overcoming the psychological barriers that, more than the practical ones, play a role in preventing access to and interest in culture (Bunting et al. 2008, quoted in Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013). The strong causal linkage between participation, acceptance, and increase in cultural reception is

well synthesized by the slogan and the connected results of the project "Creative People and Place" (UK): "if art pays attention to more people, they will return it" (Robinson, 2016, p. 10).

Thanks to the activation of a virtuous connection between capacity building, legitimacy, and acceptance, we could reasonably expect that, in presence of the aforementioned intensity of trust, participatory governance produces observable impacts on the enlargement, diversification, and direct engagement of audiences. The more that general audiences successfully manage to access cultural experiences and opportunities, the more capable they become of appreciating their benefits, and the more willing they become to advocate and support them, and vice versa (Sacco et al., 2009).

The fundamental causal step that allows us to explain how participation affects cultural development has to do with another immaterial and relational component: the common good orientation that participants develop during the cultural decision-making process together with legitimacy, acceptance, and sense of decision ownership. The "identification-based trust" (Lewicki et al., 2006, p. 1007) and the common good orientation continuously fuelled throughout the participatory process are the veritable engine through which participation can promote cultural developmental dynamics, assuring the long-term sustainability of the "cultural ecosystems" at local level. Thanks to these changes in behaviors and perceptions, participants will be able to build cultural networks characterized by a common vision and a shared mission, impacting on the "relations dimension" and providing the overall framework through which cultural developmental processes become possible and sustainable.

This continuous process of social capital building mirrors what Emerson et al. (2011, p. 12) define as the development of the "principled engagement". Starting from the discovery of individual and shared interests, the process evolves towards the definition of common purposes and objectives and the engagement in deliberation, through hard and constructive discussions. Finally, joint determinations and procedural decisions – the activities of the cultural networks – are realized.

Thanks to this final causal step, participatory settings are not only able to "bond" people with similar interest in the cultural sector but also to "bridge" dissimilar points of view in common ones (Immler & Sakkers, 2014). Fostering the creation of partnerships between the culture and other social and economic sectors, the "relations dimension" lies at the core of the "livable city, where all these variables work in harmony to allow citizens to enjoy satisfying and rewarding lives" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141).

The process of social capital building is considered as being a necessary complement to the promotion of capacity building and legitimacy during the participatory process. Both capacity

building and legitimacy produce observable effects for what concerns the production and the reception dimensions of cultural development. They produce "knowledge of usage" (Barbe et al., 2015, p. 208), namely the necessary information and skills that make, on the one hand, cultural activities closer to the local needs and, on the other, local people able to understand and appreciate these cultural contents. Thanks to the deliberative process activated in the final step, the "knowledge-as-substance" becomes "knowledge-as-participation" (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004), a shared knowledge based on common sense, the exercise of subjective reason, and the possibility of transcending one's own particular interest (Barbe et al., 2015). This type of knowledge is deemed to nurture the common values that keep "cultural ecosystems" alive in the long term, even after the conclusion of the participatory process.

3.3. Contestation or lack of social cohesion in absence of fully-fledged trust

3.3.1 Mistrust and alternative cultural expressions

This causal mechanism has the aim of describing and explaining the potentially unexpected and detrimental effects that participation could have on cultural development. In this sense, it takes stock of the controversial empirical evidence collected in case-based investigations on participatory governance of culture (Sani et al., 2015) and pointed out by cultural civil society organizations (Voices of Culture, 2015) and tries to apply the postulates of the "pragmatic conception" by asking why and under which circumstances participatory governance is not able to reach its "pragmatic equilibrium" (Fung, 2007, 2012).

The main argument is that when the initial dialogic process fails to build the sufficient level of trust among participants or to overcome previous mistrust among them, they are more likely to perceive and be subjected to the power dynamics that characterize all participatory settings (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; White, 1996).

If participants lack confidence in others, there are increasing possibilities that, already during the first phases of the dialogic process, they will be suspicious for what concerns both some parts of the cultural program or the real intentions of the initiator of the process.

The "waking sleeping dogs" scenario (Seigel, 2012) is highly possible in participatory settings where a basic level of trust is missing. It can be hypothesized that the more types of stakeholders are involved, the higher the possibility that some of them will be more sensitive to adverse aspects of the cultural initiative and will contest it (Rose-Ackerman, 1994).

When the social capital mechanism fails to be activated since the earliest stages of the process, participants will not be able to overcome their opposing positions as far as cultural

development is concerned. In presence of mistrust, the negotiation dynamics between the different policy objectives pursued by the various societal segments (see Table 1 of this Chapter) are much more likely to become terrains of contestation and opposition. For example, the "pro-excellence actors" may perceive that an accent on the promotion of more business and social oriented cultural activities is detrimental to the aspect of cultural contents generation (Quinn, 2005; Sacco et al., 2014). In this sense, research conducted in UK has evidenced that a lot of cultural professionals are worried that participation may undermine the "artistic expertise" that is necessary to avoid the "potential for dumbing down content if you allow the public to choose" (Audience development manager interviewed in Jancovich, 2017, p. 118). Similarly, "pro-access" or "pro-innovation" actors could think that a major focus on excellence may leave less space to non-conventional, alternative, and innovative forms of cultural and artistic expression.

In absence of a minimum level of trust, cultural participatory decision-making processes are not able to promote "polysemic structures" (Ziakas, 2016), which in turn reflect the different meanings attached to cultural heritage by the various stakeholders (Sani, 2015). On the contrary, participation in presence of mistrust exacerbates the role of cultural heritage as a "contested field of meaning" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010). When people start collaborating but lack a basic level of confidence in each other's good intentions, they are more likely to fight for determining which cultural value the program or the initiative should reflect and which meaning should be attributed to the local cultural heritage.

Moreover, the lack of trust could nurture a feeling of manipulation among participants, especially when the initial dialogic process does not make clear if and how resources and power for the implementation of the cultural program will be divided between the various participants. As showed in various case studies concerning participation in urban settings (McAlister, 2010; Savini, 2011; Silver et al., 2010) and in cultural organizations (Lynch, 2009), the mismatch between the commitment of the various stakeholders and their decisional power is quite common.

In presence of mistrust, participants end to believe that their invitation is "a guise to obtain a thin veil of legitimacy" (McAlister, 2010, p. 538) or "a means to rubber-stamp existing plans" (Sani, 2015, p. 7). As pointed out by Arnstein (1969, p. 3), "without redistribution of power, participation is an empty and frustrating process". The feeling of frustration deriving from this tokenism will make participants feel excluded from the actual realization of the cultural program. Arguably, they will be more likely to contest the public cultural initiatives, since there is no assurance that the cultural values and perspectives they expressed will be implemented.

Contestation may have negative effects on cultural development, being detrimental to the diversity of cultural activities and actors involved and causing disinterest by the different types of

audiences. However, at the same time, contestation might be prolific, nurturing alternative projects and counter-discourses that give voice to local cultures and community concerns (Giovanangeli, 2015; Lähdesmäki, 2013). With their study on Berlin and Hamburg, Novy and Colomb (2013) argue that "creative" possess resources that can significantly affect the mobilization and outcomes of urban contestations. The case of Turku European Capital of Culture in 2011 is exemplary in this sense. A counter-movement ("Turku – European Capital of Subculture") was promoted in order to respond to the "culture-hostile attitude" of the Management Team by emphasizing the importance of supporting local artists, cultural operators, and small-scale cultural initiatives. The cultural activists proved to be able "to express shared and individual values […], to create communality, feeling of belonging, and identities" (Lähdesmäki, 2013, p. 23).

As already pointed out by Novy and Colombo (2013) in their study, it is crucial to understand if counter-movements, when productive of new narratives, bring about just a temporary increase in reception and production or are able to activate wider developmental trends. Our hypothesis is that, according to the proposed theoretical framework, the potential of contestation to be productive of long-lasting cultural development depends on the capacity of the cultural urban contestation movements to develop a dialogue with a wide variety of actors, finding common languages and grounds of collaboration. Without the cultural "relations dimension", contestation movements are condemned to remain one-off alternative events.

3.3.2 Medium trust and isolated cultural production

The third hypothesized mechanism is designed with the objective of testing which level of trust is necessary for activating the causal chain that produces cultural development. The main argument, coherent with the transformative conception of trust (Lewicki et al., 2006), is that a medium trust – the "calculus-based" one – is, at the same time, sufficient for preventing phenomena of contestation and opposition and insufficient for producing and nurturing the social capital outcomes (mutual understanding, interdependence and, at the end, common good orientation) that lie at the basis of the "cultural relations" and of the sustainability of local cultural ecosystems.

Contrary to the two previous mechanisms, which are well grounded in existing theorizations, and, especially the first one, in the "expansive" variant of the Democratic Theory, the present one reflects an attempt of systematizing and explaining different insights coming from empirical analyses.

In presence of "calculus-based" trust, the causal step linked with capacity building, described in the first mechanism, can still take place, thus being characterized by different objectives. The main difference lies in the fact that the relationship between participants, and specifically, between the artists and the other stakeholders, has the ultimate objective of transmitting specific cultural contents and activating forms of arts education. The participants attend the meetings as opportunities of learning specific artistic and creative techniques. Hence, instead of activating processes of mutual understanding in which identities are somehow reshaped thanks to the contact with others, dialogue in this scenario has the main function of creating and transmitting "knowledge-as-substance", namely contents that can be transferred from one container or mind to another container or mind (Brown, 2002).

As showed in the case of Catania described by Martorana et al. (2017), the accumulation of cultural capital is accompanied by social outcomes only if artistic experiences aim at addressing local problems and are able to be meaningful also for different groups of residents. When a big relevance is given to education and the production of cultural assets, but little attention is paid to the development of a closer relationship between artists and cultural operators, on the one hand, and local associations and residents on the other, people regard local cultural activities as mere "commodities" for accessing culture, education, and training upon request and as means for creating an appealing image of the area (Ferilli et al., 2017).

In terms of legitimacy, this type of capacity building produces a different type of acceptance and sense of decision ownership among participants. Instead of being recognized as the reflection of the various values that the broader communities attributes to culture, the cultural activities produced in this scenario are recognized and appreciated just by the small group of its producers and attenders. Recalling the "group dynamics" described by Cooke (2001), this type of legitimization of culture could exacerbate the separation between the "in-group" and the "out-group", increasing elitist types of cultural behaviors and the cultural ghettoization of other social groups of residents in the area.

As proved in the culture-led urban regeneration project activated in the Bicocca neighborhood in Milan (Ferilli et al., 2017), when cultural interventions are promoted without rooting in community practice, a large proportion of the residents is aware of what is going on, but mostly remains inactive and shuns participation. The limited legitimization of the cultural activities by the larger part of the local population generates "very little local pride and identification in residents, which tend to live in their own social bubble rather than contributing to community life" (p. 14).

The actual fingerprint of this third causal process in term of cultural development corresponds to an excellent, but quite isolated, type of cultural production. These kinds of cultural activities, while potentially successful in terms of quality and business development perspectives, do not include any intangible dimension and raise concerns regarding the social sustainability in the long-term (Ferilli et al., 2017). "In the event of disinvestment, the effects of such initiatives could be diluted in the long run, unless the community feels the program as its own" (Martorana et al., 2017, p. 88).

Instead of the "cultural ecosystems" representing the sustainable cultural development at local level, the concrete expected outcome of this mechanism is high quality cultural activities that, lacking collective recognition and a set of shared values, risk being far from the expression of local identity and are less sustainable once the participatory process ends.

Conclusions

The analytical framework proposed in the present Chapter argues that the potential of participatory processes to produce cultural development depends on the intensity of trust that is achieved during the first dialogic interactions among participants. Trust building and face-to-face dialogue among stakeholders are, together, the necessary and sufficient conditions for the mechanism producing cultural development to be activated. In absence of fully-fledged trust, when previous mistrust linked to a prehistory of conflict is not overcome in the initial phase or when the choice of people to participate is "calculus-based", two other typologies of impacts are produced: alternative cultural expressions and isolated cultural production.

The realization of a participatory process in presence of fully-fledged trust, namely when participants accept vulnerability to the actions of the others and nurture positive expectations towards them, activates a virtuous cycle of social capital building that goes together with and reinforces the processes of capacity building and legitimacy. Increased capacities of policy-makers, artists, and the public of understanding and transmitting cultural contents together with the public acceptance and the sense of decision ownership towards the cultural initiative are fundamental for assuring impacts in terms of cultural production and cultural reception. However, it is only thanks to the relational assets built during the participatory process (namely the linkage between trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation) that actors become able to actuate cultural networks, impacting on the "relations dimension" that makes all cultural developmental processes sustainable. The social capital dynamics activated by participatory

governance in presence of trust nurture the common values that keep the "cultural ecosystems" alive in the long term.

In presence of mistrust, participatory governance could foster phenomena of contestation, giving rise to alternative forms of cultural expression, designed and implemented in opposition to the public cultural initiative for which the decision-making process was initiated. In absence of some kind of positive expectations towards each other, actors are more likely to perceive adverse aspects of the cultural program and its power dynamics, feeling manipulated and excluded. The grassroots movements and the counter-narratives that originate in this scenario are condemned to remain one-off alternative cultural events, unless they manage to nurture, in the long period, a network of cultural relations that make them accepted and sustainable.

When implemented in conditions of medium or "calculus-based" trust, participatory processes prevent phenomena of contestation and opposition but are insufficient for producing the social capital outcomes that nurture "cultural ecosystems" over time. Within these contextual conditions, participatory governance fosters capacities and legitimacy but only for a small group of interested stakeholders, promoting lower levels of identification in other local actors and phenomena of exclusion and ghettoization in the concerned territory. The outcome, in this case, is an excellent but isolated type of cultural production, that lacks collective recognition and a set of shared values.

The discussion of the analytical framework allows for further general considerations. The first reflection stresses the importance of the context when adopting a mechanistic understanding of the dynamics activated by participatory processes of culture. "Whether a mechanism is triggered depends on the context" (Goertz, 1994, p. 5, quoted in Falleti and Lynch, 2009, p. 10). This is why the main response the analytical framework gives to the current European and international rhetoric on participatory governance of culture is a general warn about the risk of mechanically transferring successful experiments in contexts in which the underlying mechanism may not lead to the same outcome.

A second consideration concerns the trade-offs and risks that are intrinsic to the design and implementation of participatory processes. When deciding who to include in the initial face-to-face dialogue, the initiator and the organizer might be willing to pursue the widest possible representation of the concerned stakeholder field, in order to activate positive dynamics of capacity building, mutual understanding, and legitimacy. However, if among some of them there is a prehistory of conflict or a strong mistrust, a wide representation could wake "sleeping dogs", thus obstructing the decision-making process. This is why participatory practices could produce unexpected outcomes, opposite to the ones auspicated in the initial institutional design.

Finally, the analytical framework underlines that, in case of fully-fledged trust and when the social capital dynamics are properly activated since the initial stages of the dialogic process, the linkage between participation and cultural development becomes self-sustaining. Indeed, trust is not only the fundamental precondition for the whole mechanism to work but also its main outcome. “Cultural ecosystems” are grounded in a strengthened form of trust, the “identification-based” one (Lewicki et al., 2006). Taking advantage of this circular relationship, participatory governance in presence of trust could be seen as a self-reinforcing engine of cultural development, able to increase its prerequisites while being realized.

This final reflection is particularly coherent with the theoretical background offered by the “self-transformation thesis” and the “expansive” theories of democracy. “Because the very qualities that are required to individual citizens if the system is to work successfully are those that the process of participation itself develops and fosters, the more the individual citizen participates the better able he is to do so” (Pateman, 1970, p. 25).

Chapter 4

Participatory Governance in Marseille-Provence 2013 and Košice 2013

Introduction

As explained in the Introduction of the thesis, this research presents and discusses the impacts that participatory governance had on cultural development in four different projects realized in the two cities selected as European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia). The different results and long-term effects produced by the participatory initiatives implemented in the various neighborhoods of the two cities are explained according to the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3. Coherently with the theory-testing process tracing methodology, the empirical research has been conducted with the aim of collecting evidence of the three hypothesized causal mechanisms.

In the first part, this Chapter explains why the cities nominated as ECoC in 2013 are an interesting object of study for analyzing the impacts of participatory governance of culture. By looking at the evolution of the ECoC Program, it argues that, being the first cities to be explicitly selected and evaluated according to the City and Citizens criterion introduced by Decision 1622/2006, Marseille and Košice offer remarkable empirical evidence for studying participatory governance of culture and its effects, in a time span that includes the year of the event (2013) and the following four years, until the end of 2017.

In the second and third part, this Chapter provides a closer examination of the cultural programs promoted in Marseille-Provence 2013 and Košice 2013. On the one hand, it briefly illustrates the general themes and narratives, the main objectives and strategies chosen by each city for designing and implementing the initiatives and the events of the Title year. On the other hand, it pays specific attention to the analysis of the participatory projects realized for responding to the City and Citizens criterion: the Program Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille-Provence and the SPOTs Program in Košice. This is deemed to be useful for describing and discussing the governance arrangements adopted in each project in the light of the three-dimensional definition of participation explained in the previous Chapter, underlining the connection with the broader cultural objectives that the cities wanted to achieve within the ECoC event.

1. Why studying European Capitals of Culture in 2013

The origins of the ECoC Program dated back to June 1985, when, following the proposal of the Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri, the Ministers of Culture adopted an intergovernmental resolution dedicated to the institution of an annual event at the time named as European City of Culture (Resolution 85/C/153/2). Since the beginning, the initiative was designed to attain two interconnected objectives. On the one hand, a City of Culture was deemed to be useful for celebrating the richness and diversity of European culture, giving voice, simultaneously, to both the common elements and the distinctive features of the various cultures and artistic expressions. On the other hand, the event should foster sense of belonging and mutual understanding between European citizens.

The idea of an European City of Culture was mainly inspired by the necessity of increasing the identification of people towards the European project, complementing the economic objectives of the integration process with more spiritual and symbolic ones. Like today, during the 80s the European Community did not have any specific competence over cultural policies and did not carry out any other initiative concerning the artistic and the cultural sector. However, as it was underlined also by the Adonnino Committee appointed in 1984 for stimulating citizen support to the European project, culture was deemed to be "essential to European identity and the Community's image in the minds of its people" (Langen, 2010, p. 74).

Against this background, the European City of Culture initiative was promoted as a purely intergovernmental activity, operating outside the existing legislative framework for European Community actions, which did not promote any room for actions in the cultural field. The Ministerial Resolution 85/C/153/02 introduced a simple system of designation: each year one European city should be selected by one Member State, according to alphabetical order or previous agreement.

Since then, the Program, renamed in 1999 as European Capital of Culture (ECoC), has experienced a significant evolution, becoming one of the most visible and well-know components of the EU action in the cultural sector (García & Cox, 2013). The analysis of the legislative developments of the initiative since its early inception evidences substantial changes concerning both the complexity of the designation and evaluation procedures of the European cities and, more importantly, the contents, the objectives, and the expected results of the event.

For what concerns the designation and evaluation procedures, the basic measures introduced by the Ministerial Resolution 85/C/153/02 have been gradually replaced, first in 1999 and then in 2006, by a more complex system. The current procedure is based on a two-stages national competition between candidate cities, which are then evaluated by a Selection and

Monitoring Panel composed by 13 members[1]. In order to ensure a balanced geographical coverage, since early 2000s a rotational system of designation has been established: according to an order of entitlement, each year two Member States are invited to host the event, proposing cities and submitting their application and cultural program to the Selection Panel[2]. Moreover, ECoC selected from 2010 onwards are also subject to a monitoring procedure in the run up to the Title year, on the basis of which the Panel assigns them or not a financial support.

Regarding the contents, the objectives, and the expected results of the initiative, the evolution of the European Capital of Culture Program reflects the participative turn that, as underlined in Chapter 1 of the thesis, characterizes the international and European cultural policy-making in recent years.

When the 1985 Ministerial Resolution was adopted, the aim of fostering the European integration project through culture was mainly linked with the promotion of high arts and the visibility of the most excellent and symbolic expressions of the European cultural heritage. The first cities that received the Title – Athens in 1985, Florence in 1986, Amsterdam in 1987, Berlin in 1988, and Paris in 1989 – were all recognized cultural centers, nominated for being monumental cities with a vibrant artistic scene. "The focus in general was on portraying the fine arts, with relatively small budgets, limited planning, and little attention to long-term investment" (Richards, 2000, p. 162).

However, during the years, both the practices and the approaches developed by the cities and the EU regulation started taking into consideration broader cultural and social objectives when designing the candidature.

A crucial starting point was certainly represented by the nomination of Glasgow in 1990 (Griffiths, 2006). The city, while undoubtedly a place of great cultural significance for Scotland, it was not an internationally recognized cultural center. It was known as a gritty industrial city with severe social problems and an economy that was undergoing a painful process of contraction and restructuring. The nomination was supported with the aim of promoting economic

[1] The EU institutions select seven members while the other six are national experts, appointed in consultation with the European Commission.

[2] According to the order of entitlement, each year two Member States host the European Capital of Culture event in one of their cities. Six years before the Title year, Member States start pre-selecting the candidate cities launching an open call for applications. After this first round of selection, only short-listed cities for each Member State are invited to submit a final and more complex application, the Bid Book of Candidature, which includes a detailed description of the cultural project and of the budget. The Panel evaluates the Bid Books according to the criteria of selection and designates the winning city for each Member State no later than five years before the Title year.

regeneration, image transformation, and a large mobilization of the cultural sector and the local population.

In Decision 1419/1999, representing the first legislative framework of the European Capital of Culture Program, the twofold objectives already delineated in the 1985 Ministerial Resolution – "to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share" and "to promote greater mutual understanding between European citizens" (Article 1) – were complemented by the necessity of "ensuring the mobilization and participation of large sections of the population and, as consequence, the social impact of the action and its continuity beyond the year of the event" (Article 3).

Following this new regulatory framework and the positive results achieved in Glasgow 1999, various ECoC pursued wider social and participatory objectives when designing their candidature and realizing their cultural programs. To name but a few, Brussels 2000 was conceived as a vehicle to promote partnerships and dialogue between the different communities, between artists, and artistic sectors. Particular emphasis was given to innovation, experiment, and accessibility. Rather than one-off mass event for tourists, the program was conceived to engage the city's cultural communities in a dynamic process that would continue beyond the cultural year (Cogliandro, 2001, p. 38).

Similarly, Cork 2005 stressed how the principles of inclusion and engagement underpinned its programming. In his opening statement on October 2002, the Director declared that "the project can only be regarded as a success if all of Cork's citizens have an opportunity to participate in this celebration of our culture". Cork 2005's statement of intent was "to celebrate the renewal of our city environment, to rekindle our spirit of community, to explore our culture and our identity, and to demonstrate to all our vision of a confident 21st city" (Quinn & O' Hallaran, 2006, p. 16).

The official and legislative recognition of the necessity of broadening-up the objectives of the ECoC Program towards social aspects and of pursuing a wider citizen participation in the initiative came with Decision 1622/2006. Indeed, regarding the selection and evaluation of the candidate cities, this document introduced the City and Citizens criterion in addition to the European dimension one. The City and Citizens criterion explicitly requests to candidate cities to "foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings […] in order to be sustainable and integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city" (Article 4). While the European dimension criterion builds on objectives and discourses that were well-established since the origins of the Program, "the City and Citizens one outlines for the first time

the need for each city's program to be sustainable and orientated towards achieving long-term benefits for the people of the city" (García & Cox, 2013, p. 43).

Decision 1622/2006 and the City and Citizens criterion officialized the paradigm shift from a traditional arts festival framework mainly relying on existing activity and infrastructure towards more multifaceted and purpose-specific ECoC programs tied to broader cultural, social, and economic goals (García & Cox, 2013; Richards & Palmer, 2009). The necessity of designing and promoting participatory forms of cultural decision-making became clear with the recognition of the wide variety of cultural and social objectives that the Title could bring, ranging from urban regeneration, social cohesion, boosting of tourism, and new economic opportunities. When the ECoC started to be understood as an opportunity to make cities' cultural identity a vehicle of local development, "dialogue and public participation were recognized as key elements for opening up the debate and understand culture's contribution to city life and its future" (García & Cox, 2013, p. 45).

The criteria set by Decision 1622/2006 replaced the ones included in Decision 1419/1999 and, because of transitional arrangements established for cities that were already nominated according to the previous legislation[3], entered into force for the first time with the cities nominated European Capitals of Culture in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia). The two cities, thus building on the experience of previous Capitals that focused their program on social cohesion, dialogue, and inclusiveness, were the first ones to be officially selected and then also monitored and evaluated according to the new criteria. For the first time cities were assessed taking into consideration not only the European character of their program, but also the participatory mechanisms activated for involving the population in the design and implementation of the cultural initiatives realized for the Title year. This factor makes the two cities extremely interesting for the collection and discussion of empirical evidence concerning the impacts of participatory governance of culture. The participatory projects promoted in these two ECoC were designed around 2010-2011 and then realized in 2013. Hence, it has been possible to include in the present investigation the analysis of their effects in the year of the event (2013) and in the four following years (until the end of 2017).

The Decision 1622/2006 was recently replaced by Decision 445/2014, which will enter into force for European Capitals of Culture selected for the years 2020 to 2033. By stressing the

[3] The Transitional Provisions included in Article 14.3 of Decision 1622/2006 establish that "by way of derogation from Article 4, the criteria set out in Article 3 of and Annex II to Decision No 1419/1999/EC shall apply in the case of European Capitals of Culture for 2010, 2011, and 2012, unless the city in question decides to base its program on the criteria set out in Article 4 of this Decision".

importance of promoting social inclusion, equal opportunities, and the broadest possible involvement of all the components of civil society in the preparation and implementation of the cultural program, this Decision reinforces the participative turn in the ECoC domain. As far as the criteria of selection are concerned, this Decision establishes the Outreach category, inviting candidate cities at including the local population and the civil society in the decision-making process, strengthening access to culture for young people, volunteers, and the marginalized and disadvantaged, and reinforcing the link with education and the participation of schools. Even if it is still not possible to evaluate the concrete application of the new measures, this latest Decision confirms the trend introduced in 2006 with the City and Citizens criterion and the opportunity of considering ECoC, both past and future ones, a promising terrain for the analysis of the effects of participatory governance of culture.

2. Participatory governance in Marseille-Provence 2013: the Program Quartiers Créatifs

2.1 Marseille-Provence 2013: general overview

Marseille-Provence won the Title of European Capital of Culture in 2008, according to the requirements set by Article 4 of Decision 1622/2006. The French Ministry of Culture launched a national competition in December 2007. Compared to the three other short-listed cities (Bourdeaux, Lyon, and Toulouse), the project of Marseille-Provence was selected for being "innovative, well-constructed, and well-prepared" as well as for "its underlying objective of combining high artistic requirements with a desire to reach disadvantaged audiences" (ECORYS, 2014, p. 73).

The city of Marseille is the second biggest in France, with a population of 850.000 people. Moreover, its surrounding area forms the third largest urban area in France, with a total of 1.715.000 inhabitants. Marseille is also one of the oldest French cities and is well know especially for its strategic role as a Mediterranean port. The city was incorporated into the kingdom of France in 1481 and became particularly prominent in the 19th century, due in part to the French colonization of Africa and Marseille's role as France's "gateway to the Orient", endowing the city with a strong multi-ethnic and multi-cultural heritage.

In terms of artistic offer and cultural life, Marseille is a rich and vibrant city, characterized by extensive cultural and architectural heritage, a large number of museums, theatres and concert halls, and a long cinematographic tradition. Also before the ECoC year, it hosted international artistic and cultural events such as Festival de Marseille, Fiesta de Suds, and Festival Jazz de Cinq Continents. Recent urban initiatives have also highly impacted on Marseille's cultural life.

The Euro-Mediterranean urban renewal project that started in 1995, together with the Barcelona Process and the subsequent creation of the Union for the Mediterranean, involved great interventions in the city center, between the commercial harbor, the Old Port, and the terminal for the high-speed train. The project had great effects also on the creation of major cultural facilities for the Title year, such as the Museum of Civilizations from Europe and the Mediterranean (MuCEM) – the first national museum located outside Paris – and the Friche de la Belle de Mai, an experimental arts center and incubator for creative businesses in a converted tobacco factory (ECORYS, 2014).

Despite its central role in France's most recent history and its interesting and dense cultural life, the city of Marseille is also one of the poorest cities of the country, characterized by a high rate of unemployment, increasing criminality, and large inequalities in terms of living conditions and housing between the city center and the peripheral neighborhoods. Especially the Quartiers Nord have been subject since the 1970s to large and, often, ineffective interventions of urban renewal in the framework of the French urban policy, that have exacerbated social divisions and tensions towards public authorities (Buslacchi, 2013).

The image that local and national newspapers give of Marseille is often connected with a negative perceptions and problematic aspects. "Marseille: the blood of drugs, between hashish, money, and Kalashnikov", "Marseille, the lost territory of the Republic": these titles exemplify how the troubled socio-economic conditions of the city are often much more stressed than the cultural and historical characteristics and the artistic scene (Giovanangeli, 2015, p. 304).

Against this background, local policy-makers saw the ECoC Title as an opportunity for rebranding the city, building a more positive image in the national as well in the international context, and boosting economic and social confidence in the territory and its surrounding. The reason of the successful candidature of Marseille lies exactly in the fact that it was the French city that most needed the Title. As affirmed by Bernard Latarjet, former Director of the Marseille-Provence 2013 campaign, in the preparation of the candidature the Management Team "tried to show how a big investment in culture could become an asset, a strategic support, in the framework of a development strategy that wanted to address the economic, social, and urban dimensions" (Grésillon, 2011, p. 41).

In the view of boosting the developmental dynamics and the wider effects on the territory of the event, the city presented its candidature by constituting a partnership with other surroundings local authorities. Marseille-Provence 2013 included an area comprised of Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, and many of the other cities, towns, and communes in the Bouches-du-Rhône Department: 75 municipalities eventually chose to participate in the ECoC, with another 22

involved as associate partners. The cooperation was activated for extending to the cultural sector the existing cooperation that the 18 municipalities of the Communauté Urbaine Marseille Provence Métropole had already activated in areas such as transport, planning, economic development, housing, and environmental protection. Moreover, the inclusion of various municipalities in the project was seen as an opportunity for giving voice to a wider cultural offer and attracting audiences from the neighboring communes.

The themes, objectives, and contents of the cultural program of Marseille-Provence are strongly linked with the history, identity, and socio-economic challenges of the territory. Built around the concept of "Les Atéliers de l'Euro-Mediterranée" (The Euro-Mediterranean Laboratories), Marseille-Provence 2013 based the candidature on the willingness of stressing the linkages between different European cultures and their Mediterranean neighbors and improving the city and its living conditions. This twofold objective is reflected in the two main themes of the proposed program: "Le Partage des Midi" (Sharing the South) and "La Cité Radieuse" (The Radiant City).

The first theme – Sharing the South – had the overall goal of "creating a permanent hub for intercultural, Euro-Mediterranean dialogue in Marseille" (Marseille-Provence 2013 Bid Book, p. 20). Coherently with the European Dimension criterion of Decision 1622/2006, the objective was that of connecting the Mediterranean and the southern region of Europe and echoing a past built on maritime trade and inward and outward migration. The links between Mediterranean spaces within and beyond French territory from an European perspective were expressed through a constant reference to travel, exploration, urban change, and connections between past, present, and future, as exemplified by events such as "Here, Elsewhere", "Ulysses; Odysées", "The Great Mediterranean Voyage", "2031 in the Mediterranean Futures", "Ritual for a Metamorphosis", "TransHumance", and "Mediterranean Banquets".

The second theme – The Radiant City – aimed at developing "artistic and cultural activity as a force of renewal in the city by conjugating quality of public space, cultural irrigation of the area, widespread citizen participation, and the appeal of the metropolis" (Marseille-Provence 2013 Bid Book, p. 22). It is in this strand that, through the Program Quartiers Créatifs (Creative Neighborhoods) and other activities for schools and disadvantaged people (such as the two-day festival "La Belle Récre" or the "13 EN PARTAGE" platform for schools), Marseille-Provence 2013 answered to the EU requirements linked with the City and Citizens criterion and started activating processes of participatory governance of culture.

2.2 The Program Quartiers Créatifs

2.2.1 Objectives and contents

The Program Quartiers Créatifs has been conceived as a reinforcing mix between citizen participation, artistic residencies, and urban renewal. The objective was that of putting culture and creativity at the service of urban regeneration in Marseille and in the surrounding territories, combining a focus on artistic excellence with the largest possible involvement of the local inhabitants. As affirmed by Jean-François Chougnet, General Director of Marseille-Provence 2013, "starting from a strong participative dimension, the initiative aimed at realizing artistic interventions with a long-term perspective, mixing a broad range of artistic techniques, putting together art and urban regeneration for showing that another way of making culture is possible". Through Quartiers Créatifs, Marseille wanted to find another way for doing and creating culture in the framework of an European Capital of Culture, "with everybody and not for everybody, far from attempts of museification and festivalization, through which the investments in culture is often justified" (Adolphe, 2014, p. 5).

When explaining why Quartiers Créatifs has been promoted, Ulrich Fuchs, Deputy Artistic Director and Program Director of Marseille-Provence 2013 during the ECoC year, refers to two main reasons.

"The first reason I would give is that this Program was promoted because of the criteria set by the European Union. We designed the project in response to the City and Citizens criterion: the idea that an ECoC should be based not only on artistic contents, but also on the promotion of culture in the largest sense, as expression of all people, even of those that are far from artistic experiences. The second reason is linked with a deep analysis of the urban context of the city of Marseille, which is the poorest big city in France, presenting strong social divisions. If the city had to spend a lot of time for the organization of the event, this event should be able to address the social needs of the city, involving also the poorest neighborhoods, that are far from the city center and lack cultural infrastructures. This seemed to us both useful and appropriate".

As recognized by Nathalie Cabrera, Anaïs Lemaignan, and Pascal Raoust, members of the Citizen Participation Team of MP2013, "more than the 30% of the territory involved in Marseille – Provence 2013 is considered part of the *géographie prioritaire*, namely of those territories characterized by situations of social and urban exclusion. Hence, it is more than necessary to create a connection between the projects of the ECoC and those territories, including those characterized by the most negative indicators, in order to avoid the risk of what could be defined as a two-tier ECoC" (Adolphe, 2014, p. 6). By doing this, within Quartiers Créatifs, "the way of

thinking about the city becomes the result of a joint-process of creation in which all the inhabitants and the territorial stakeholders are equally involved" (p. 7).

From the operational and organizational point view, this Program originated as a joint initiative of the Management Team of Marseille-Provence 2013 (hereafter: MP2013), the public agency Marseille Renovation Urbaine (MRU)[4], and a group of public and private actors responsible for the implementation of the social cohesion actions realized in the framework of the Politique de la Ville (GIP Politique de la Ville)[5].

The objectives of the partnership have been defined in a Convention signed in 2010, in the framework of which the three actors recognized that, "since the cultural and artistic dimensions of the ECoC and the social and urban ones of MRU and GIP Politique de la Ville are mutually reinforcing", Quartiers Créatifs should be seen as an opportunity for "taking stock of the urban and social dynamics activated by the urban renewal process", thus "enhancing the symbolic role that the neighborhoods play within the image and the identity of the city" (Convention MP2013 – MRU – GIP Politique de la Ville, 2010).

Through the Convention, the parties engaged for the formulation of cultural and artistic objectives relevant for each neighborhood and for the active integration of the artists in the urban renewal processes, on the basis of proposals established in a participatory way.

In this framework, Quartiers Créatifs promoted artistic interventions in 14 neighborhoods, 7 in Marseille and other 7 in the surroundings Municipalities. These neighborhoods, jointly identified by MP2013, MRU, and the GIP Politique de la Ville, are both "quartiers en rénovation urbaine" (urban renewal neighborhoods) and "quartiers prioritaires" (priority neighborhoods), which means that they are territories that not only have been subjects of urban renewal processes but they are also recognized as being in need of specific interventions from the social cohesion point of view.

[4] The public agency that manages at local level the national funds for urban renewal allocated by the French National Agency of Urban Renewal (ANRU – Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine). The task of MRU relates mainly with the planning, realization, and monitoring of processes of demolition and reconstruction of buildings in the "quartiers en rénovation urbaine" (urban renewal neighborhoods), the areas identified at national level as in need of physical interventions on their urban setting.

[5] The GIP Politique de la Ville is a group of public and private actors responsible for the implementation of social cohesion actions in the territories of the city identified as part of the "géographie prioritaire", experiencing serious problems for what concerns poverty, unemployment, and social divisions. The actions realized for the "quartiers prioritaires" (priority neighborhoods) – synthesized into the CUCS (Contrats Urbaines de Cohésion Sociale) - complement the physical interventions managed by MRU, reinforcing them with a focus on the human and social aspects of urban renewal.

For what concerns the neighborhoods located in Marseille, Quartiers Créatifs encompassed the following initiatives:

- the Plan d'Aou neighborhood was at the center of the project "Bank of Paradise", ideated by the artist Jean-Luc Brisson: the idea was that of involving the local inhabitants in the redesigning of the neighborhood and its garden through the distribution of fake banknotes through which the inhabitants could realize their desires and expectations;
- in Les Hauts des Mazargues, the project PARCeque involved the inhabitants in a process of collective creativity for giving voice to the identity and symbols of the territory through walks and installations;
- in the cultural center La Friche de Belle Mai the artistic interventions implemented by the collective "Encore Hereux" concerned the realization of a playing area near the station and the abandoned rails;
- in the Les Aygalades neighborhood, the artist Ruedi Bar and the Institute Civic City developed a reflection on the role of the designer and of prototyping as connections between the public and the institutions responsible for the management of the collective space;
- in the Tunnel du Boulevard National, the artists Maryvonne Arnaud and Philippe Mouillon realized artistic installations that reflect the desires of those that pass through the tunnel everyday and inaugurated a plastic work of art entitled "Ex Voto" which echoes the hopes expressed under the very touristic neighborhood Bonne Mère;
- in Porte d'Aix, the artist Gabi Farage, who suddenly passed away before the Title year, started imagining in 2010-2012 some "laboratories of utopic urbanism" with the local residents;
- finally, in the neighborhood Saint Barthélemy in the north of Marseille, the collectives Safi and COLOCO worked from 2011 to the realization of a collective garden that could revitalize empty spaces and valorize competences of women and young people. The project was interrupted just before 2013 because of a strong opposition between MP2013 and the local associations.

Other 7 Quartiers Créatifs have been implemented in the surroundings of Marseille:

- in the housing estate Notre-Dame des Marins in the city of Martigues, the project "Fertiliser la frontière" involved local residents in the realization of a garden along the pavement, a cluster of garage rooftop stalls, and a light installation;

- in the Echoppes neighborhood of Istres, artists worked with residents in designing different elements of a new cultural venue, the Magic Mirror, using also abandoned objects for building an artistic walkway around it;
- in the neighborhood of Abeille in La Ciotat, the artist Martine Derain has used photography and filmmaking for giving voice to the histories and identities of the residents, creating connections with the shipyards in which the majority of them was used to work during the 90s;
- in Aubagne, the artist Herve Lelardoux, through the project "La Ville Invisible", started an exploration of the future tramway line through a mental walking that collects all the moments experienced by the inhabitants;
- in Vitrolles, the association Bellastock developed the Festival of Experimental Architecture with the collaboration of students of art and architecture;
- finally, in Salon-de-Provence, the collective Cabanon Vertical realized a multi-functional sporting center through techniques of urban design able to address issues of identity and shared spaces.

The artistic interventions promoted within Quartiers Créatifs were not supposed to be continued after the Title year. According to the promoters of the initiative, though being ephemeral for what concerns the permanence of the various installations and of the public events, the projects were meant to contribute to the urban regeneration process bringing a renovated vision of the local cultural identity and fostering new social dynamics, thanks to the dialogue and cooperation activated between the various stakeholders and the local population.

2.2.2 Governance

For what concerns the governance aspect, Quartiers Créatifs can be imagined as series of participatory institutional spaces formed at neighborhood level. A piloting committee was constituted for each initiative realized in the various neighborhoods. The committee was composed by the Citizen Participation Team of MP2013, the territorial project managers of MRU and of the GIP Politique de La Ville, the major urban operators of the concerned territory (such as the enterprises responsible for social housing – the *bailleurs sociaux* – or for the urban renewal interventions), the selected artistic team, the cultural and social associations actively engaged in the territory, and the representatives of the inhabitants.

As explained by Pascal Raoust, Member of the Citizen Participation Team of MP2013, "once the territories were identified together with the MRU, we started the research of the artistic teams that could be most suitable for interpreting their characteristics and specific needs from an

aesthetic perspective. We assessed the quality of the artistic projects referring to three criteria: 1) the diversity and richness of artistic expressions and languages employed; 2) the overall artistic concept and the methodology of intervention on the ground; 3) the combination between the participatory nature of the projects and its artistic and cultural focus. After this first phase of study and preparation, the selected artistic teams were supposed to start realizing artistic workshops in the territories already in 2011 and then to imagine collective events and public happenings during the Title year".

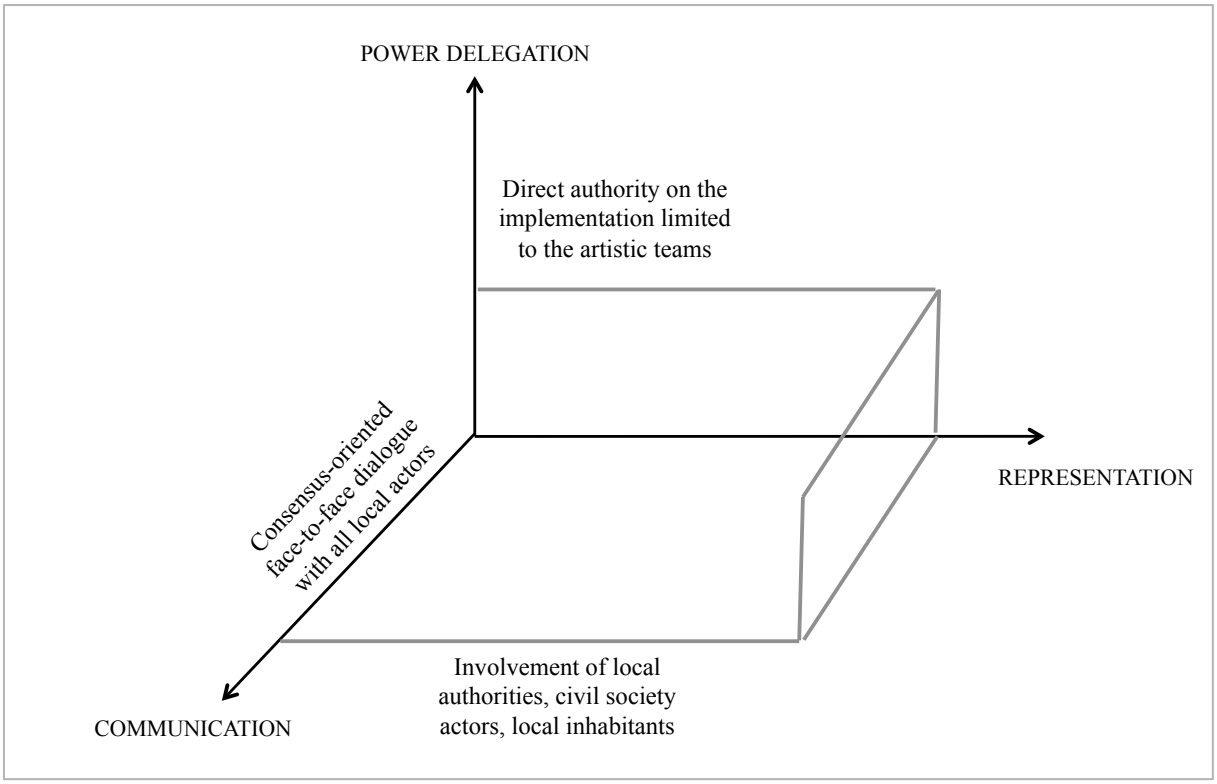
Recalling the three-dimensional understanding of participatory governance (Fung, 2006), we observe that the institutional space of Quartiers Créatifs presented a high degree of representation and dialogue and was more limited in the dimension of power delegation. Ulrich Fuchs affirmed that MP2013 "wanted to involve as much as possible various public, private, and no-profit actors in this process in order not to disconnect the project from the real life of the territory. Even if several levels should be involved for making the final decisions, we did not want to promote the various projects without taking them into proper consideration". However, he also pointed out that "participation on the implementation phase was somehow limited; in our design, the artistic team should maintain the authority on the realization of the project: without this, it was not possible to assure the artistic quality of the cultural contents".

This Program fits into the set conditions that are supposed to function as a "trigger" of the causal mechanisms, that, according to the context, could lead or not to cultural development. Coherently with the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3 of the thesis, these set conditions are:

- the opening-up of the decision making process in order to achieve the maximum possible representation of the local stakeholders (public, private, civic, and individual) affected by the cultural initiative;
- the activation of a face-to-face dialogue among them that is consensus-oriented and aimed at formulating a collective decision over a public cultural initiative that will be realized in a concerned territory.

In Quartiers Créatifs, representation and communication were broadened to amplify the involvement and the support of the local population while power delegation was controlled and supervised for maintaining the focus on artistic excellence. Figure 1 represents the governance structure of the Program according to the definition proposed by Fung (2006).

Figure 1. The three-dimensional institutional space in Quartiers Créatifs: high representation and communication, limited power delegation



Source: Author's elaboration

3. Participatory governance in Košice 2013: the SPOTs Program

3.1 Košice 2013: general overview

Košice was nominated as European Capital of Culture for 2013 in 2008, after a final round of selection that involved the cities of Martin, Nitra, and Prešov. It is the second largest city in Slovakia after the capital Bratislava, with a population of 240.000 and a further 121.000 in the surrounding region. The city is close to the borders of Hungary, Ukraine, and Poland and it is the administrative center of the Košice Self-Governing Region.

Košice can be described as a city with two distinctive souls. On the one hand, it is certainly a cultural, historical, and educational center, with more than 35.000 students at the city's three higher education facilities, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University established in 1657, the Technical University of Košice (hosting a Faculty of Arts), and the Faculty of Business Economics of the University of Economics in Bratislava. This city hosts an established cultural sector with a number of theatres, museums, and galleries. Moreover, various musical festivals and cultural

events, such as the Summer of Culture and the Nuit Blanche Festival, are organized annually in the city.

On the other hand, Košice is the capital of the Slovakian industrial sector. The city industrialized rapidly from the mid-19th century and its population grew extremely quickly after the Second World War. Today, the local economy is dominated by steel (the largest single employer is the U.S. Steel Košice steelworks) with mechanical engineering, the food industry, trade, and services also playing an important role. Hence, because of "the city's strong industrial heritage, Košice was not generally perceived as an attractive location for culture or tourism, especially when compared to the capital city of Bratislava". The cultural sector lacked not only a centrality with the local economy and the overall city image but also of proper strategies of management and support: "the cultural offer was described as tending to be dominated by state-sponsored provisions with a comparatively weak independent sector" (ECORYS, 2014, p. 39).

The ECoC Title was, first of all, seen as an opportunity for expressing the city's potential regarding cultural economy. The Košice city council supported the candidature as a way to "use culture as a transformational force, helping to raise the city's profile and put it into the European map, but also to strengthen and diversify the local economy through support to creative industries" (ECORYS, 2014, p. 40).

As explained by Christian Potiron, Project Manager in Košice 2013, "through the candidature and the work on the cultural program, we wanted to look at the city as a universe full of opportunities. We wanted to imagine the future of the city along different directions. We asked ourselves: which is the future of local economy beyond the steal industry? How can we rethink the role of public services in the city after the Communist period? How can we deal with the increasingly multicultural aspect of the city, that hosts the biggest Roma community in the country?". The ECoC was a major opportunity for transforming an industrial city into a post-industrial one, modern, dynamic, and creative as a European metropolis.

In line with this aspiration, Košice was selected because it showed "high involvement of citizens and independent artists in the project and the wider revitalization process; well-developed arrangements for European cooperation and good practice sharing; creation of new spaces for independent artists, as well as a grant scheme to support new cultural creation" (ECORYS, 2014, p. 40).

The cultural program of Košice 2013 was developed around the idea of the "Interface", intended as a way to provide a supportive environment for interaction between sectors, institutions, groups, and individuals through a range of innovative projects and ideas. The aim

was that of recognizing the city's developing creative sector as well as its historical role as a multicultural city and a crossroad between central and Eastern Europe. "The definitive communication is three words: we support creativity. […] We will create opportunities for our city to improve conditions for people with interesting ideas, increase the public's interest in culture and art, and actively include city inhabitants in cultural and artistic events" (Košice 2013 Bid Book, p. 5).

The cultural program was structured around five "cultural lines" – also defined as key projects – and four "cultural corridors". The "cultural lines" included the presentation and promotion of the project amongst citizens, using contemporary culture, including innovative, alternative, and experimental aspects ("Laboratory of Living Culture"); supporting cultural diversity and mutual dialogue through cultural events in new and non-traditional venues ("Open Public Space"); presentation of traditional culture, festivals, and classic forms of art, informed by 20th century culture but linking it to new ideas and forms ("Built on tradition – Built on roots"); the use of light, sounds, and water as artistic tools ("Košice elements - light, water and sound"), and the promotion of Košice and the Eastern Slovakian region and its artistic offer at local national and international levels ("Travelling City"). The "cultural corridors" focused on building communication channels with former, present, and future capitals ("European Capitals of Culture"), on building a dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe ("Without borders"), on the presentation of Košice's key cultural personalities of the 20th century ("Personalities"), and on the promotion of partnerships and exchanges with European cities ("Other cities").

The European Dimension criterion was reflected in a variety of activities across the cultural program, including support for the mobility of artists and other exchanges and collaborations with cultural operators from across Europe[6]. This was integral to Košice 2013's wider strategy to raise the profile of the city, diversify its cultural offer, and establish international partnerships with the potential to support creative industries.

The City and Citizens criterion was mainstreamed throughout the program lines in a long-term approach to the transformation of the city. More than on elements of surprise or European themes, the city focused a lot on urban development, providing new models for cultural institutions in Košice (ECORYS, 2014). Even the investment on the revitalization and opening to the public of major cultural infrastructures such as the Kasárne/Kulturpark, a multi-genre cultural center, and Kunsthalle/Hall of Art, a new exhibition hall with international programs, was

[6] The following can be considered as the major cultural initiatives with an European dimension promoted in Košice 2013: the Košice Artists in Residence 3 months-program, the EU-Japan festival, the collaborations with the International Society for Contemporary Music, and the international arts education program EduMema.

realized by giving specific attention to the local needs of cultural operators, civic associations, and artistic groups.

The participatory aspect found its highest expression in the SPOTs Program, where the regeneration of abandoned buildings in the suburbs of the city was promoted together with citizen participation and enhanced community development.

3.2 The SPOTs Program

3.2.1 Objectives and contents[7]

The SPOTs Program aimed at transforming seven unused buildings (former heat exchangers) located in the periphery of Košice in "cultural hotspots", able to bring culture and creativity outside the city center and to promote the active involvement of the local residents. The heat exchangers, built in the 1960s and 1970s for the purpose of heating distribution in the various residential areas, were then replaced by new technologies which demanded much less space. Due to their strategic location in the suburban areas, these buildings were the perfect location for promoting, through citizen participation, several objectives of the cultural program of Košice 2013.

Likewise Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille-Provence 2013, also the SPOTs Program was strongly linked with an analysis of the urban conditions in Košice. As explained by Blanka Berkyová, Project Manager of the Program, "the city is composed of 22 suburbs, each of them having its own administrative organization and local parliament. More than 60% of the population lives in residential areas, where cultural infrastructure was totally lacking. The heat exchangers were our opportunity for bringing culture also there. The city has 147 exchangers: we chose seven of them, located in the neighborhoods where the majority of the population lives".

The Program had many interconnected purposes and expected results, such as "building missing cultural infrastructure in the neighborhoods and populating them through formal and informal groups of people proposing social and cultural activities; bringing innovative and non-traditional cultural offer in the periphery, thus making culture more accessible; revitalizing the public space and supporting local identity and sense of belonging; supporting the talent development of both common people and more experienced local and international artists" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager). These main aspirations were synthesized in the

[7] The information reported in this paragraph has been collected mainly through different interviews with Blanka Berkyová, Project Manager of the SPOTs Program. Some quotations refer to unpublished background documents concerning the various phases of the Program that have been collected during the fieldwork.

three main developmental strands: the Community Development Program created conditions for self-realization and involvement of residents to cooperation with local associations, local governments, and artists; the Suburban areas Program supported activities and projects in the field of graffiti and street-art; the Dialogue Program included projects that took into account generational, community and, cultural diversity.

For what concerns the conceptual and methodological aspects, SPOTs was strongly inspired by the collaboration with the Dutch consultancy CAL-XL and their project "Cultural Impulses"[8]. Following the assumption that an art project is judged on its capacity to act as a catalyst for empowerment, the Exchangers were considered successful interventions "if they were able to formulate an artistic response to a social demand through a synergy between professional art and active citizenship resulting in a new view of reality and in new social relationships".

According to this vision, each of the seven Exchangers was imagined as being a four-fold "force field": the "driving force" is the "civic demand" based on the needs and expectations of local residents and people involved; the "personal force" is the "artistic response" inspired by these needs; the "collaboration force" is linked with the interaction and the co-creation processes between the different actors that plan and mobilize their resources; the final "shaping force" corresponds to the new relationships, images, and narratives that create new values and inspire people. Participating in a socio-cultural intervention in the Exchanger has been compared to a sort of "heroic epic": every project begins with an obstacle that has to be overcome, a context that has to be changed or improved; along the way, the participant makes allies but he also undergoes ordeals; he finally returns, purified, with an elixir which he shares with those around him.

From the operational point of view, this vision was translated into the formulation of a specific Program Scan for each of the 7 Exchangers involved in the project. As synthesized and explained in Figure 2, each Program Scan includes a "district value scan" and a "cultural field scan". While the "district value scan" describes the neighborhood with indicators related to infrastructures, physical livability, personal development, and social cohesion, the "cultural field scan" illustrates the conditions of the local cultural life as far as iconic building places, cultural enterprises, cultural and social institutions are concerned.

The combination between the two analyses has determined both the mission and the characterizing activities of each Exchanger. Indeed, "each center has its own specific focus, defined by local residents, a significant number of whom have developed their confidence and skills in a range of artistic disciplines and cultural activities" (ECORYS, 2014, p. 47).

[8] http://www.cal-xl.nl/

The Exchanger Obrody, the first to be refurbished and opened to the public in March 2010, hosts several types of community initiatives promoted by the residents of the neighborhood Terasa: Science Cafés, Book Clubs, and creative workshops. In particular, different groups of women transform pieces of textile into blankets, pillows, and other interior decorative elements through patchwork technique. This Exchanger is a real meeting point for the area, serving as a venue for apartment owner meetings, seminars, and workshops.

The premises of the Exchanger Brigádnická, opened in October 2011, are used primarily for music workshops, benefit concerts, and presentations by professional artists from Slovakia and abroad. It is also a base for amateur dramatics and artists in residence.

The Exchanger Ľudová, opened in April 2013, is a meeting point for the community of skateboarders and street-artists from Košice and the surrounding area. There are also film screenings of documentary films, a graffiti school, lectures, and exhibitions.

The Exchanger Važecká, also opened in April 2013 together with Ľudová Exchanger in the Terasa suburb, Štítová Exchanger in the Old Town and Wuppertálska Exchanger in the KVP suburb, offers a base to community groups interested in fashion and design, cycling enthusiasts, and fans of house music. Thanks to an exterior climbing wall, the Exchanger hosts also a group of climbers.

The Štítová Exchanger is populated by a variety of artistic activities organized by local residents, students of the Faculty of Art in Košice, and young artists operating on the Slovak scene: workshops for the production of books, folders, various types of bookbinding, book illustrations demonstrations, photography workshops, lighting laboratory projects, and exhibitions.

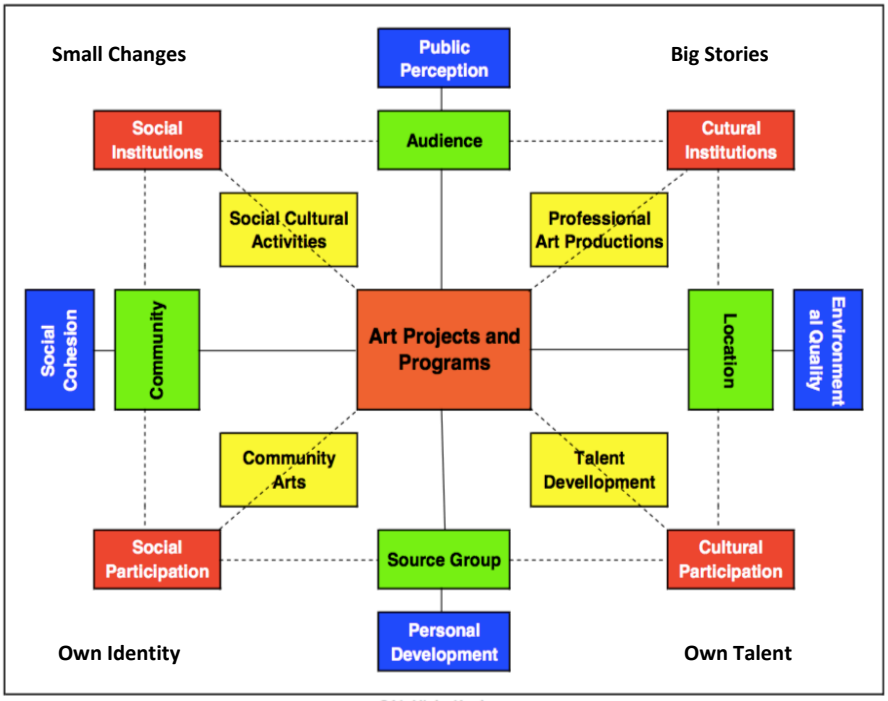
The Wuppertálska Exchanger is characterized by hosting a community garden realized by local residents. The activities include workshops, botanical lectures, and exhibitions that promote not only eco-art topics, but also talk about alternative lifestyles.

Finally, the Exchanger Jegorovovo is a former kindergarten that provides facilities to different generations of residents and artists. The main activities include: intergenerational projects, workshops led by talented residents, and laboratories of jewelry and photography.

Within the SPOTs Program, the use of EU Structural Funds was fundamental for assuring the sustainability of the project: already at the time of the preparation of the application specific public funds were allocated not only for the reconstruction and the refurbishment of the Exchangers but also for covering the costs of the activities for the years following the event (2013 – 2017).

Figure 2. The Program Scan realized for each Exchanger included in the SPOTs Program

The Program Scan realized for each heat exchanger involves two types of analysis: the "district value scan" and the "cultural field scan". The "district value scan" includes the analysis of the green indicators (audience, location, source group, and community) and the blue ones (public perception, environmental quality, personal development, and social cohesion). The "cultural field scan" comprises the yellow indicators (social cultural activities, professional art productions, talent development, and community art) and the red ones (social institutions, cultural institutions, cultural participation, and social participation). The horizontal axis represents the distinction between the life-world (below) and the system-world (above) of a project. The vertical axis denotes the distinction between social and artistic quality (right/left mode). The representation allows for the identification of four distinct segments, each embedding a type of cultural intervention, a motto that has to inspire the design and implementation of cultural activities: 1) "Small changes in the social system world"; 2) "Own identity in the social civic world"; 3) "Big stories in the artistic system world"; 4) "Own talent in the artistic civic world".



Source: unpublished background documents on the SPOTs Program

3.2.2 Governance

Recalling Fung's definition (2006), the Exchangers can be described as three-dimensional institutional spaces that are very extended for what concerns the dimension of representation, communication, and power delegation.

"The selection of the Exchangers has been done in close cooperation with local institutions, civic organizations, cultural operators, and citizens. For each Exchanger we defined the main program, the conditions, the type of activities that we wanted to develop, and the equipment we needed. We gave the assignment to the architects selected by the Municipalities. At the same

time, we developed questionnaire for knowing better the local residents and we built a database of active citizens with whom we would like to collaborate. Our main goal was that of activating a dialogue to answer together to the following questions: which values deserve the most attention? Which social-artistic interventions are most indicated and promising? Which actors/stakeholders can and should be involved? What is the strategic advice to set priorities?" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

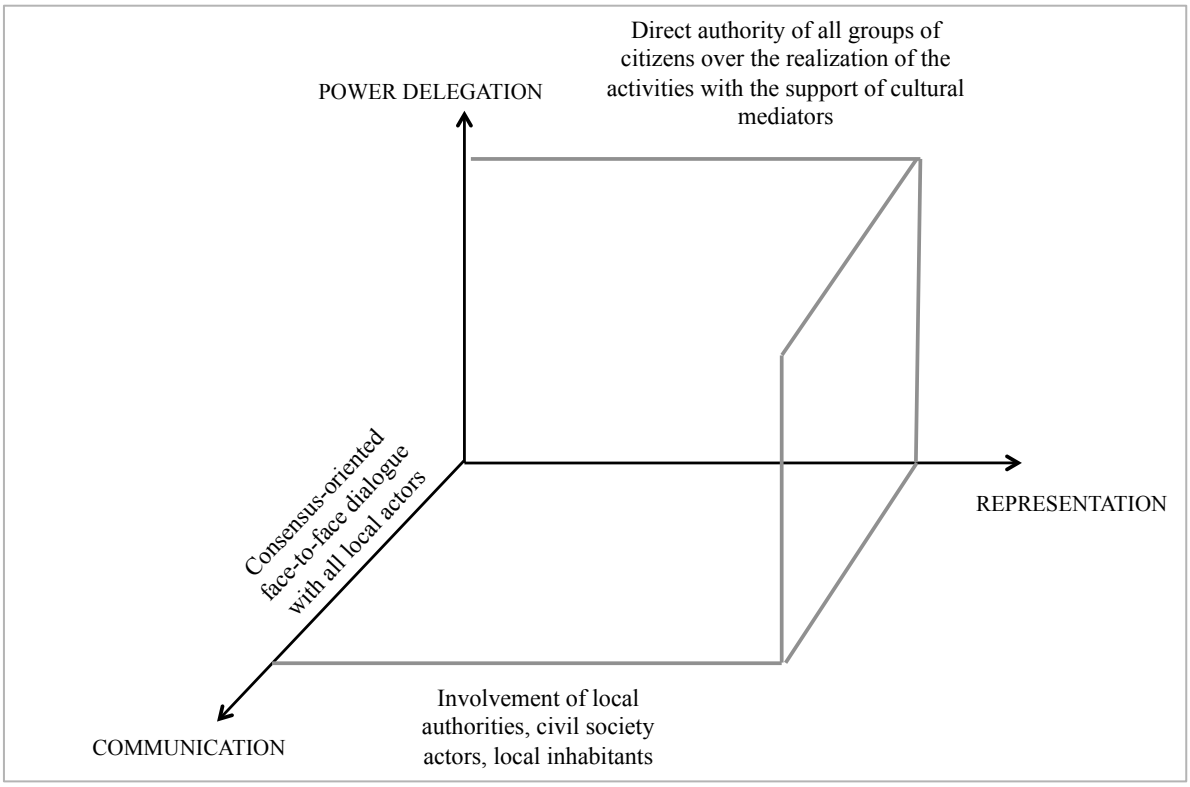
As in the case of Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille, the two characteristics of the cultural decision-making process that, according to the analytical framework adopted in the present investigation, are supposed to function as a "trigger" for the mechanisms leading to cultural development are both present. We can affirm that the overall SPOTs Program began with the opening-up of decision-making process to all affected stakeholders and with the activation of a consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue with them. As exemplified also by the philosophy of the Program Scan, activating a dialogue with the different people that could be interested in the revitalization of an abandoned space has been considered as the "driving force" of the overall cultural and artistic project that will be realized in each Exchanger.

The SPOTs Program is more extended than Quartiers Créatifs for what concerns the dimension of power delegation. Indeed, the Program has tried to foster as much as possible the direct ownership of the residents of the activities that they propose. "Since the beginning, when we spoke with people, we made them feel that we wanted them to be not only consulted but also actively involved in co-creation processes. We want them to develop a sense of ownership towards the building. People were involved in deciding the type of artistic intervention and in identifying problems, values, issues that they would like to address. They went through a sort of educational process that made them able to understand what they needed and what they wanted" (Christian Potiron, SPOTs Project Manager). The power delegation dimension is clearly expressed in the instructions given to people as far as the collaboration with the SPOTs Program is concerned: "Exchangers are here to provide you base and space for your ideas. […] When preparing an event, we go 50%-50%: the effort you put into it will come back to you in the form of our support and advice. […] Your idea is becoming a reality: you bring culture, creativity, and activity to the neighborhood. You are contributing to the development of yourself and of your surroundings" (Poster SPOTs).

The cultural mediator plays a crucial role within this institutional space: this figure tries to reach out people in the community, cooperates with artists and groups of artists, and finds opportunities of collaboration and new partnerships with existing local cultural and social institutions. Moreover, cultural mediators assure the coordination with the Executive Manager

and the Management Team of the SPOTs Program, which includes also a small team for public relations and technical production. Figure 3 represents the governance structure of the program and the characteristic of the institutional space according to the definition proposed by Fung (2006).

Figure 3. The three dimensional institutional space in the SPOTs Program: high representation, communication, and power delegation



Source: Author's elaboration

Conclusions

This Chapter has argued that cities nominated as European Capitals of Culture in 2013 – Marseille-Provence and Košice - offer promising empirical evidence for studying the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development according to the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3. Since they were the first ECoC to be selected and evaluated according to the City and Citizen criterion (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, Article 4.2), in these cities participatory processes were introduced with the specific "instrumental claim" (Newig, 2012) of fostering the "sustainable long-term cultural and social development of the city" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, Article 4.2). Building on the experience of previous cities that pursued wider social objectives through their candidature, Marseille-Provence and Košice reflect the participative turn in the ECoC

domain, officializing a paradigm shift from a traditional art festival linked with the promotion of excellent cultural expressions to a multi-faceted event that can bring long-term benefits for the people of the city.

The cultural program of Marseille-Provence 2013 – structured around the idea of the "The Euro-Mediterranean Laboratories" – had the twofold objective of stressing the linkages between different European cultures and their Mediterranean neighbors (sub-theme "Sharing the South") and improving the city and its living conditions (sub-theme "The Radiant City"), contributing also to its rebranding within the national and international context. Participatory governance found its highest expression through the Program Quartiers Créatifs, which promoted a series of artistic residencies in 14 neighborhoods in urban renewal in Marseille and in the surrounding Municipalities with the aim of conjugating quality of public space with widespread citizen participation. Košice 2013, instead, based its candidature on the concept of "Interface", stressing the necessity of creating a platform between all the actors involved in the local creative economy as a way for boosting cultural opportunities and attractiveness in a city that was mainly known for its industrial heritage. The active involvement of local residents in cultural decision-making processes was particularly evident in the design and implementation of the SPOTs Program. Through this initiative, 7 abandoned buildings (former heat exchangers) located in the peripheral areas of the city have been transformed into community cultural centers able to reflect the interests and needs of local groups of people and the specificities of each neighborhood.

Recalling the definition of participatory governance adopted in this investigation and already discussed within the analytical framework illustrated in Chapter 3, both the 14 Quartiers Créatifs promoted in Marseille and its surroundings and the 7 heat exchangers revitalized in Košice can be considered as three-dimensional institutional spaces that are more or less extended for what concerns the dimensions of representation, communication, and power delegation (Fung, 2006). Each project represents a local participatory arena where members of the ECoC Management Teams, public authorities managing funds for urban renewal, small enterprises, artists and cultural operators, local NGOs, and single interested citizens meet for taking a collective binding decision regarding a cultural initiative to be implemented in their territory. Quartiers Créatifs and the SPOTs Program are institutional spaces that are highly intense in representation and communication; power delegation, instead, is broader in Košice than in Marseille, where only artistic teams had direct authority and resources for the implementation of the cultural initiatives. However, both programs include the two conditions that this investigation assumes to be necessary for participatory governance to activate the causal mechanisms producing cultural development: 1) the opening-up of the decision-making process to all

interested stakeholders and 2) the activation of a consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue among them. The four cases analyzed in the fifth and sixth Chapter of this thesis will shed light on the interaction between these institutional characteristics and the intensity of trust achieved in each participatory process, explaining the different effects produced on cultural development.

Chapter 5

Participation in Presence of Fully-Fledged Trust: Explaining Cultural Development in the Project PARCeque (Marseille) and in the Exchanger Obrody (Košice)

Introduction

This Chapter aims at discussing and empirically testing the causal mechanism linking participatory governance with cultural development, one of the three scenarios presented in the analytical framework described in Chapter 3 and synthesized in Figure 1 below.

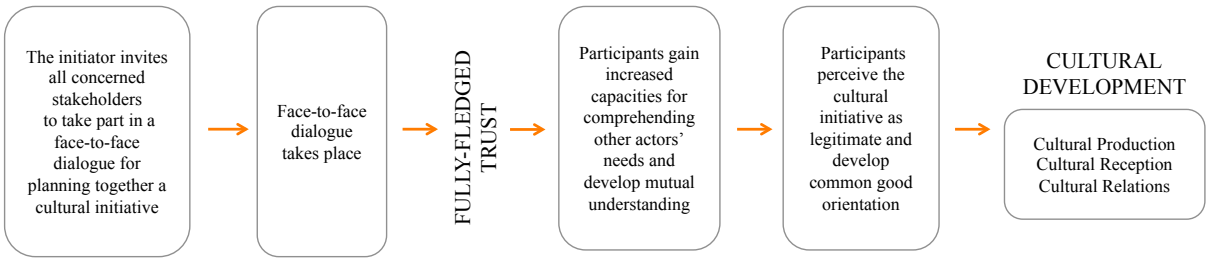
The framework argues that the potential of participatory processes to produce cultural development depends on the intensity of trust that is achieved during the first dialogic interactions among participants. Specifically, it hypothesizes that, in presence of fully-fledged trust, namely when participants accept vulnerability to the actions of the others and nurture positive expectations towards them, two reinforcing typologies of causal steps are produced. On the one hand, increased capacities of policy-makers, artists, and the public of understanding and transmitting cultural contents, together with the public acceptance and the sense of decision-ownership are fundamental for assuring impacts in terms of cultural production and cultural reception. On the other hand, it argues that it is only thanks to the relational assets built during the participatory process (the linkage between trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation) that actors become able to promote cultural networks, impacting on the "relations dimension" that makes sustainable all cultural developmental processes.

In particular, this Chapter aims at empirically proving the hypothesized causal chain between participatory governance and cultural development referring to two case studies: the project PARCeque realized during Marseille-Provence 2013 within the Program Quartiers Créatifs and the Exchanger Obrody, one of the seven cultural centers opened within the SPOTs Program during Košice 2013. As already explained in the Introduction of the thesis, these can be considered as "typical cases" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016), namely cases in which according to previous information collected and to experts' knowledge, we expected the theorized relationship participatory governance → cultural development to be present. According to the theory-testing process tracing methodology, the research has involved the following phases: 1) each step of the

hypothesized causal mechanism – e.g. dialogue leading to trust building; trust producing increased capacities and then mutual understanding etc. – has been operationalized in elements that could be observed empirically in each of the two cases, referring to process characteristics, actor's behaviors and perceptions, and observable impacts in the years following the event (2013-2017); 2) the empirical material related to each causal step has been collected and analyzed according to the hypotheses; 3) the presence of the causal chain has been confirmed and further refined thanks to the empirical evidence.

The Chapter addresses each case study separately, describing the contents of the artistic initiatives and discussing the presence of the hypothesized causal mechanism. It concludes by refining and reinforcing the various causal steps with the insights offered by the two participatory projects.

Figure 1. The causal mechanism linking participatory governance with cultural development in presence of fully-fledged trust



Source: Author's elaboration

1. From PARCeque to the Théâtre du Centaure (Marseille)

1.1 Origins and development of the initiative

The project PARCeque was realized in the neighborhood Les Hauts de Mazargues (South of Marseille) in the framework of the Program Quartiers Créatifs, promoted in 2013 as part of the events of Marseille-Provence 2013. The artistic intervention was designed and realized by the French artist Stefan Shankland and a team of other French and German artists such as Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius, Erik Göngrich, Boris Sievert, and Florian Bosc Malavergne. As specifically requested by MP2013, the artistic intervention was characterized by a strong accent on artistic excellence, conceptual and methodological quality on the one hand and citizen participation and active involvement, on the other. The artists responded to these requirements proposing a project that tried to reinterpret and make visible the collective identity of Les Hauts de Mazargues, a neighborhood characterized by a complicated history and disadvantaged socio-economic conditions.

As recognized also by the artists during their period of research, the area is "one of great complexity, historically, socially, culturally, and also in terms of its urban planning" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 8). Les Hauts de Mazargues include part of the districts of La Soude, La Jarre, Baou de Sormiou, the outskirts of the village of Mazargues, and La Cayolle. The structure of the area suggests the presence of different historical, cultural, and social layers.

Geographically, this neighborhood is located just at the foot of the national park of Les Calanques, a series of beautiful rocky cliffs and bays between the city of Marseille and the town of Cassis. Historically, the Grand Arena Camps have particularly marked the area. Set up on the site currently occupied by La Cayolle social housing estate and the commercial center Leclerc, this transit camp hosted refugees and people displaced by the various conflicts and decolonization wars, from the Second World War until the mid-1960s. These people lived in the so-called "tonneaux", little constructions made of concrete and ceramics, lacking of water and primary services. Part of these populations gradually settled in areas bordering Marseille, in slums and temporary housing. Many of the local residents are descendant of these immigrants, witnesses of these twentieth-century traumas and of the particular role played by Marseille as a crossroad in the Mediterranean area. In addition to that, to complete its multiple and multi-layered identity, Les Hauts de Mazargues host also the prison of the Baumettes and the little village of Mazargues, an ancient fisherman settlement with little streets and colored houses. In the recent years the area has reported increased unemployment, high rates of crimes and school abandonment, and growing social inequalities and ghettoization.

As showed by the several rock walls located in the area, the great diversification of historical and social instances has produced a sense of separation within the neighborhood. La Cayolle, the southern part of the neighborhood where the Grand Arena camps were located, and La Soude, the northern one hosting the village of Mazargues, have been described as "Rive Gauche and Rive Droite, because they didn't communicate a lot" (Emilie Cambiaggi, GIP Politique de la Ville). A rich residential zone, characterized by big building and well-functioning commercial activities, separates these two parts. This makes the area a "very compartmentalized neighborhood, where people belong to different categories, origins, religions, and do not speak a lot to each other" (Stefan Shankland, in Adolphe, 2014, p. 32).

This is why, "the mission of the urban renewal there was focused more on the necessity of reuniting these two parts than on the restructuration of the buildings" (Emilie Cambiaggi). The goal was that of ameliorating the life conditions in the whole area, surpassing the fragmentations and the social divisions alimented over the years also because of the presence of the camps and the cohabitation between various generation of migrants and residents.

The project proposed by the artistic team within Quartiers Créatifs was conceived as a way of bringing unity in a fragmented neighborhood, using the artistic and the aesthetic experience to reinterpret and give voice to the collective memory of those places. The acronym PARC means "pratique artistique, realité complexe" (artistic practice, complex reality), indicating "an artistically coherent project in tune with the complex reality of the place […], an utopian vision of renewed reality" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 5). By referring also to the notion of "park" and so to the recently constituted national park of Les Calanques, the project originated around the idea of formulating 101 collective proposals for the future of the neighborhood. "The proposals aimed at giving voice to the unknown heritage of the neighborhood, bringing new life to the collective memory, overcoming barriers between people, and fostering new approaches to the use and perception of the public space" (Stefan Shankland, Artistic Team[1]).

The idea of the proposals transformed the name of the project from PARC to PARCeque ("because"), indicating the necessity for the artists to interpret the framework of Quartiers Créatifs as an opportunity to give a meaningful contribution to the development of the neighborhood. "Because we had been given the right to intervene in the public space; because as artists we had a license to take risks; because our material was maybe worth something for the neighborhood and it was necessary to make it public": these are the introductory words of the project final publication (PARCeque, 2014, p. 3).

Following this vision, the first activities realized by the artistic team aimed at gaining a better knowledge of the territory, thus giving voice to its most hidden aesthetic traits. The artists realized a list of the elements that are part of the "district's deliberate and accidental heritage" and then distributed a series of postcards for showing the most unused parts of the neighborhood and for discussing about PARCeque with the residents. The students of the local primary school (école Calanques de Sormiou) have been involved in discovering and classifying the elements of the area according to the different categories of objects that one could find in a park (trees, water, fire etc.) and in organizing long, medium, and short tours around the neighborhood. Moreover, artists and inhabitants produced alternative maps of the area, showing it from different points of view and including political and natural borders as well as vanished structures and plots.

The two major and most symbolic realizations of the project were the installation of the "Bar du Rond-Point" in the roundabout in front of the commercial center of the area (Leclerc) and the events concerning the so-called "La Pierre Tombée" (The Fallen Stone). The Bar du Rond Point was a wood installation including a room, a kitchen, a bar, chairs, and table, built in

[1] The interview given by Stefan Shankland, Head of the Artistic Team of the project PARCeque, on November 20th, 2013 to Radio Grenouille is available at: http://www.radiogrenouille.com/creations/quartiers-creatifs/

June 2013 in the triangular wasteland opposite to the Centre Leclerc. The Bar was imagined as an open-building site and a space for hosting discussions and workshops about the 101 proposals. It was also a place of conviviality, where the inhabitants and the artistic team, during the initiative "I work also … At your place!", prepared and shared meals. An eye-catching monumental sign saying PARCeque, realized by the young people of the area, was put over the wooden structure of the bar, in order to attract people driving or coming out from the commercial center.

La Pierre Tombée is a local rock that has a particular history and significance for the inhabitants. The legend usually told to the children of the neighborhood says that long time ago a witch pushed the stone down and killed a whole family. Nowadays, the rock is the symbol of illegal and hidden practices: it is the place where young people smoke the first cigarette, give the first kiss, or, as recently reported in the news, burn stolen cars. The artists have tried to give voice to this symbolic and contradictory heritage through the artistic practice. A concert, a collective walk, and a picnic have been realized under the rock. Moreover, in cooperation with the inhabitants, the artistic team realized a life-size copy of the six-meters stone using wood and plastic. Stefan Shankland explained that they did not want to produce a work of art but a prototype: "we wanted to ask people what is a monument for them and what it should look like; we wanted to move the rock from the mountain to the center of the neighborhood for showing that it was not just a natural phenomenon but also a symbolic object carrying out childhood memories and a fundamental part of local history" (Adolphe, 2014, p. 33).

Finally, the project PARCeque included a series of initiatives that aimed at fostering a process of renaming and appropriation of the neighborhood by its inhabitants. The artists organized a workshop with local young people in order to build large-scale letters forming the word "Cayollywood", in the same spirit as the famous "Hollywood" sign, and then made a video of the procession that brought it up to the top of the Calanques. Furthermore, together with local residents, the artists defined a complete new set of names for squares, corners, and streets in Les Hauts de Mazargues, making alternative road signs and maps featuring these names. Lastly, during 2013, a group of people organized a series of workshops for the creation of a memorial of the Grand Arena camps and for the inscription of the parabolic profile shape of the "tonneaux" in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The overall initiative was a way for promoting a new idea of the reality through the artistic experience. "Art is first and foremost a way of experiencing the world and we wanted to share that experience with others. […] Everything would need to be dismantled at the end of the project. Nothing could remain physically on site. But the most important thing would remain: a

shared experience – a precedent – and perhaps the desire to take things further" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 10).

Figure 2. The Bar du Rond Point and the installation of La Pierre Tombée realized during the project PARCeque

Source: PARCeque, 2014

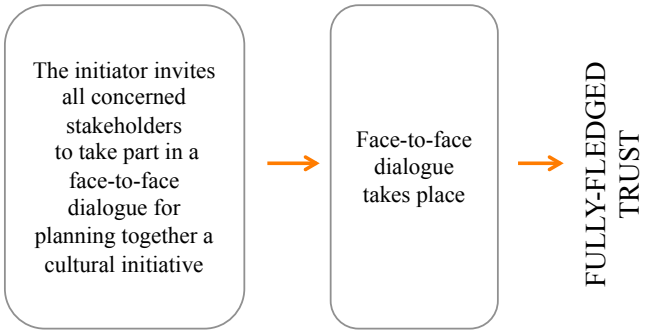
1.2 The observed causal steps

The following paragraphs illustrate the presence of the hypothesized causal steps linking participatory governance with cultural development in the case of the project PARCeque. In order to make clear the various phases of the analysis, every causal step is discussed separately. Each paragraph begins by clearly stating and graphically representing the part of the hypothesized causal mechanism that the research wants to test; then, it discusses its presence in the case referring to the empirical evidence collected.

1.2.1 Dialogue and trust building

Causal step: Face-to-face dialogue takes place and fully-fledged trust is achieved among the participants.

Figure 3. Causal step linking face-to-face dialogue and trust building



Source: Author's elaboration

Coherently with the institutional framework of Quartiers Créatifs, the governance process of the project PARCeque was extended for what concerns the dimension of representation and communication. Since a very representative part of local stakeholders pursuing different objectives was involved from the beginning and the aim was that of taking into account "a great variety of viewpoints, experiences, constraints, and demands" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 10), we observe the presence of the "trigger" that is supposed to activate the causal mechanism leading to cultural development. In PARCeque, the opening-up of the decision-making process was realized with the objective of pursuing a consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue concerning the realization of a public cultural initiative in a specific territory, Les Hauts de Mazargues.

The analysis of the typology of the actors involved according to the structured stakeholder mapping approach introduced in Chapter 3 (Table 1) gives an idea of the diversity and variety of the interests at stake within the decision-making process of the initiative PARCeque. MP2013, MRU, and the GIP Politique de la Ville, the governmental actors and the promoters of the project in the framework of Marseille-Provence 2013, had three different main objectives regarding cultural development: "pro-excellence", "pro-economic impact", and "pro-access", respectively. As noticed by the artists, "Marseille-Provence 2013 demanded an artistic event in the public domain as part of its European Capital in 2013. Marseille Renovation Urbaine would like to take advantage of the artists' perspective and team efforts to make progress in its urban transformation program. The team of the Urban Contract of Social Cohesion (CUCS)[2] was urging the artists to

[2] The name of the interventions on the territory promoted by the GIP La Politique de la Ville for fostering social cohesion in the framework of urban renewal processes.

be present on site on a daily basis in the light of an urgent need for social and cultural support in this deprived area" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 6).

The civil society actors of the territory pursued mainly "pro-access" objectives, linked with the widening of access to artistic and cultural experiences in the community. The association ADDAP (Association départementale pour le développement des actions de prévention) saw the project PARCeque as an opportunity for promoting the inclusion of disadvantaged young people through their participation in the realization of collective artistic works. The association Robins des Villes was already present on the territory for supporting the participatory process around the urban renewal process, increasing its social acceptability but also its ability to meet the needs of the inhabitants. For the Association Parents, born for supporting local families and their relationship with public authorities, the initiative PARCeque was an opportunity for bringing cultural activities in a neighborhood where people are often excluded from them. "Pro-access" objectives were also pursued, even if secondarily, by MP2013 and the artistic team, as a response to the requirements of the City and Citizens criterion and as part of the institutional mission of Quartiers Créatifs.

"Pro-economic impact" objectives characterized the position of actors such as the LOGIREM, a private enterprise managing social housing buildings, and the Comité d'Intérêt de Quartier (CIQ), the association representing the residents of Les Hauts de Mazargues. These stakeholders were primarily concerned with the success of the urban renewal process, the construction of social housing structures, and the defense of the interests of the inhabitants, the owners, and the tenants, with a focus on the safeguarding of property and security. Finally, the artistic team, together with the local Association Alargo Mazargues, was also concerned with the promotion of "pro-innovation" activities, linked with the experimentation of non-conventional forms of art and with the valorization of the local and traditional cultural heritage of the area.

Table 1. Analysis of the actors involved in PARCeque according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach"

	GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL
PRO-EXCELLENCE	MP2013 Artistic Team			
PRO-ECONOMIC IMPACT	MRU	LOGIREM	CIQ	
PRO-ACCESS	Politique de la Ville MP2013 Artistic Team		ADDAP Robins des Villes Association Parents	
PRO-INNOVATION	Artistic Team		Alargo Mazargues	

Source: Author's elaboration

The various interviews have underlined the crucial role played by the activation of a consensus-oriented face-to-face dialogue between such a great diversity of actors. As explained by Pascal Raoust (MP2013), the dialogic process in Les Hauts de Mazargues was implemented coherently with the institutional design of Quartiers Créatifs: "As in other neighborhoods, we made efforts for consulting the local actors, above all those that were already involved in the projects of urban renewal promoted by MRU. We started by organizing a big reunion with the local associations in order to present the artistic project to the territory. It was a first step: then the artists kept doing efforts for building a dialogue during their work. During the development of the artistic program, we organized general assemblies every two or three months for discussing about progresses and future perspectives. Smaller meetings with specific institutional and non-institutional actors, responsible of the coordination and supervision of the project, such as MRU and Robins de Villes, were also promoted regularly"[3].

In line with this governance framework, Florian Bosc Malavergne (Artistic Team) declared that one of the main objectives of the artistic team was to have "a constructive dialogue with all actors". He said that the artists "met with people involved in the area, attended public meetings, and had discussions with the residents of the different districts". Dialogue was put at the core of the conception of art as "research in action, as a process aimed at better understanding the reality, provoking new reactions from the residents, and going beyond our own preconceived ideas and what the people were expecting from us" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 6).

The dialogic process affected also the output of decision-making process, the cultural program realized in 2013. "We found it impossible to crystalize all our work in a single

[3] Consistently with the APA (American Psychological Association) Guidelines adopted for the citation style of this thesis, interviews in the present research are reported using the double quotation marks. *Italics* is used only to emphasize the parts of the interviews that are deemed to be particularly useful for proving the presence of specific causal steps.

permanent work of art or in an event without future; we didn't feel confortable with the conquering authoritarian gesture of permanently imposing our artistic and cultural vision on the place. PARC was a series of explorations to share with those living and working in this unique suburban zone" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 6). This is why – affirmed Stefan Shankland – "we had to explain to MP2013 that, because of the dialogic process with the local population, we could not foresee in advance the results of the project".

As argued in the analytical framework, dialogue was fundamental for activating a process of breaking down stereotypes and starting the exploration of mutual gains among the participants. Indeed, the presence of initial resistances and obstacles to collaboration was reported by a series of different actors involved in the process.

At the beginning there was a sort of reciprocal mistrust between the artists and the neighborhood. On the one hand, the artists did not feel secure and welcomed in the context of Les Hauts de Mazargues:

> "We experienced the problem of working in a neighborhood where you don't know if the work that you are doing will still be there the day after because some kids could burn it, where you know that you cannot go in specific areas because they are really dangerous, where you know that you have to be diplomatic because there is a local mafia […]" (Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius, Artistic Team)

On the other hand, the residents saw the artists as a sort of external invaders from which they had to protect their identity and their dignity. Frédéric Guelle, responsible for the cultural actions of the CIQ in 2013, declared during an interview for a local newspaper: "during the process, I had the impression that the artists acted as anthropologists who wanted to study the less civilized people. The fact that the artists have money does not imply their right to impose the cultural actions" (Esprit de Babel, 2013, p. 9).

The initial lack of positive expectations of the inhabitants towards the artists was well explained by Ouhabiba Sadou (Association Parents):

> "In the initial phases of the project, people did not welcome the artists, they felt judged. La Cayolle is like a family, before having the possibility of going inside, it is necessary to be accepted. We cannot say that this is an area open to everybody. The inhabitants tend to be always suspicious. They will always look at people trying to understand what are their intentions".

The absence of trust at the beginning of the project is also exemplified by the initial skepticism that public authorities expressed regarding the construction of the Bar du Rond Point.

In this respect, Emilie Cambiaggi (GIP Politique de la Ville) affirmed: “When they told me that they were going to built a structure in wood on the roundabout, I thought it was impossible for that structure to survive to episodes of vandalism that happen really often in that area”.

In addition to this, a major point of initial contrast between the various actors concerned the opposition between the ephemeral approach pursued by the artists in designing their artistic program and the desire of local actors of promoting long-lasting intervention. As explained by Nicole Bonfils (CIQ, Comité d’Intérêt de Quartier): “At the beginning the CIQ had to defend its position. It was a sort of natural reaction. There was an opposition because Stefan Shankland didn’t understand our concern for promoting interventions that would have long-term beneficial effects for the territory. The artists seemed concentrated only on the ephemeral aspect of the initiative”.

The artistic team confirmed this initial diversity of positions, linked also with the great variety of objectives that the different actors involved were pursuing through Quartiers Créatifs. “I think that there had been some misunderstandings for what concerns the management of the project; the priority for us was creating moments of conviviality for people that are not used to spend time together, but maybe people expected something that was supposed to last more” (Florian Bosc Malavergne, Artistic Team).

As hypothesized in the analytical framework, the dialogic process functioned as first and fundamental arena of trust building among the participants, contributing at creating the basic conditions for activating a reinforcing chain of mutual respect, shared understanding, and commitment to process. The increase in trust – intended as comprising both the willingness to accept vulnerability to the actions of the other and the presence of positive expectations regarding the other parties’ intentions, motivations, and behaviors – was reported and described in various interviews with different typologies of actors.

Stefan Shankland explains the establishment of trust and the beginning of a positive relationship with the inhabitants as a sort of “initiation ritual”. “We were perceived as foreigners. Then trust was established, also thanks to the presence of the mothers on the construction site that we organized and to the workshops in the schools. At the end, the presence of foreigners was perceived more positively and a resident told us that it was necessary the presence of people from elsewhere to make them understand each other and hear each other a little” (Adolphe, 2014, p. 32).

The fact that the inhabitants started nurturing positive expectations towards the artists and the project is very much linked with the characteristic of the decision-making process and, particularly, with the fact of being open, face-to-face, and consensus-oriented.

"C'est quand les habitants se sont sentis concernés et concertés, que la mayonnaise a pris"[4] has affirmed Emilie Cambiaggi (GIP Politique de la Ville) during the interview, explaining that "the associations changed their approach when they realized that the artists were a lot more present on the territory, they consulted them, they took their opinion into consideration; people started feeling part of the project, they felt important. So, they experimented a new way to look at their neighborhood, they saw things under another, more interesting perspective".

The same feeling was reported during other interviews with civil society actors:

> "Even if at the beginning the artists seemed a threat to us, the diversity finally turns up to be a force and we appreciated the benefits of being regarded from an external perspective. *Thanks to the openness that everybody showed* [italics added], the cultural initiative seemed to us an opportunity for showing the positive sides of this area, that is often misunderstood and little visible" (Nicole Bonfils, CIQ).

> "The artists came with their own ideas, but *since they were open to listen to people* [italics added], we had the impression that we could trust them and that they were really interested in our engagement. Step-by-step some associations started to mobilize. We met each other and we started overcoming the initial distance; we started trusting each other more" (Raymond Cresp, Association Alargo Mazargues).

Hence, in PARCeque, as hypothesized in the analytical framework, the dialogue proved to be crucial for starting overcoming the barriers that people of the area experienced both physically and metaphorically: "during the first reunions, the issue of the presence of the frontiers between the various parts of the neighborhood was very central. Then, in the following meetings, it was no longer discussed, maybe because the frontiers had been overcome in the meanwhile" (Sabine Couet, MRU).

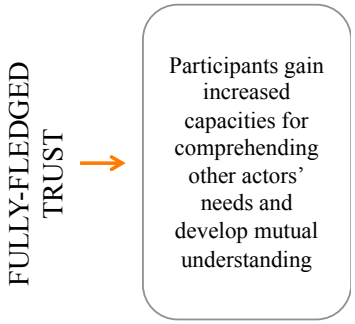
The persistence of the structure in wood of the Bar du Rond Point can be taken as the concrete representation of the successful establishment of trust thanks to the dialogic process. The Bar was described as something unexpected, which altered the usual type of relationship that the various actors had. As recognized by Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius (Artistic Team), "the normal way of reacting to something unusual that was promoted in the neighborhood would have been that of burning the construction down. On the contrary, the space was really well-accepted and welcomed by the community".

[4] "It is when the inhabitants started feeling involved and considered, that the process functioned". "La mayonnaise prend" is a French idiomatic expression indicating a process that finally starts going in the right direction after various attempts.

1.2.2 Capacity building and mutual understanding

Causal step: In presence of fully-fledged trust, participants gain increased capacities for comprehending other actors' needs and expectations concerning cultural activities and develop mutual understanding.

Figure 4. Causal step linking fully-fledged trust with capacity building and mutual understanding



Source: Author's elaboration

Once fully-fledged trust has been established, the causal chain connecting participatory governance and cultural development has further evolved within the project PARCeque, having effects not only on participants' actions and behaviors but also on the type of relationship that is established between them. First of all, dialogue allowed the participants to increase their capacities concerning the understanding and the transmission of cultural contents.

The capacity building was particularly evident for the artists, who became able to adopt a language that made them understandable and appreciated by the other actors involved in the project.

At the beginning of the process, the artistic team felt doubtful about the correct way of establishing a relationship with people. "We asked ourselves if we should do art or some type of animation in the streets of the neighborhood", affirmed Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius (Artistic Team). Also Stefan Shankland expressed the necessity of finding a meaningful role for the artist in PARCeque, able to be not too far from the local population but also to bring a unique contribution:

> "Although it was obvious that the stereotype of an artist working alone in his studio, conceiving a work that would then be displayed in a museum or on a roundabout, would be nonsensical here, it was also clear that in no way could the artist be a substitute for a social worker, the town planner in charge of urban renovation, the associations spearheading open

dialogue with local residents, elected officials in charge of cultural policies, or active intermediaries in the area" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 12).

At a certain point, the artist rediscovered himself as being in charge of "observing the social reality in which he operates for seeing a matrix under it, something that can be expressed and voiced through contemporary art" (Stefan Shankland). As reported also in various interviews with public and civil society actors, this made the artists learn a different code of communication:

"The artists and the local population belonged to two completely separated worlds. At the beginning they did not speak the same language" (Emilie Cambiaggi, GIP Politique de La Ville).

"I think that the artists had the possibility of getting out from their comfort zone. They tried to understand what is an artistic experience for people that are not used to it and how art can have an impact in the social reality" (Lauren Le Gal, ADDAP).

The artistic team experienced an evolution in terms of capacity of making culture widely accessible, developing a communicative code that has allowed them to establish a relationship with other actors, understanding their needs and expectations. Florian Bosc Malavergne (Artistic Team) recognized that:

"The impact on capacities was really strong. The experience opened for me new perspectives also for what concerns my professional life. The dialogue with the inhabitants, the fact of explaining the project to them for taking into consideration their point of view is something that has affected me a lot. It was extremely interesting for me to discover and take into consideration different points of view".

The capacity building process activated in a trustworthy environment was conducive to a further relational effect: mutual understanding. As argued in the hypotheses put at the basis of the analytical framework and grounded in the theoretical background offered by the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), it is exactly because through participation people become more able to appreciate and understand each other that we observe an increase in mutual understanding and possibilities of cooperation. Thanks to the capacities developed during the participatory process, people become able to see others under a twofold renovated perspective: as separate stakeholders with their proper characteristics, positions, and objectives as far as cultural development is concerned and as potential partners, with whom one can share experiences and common projects.

Within the project PARCeque, this was particularly evident in the initiatives and the dynamics activated around the Bar du Rond Point, recognized as a crucial meeting point not only

for the artistic project but for the whole area that, as already evidenced, was used to be divided and fragmented.

On the one hand, mutual understanding was developed as a result of the specific activities promoted in the Bar. The open-construction site was, first of all, an "open-air laboratory where social relationships are promoted" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 8). The various activities, the promotion of workshops with schools, the seminars and the debates around the 101 Propositions, and above all the activity "I work also … At your place!", concerning culinary exchanges and sharing of food traditions, are described by the people involved as moments in which not only they knew and understood each other better, but they also started feeling a sense of belonging and familiarity that will then lead to common good orientation.

A volunteer of MP2013, Mathilde Wahl, describes in these terms the atmosphere of the initiative "I work also … At your place!":

> "Everyone settles naturally and mixes so much with the others that it is impossible to say who is part of the artistic team, who is a volunteer MP2013, who is a resident of the neighborhood. Children sit down side by side, at the end of table, and when they start shouting, Imane, a resident of neighborhood who spent these last fifteen days at the Bar du Rond Point and knows all these kids, scolds them: Stop everything right away, it's lack of respect, we are in family here!" (PARCeque, 2014, p. 60).

If the persistence of the structure in wood of the Bar du Rond Point represented the accomplished process of trust building, the activities and the moments of sharing organized in it are exemplary of the emergence of a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998) within PARCeque. In the Bar du Rond Point, cultural policy-makers, artists, civil society actors, and inhabitants have engaged in a process of creating, refining, communicating, and using their knowledge for the common purpose of realizing cultural initiatives in the neighborhood. During the laboratories, the discussions and the joint launches at the Bar, the hypothesized "dynamic knowing" was realized: individuals have learnt new things about their neighborhood and its cultural identity through their participation in the specific community of the Bar, made of people with whom they interact regularly.

The artists recognized immediately the success of the Bar du Rond Point as a place of meeting and sharing. "The artist Erik Göngrich invited different people and different organizations to take part in a sort of cooking program; people were start coming every day. It was an idea that was immediately accepted and implemented by the community. Day by day, the space became a sort of living room for the area: people were used to come for discussing their experiences and sharing competences and knowledge as far as specific domains were concerned,

not only cooking, but also fishery, the functioning of the national park etc." (Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius, Artistic Team).

On the one hand, mutual understanding manifested itself in improved and more positive relationships between the artistic team and the local residents:

> "Everybody participated; everybody took part in the dialogue. There was mutual understanding and exchange of information: the artists were really engaged in explaining the project and also the inhabitants started explaining what was happening" (Ouhabiba Sadou, Association Parents).

> "The Bar du Rond Point embedded a sort of pedagogy of the encounter. It was a fraternal encounter. It was successful in bringing people together – volunteers, students, and normal people from the neighborhood. There was always something nice to do and staying together come quite naturally. Everybody was there without any preconception" (Raymond Cresp, Alargo Mazargues)

On the other hand, there was a clear improvement of the perception of interdependence and of the possibilities of collaboration between the local associations and the two parts of the neighborhood, La Cayolle and Marzagues. As clearly witnessed by the interviews with Nicole Bonfils (CIQ) and Raymond Cresp (Alargo Mazargues), PARCeque was successful in reuniting "Rive Droite" and "Rive Gauche" of the neighborhood:

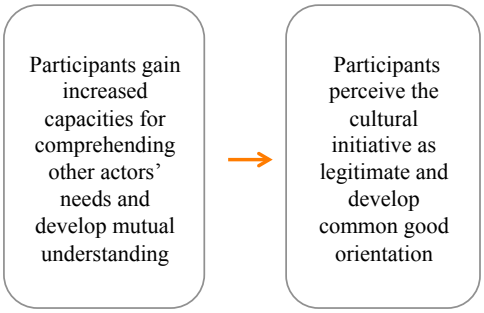
> "This exchange allowed us to meet people that we would not have met without PARCeque, since the territory is very closed and fragmented and people usually do not move a lot. I discovered that it is possible to meet people from the other part of the neighborhood and that this encounter is extraordinary" (Raymond Cresp).

> "The project acted as an accelerator for encounters and possibilities of collaboration. I met a lot of people I did not know before, since the inhabitants of Mazargues don't usually come in La Cayolle. I have also met politicians and other actors of the cultural scene of Marseille. The project was an occasion for building a dialogue between the two sides of the neighborhood" (Nicole Bonfils, CIQ).

1.2.3 Legitimacy and common good orientation

Causal step: Thanks to participants' increased capacities of understanding each other, the cultural initiative gains legitimacy; actors, at the same time, develop common good orientation.

Figure 5. Causal step linking capacities and mutual understanding with legitimacy and common good orientation



Source: Author's elaboration

The capacities gained through the dialogic process helped the artists in understanding and representing the local cultural identity in their artistic intervention. "The artists have well interpreted the neighborhood and its specific history. They gave voice to its needs. PARCeque was for us a great opportunity. We liked the idea that the history of the area had the opportunity of travelling around thanks to foreign artists" (Ouhabiba Sadou, Association Parents).

The fact that the project has interpreted local needs made it widely accepted by local population. "Since the initiative really spoke about the territory and of the neighborhood, it generated more curiosity both for the inhabitants and other people" (Marion Bourgelat, Association Robins des Villes). Representing the history of La Pierre Tombée, classifying the local objects for giving sense to the idea of the park, valorizing the different culinary traditions that people of the area have since generations, involving everybody in the construction of a meeting point in a significant place of the neighborhood, the program has included the different meanings that people attach to cultural heritage (Sani, 2015), thus giving voice, as expressed in different interviews, to a new conception of culture, much more relevant for the territory.

> "The thing I always reproach to the artists is the fact of being far from reality, of not considering it during their project. This experience was somehow different. I think that the project was really successful in showing how many different expressions can be part of culture, such as walks and gastronomy. The approach was effective because it was based on an innovative conception of culture that was, at the same time, understandable and authentic, without renouncing to the quality of artistic expressions" (Nicole Bonfils, CIQ).

The ability of the overall initiative to be accepted – recognized as a legitimate interpretation of the territory and of the different meanings that various actors attach to the word "culture" – was well expressed by one of the artists, Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius, during the interviews. He has recognized that since the project was able to include "different perspectives and to activate various dynamics in the neighborhood, it opened up the field of possibilities,

making the artist capable of interacting on many levels". The possibility for an artist of having "interactions on many levels" recalls and confirms the hypothesized capacity of participatory cultural events of promoting "polysemic structures" (Ziakas, 2016) within the local space: when multiple narratives, genres, and symbols are included, cultural events and activities cultivate a greater array of emotions and meanings for participants.

The cultural initiative was accepted and legitimated not only as a proper expression of the local cultural identity, but also a means for attaining wider social and urban objectives.

The actors of the urban renewal, such as MRU and GIP Politique de la Ville, recognized the importance of the artistic intervention for the quality of life in the neighborhood. As acknowledged by Sabine Couet (MRU), "at the beginning, maybe as the inhabitants, we were a bit perplexed by the work of the artists. It was a conception of art that was completely different in comparison to the one we had in mind. I remember that at the beginning we asked them where was the concrete artistic production in the project. Then we realized that the artistic contribution is not only the cultural, material product but also the process of realization. The concept of heritage walks, for example, was new for me. Thanks to this project, we have expanded the veritable notion of art and we reinterpreted the classic concept of artist".

Likewise urban renewal actors, also social operators recognized to culture a more meaningful role within their activities. "As educators, the project was an opportunity for considering another possible approach to culture. We now know better the potential of culture. We now know that culture is not auto referential but also a means for raising awareness. For us it could be a very interesting support. A crucial result of taking part in the process was discovering that we could use culture for reaching also other types of objectives" (Laurent Le Gal, ADDAP).

Together with this legitimization process, also social capital between the actors evolved within the realization of the cultural initiative: participants became able not only to understand each other better (mutual understanding) but also to engage for the realization of a common purpose (common good orientation). Indeed, at a certain point, as hypothesized by the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), the negotiation of mutually exclusive interests was replaced by a deliberative process, based on the inclusion of wider matters than specific individual considerations.

Like the majority of cultural participatory processes, PARCeque started as a "contested field of meaning" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010), raising several questions on who had the right or could claim the right of determining the contents, the nature, the values, and the goal of the cultural initiative that would be implemented in Les Hauts des Mazargues. The oppositions were

linked not only with the typologies of actors and their different objectives regarding cultural development, but also with the divergent expectations that they nurtured as far as the results of the project were concerned.

At the beginning, the initiative seemed to the local associations of the area an opportunistic project of MP2013. Even when they understood the good intentions of the artistic team, they felt the necessity of activating a process of negotiation for assuring that their interest would not be completely put apart during the events organized in 2013. "We wanted that the participatory process was respectful of all initiatives and associations present on the territory; otherwise we would have considered to carry out our initiatives independently" (Nicole Bonfils, CIQ).

However, at a certain point, actors changed their attitudes transforming them into common-oriented ones. All the activities related to La Pierre Tombée and, in general, the evolution of the relationship between the artistic team and the CIQ, are exemplary of the emergence of a growing identification between the various actors' objectives during the project. La Pierre Tombée was at the center of two main realizations: a life-size copy of the six-meters rock that was dismantled after the major cultural events in June 2013 and a long-lasting sculpture, nominated "La Porte des Calanques" which is now located in another roundabout of the neighborhood, the Rond Point Vaucanson. By doing so, the rock became the synthesis of two of the most opposite visions of the cultural activities of PARCeque: the ephemeral and process-oriented approach pursued by the artistic team and the willingness of leaving a permanent sign of improvement on the territory that characterized the position of the CIQ and other local actors.

The emergence of the common good orientation around this symbol is well expressed in the interview with Nicole Bonfils: "the idea of La Pierre Tombée was a real terrain of encounter between the different actors involved. It was something that everybody recognized as having a value for the neighborhood. We all identified our objectives around the symbol. The artistic team proposed to do a reproduction of the local rock. We – the CIQ and other associations – wanted to have a sculpture on the Rond Point de Vaucanson, in order to replace another one that was there since the 60s and that was then destroyed. At the end, an idea of common good was pursued and realized".

From that moment on, the activities realized by the CIQ and the artistic team were always mutually reinforcing and went also beyond the sole agreement around La Pierre Tombée. The Bar du Rond Point hosted the laboratories that the artist Rolland Bellier promoted with schools for the realization of the sculpture in the Rond Point de Vaucanson. Moreover, the CIQ actively supported and integrated various initiatives of PARCeque: they realized collective ovens during the cooking activities and they organized laboratories of shadow theatre with schools. Finally, the

CIQ invited the artist Alice Hammon to realize temporary drawings in an abandoned terrain situated close to the national park of Les Calanques, where the artistic team organized a joint launch with the inhabitants.

This confirms the hypothesis that, during the process, participants not only negotiated and aggregated preferences according to their own private interests, but they become able to make judgments inspired by the willingness of pursuing a common end as far as the cultural life of the territory is concerned. Thanks to deliberative processes, local cultural assets – such as La Pierre Tombée and its symbolic meaning – became "communitarian goods" able to make people imagine a "future shared living" (Barbe et al., 2016). This feeling has been expressed in various ways during the interviews with the key stakeholders.

Ouhabiba Sadou (Association Parents) recognized the emergence of a common engagement for assuring better living conditions in the neighborhood for the next generations:

> "At the end, what has motivated people the most was the perspective of doing something better for their area, something that lasts also in the future. They understood that the project would improve the quality of life of next generations. The feeling was that of building a different neighborhood, open to culture and to exchanges".

Florian Bosc Malavergne (Artistic team) defined the common good orientation as a the "feeling of belonging to the same planet":

> "If I think to the aspect of the creation of the human community, I think that one of the most evident effects of the project is the fact of having created a strong social cohesion, a strong sense of belonging around a work of art and an artistic experience. We felt to be part of the same planet".

Marion Bourgelat (Robins de Villes) spoke about the promotion of a "common vision" and a "common imaginary" about the area:

> "The project has been successful in promoting a dialogue concerning the transformation of area: it was about building a common vision, about identifying a common imaginary, and inventing new dynamics in territory. This has allowed the emergence of further issues that were relevant for the inhabitants and also the recognition of the real needs of the territory, such as the construction of a common place in the neighborhood for bringing people together. The project has facilitated the emergence of a shared reflection on the ways of operating in that area in the framework of a project of urban regeneration".

At the beginning of the project and thanks to the first dialogic interactions, we observed the emergence of the "knowledge-based trust" (Lewicki et al., 2006) among the various actors,

namely the fact of knowing the others well enough to predict their behaviors and start cooperating with them. At the end, the "identification-based trust" (Lewicki et al., 2006) was established, since the participants proved to have fully internalized the preferences of the others, becoming able to act for realizing a common goal. The feeling of frustration and disappointment caused by the dismantling of the Bar du Rond Point in 2013 – but also the shared willingness of working together for creating another meeting point in the area – are exemplary of this evolution concerning the intensity of trust among participants. At this respect, Stefan Shankland (Artistic Team) affirmed that:

> "Some people would like our projects to be continued. And this means that we have touched something real, that we met a demand that they were trying to formulate and that then were able to clearly express. They did not want the Bar to be dismantled and they started asking themselves where to find the money to keep it there, who would be the responsible etc." (Adolphe, 2014, p. 33).

Similarly, Laurent Le Gal (ADDAP) recognized the shared willingness of having a meeting point for the neighborhood as one of the major resonances of the project and its contribution in terms of renovated trust and common good orientation among participants: "I think that the most frustrating thing for the inhabitants was that such nice places where dismantled after two or three weeks. However, there was a resonance: people understood not only what they needed the most but also how to start working for it".

1.3 The impacts on cultural development

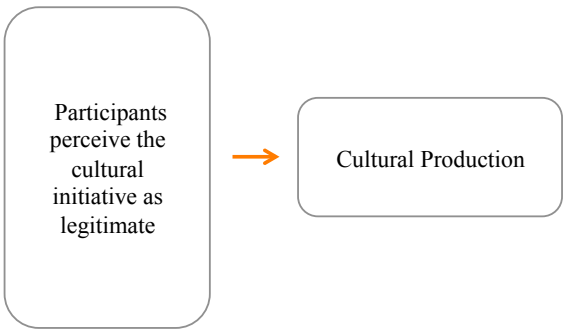
Even if it was not explicitly designed for being continued after 2013, PARCeque produced relevant impacts concerning cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations in the area of Les Hauts des Mazargues. Consistently with the proposed analytical framework, this investigation maintains that these effects can be explained looking at the interaction between participatory governance, the contextual conditions in which it was implemented, and the changes in actors' behaviors and perceptions produced during the process. Theoretically supported by the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992), we argue that it is because people experienced a transformation of their attitudes within a participatory framework that we can observe, afterwards, effects on the three interrelated dimensions of cultural development (cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations).

Accordingly, the next paragraphs aim at explaining why the cultural developmental dynamics observed in the neighborhood after 2013 are linked with the causal steps previously discussed. As it will be further explained in the following parts with reference to empirical evidence, we maintain that the observable impacts in terms of cultural production and cultural reception are due to the increase in legitimacy and acceptance produced during PARCeque. In addition, we argue that cultural relations, mainly represented by a network of actors born around the recent establishment of a new theatre in the area (Théâtre du Centaure), have been fuelled by the relational assets promoted during the participatory process (the linkage between trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation). As for the analysis of the previous causal steps, each paragraph begins with the clear statement and graphical representation of the causal linkage investigated.

1.3.1 Cultural Production

Causal step: Since various public and civic actors recognized culture as a legitimate means to improve local quality of life, more cultural activities have been supported and financed on the territory after 2013.

Figure 6. Causal step linking legitimacy with cultural production



Source: Author's elaboration

After 2013, the number and variety of cultural activities promoted in Les Hauts de Mazargues increased. For what concerns the continuity with the project PARCeque, the initiative Café-Chantier promoted by the Association Robins de Ville was a "logical consequence and a derivation of the Bar du Rond Point". "The Chantier, realized in a different place, but not far from the roundabout where the Bar was located, aimed at being a meeting point for activating a joint discussion on the urban renewal process with other associations and the inhabitants. As in the Bar, the cultural element was central, since we organized photo exhibitions and laboratories with schools" (Marion Bourgelat).

Regarding the cultural infrastructure, a major improvement was represented by the restoration of the Maison du Quartier in 2015. The neighborhood center, built by MRU and managed by the CIQ, has been used for promoting "regular cycles of conferences, photo exhibitions, and artistic workshops in the following years" (Nicole Bonfils, CIQ).

In terms of cultural activities, the main initiatives mentioned by the actors interviewed are: the institution of Radio Calanques, a local radio that supports the active engagement of local people; the project "Les Petits Violons des Calanques" that provided music classes for local primary schools; the opening of an exhibition space in the commercial center Leclerc and the promotion of various cultural laboratories for the young disadvantaged people that are part of the prevention programs managed by the ADDAP.

As already pointed out in the description of the causal step dealing with legitimacy, several stakeholders, during the interviews, underlined that the engagement of their organizations for the promotion of cultural initiatives after 2013 can be explained by an increased awareness of the importance of culture for attaining wider social and urban objectives. It was exactly because cultural interventions became increasingly seen as legitimate instruments for improving the quality of life in the neighborhood that cultural production increased.

Laurent Le Gal explained this link referring to the "knowledge of the potential of culture":

> "As educators of ADDAP we promote more cultural activities *because now we understand the potential of culture* [italics added]. We organize group visits to museums; we promote cultural events in public spaces and exhibitions. The awareness of the importance of culture has started to be grounded in the way of acting of local actors and local associations".

Nicole Bonfils underlined that the promotion of cultural activities was not a common praxis for the neighborhood committees in Marseille before 2013 and that, also thanks to PARCeque, culture became much more present in their programs:

> "In 2012, only three CIQ out of the 180 present in Marseille were used to promote cultural activities. When I tried to bring artists in the local schools, everybody was against me. Then, also thanks to the positive effects of PARCeque, *everybody realized that I was right for what concerns the importance of arts and culture* [italics added]. […] Quartiers Créatifs showed that culture is a lever that local associations can use for pursuing their objectives".

The causal link proved to be true also for what concerns the public actors responsible of the urban renewal process in Les Hauts de Mazargues. Sabine Couet (MRU), talked about a "clear change in the institutional culture", a different way of considering the cultural aspect in the urban renewal interventions:

> "Before 2013, culture was certainly not the first concern of urban regeneration intervention. For us, as technicians of the urban renewal, *the involvement of the artists gives new perspective to our work, a new way of approaching urban issues* [italics added]. Even if we still don't have formalized practices, when we have the opportunity, we always support the introduction of the cultural aspect in urban interventions and we actively try to collaborate with local cultural actors".

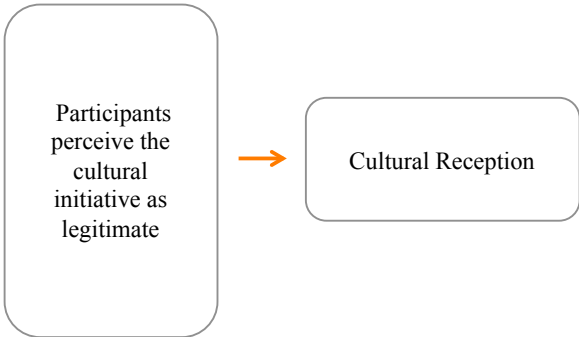
Also local associations felt this change in the approach of MRU towards the neighborhood: "After the initiative, we felt that there was a greater interest of the institutions for the valorization of this area and of the people that live here. The artists gave a different regard on the reality and this affected also the way public authorities deal with this neighborhood" (Raymond Cresp, Alargo Mazargues).

The fact that art was recognized as an important tool for promoting urban renewal generated an increased engagement of the institutions for cultural activities, in terms of funds, sponsorship, local planning. The re-opening of the Maison du Quartier by the MRU can be seen as an evidence of this hypothesized causal mechanisms. Hence, the legitimacy and acceptance of artistic interventions have been crucial for fostering cultural production after 2013, promoting the consolidation of an institutional framework that favors the flowering and development of cultural activities.

1.3.2 Cultural Reception

Causal step: Thanks to the increased value and importance attributed to culture by local inhabitants during the participatory process, we observe the enlargement, diversification, and engagement of audiences in cultural activities after 2013.

Figure 7. Causal step linking legitimacy with cultural reception



Source: Author's elaboration

The project PARCeque had a relevant impact for what concerns the increase of interest in culture by a wide variety of audiences. During the interviews, both public and civil society actors have underlined how distant local people were from cultural activities before 2013. Emilie Cambiaggi (GIP La Politique de la Ville) spoke about a sort of self-exclusion of local people from cultural life: "People felt so distant from culture that they thought that they were not allowed to go to the museum". Similarly, Laurent Le Gal (ADDAP) explained that:

> "The public for which we work has a very specific relation with culture. They are not used to go out of their territory for attending cultural events. For them, culture is just for those that are able to understand it. Because of their social condition, they have different priorities, such as buying food or clothes. The interest for culture is something that is really secondary for them".

The contribution of the activities promoted during PARCeque in changing this pattern was clearly recognized by different typologies of actors. "The project has certainly helped people who were usually far from the cultural reception to be more interested to cultural activities" (Florian Bosc Malavergne, Artistic Team). Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius underlined how important it was to bring "non-normality" in the area, making people have access to culture through the innovative character of the initiatives proposed to them:

> "We involved a lot of people coming from the neighborhood. Everybody wanted to be part of the project: they were interested in cooking and eating, in making group photos with a funny stone, in carrying letters up to the hill and saying that this was Cayollywood. People were interested in the extraordinary nature of what was happening there. We managed to make them get out of their house by creating the desire of being part of something unusual. It is this non-normality that I see as the main contribution we gave to foster people participation in the project".

Regarding local associations, they reported that local inhabitants kept being interested in cultural activities also after the end of the project PARCeque. In this respect, Ouhabiba Sadou (Association Parents) affirmed:

> "We observed a great access to culture thanks to the project: culture was opened to everybody and not only to specific categories. Afterwards, people started looking for additional information concerning cultural activities, trying to figure out what is happening in other parts of the city. Before, they saw culture as something they watched in television, very far from them. Now they continuously ask when other cultural activities will be organized. Thanks to this increased interest, we set up a collaboration with the MuCEM that was unthinkable some years ago".

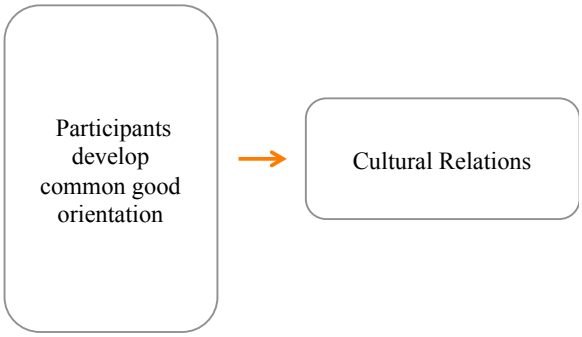
According to Ouhabiba Sadou, the increased interest in culture corresponded also to a deeper engagement of the local population for the well being of their neighborhood. "Over the years, we succeeded in engaging people from the area; people now want to be part of this process of urban renewal since they have realized that this is important for the well being in their area. People now feel engaged: they are aware that it is their responsibility to preserve and ameliorate the neighborhood".

As already underlined in the causal step dealing with legitimacy, the acceptance of the cultural program by the local inhabitants, namely the fact of recognizing it as an expression of their identity, of the history of the territory, and of the various cultural values they attach to it, was fundamental for generating impacts in terms of cultural reception. "The artists were really well welcomed at the end, generating a type of interest towards cultural activities that didn't exist before. *The fact that culture came to people made them cultivate a deeper interest in it* [italics added]. The project spoke about them and about their territory. This fact has contributed at changing completely their approach. People appreciated the fact that the artists wanted to give them space and voice" (Ouhabiba Sadou, Association Parents).

1.3.3 Cultural Relations

Causal step: Thanks to the development of common good orientation among the participants in the project, a network of interdependent actors engaged in cultural activities has been created on the territory after 2013.

Figure 8. Causal step linking common good orientation with cultural relations



Source: Author's elaboration

The cultural relations aspect, more than the production and reception ones, was widely recognized as the main long-term contribution of the project PARCeque. As synthesized by Sabine Couet (MRU), "the project has left some very positive traces in terms of new desires and modalities of cooperation. *These are the veritable results of the project* [italics added], even if they are not material works of art that we can see now on the territory. The initiative has promoted encounters between people that were not used to meet. It has been a point of convergence of different interests and energies. It has brought new dynamics and this is really clear". Also the artistic team had the same position regarding the major contributions of the initiative. "*This was the big success of the project* [italics added]: we created a strong network between people that normally do not work with each other" (Benjamin Foerster-Baldenius, Artistic Team).

The increase in collaboration between the actors of the territory after 2013 has been described under different perspectives. Marion Bourgelat (Association Robins de Villes) stressed the fact that "the participatory process was an occasion for formalizing the cooperation between different groups and associations; it was a supplementary instrument for creating relations between the actors of the urban regeneration (MRU and GIP Politique de la Ville), the enterprises dealing with social housing, the associations, and the inhabitants". Emilie Cambiaggi (GIP Politique de la Ville) stressed the fact the "the participatory process activated in PARCeque was the starting point for future collaborations of local associations in the promotion of cultural initiatives. For example, after 2013, it was very common to hear that the Association Parents, the Association Passerelle, and the Association Alargo Marzagues worked together on exhibitions and festivals in the neighborhood or that they actively took part in the initiatives promoted by the others".

The recent establishment of a theatre, the Théâtre du Centaure[5], represents the main evidence of the impacts of the participatory process promoted in 2013 in terms of cultural relations. This theatre, opened to the public in January 2017, is located in a green area of Les Hauts de Mazargues, situated between the residential areas and the national park of Les Calanques. It is owned by the Municipality of Marseille, who strongly encouraged its transfer in the neighborhood, especially after the positive experience of PARCeque. The idea was that of giving to this neighborhood "not only a cultural space but also a meeting point, a place in which all cultural energies could converge and be expressed" (Rozenn Collet, Théâtre du Centaure).

The Théâtre du Centaure is an equestrian theatre composed of a community of ten actors and their horses. As symbolized also by the image and the symbol of the centaur, the theatre bases its mission on the discovery of a new type of relationship between nature and humanity, arts and territory. "The Centaur does not exist. It is the utopia of a relationship, a symbiosis to be one soul with two parts. Because it is impossible, because it is a utopia, the Centaur is for us a form of commitment. This commitment encourages us to invent a theatre that does not exist, to introduce different forms, a different language" (Théâtre du Centaure website: Mission).

Long before the official opening in January 2017, the team of the theatre promoted a participatory process in order to be accepted by the inhabitants and the local associations, but also to get them involved in "writing together a new history of the neighborhood". "Before moving here – explained Rozenn Collet – we started working in the area: we met a lot of different people for imagining the things we would be able to do together, for making the inhabitants developing a sense of belonging to this place. The central question was how to put in contact our activities with the history of a territory and how to make this history generate other shared histories, moving from the access to culture to creating culture together".

Rozenn Collet has strongly stressed the importance of the relational assets promoted during PARCeque for the formulation of a shared mission around the Théâtre du Centaure. "The experience of Quartiers Créatifs was really important for the successful establishment of the theatre. The majority of people were really positive and happy for what concerns the adventure of PARCeque, since the artists spent a lot of time here with local people. We realized that PARCeque was not only a good memory but also the starting point for a series of activities that people carry out together in the area".

According to Collet, the crucial contribution of PARCeque to the promotion of cultural developmental dynamics was, as hypothesized in the analytical framework, the emergence of a common good orientation among the participants. "Notwithstanding the complexity of the urban

[5] http://www.theatreducentaure.com/

renewal process and the initial divergence of objectives, *the artists managed to built consensus on some ideas* [italics added], more or less concrete, on the neighborhood. When we arrived here we realized that people were already used to speak to each other, to share, to work together with the associations. *There was already a common ground* [italics added] on which we could start creating another common project for the next 10 or 20 years".

The project "Les Grand Verger des Hauts de Mazargues" (The Big Orchard of Les Hauts de Mazargues) – a participatory garden realized in collaboration with the national park of Les Calanques and the Association Cultures Permanentes – is an example of the typologies of joint actions that the theatre has promoted in 2017. "We started a reflection on permaculture as part of our relationship between man and nature, on how to consider our needs and the ones of the territory. The first idea was that of realizing a common garden in the green area surrounding the theatre: a place that could be used as a meeting point for learning and sharing new lifestyles. The garden is now a work in progress. A lot of people from the neighborhood joined, including social structures and local enterprises dealing with social housing. The garden has been imagined as an engine for future projects in the territory" (Rozenn Collet, Théâtre du Centaure).

The list of actors that have a stable cooperation around the projects of the theatre is a supplementary proof of the increasing cultural relations in the neighborhood. In addition to the national park and the Association Cultures Permanentes, the theatre has long-term partnerships with public entities such as the Camargue National Park, with local NGOs (Association Bio Calanques, Association Passerelle), and with other cultural institutions such as the publishing house Actès Sud.

The analysis of the experience of the Théâtre du Centaure makes clear the causal chain linking the initial trust among stakeholders, the development of mutual understanding and common good orientation during the decision-making process, and the final establishment of cultural networks. As in the "principled engagement" theorized by Emerson et al. (2011), through PARCeque the different actors have discovered individual and shared interests that have led them, through deliberative processes, at the identification of the common good, as exemplified by the experience of La Pierre Tombée. Thanks to these relational assets, they came to joint determinations and procedural decisions, constituting a stable network of people engaged in the cultural activities promoted by the theatre.

This recently opened cultural place embeds the accomplished process of cultural development in the neighborhood. The theatre functions as the Throsby's "cultural ecosystem" (2017), a balanced structure in which increases in cultural production and cultural reception are alimented by growing cultural relations. The image of the "livable city" in which all cultural,

social, and economic factors are integrated for promoting "satisfying and rewarding lives" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141) emerges clearly in the conception of culture that the theatre has embraced. "I think that the role of an artist and of a cultural operator in a territory is that of *creating linkages and breaking down barriers* [italics added]. The artists are here not only for formulating a dream for the neighborhood but also for sharing this dream with other people, giving courage to them. At the theatre, we have tried to make this transversal aspect alive again. We reunite artists, gardeners, and social operators: everybody is here for realizing something together" (Rozenn Collet, Théâtre du Centaure). As hypothesized, the relational aspect is put at the center of a sustainable cultural system fuelled by the common values of people that cooperate for a shared mission.

2. The growing community of the Exchanger Obrody (Košice)

2.1 Origins and development of the Exchanger

The Exchanger[6] Obrody has been the first unused space to be reconstructed and refurbished in the framework of the SPOTs Program, promoted as part of the ECoC events of Košice 2013. Being a sort of "pilot initiative", the Exchanger was officially opened to the public long before the Title year, in March 2010, following an intense phase of study and participatory planning that started at the beginning of 2009. The space is located in the district "Lunik III" of the neighborhood Terasa, a residential area not far from the city center that was chosen by the SPOTs Team because of its representativeness of the history and the industrial identity of the city of Košice, the high density of population, and the presence of other two heat exchangers[7].

The residential area of Terasa was built in the 1960s for giving an accommodation to the growing number of employees of the Eastern-Slovakian ironworks. City planners divided the settlement into "Luniks", independently functioning residential districts with sufficient network of shops, services, and medical centers. Terasa is often perceived as a well-located and well-equipped neighborhood, with green spaces and a discrete cultural heritage made of valuable sculptures of socialistic realism and huge paintings that decorate some prefabs. Both levels of income and levels of education are higher compared to the average in Košice. However, the overall area is aging: most buildings are now more than 50 years old, the majority of residents are

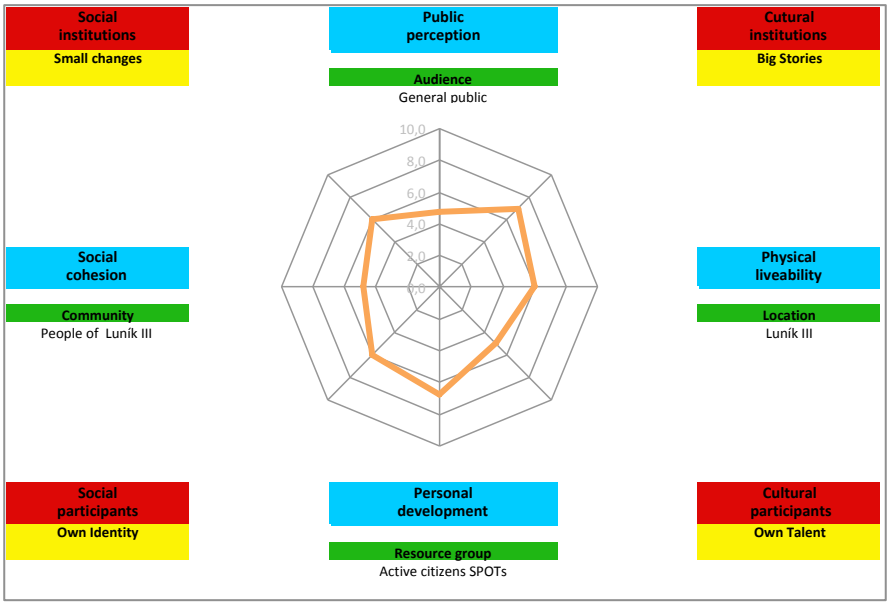
[6] A former heat exchanger that, thanks to the SPOTs Program, has been transformed into a community cultural center. This typology of space has kept its functional name "Vymennik" (in Slovakian) or "Exchanger" (in English).
[7] The Exchanger Brigádnická opened in autumn 2011 and the Exchanger Ľudová, which became functional in April 2013.

retired and, because of the low number of economic active people, the district is loosing attractiveness for young people, who often decide to move towards the city center for finding better opportunities in terms of employment and cultural and leisure activities.

The phase of study and research conducted in 2009 for conceiving the Program Scan of the Exchanger was crucial for identifying the "driving force", namely the social demand, the needs and expectations of the residents, on which the cultural project had to base its mission.

Figure 9 shows the results of the "district value scan" (green and pale blue parts) and of the "cultural value scan" (red and yellow parts) realized according to the general SPOTs methodology (see Figure 3 – Chapter 4). In 2009, Lunik III reported high values of personal development linked with the presence of educated and interested people, but low scores in terms of social cohesion, indicating that people were not used to spend time together and undertake common activities. Moreover, while showing a good level of physical livability (absence of degradation, good services, nice shops), the public perception scores were much lower, evidencing that people invested a lot for houses and services without paying attention to the valorization of common spaces where there were high quality but neglected artistic pieces. This was confirmed also by the data concerning the socio-cultural life: Terasa presented a good number of socio-cultural infrastructures but very limited participation and self-organization of the residents.

Figure 9. Program Scan of Lunik III - Exchanger Obrody



Source: SPOTs background documents

The "artistic response" and the "collaboration force" activated among the various actors involved in the Exchanger were strongly inspired by the demographic and social characteristics

of the area, having a stronger focus on the promotion of social cohesion among residents and on the increase in public perception and attractiveness of the area.

For what concerns the "Small changes in the social system world" segment of the Program Scan (left upper quadrant of Figure 9), it included the promotion of socio-cultural practices such as workshops of scientific divulgation, creative laboratories with schools and for children, meetings and discussions on gender-related topics but also participatory planning activities for the neighborhood. The main objective was building a new relationship between citizens and local infrastructure, strengthening the role of the Exchanger as an intermediary between the two and promoting the active involvement of residents in the organization of social and cultural interventions.

The "Big stories in the artistic system world" segment (right upper quadrant of Figure 9) focused on the promotion of both high visibility events in the neighborhood, such as festivals, touring theatre or the organization of the day of neighbors, and actions of valorization of the iconic buildings and places of the area, including the Exchanger, its façade and the surrounding green area. The initial ambition was to make the area a "good place for elderly people to grow old" and "attractive for young people to move in", since "young people must feel welcome and older people should feel valued" (SPOTs background documents). The increase in public perception should go hand in hand with residents' participation in the activities.

The "Own identity in the social system world" segment (left lower quadrant of Figure 9) was based on the increase of cultural self-organization of the residents, such as amateur artistic activities and networks between various informal groups, and on the promotion of storytelling initiatives about the local cultural heritage and identity. The objective was to make people share their knowledge and competences with other neighbors, building a collective memory of the district.

The last quadrant of the Scan – "Own talent in the artistic system world" – focused, on the one hand, on arts education and talent development and, on the other, on the promotion of cultural entrepreneurship, making the Exchanger Obrody a space for exhibitions of both amateur and contemporary artists. The ambition was that of actively investing in the talents of the citizens and creative professionals in Terasa, supporting people in developing their own creativity and mastery. According to this program line, the Exchanger should become an open space for projects, experiments, music, and theatre.

According to Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager[8], the "shaping force" – the ultimate mission - of the Exchanger Obrody was placed exactly in this mix between new artistic competences and stronger social linkages: "People in 2008 were not visible and active, they were stocked in an individualistic and consumptive attitude, focused on family and work. Art played no role in everyday life. So, even before intervening on the space, we start looking for people who wanted to make a difference with art as catalyst not only for themselves but also for others" (Presentation, November 2013).

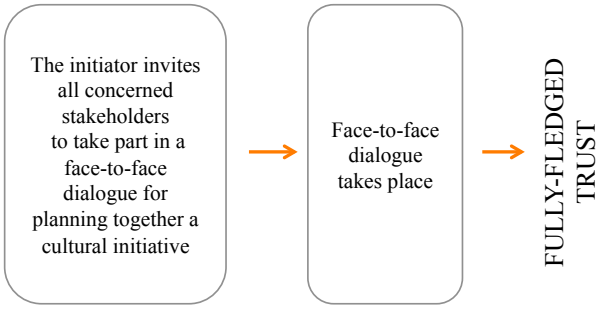
2.2 The observed causal steps

The same structure of analysis, as used for the project PARCeque (Marseille), is followed to illustrate the presence of the hypothesized causal steps linking participatory governance with cultural development in the Exchanger Obrody. In order to make clear the various phases of the analysis, every causal step is discussed separately. Each paragraph begins by stating and graphically representing the part of the hypothesized causal mechanism that the research wants to test; then, it discusses its presence in the case referring to the empirical evidence collected.

2.2.1 Dialogue and trust building

Causal step: Face-to-face dialogue takes place and fully-fledged trust is achieved among the participants.

Figure 10. Causal step linking dialogue and trust building



Source: Author's elaboration

Consistently with the overall institutional design of the SPOTs Program, the decision-making process that led to the formulation and implementation of the cultural initiatives in the

[8] Blanka Berkyová was Project Manager of the SPOTs Program since its origins (in 2009) until June 2015. During this period, from 2009 to the end of 2013, she worked in close cooperation with Christian Potiron, who was artistic director of the SPOTs Program. The current Project Manager of the SPOTs Program (from 2015 to date) is Ján Hološ.

Exchanger Obrody started with a great effort of the SPOTs Team for assuring both large representation of the interested stakeholders and the activation of a face-to-face dialogue among them.

As a first step, a database of public authorities, NGOs, and active citizens was designed and constructed after a 3 month-research conducted at the beginning of 2009. According to Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager, the database had two interrelated functions. On the one hand, it was necessary for individuating what was really missing in the area and how the Exchanger could address the gaps. "We didn't want to plan activities that other people were doing and our role was that of identifying what was really missing, which type of activity could support the community development and the artistic production". On the other hand, it was crucial for identifying the "right people to bring to the table" (Innes & Booher, 1999): "At the beginning we had to speak with everybody, we couldn't forget anybody: public institutions, NGOs, active citizens […] We wanted to build a good network and good relationships for being sure that for each program line the right group of people was there".

The variety of actors involved in this preliminary phase has been classified according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" adopted in the present investigation (Table 2). As already underlined in the description of the Program Scan, the area was characterized by the presence of a relatively rich socio-cultural infrastructure. Social recreational centers such as A Centrum, Atrium Club, and the Social Pavillon were already proposing "pro-access" activities such as painting courses for families and activities for women, while different public structures were engaged in arts education programs (Elementary Art School Bernolákova) or in organizing free-time activities for university students (Dormitories and Students Service Jedlíkova).

"Pro-excellence" and "pro-innovation" objectives were mainly pursued by two local independent theatres (Pôtoň Theatre and NEON Theatre) and by a series of collectives engaged in bringing design in the public space (KEKS Design and CO Street Art Communication). The Local district Košice West – the public owner of the Exchanger – was a key partner of the reconstruction of the space. Being fundamental for the concession of the necessary permissions for realizing the interventions on the Exchanger and on the surrounding public space, local authorities were mainly motivated by "pro-economic impact" objectives, linked with the improvement of the attractiveness and the image of the area. Coherently with the overall aim of the Program, the SPOTs Team – composed by two project managers, the first cultural mediators, and a team of social operators from the UPJS University in Košice – tried to address simultaneously "pro-excellence", "pro-innovation", and "pro-access" objectives, giving voice and

space to the missing segment of the stakeholders' field, the local residents that showed low capacities and interest in self-organizing socio-cultural activities.

For this purpose, the construction of the database was followed by an intense "selective recruitment" (Fung, 2006) of the residents of the area, implemented through door-to-door surveys. "We started knocking at the door of people in the neighborhood. Cultural mediators and social operators knocked to about 1100 doors. It was a very important passage for us. We knew that the Exchanger Obrody was going to be opened to the public, but at the moment it was just an empty building. We needed to communicate with people about the future of the Exchanger and ask them what they would like to do in that space and if they would like to be active there" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

As hypothesized in the analytical framework, the SPOTs Team wanted to promote face-to-face dialogue as a "trigger" of the overall cultural program and its effects on the territory. "We invited these people to visit the Exchanger even before it was reconstructed. The conditions were not good at the time and we had to pay attention in entering the space. But *we needed to start the machine* [italics added], trying to motivate people to be involved. We asked them to take care of the building until its official opening in March 2010 and to check that everything was going in the right direction. We explained that there would be something good for them" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

At the beginning, the process of involvement encountered different obstacles and resistances from the local population. On the one hand, the initial lack of trust towards the SPOTs Team was linked with the negative connotation of the door-to-door process – seen as a "really weird and annoying activity in Slovakia" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator). On the other, the suspicious attitude of local people towards the participatory process was a difficult heritage of the Socialist period:

> "After the Socialism, people started to be much more individualistic and independent. Since they experienced constriction and lack of choices, people were much more attracted by the idea of being free without interferences. Also with the SPOTs Program, at the beginning they were afraid of being pushed to do something that they didn't want to do. They didn't want to feel attacked by the system, by the community level. It was so hard to explain them that doing things together gives better results but that nobody should feel obliged to participate, that there was the possibility of a voluntary involvement" (Beata Andrejková).

These factors explain the initial negative feelings that residents had concerning the Exchanger. "In Lunik III, people were used to be very passive and they felt really afraid of seeing

a new space, they didn't know how to build a relationship with it and what was its function in their district" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community Artist). Moreover, the conditions of the Exchanger themselves were not reassuring. "The building was all ruined and in very bad conditions. There was a sort of contrast: we were trying to involve people in something that was still under construction" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

As hypothesized in the analytical framework, dialogue was fundamental in breaking down these barriers and promoting trust building between the SPOTs Team and the residents:

"Other cultural mediators and I started explaining to the people in the street what the project was about, which were the main goals of the process and why it was innovative. We wanted to explain the reasons of our work but also to *make people confident and involved since the beginning* [italics added]" (Beata Andrejková).

The organization of the Future City Game[9] was pivotal in this phase. Together with the local social centers (A Centrum, Atrium Club, Social Pavillon), schools (Elementary Art School Bernolákova), and other cultural operators (KEKS Design, CO Street Art Communication, Pôtoň Theatre, NEON Theatre), residents worked in groups for sharing ideas about how to improve the future of the area through the organization of cultural and social events, theatrical performances, courses, seminars, and creative workshops. Their ideas were not only discussed but also included in the Program Scan, which was presented and explained to the public in various meetings.

The artistic initiative "Living Room" – realized in collaboration with the KEKS Design/Creative Lab civic association – was also very important in making the recently re-opened and refurbished Exchanger a trustworthy space for the residents. Old furniture (sofas, chairs, etc.) donated by people of the area was transformed and put in the empty Exchanger in order to create a pleasant living room atmosphere where everybody could feel at home.

The trust building process – including the door-to-door survey, the Future City Game, the follow-up meetings with the local residents involved, and the "Living Room" initiative – was described as both time-consuming and necessary:

"The process was slow because the cultural mediators had to take the time of walking around and try to meet people, making them coming out from their house. It took time but day by

[9] The Future City Game is a "team-based process designed to create new thinking and actions to improve the quality of life in cities. It is a mechanism to stimulate original ideas about ways to tackle future global and local challenges in cities or neighborhoods" (Centre for Local Economic Strategies, 2010, p. 1). The objective of the Game is that of involving teams of public, community, voluntary, and private sector representatives in producing a winning idea about the future development of the territory. The Game, led by a game-master, contributes at breaking down the institutional, professional, and individual barriers among people, making them willing to express their creative potential for the realization of a common project.

day the group started consolidating and people began to come more to the Exchanger, asking information about the interventions on the space and proposing activities" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community artist). The accomplishment of the trust building process was proved by the constitution of the first informal group of residents, the "Neighbors", mainly composed by retired and old people from the area, some University students interested in creative workshops and scientific discussions, local artists and designers eager to collaborate for showing their work and organizing joint initiatives. "In April 2010, just after the official opening of the Exchanger, we had a group of 50 people with whom we could start developing the activities according to the lines identified in the Program Scan" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

Table 2. Analysis of actors involved in SPOTs according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach"

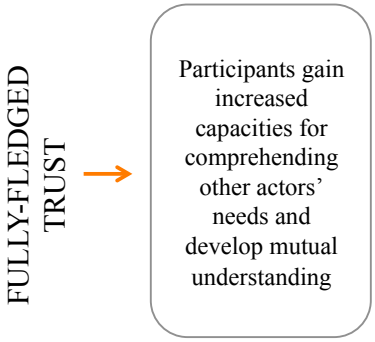
	GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL
PRO-EXCELLENCE	SPOTs Team		KEKS Design CO Street Art Communication Pôtoň Theatre NEON Theatre	
PRO-ECONOMIC IMPACT	Local district Košice -West			
PRO-ACCESS	SPOTs Team Elementary Art School Bernolákova Dormitories and Students Service Jedlíkova	Private Film School	A Centrum Atrium Club Social Pavillon ArtEst civic association Dorka Centre for Family Revival	
PRO-INNOVATION	SPOTs Team		KEKS Design/ Creative Lab civic association Pôtoň Theatre NEON Theatre	

Source: Author's elaboration

2.2.2 Capacity building and mutual understanding

Causal step: In presence of fully-fledged trust, participants gain increased capacities for comprehending other actors' needs and expectations concerning cultural activities and develop mutual understanding.

Figure 11. Causal step linking fully-fledged trust with capacity building and mutual understanding



Source: Author's elaboration

Following the establishment of the initial level of trust, the capacity building process proved to be a crucial moment within the development of the activities in the Exchanger Obrody. The increase in capacities manifested itself in different forms for the various actors involved.

For what concerns the SPOTs Team, the artists, and the local cultural operators, capacity building encompassed, as hypothesized, an increased ability of making culture widely accessible and understandable. Ľudmila Horňáková, Community artist, described this process as the acquisition of a new kind of responsibility for the artist, that of being able to communicate with people on a human level, creating a community of persons around the Exchanger:

> "During the SPOTs Program, we observed an evolution of the artist's responsibility. We realized that we could not do things just for their aesthetic beauty. We had to find the way of listening to people's needs and expectations. It was all about choosing the right techniques for getting in contact with the communities. This is my technique: I put myself at the same level of other people, I switch off myself as an artist and I try to act just as a person who is interested in people's life. In this way I manage to connect the Exchanger with the life of people through art and culture".

Regarding the residents of Lunik III, the Exchanger offered them the opportunity of increasing their capacities of understanding, appreciating, and creating their own artistic and cultural activities. Capacity building for them was mainly promoted through the first creative workshops promoted in Obrody in collaboration with various affirmed artists. Helmut Bistika, for example, a painter specialized in giving voice to personal stories of children, persons with

diseases and disabilities, and old people through alternative portraits, conducted workshops where people from the neighborhood had the opportunity of realizing portraits and landscapes. The focus groups realized at the end of 2013 for the evaluation of the activities of the Exchanger evidenced that these laboratories had a strong effect on people's capacities.

Participants affirmed that the initiative was successful because "everyone became an artist, everyone developed itself". They underlined that the experience made them discover "their own creativity" and "hidden talent". As recognized also by the cultural operators involved in the Exchanger, "people switched their point of view because they saw how they could enjoy life through creativity. […] They discovered art and how to express their qualities in artistic manner" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community artist).

Capacity building of local residents reached also a much deeper level of empowerment. Indeed, people became able not only to understand art and culture but also to identify their needs in the cultural field, proposing their own activities and initiatives in the Exchanger. As explained by Christian Potiron, SPOTs Project Manager, "local people went through an educational process, a sort of training about community art and what community art could be like. Through the direct involvement, they became able to define what they wanted for their neighborhood, identifying topics and values that they would like to see reflected in the Exchanger".

Empirical evidence of this process can be found in the constitution, during the years 2011-2013, of various formal and informal communities of residents promoting regular and autonomous cultural initiatives in the Exchanger. Among the various groups, Terasanky and the Women's Book Club are worth mentioning.

The group Terasanky consists of 16 women of all ages, mainly from Lunik III, who meet in the Exchanger to extend their skills and learn new textile techniques, crocheting, embroidery, knitting, beading, and making decorations using the old Indian technique patchwork. The leader of the group, Brigita Hurajová, explained in this way the origins of the collaboration:

> "Together with some friends and colleagues, we were looking for a suitable space for sharing our passion for patchwork. Somebody suggested us the Exchanger Obrody and our ideas were welcomed with great enthusiasm by the cultural mediators. We gradually created a first core group and since then we met regularly".

The Book Club was created by a group of women, in collaboration with the A centrum association, with the purpose of enabling women to access high quality literature with feminine topics, promoting writing therapy sessions, discussions or book exchanging bazaars. As explained by the founder of the Club, Jarmila Kubíková, the space of the Exchanger created "conditions for

women to have access and share little-available, up-to-date, interesting popular and professional literature".

The capacity building process was fundamental for bringing a wide variety of activities and participants in the Exchanger Obrody. Over time, thanks to increased capacities of comprehending each other's needs and expectations, the various actors involved developed also mutual understanding. This means that the Exchanger started to be populated not only by the various groups' artistic and creative initiatives but also by activities that all actors proposed and realized together.

Mutual understanding developed on a twofold level: between groups of residents and the SPOTs Team and among the various groups of residents. On both levels, the realization of specific artistic participatory projects was pivotal.

Concerning the relationship between local residents and the SPOTs Team, this was particularly improved by two initiatives involving interventions on the public space surrounding the Exchanger Obrody: "Between blocks of flats" and "Let's paint the façade". "Between blocks of flats" aimed at involving the residents in implementing revitalization interventions in the empty areas of the district, making them places where residents can spend their free time and realize community events. In the framework of this initiative, local inhabitants had the opportunity of obtaining grants for realizing common green areas. Moreover, a competition was launched for the most beautiful garden. "Let's paint the façade" promoted the cooperation of artists and residents in the realization of aesthetic improvements of blocks of flats and façades of houses. In collaboration with the artist Helmut Bistika, a group of people painted the walls of the Exchanger Obrody as a collective work of art.

According to Beata Andrejková (Cultural Mediator), these initiatives improved mutual understanding in two ways. "On the one hand, people started discovering the Exchanger and the surrounding space as meeting points that belong to everybody. On the other, they realized that we [the SPOTs Team] were there for helping them improving that space. They started seeing us as facilitators able to help them in doing what they wanted, as mediators in charge of connecting them with local authorities and with the broader city context. At the end, they saw us as allies".

Regarding the relationship between various groups of residents, two other experiences proved to be particularly meaningful. Through "Pictures of two generations", University students and local seniors made visual presentations and one-minute films in order to get to know each other. Moreover, the initiative "Knitted Graffiti" brought together various groups of people for realizing an unusual form of street art. For three months, residents and other local associations (ArtEst civic association, Dorka Centre for Family Revival, CO Street Art Communication)

worked with the young designer Vlasta Žáková for realizing a huge quantity of knitted colorful squares. During the Use the City! Festival[10] the knitted pieces were used for creating new works of art by wrapping a bridge, benches, and railings in the city center.

Christian Potiron, SPOTs Project Manager, underlined that "the knitted graffiti bombing activity was one of the strongest moments of the participatory process":

> "We decided to put all the knitted pieces over a bridge in the city center not only for making visible to everybody the hard invisible work that people were doing in the Exchanger but also for stressing *how strong was the relationship between them* [italics added]".

According to Ľudmila Horňáková (Community artist), these activities promoted a "growing flow of competences and willingness to participate through which *people learnt how to work together* [italics added]".

Figure 12. The Exchanger Obrody painted after the initiative "Let's paint the façade"

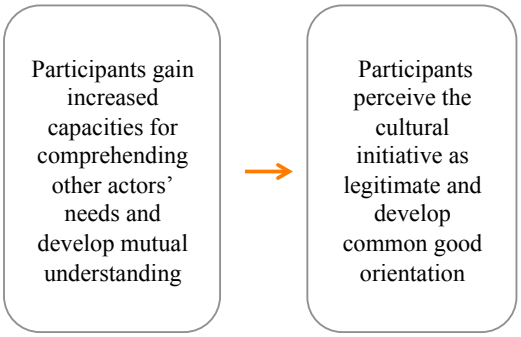
Source: SPOTs Program

[10] An event organized each year in Košice with the aim of making people look at their city from a different perspective. The festival involves foreign and Slovakian artists in enhancing unexplored corners of the city through different forms of art.

2.2.3 Legitimacy and common good orientation

Causal step: Thanks to participants' increased capacities of understanding each other, the cultural initiative gains legitimacy; actors, simultaneously, develop common good orientation.

Figure 13. Causal step linking capacities and mutual understanding with legitimacy and common good orientation



Source: Author's elaboration

The previous causal step helped us in explaining why, through capacity building, the Exchanger Obrody became populated of various artistic and cultural activities, both proposed by the SPOTs Team and self-organized by the local residents. Moreover, the interviews have confirmed that, as hypothesized, mutual understanding was fundamental in making the various actors respect and appreciate their diversity, perceiving each other as potential partners for realizing shared cultural initiatives. These outcomes were fundamental for assuring the legitimization of the Exchanger Obrody and its recognition as a space where the cultural identity of the neighborhood is represented and enhanced.

During the interview Beata Andrejková (Cultural Mediator) explained how the Exchanger proved to be successful in promoting a concept of culture that was meaningful and relevant for local inhabitants, able to overcome the initial feeling of distance people had concerning the complicated texts of presentation of the ECoC Program:

> "The initial lines of the project were too much focused on artistic excellence. Since it was part of the ECoC Program, people were convinced that the Exchanger would have the same approach. They thought that the style and the language would have been as inaccessible as the main cultural program. Because of this, at the beginning people find it difficult to accept the space as something meaningful for them. Afterwards, there was a clear change in the relationship with culture; people discovered that culture is something that they can do and enjoy in the neighborhood. They realized that it was not something far from them".

The legitimization process was also strongly facilitated by various initiatives of documentary theatre promoted in the Exchanger in 2011-13. In collaboration with the Pôtoň and

the NEON Theatres, the SPOTs Team involved local residents in realizing documentaries, short films, and theatre pieces aimed at narrating the ordinary moments of people living in Lunik III, telling stories about conflicts as well as hearty relationships between generations and introducing modern problems of people living in prefabs. The spectacle "Vertical Migrations", for example, tried to answer to questions of what happened with the lives of people who moved from countryside to town and vice versa. The documentary "Steel my heart", based on a research conducted for 3 years, focused on the history of the neighborhood Terasa since its creation. The project actively involved people in giving voice to the lives of different families who worked in the past in Eastern-Slovakian Ironworks and currently work at US Steel, linking the history of the biggest steelworks in Slovakia with the impacts on the development of the area and its socio-economic characteristics.

Also thanks to these initiatives, the Exchanger started to be recognized as a terrain of expression of the various formal and informal groups of the neighborhood. This was part of the approach and objectives pursued by the SPOTs Team. "From the beginning, our idea was that the Exchanger should be able to act as a backstage for the communities, as a way for giving voice to them. The space of the Exchanger should be just a backstage, since the real stage is outside" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

The Exchanger became the mirror of the cultural needs of local people, their stage for performing the meanings they attribute to cultural life:

> "We made an effort for making people feel that they own the space, that they have the possibility of including their ideas into the space: they painted the wall, they did graffiti on it, they realized curtains for the windows. Month by month, some of the groups started leaving the paintings or their own tools for gardening in the Exchanger. Some of them brought couches and furniture into the space" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

The various groups of residents perceived and appreciated the effort that was done for making the Exchanger a place where they could express their conception of culture:

> "The Exchanger is for us a great opportunity for realizing activities for people directly in their neighborhood. The space is adequate, efficient, and cozy. We especially appreciate the degree of independence and freedom they offer as a community. *Everything can take place entirely in our direction* [italics added], from the timetable to the course itself" (Jarmila Kubíková, founder of the Women's Book Club).

"Other members are grateful for the opportunity to produce what they want, because *the Exchanger does not limit them in selection and creation of their artistic pieces* [italics added]" (Brigita Hurajová, Leader of the Group Terasanky).

While participating in the various activities of the Exchanger, the actors complemented mutual understanding with an orientation towards the common good. They became able to move from the negotiation of the various interests to the activation of deliberative processes. As explained by Beata Andrejková, "the crucial passage was that of promoting a sense of ownership of the space, but in a collective manner, since at the beginning people felt that they own the space too much and that they could use it as if it belongs to them and just to them".

As was also confirmed by Zuzana Rohalovà (Cultural Mediator), "it could be very hard to make different groups cooperate in the same space. University students, old women, artists, designers: all have different lifestyles and different approaches to the use of the space". For example, she recalled that at the beginning "there was a small clash between the old and the young people regarding the management of the space and the use of it for the different activities: unlike students, old people had more problems in sharing things with flexibility. They needed to have a specific space for their materials but this was not always possible".

The role of the cultural mediator proved to be fundamental in activating deliberation processes between the various groups. "As cultural mediators, we tried to promote an effective sharing of resources in a common space. We tried to create meaningful connections between the various groups and a shared meaning around the Exchanger" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator). The regular meetings organized by the mediators with the various communities were useful in promoting common good orientation on a twofold level. On the one hand, local residents started to see the Exchanger not only as their space, but also as a common home for the whole neighborhood. This emerged clearly in the interviews with both the group Terasanky and the cultural mediators responsible of the Exchanger Obrody:

"We have a meeting place with other women, with whom we share the same interests. There is a difference between having a meeting at home and having a meeting in a space like this. This is a more public and open space: *it is a common space, which belongs to nobody and at the same time to everybody* [italics added]" (Zofia Schewuzuková, Member of the Group Terasanky).

"We very much appreciate that we can be in the Exchanger and we are trying to be gentle on its operation. We save water, heating, and lighting, and treat it *as a common home* [italics added]" (Brigita Hurajová, Leader of the Group Terasanky).

> "People feel really at home. They also feel free to come and tell what they would like to do in the next time; they feel free to make proposals and to take care of the space" (Zuzana Rohalová, Cultural Mediator).

> "The Exchanger looks like a home, it gives this feeling when entering there. In Obrody, we managed to create the best communication processes between the various groups and these groups and the SPOTs Team, but also with public authorities" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

On the other hand, the common good orientation manifested itself in a collective sense of responsibility towards the Exchanger and the whole neighborhood. Indeed, as affirmed by the Cultural Mediators:

> "Thanks to the process of connection and communication activated in Obrody, people started feeling that they have the power to change the reality around them and to give a positive contribution to the Exchanger" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

> "It is clear that we give to people not only space but also responsibilities. The sharing of responsibilities is really crucial for making people develop a sense of ownership in the process: they know that they are responsible and they feel happier" (Zuzana Rohalová, Cultural Mediator).

The maximum expression of the establishment of the common good orientation is represented by the fact that, at a certain point, the different groups that populated the Exchanger received the keys of the building. The distribution of the keys has been described as the result of the hypothesized reinforcing chain between the various relational assets developed during the participatory process: if at the beginning the various actors started collaborating on the basis of a "knowledge-based trust" – a sufficient level of positive expectations regarding the intentions and behaviors of the promoters of the initiatives – this has then evolved in an "identification-based trust" (Lewicki et al., 2016), grounded in interiorized meanings and sense of belonging.

During the interview the actual cultural mediator of the Exchanger has strongly stressed the importance of this process: "The development of the activities of the Exchanger is all based on a continuous trust building. If over time people prove that they are reliable, they get the keys of the building. We have a key keeper for each group of people. This is a very valuable process for the Exchanger, the sign that a major level of trust has been reached through key distribution. This process is necessary for keeping the activities and the relationships alive in the Exchanger. We now have various groups that take care of the Exchanger, not only of the building but also of the other communities and the neighborhood" (Zuzana Rohalová, Cultural Mediator).

2.3 The impacts on cultural development

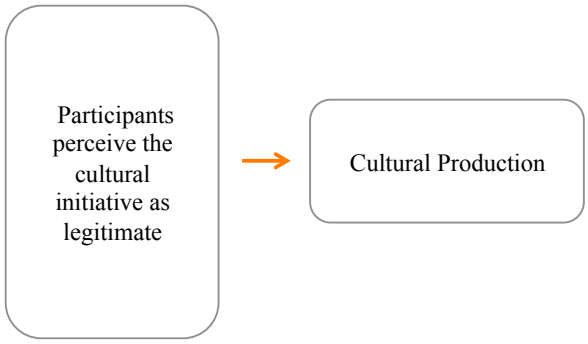
Unlike the Program Quartiers Créatifs, the SPOTs Program – and, consistently, the cultural initiatives carried out in the Exchanger Obrody – was designed to be continued after the ECoC year. According to the project managers, the long-term sustainability of the initiative was assured by the financial framework of the Program, which was largely based on the use of European Structural Funds and various contributions of the Ministry of Culture and the Košice Self-Governing Region. However, the empirical analysis has evidenced that the observed impacts on cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations depended largely also on the participatory process and on the changes of actors' behaviors and perceptions that this has fostered.

Coherently with the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3 and with what has been evidenced by the project PARCeque (Marseille), we maintain that the impacts on cultural production and cultural reception in the Exchanger Obrody can be explained by the increase in legitimacy and acceptance promoted during the process. Moreover, we argue that the reinforcing chain of relational assets such as trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation proved to be fundamental for assuring growing cultural relations and the creation of the community of people that make the Exchanger alive with their activities and collaborations. The next paragraphs are dedicated to the detailed illustration of these causal relations. As for the analysis of the previous causal steps, each paragraph begins with the statement and the representation of the causal linkage investigated.

2.3.1 Cultural Production

Causal step: Since various public and civic actors recognized culture as a legitimate means to improve local quality of life, more cultural activities have been supported and financed on the territory after 2013.

Figure 14. Causal step linking legitimacy with cultural production



Source: Author's elaboration

When the SPOTs Team began the research activities in Lunik III in 2009, the area resulted very scarce in terms of cultural offer. Notwithstanding the presence of various socio-cultural centers, the district was characterized by a regular and conventional low profile offer of free-time activities mainly promoted by A centrum and some other private organizations. The mapping conducted before the official opening of the Exchanger in March 2010 reported the presence of only 9 regular cultural activities promoted on a yearly basis. These included mainly creative workshops organized by local elementary schools and University student services or socio-cultural events such as the Day of neighbors promoted by the local district. Some open-air events, such as the Bazant Cassofest, were also organized in the area, but they lacked a specific relation with Lunik III and its cultural identity. The activities were mainly recreational and had moderate impact on the daily life of the neighborhood. Moreover, while some artists and creative people lived in the neighborhood, they were not actively involved in realizing visible activities and in delivering services to local inhabitants.

The evaluation conducted just after the ECoC event showed that the number of cultural activities in Lunik III increased from 9 in 2009 to 463 in 2013. These activities included the whole spectrum of initiatives originally designed in the framework of the Program Scan of the Exchanger Obrody, ranging from high visibility events in the surrounding public space, valorization of iconic buildings, promotion of cultural entrepreneurship, art education, and socio-cultural events. Self-organized activities by the various formal and informal groups represented the greatest majority of the cultural offer of the Exchanger: over the years, local communities have promoted in the Exchanger a wide variety of artistic and craftwork activities, discussions about science and literature, and workshops for children and young creative.

For what concerns the years following the 2013, the cultural mediator responsible for this Exchanger since 2015 has affirmed that the cultural offer in Obrody is evolving "as far as both numbers and capacities are concerned" (Zuzana Rohaľová, Cultural Mediator). In its current

structure synthesized in Figure 15, the Exchanger Obrody looks as a multi-functional cultural space where a variety of activities are promoted on a regular basis: the space hosts not only exhibitions and initiatives of arts club composed by local residents, but also groups that deal with social and environmental issues, lectures and discussions on literature and science, and public events opened to the whole area. The Exchanger functions as a meeting point for the neighborhood, since various residents are allowed to use its space for informal meetings and reunions.

According to the cultural mediator, it is particularly worth mentioning the fact that, in June 2017, 10 stable communities of people from the neighborhood were actively involved in managing the space and in proposing and realizing cultural and creative activities. In addition to Terasanky and the Women's Book Club, another group of creative women – the Group of Clever Housewives – was formed in the Exchanger after 2013. Their aim is that of transforming the daily routine in an occasion for developing creativity and inspiration: they realize jewels, decorations, and knitting. Additionally, thanks to the initiative "Creators from the neighborhood", various artists and designers have the possibility to show their work and activate collaborations between them and the residents.

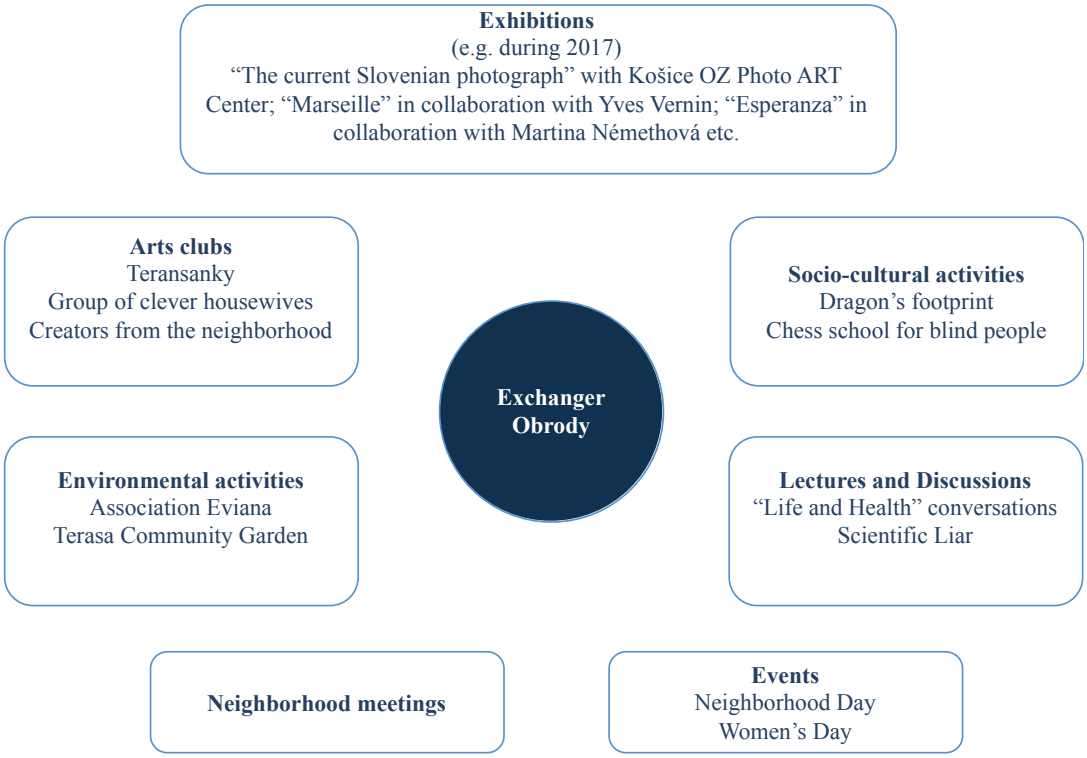
In recent years, different formal and informal groups dealing with environmental and health issues have also joined the space: the association Eviana organizes holistic and environmental education for young people and families; the Green School promotes the "Life and Health" conversations, combining physical and mental health themes; finally, a group of residents has recently managed to create a community garden in Lunik III. Since 2014, some scientists led by Mária Zentková organize the "Scientific Liar", a series of meetings aimed at making science and technology accessible to children and families through games and interactive activities.

Moreover, the Exchanger serves as a base for the socio-cultural activities organized by the groups "Dragon's footprint" and "It's never too late to start": the former organizes collective games for children in the neighborhood while the latter offers to local people the opportunity to gain knowledge and develop creativity through peer-to-peer exchanges.

The increase in cultural production was also promoted by the renovated legitimacy gained by cultural activities in the district. Legitimacy was fundamental for fostering a new consideration of culture on the part of local authorities, thus increasing the interest and the investment in cultural production in the neighborhood Terasa after the 2013. Indeed, as affirmed by Blanka Berkyová (SPOTs Project Manager), "after years of efforts we successfully managed to pass our experiences to local administrators: they have learnt that it is worth doing arts in public space even if you need more than 6 permissions, that the façades of buildings are more

beautiful and improve the image of the neighborhood when they are painted by a famous street artist or by a group of talented citizens, that sculptures and installations need to be maintained because they can be attractive not only for locals but also tourists".

Figure 15. Cultural production in the Exchanger Obrody (June 2017)

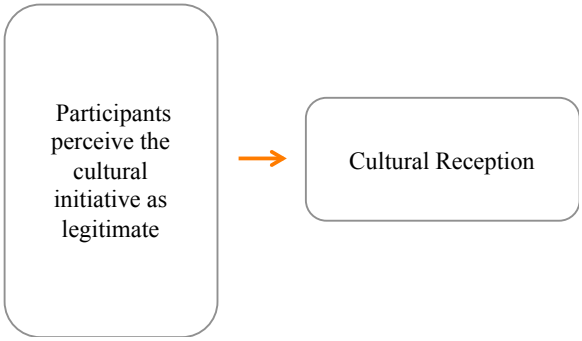


Source: Author's elaboration

2.3.2 Cultural Reception

Causal step: Thanks to the increased value and importance attributed to culture by local inhabitants during the participatory process, we observe the enlargement, diversification, and engagement of audiences in cultural activities after 2013.

Figure 16. Causal step linking legitimacy with cultural reception



Source: Author's elaboration

The opening of the Exchanger Obrody had relevant impacts in terms of cultural reception in the neighborhood Terasa. According to Blanka Berkyová (SPOTs Project Manager), at the beginning there was a huge distance between the SPOTs Program and the audiences: "We didn't know people, we didn't know what they thought about culture in general. They didn't have experience with contemporary art, they had never cooperated with an artist". The preliminary researches conducted in 2009 showed that, before the activities promoted in the Exchanger, people were not used to regularly attend cultural institutions and artistic events. Moreover, no informal group of residents would have been able to organize cultural activities for other neighbors right under the windows of prefabs. Apart from institutionalized and recreational activities such as scouting, folklore clubs, competition of bands, and young theatre groups, "cultural participation was not visible or not existent in the neighborhood" (SPOTs background documents).

The Exchanger Obrody improved cultural reception from various perspectives. For what concerns the enlargement and diversification of audiences, the first evaluation conducted just after the ECoC event showed that the number of people taking part in the activities of the Exchanger increased from 250 in 2009 to 4296 in 2013. According to the current cultural mediator, Zuzana Rohaľová, this positive trend stabilized and even improved after 2013: in 2017 the Exchanger registered an average of 400 attenders per month, i.e. about 4800 participants per year. The Women's Book Club, for example, "has more than 130 participants after 3 years of activities: 70 of them are active members while the others are interested people that take part to the book exchanges and the discussions" (Jarmila Kubíková, Founder of the Women's Book Club).

Moreover, thanks to the large space given to the cultural self-organization of local residents and to the possibility they had to propose their own activities managing small grants, the Exchanger impacted hugely on the active engagement of people. The 10 informal groups

previously mentioned as representative of the effects that the Exchanger had on cultural production are also a concrete example of the activation of co-creation processes of artistic and cultural expressions.

The fact that the Exchanger Obrody was perceived as a mirror of the various meanings attributed to culture by local residents was fundamental in producing an increase in cultural reception. The process through which the Exchanger Obrody was revitalized and opened to the public showed to people that there was space for them for expressing their own cultural needs:

> "We are the type of organization in which everyone is legitimized to propose an idea and he/she will receive support from the community. People organize cultural activities here because they know that we will accept them, that we will offer them a background able to welcome and transform their ideas and aspirations" (Zuzana Rohaľová, Cultural Mediator).

As underlined by Ľudmila Horňáková (Community Artist), the great interest of people towards the SPOTs activities in Lunik III can be explained by the fact that "everyone can find something that they can identify with and that they can really enjoy as either an active participant or a spectator".

Unlike the classical cultural and socio-cultural centers where people do not have the option of changing the structure of the program or to implement their own activities unless they pay for renting the space, the Exchanger was successful in making "people perceive that the space was built for them". This was crucial in fostering the interest in culture because people started seeing the Exchanger as a space where "they can share knowledge with their neighbors, they can develop their talent in contact with professional artists, they can have technical support, a place for meetings, and fun" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Manager).

The data collected through questionnaires by the students of the Technical University of Košice show that the reasons why people attend the Exchanger are in large part linked with feelings of "well-being", "joy", "inspiration", and "motivation", with the possibility of acquiring experience, skills, and competences in artistic and cultural fields of interest but also with the fact that "no other community activities were available except for the ones done in Obrody". Hence, as hypothesized, the Exchanger impacted on cultural reception for its ability to interpret needs and expectations of local people, embedding an idea of culture that was relevant and meaningful for them.

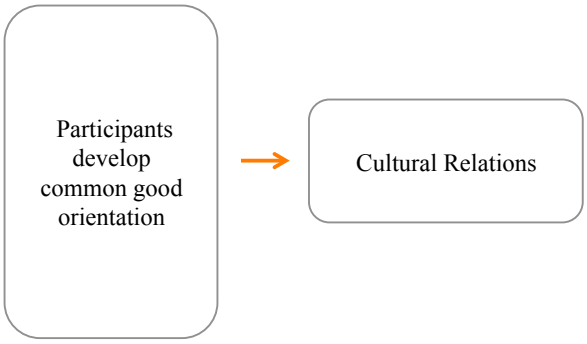
The importance of the participatory process for promoting cultural reception has been well synthesized by Blanka Berkyová during a public presentation of the Exchanger (November 2013):

"Since we involved them at the beginning, people have better understood what it means to make art; maybe few of them have stopped to watch soap opera on TV and they would go to enjoy contemporary dancing. They came to our community artistic space because they knew that our program is not the same of a free time center, they knew that they could experience something new, valuable, and special".

2.3.3 Cultural Relations

Causal step: Thanks to the development of common good orientation among the participants in the project, a network of interdependent actors engaged in cultural activities has been created on the territory after 2013.

Figure 17. Causal step linking common good orientation with cultural relations



Source: Author's elaboration

The establishment of cultural relations was the greatest impact of the Exchanger Obrody. "Relationships, community development, and social cohesion" are the biggest achievements of the Exchanger according to Blanka Berkyová (SPOTs Project Manager). Indeed, as confirmed by Ján Hološ, current SPOTs Project Manager, "in Obrody there is a strong community with a clear vision of what to do and how to do it; whatever we propose, we know that we can always count on them". As evidenced also in the questionnaires collected by the students of the Technical University of Košice, the great majority of participants affirmed that "the Exchanger changed positively the relations between neighbors and the various NGOs engaged in the social and cultural sector".

When asked the reasons why Obrody was important for her group, Brigita Hurajová, Leader of the group Terasanky, underlined that the fact of being part of a community was the real added value of the Exchanger:

"It is important and valuable to have a space for meeting each other, for feeling like a community. This is really the main point. The second important thing is the possibility of

cultivating our own hobby. But the fundamental thing is this possibility to meet the others. It is not just my opinion, but it is also the group's perspective on the Exchanger: we can help each other, we can explain things to the others, and share everything that is going on. It is very important for us that this space exists and that we can live it".

Empirical evidence of the improved cultural relations can be also found in the constant and on-going collaborations activated by the various communities of the Exchanger. These communities are active in Obrody not only for realizing their own projects, but also for attending other groups' events and initiatives, offering mutual support and sharing resources.

"We are actively involved in other community events. In the past, for example, we participated in a workshop with the artist Helmut Bistik and painted our own self-portrait. We also contributed to the artistic community project of the Pôtoň Theatre with their life stories and contributed to the creation of the documentary theatre performance. At present, we also enjoy various other exchange events, such as scientific cafés and concerts at the Exchanger".

As underlined by the current cultural mediator, "it is very important that each group learns to support other groups by coming to the events and participating to the activities" (Zuzana Rohaľová). Indeed, the constitution of cultural networks has been recognized crucial for the long-term sustainability of the activities in the Exchanger:

"After seven years since the first opening of Obrody, participants don't need more support: we solved the problem of the identity of the Exchanger, we solved the issue of the relationship between generations, we built a strong community of people. All activities are realized together and the groups support each other" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Manager).

The creation of a cultural network around the Exchanger has been explained referring to the relational outcomes produced during the participatory process:

"I can say that *relations have improved because we have changed people's attitudes and opinions and broken stereotypes and prejudices* [italics added]. We have put together different groups of people and created a platform for their cooperation and mutual understanding. During the process people had time to speak, know each other better, and overcome barriers" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Manager).

According to Ján Hološ, current SPOTs Project Manager, the common good orientation developed before and during 2013 was crucial for nurturing cultural relations after the event:

> "Now we are able to create a connection that goes beyond the money and that involves people on the basis of their values and identities. Now we have artists who care about people and who want to have an impact in their life, to involve them, and create something with them. *Everyone involved in this project has the same goal and the goal is that of increasing the quality of life of the neighborhood through relationships* [italics added], making it a place where people want to stay and live".

The image of the Exchanger Obrody as a "cultural ecosystem" (Throsby, 2017) emerges clearly in the fact that "a person with a good idea, an active neighbor or a creative student knows that there is a place where they can come, not only for being heard but also for receiving feedbacks" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager). Overtime the Exchanger Obrody has became a place where "people are motivated to bring their ideas for new activities", "NGOs create more community groups naturally" and "artists get inspirations for new projects that respond to local needs" (Blanka Berkyová). As hypothesized in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, thanks to a reinforcing chain between trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation the Exchanger has become a space for formulating a common dream about a "livable city" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141), namely a "safer, stronger, and attractive neighborhood where people would like to go, be active, and engage for the common good" (Ján Hološ, SPOTs Project Manager).

Conclusions

This Chapter has illustrated how, why, and under which conditions participatory governance impacts on cultural development. In order to do so, it referred to the empirical evidence collected in two case studies: the project PARCeque realized during Marseille-Provence 2013 within the Program Quartiers Créatifs and the Exchanger Obrody, one of the seven cultural centers opened within the SPOTs Program during Košice 2013. As hypothesized in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, both cases confirm that in presence of fully-fledged trust among actors, participation activates a virtuous cycle of capacity building, legitimacy, mutual understanding, and common good orientation able to produce impacts on cultural production, cultural reception, and cultural relations in the years following the ECoC event (2013-2017).

In both experiences, the participatory process started with the opening-up of the decision-making process to all interested stakeholders. The objective was to activate a face-to-face dialogue for formulating a collective decision on a cultural initiative to be realized at local level during the ECoC year. As showed through the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" (Table

1 and Table 2), when initiating the process MP2013 and the SPOTs Team had to deal with various typologies of actors having diverse interests at stake concerning local cultural development. In both cases, dialogue proved to be a fundamental arena of trust building among participants, allowing the various actors to overcome barriers, prejudices, and discrepancies between "pro-excellence", "pro-economic impact", "pro-access", and "pro-innovation" objectives.

In PARCeque, civic actors initially perceived the artists as foreign and external invaders. Moreover, the ephemeral artistic interventions seemed to be in contrast with the concern for long-term development shared by both NGOs and inhabitants. Dialogue made local actors feel listened and involved, develop positive expectations towards the organizers, and perceive the possible mutual gains linked with their participation in the initiative. For what concerns the Exchanger Obrody, the door-to-door survey was fundamental not only for gaining a better knowledge of the area of Lunik III and its residents, but also for overcoming the individualistic and passive attitudes that people had as a response to the difficult heritage of the Socialist period. Thanks to the Future City Game and other artistic participatory initiatives, the first informal group of residents developed trust towards the SPOTs Team, perceiving the Exchanger Obrody as an open and free space that could improve the quality of life in the neighborhood.

Once the initial level of trust was established, participation proved to be linked with increased capacities in both experiences analyzed. For what concerns the artists and the cultural operators involved in PARCeque and in the Exchanger Obrody, they learnt how to make culture widely accessible. The two cases have evidenced that artists acquired a new ability during the participatory process, that of seeing a "deeper matrix under the social reality" (Stefan Shankland, Artistic Team of PARCeque) and communicating it "on a human level" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community Artist, Exchanger Obrody) with other actors. Regarding local actors and NGOs, the dialogic process made them able to understand and appreciate cultural contents. In the Exchanger Obrody, capacity building reached an even deeper level of empowerment, allowing local people to identify their needs in the cultural field and proposing their own activities as in the case of Terasanky and of the Women's Book Club.

This bi-directional increase of capacities – valid for both the cultural and the non-cultural actors involved in the process – fostered the creation of a common communicative code on the basis of which mutual understanding could be promoted. Being able to see the others both as separate stakeholders and as potential partners, the actors involved in PARCeque developed various forms of collaboration around the Bar du Rond Point, which was successful also in creating encounters between the two separated parts of the neighborhood, La Cayolle and

Mazargues. Similarly, initiatives such as "Between blocks of flats", "Let's paint the façades", and "Knitted Graffiti" organized in the Exchanger Obrody were fundamental for increasing contacts between various actors of Lunik III, making them realize that the SPOTs Program was not only a useful mediation with local public authorities but also an occasion for discovering synergies with other people of the territory.

Thanks to capacity building and mutual understanding, the cultural initiatives promoted in the framework of PARCeque and in the Exchanger Obrody were perceived as legitimate expressions of local cultural identity. Among others, the work on La Pierre Tombée in Les Hauts des Mazargues and the documentary theatre about the history of the Eastern-Slovakian Ironworks in Lunik III were successful in giving voice to "polysemic structures" (Ziakas, 2016), namely to the different meanings and values that various actors attach to the cultural experience. Thanks to this increased legitimacy, the project PARCeque was perceived as an opportunity of "making local history travelling around" (Ouhabiba Sadou, Association Parents) and the Exchanger Obrody as a "backstage for local communities" (Beata Andrejková, Cultural Mediator).

During the participatory processes, the initial level of trust kept growing, making people able not only to understand and appreciate each other better (mutual understanding) but also to pursue common goals. In PARCeque and in the Exchanger Obrody common good orientation made the various actors overcome their private self-interests and formulate decisions oriented towards the common good. In Les Hauts de Mazargues this was evident in the collaborations promoted between the artistic team and the Comité d'Intérêt de Quartier (CIQ) and other associations. Through the various initiatives promoted around the Bar du Rond Point and La Pierre Tombée, actors not only negotiated their preferences but also built a "common vision" and a "common imaginary" (Marion Bourgelat, Association Robins des Villes). In Obrody, common good orientation became manifest through the distribution of the keys of the Exchanger among the various groups, who learnt how to manage the space and its materials as a common home, "which belongs to nobody and at the same time to everybody" (Zofia Schewuzuková, Group Terasanky).

For what concerns the effects after the ECoC year, both participatory projects impacted on cultural production. In Les Hauts des Mazargues, the restoration of the Maison de Quartier in 2015 and the various cultural initiatives promoted by the Comité d'Intérêt de Quartier and the Association Robins des Villes brought new impulses to the almost inexistent cultural offer in the territory. Regarding the Exchanger Obrody, it actually looks like a multi-functional cultural space where a variety of cultural and social activities are promoted on a regular basis. The space has complemented and significantly enriched the conventional recreational offer that characterized

the neighborhood before the SPOTs Program. In both cases, the legitimacy developed during the participatory process was fundamental for increasing cultural production. Since the urban and social actors involved in PARCeque became aware of the multiple meanings and potentialities of culture, in the following years they increased their support for cultural activities through funding, sponsorships, and local planning. Similarly, local authorities, NGOs, and groups of citizens of Lunik III kept supporting art in public spaces, talent development, and valorization of iconic buildings also after 2013, being conscious of their contribution to quality of life and attractiveness in the neighborhood.

The project PARCeque and the Exchanger Obrody impacted also on cultural reception. PARCeque was successful in addressing the distance and the feeling of exclusion that characterized people's relationship with cultural life. All cultural initiatives realized in the territory after 2013 were promoted as a response to a specific demand from local people and were welcomed with great interest. Concerning the Košice case, the opening of the Exchanger Obrody promoted not only enlargement and diversification but also active engagement of audiences: after 2013, ten formal and informal groups of people kept organizing their own cultural activities in the space. The adoption of an enlarged conception of culture, able to include the different meanings attributed to it by the various actors, proved to be crucial for fostering cultural participation also in the following years. In PARCeque people became more interested in culture because they realized that "it spoke about them and about their territory" (Ouhabiba Sadou, Association Parents). In Obrody, the engagement of audiences was fuelled by the fact that "everyone could find something they could identify with" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community Artist) in a space that "was built for them" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Manager).

In addition to observable impacts on cultural production and cultural reception, both cases impacted importantly also on cultural relations. Thanks to the social capital dynamics activated during the participatory processes, the reinforcing chain between trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation, the two projects managed to create "cultural ecosystems" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141), sustainable networks of interdependent actors that share common values and missions for what concerns local cultural life.

In Les Hauts de Mazargues, the image of the "cultural ecosystem" is embedded in the Théâtre du Centaure, an equestrian theatre opened in January 2017. Thanks to the common good orientation developed during the experience of PARCeque, the theatre has been able to create a network of public, private, and civic actors sharing values and common cultural, social, and environmental projects. For what concerns the Exchanger Obrody, the space currently looks like a "cultural ecosystem": the various formal and informal groups support each other by coming to

the respective events, sharing resources and competences. Since the participatory project created a strong community of people, the activities in Obrody are continuously fuelled by the autonomous initiatives of the various groups.

Not surprisingly, people interviewed have referred to both the Théâtre du Centaure and the Exchanger Obrody as a "common dream for the neighborhood" (Rozenn Collet, Théâtre du Centaure; Ján Hološ, SPOTs Project Manager). Their description of the two spaces and their mission recalls Throsby (2017)'s idea of the "livable city" in which all cultural, social, and economic factors are integrated for promoting "satisfying and rewarding lives" (p. 141). The two cases represent the empirical evidence of the hypothesized linkage between participation and cultural development: when trust is built among actors in a participatory setting, social capital outcomes and a set of shared values grow together with capacity building and legitimacy, complementing impacts on cultural production and reception with the relational aspect that only can keep the "cultural ecosystems" alive in the long term.

Chapter 6

Participation in Absence of Fully-Fledged Trust: Contestation in the Project Jardins Possibles (Marseille) and Lack of Social Cohesion in the Exchanger Važecká (Košice)

Introduction

This Chapter discusses the impacts of participatory governance of culture in absence of fully-fledged trust (i.e. mistrust and medium or "calculus-based" trust). Under these circumstances, participation produces, instead of local cultural development, alternative outcomes such as contestation and cultural production without social cohesion (Figure 1).

On the one hand, the Chapter argues that, in presence of mistrust between the initiator of the process and the local actors involved, participatory governance of culture can foster contestation, giving rise to cultural counter-movements that oppose the public cultural initiative for which the decision-making process was initiated. The idea is that, in absence of some kind of positive expectations towards each other, actors are more likely to perceive adverse aspects of the cultural program and its power dynamics and to feel excluded or manipulated, thus deciding to openly contest it.

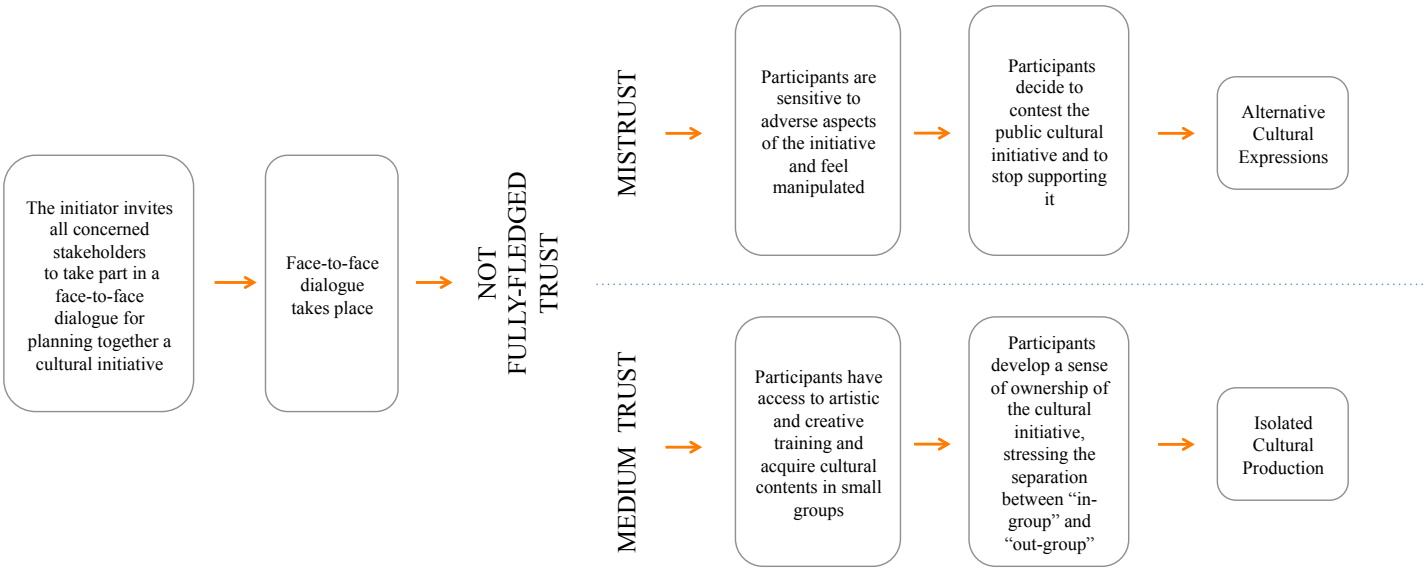
On the other hand, we maintain that, when implemented in conditions of medium or "calculus-based" trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996), participatory processes prevent phenomena of contestation and opposition but are insufficient for producing the social capital outcomes that nurture "cultural ecosystems" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141) overtime. Under these circumstances, participatory governance fosters capacities and legitimacy but only for a small group of interested stakeholders, promoting lower levels of identification in other local actors and phenomena of exclusion in the concerned territory. The outcome is an excellent but isolated type of cultural production that lacks collective recognition and a set of shared values.

The Chapter discusses these scenarios referring to two case studies: the project Jardins Possibles realized during Marseille-Provence 2013 within the Program Quartiers Créatifs and the Exchanger Važecká, one of the seven cultural centers opened within the SPOTs Program during Košice 2013. As already mentioned in the methodology section of the Introduction of the thesis, these have to be considered as "deviant cases" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016). Since in these projects participatory governance did not lead to the expected outcome (cultural development), they allow for the empirical test of the importance of the presence of trust as necessary scope condition for

the mechanism participatory governance → cultural development to properly function. Specifically, the project Jardins Possibles offers empirical evidence for what concerns the causal chain linking mistrust, participatory governance, and contestation. The Exchanger Važecká, instead, is an example of participatory governance of culture implemented in conditions of medium or "calculus-based" trust, thus empirically proving the possible linkage between participation and the promotion of cultural production without social cohesion.

As already illustrated in Chapter 5, the research has followed the theory-testing process tracing methodology, involving the following phases: 1) each step of the hypothesized causal mechanism has been operationalized in elements that could be observed empirically in the case under investigation, referring to process characteristics, actor's behaviors and perceptions, and observable impacts in the years following the Title year (2013-2017); 2) the empirical material related to each causal step has been collected and analyzed according to the hypotheses; 3) the presence of the causal chain has been confirmed and further refined thanks to the empirical evidence.

Figure 1. The causal mechanism linking participatory governance with alternative cultural expressions or isolated cultural production in absence of fully-fledged trust



Source: Author's elaboration

1. When participation leads to contestation: the project Jardins Possibles (Marseille)

1.1 Origins and development of the initiative

The project Jardins Possibles (The Possible Gardens) was realized in the neighborhood Grand Saint Barthélemy (North of Marseille) in the framework of the Program Quartiers Créatifs, promoted in 2013 as part of the events of Marseille-Provence 2013. This artistic intervention was conceived and realized by two collectives: SAFI and COLOCO. Both groups are specialized in promoting processes of collective construction of the urban space, with a specific focus on the relationship between human beings and the nature.

According to the institutional requirements of Quartiers Créatifs, the initiative Jardins Possibles combined artistic excellence and conceptual quality with the necessity of involving local associations and residents both in the design and in the realization of the project. The main objective of Jardins Possibles was that of making the gardening activity a moment of collective reflection on the urban renewal processes of the area. The artistic installations, imagined as a mix of gardening, gastronomy, walks, local history, and identity, were seen as a way for re-imagining the public space after the demolitions and reconstructions carried out by Marseille Rénovation Urbaine (MRU) in the last 30 years, giving voice to future possible paths of urban development.

The Grand Saint Barthélemy is characterized by a complex historical and social interaction between "immigration, urban renewal, and militancy" (Baby-Collin & Mourlan, 2011, p. 1). After the Second World War, the little village of Saint Barthélemy was transformed into an agglomeration of social housing complexes built for responding to the demographic pressures linked with the important migrations flows that characterized the city of Marseille. These residential spaces were designed without paying attention to basic social services and public transportation, generating problems in terms of living conditions, social marginalization, and low economic development of the area. In order to respond to these disadvantaged conditions, numerous local associations and socio-cultural centers were created for fostering solidarity and mutual help among the inhabitants of the area, thus promoting a strong collective identity and sense of belonging. In Saint Barthélemy, "the local civic effervescence is rooted in the suffering of everyday life" (Baby-Collin & Mourlan, 2011, p. 6).

The "March for equality of rights and against racism" (also known as "Marche des Beurs") organized in 1983 made manifest the great activism of this neighborhood. The March started in Saint Barthélemy in Marseille, passed by the city of Lyon to go to Paris for bringing to the attention of the French government the difficulties and the discriminations undergone by people

and migrants living in the peripheries. This movement – the so-called "urban fights of the 80s" – left some evident cultural tracks in the North of Marseille "creating a generation of militants and activists in the neighborhood" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU).

The urban and socio-economic conditions of the area have not improved over the years. Thanks to the joint action of Marseille Rénovation Urbaine and the GIP Politique de la Ville[1], the Grand Saint Barthélemy was the object of various demolitions and reconstructions. The urban renewal interventions – aimed at building roads, schools, and new social housing complexes – were seen by the local associations as "being focused on the concrete but not on the infrastructures and spaces that could improve the quality of life" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU). The works for the construction of a new highway – the L2 La Rocade – have worsened the dissatisfaction. "We are really annoyed because of the L2, because of the dust, the noises, and its impacts on the urban environment" (Pierre Lezeau, Comité Mamega). In addition to housing precariousness and low quality of the urban space, the area is disadvantaged also for what concerns the socio-economic conditions, being characterized by a high rate of youth unemployment, criminality, and lack of security, especially connected with drug trafficking.

The project Jardins Possibles was proposed in the framework of the Program Quartiers Créatifs as a continuation of a previous collective gardening project (Jardin d'Adam) promoted in 2009-2011 by the collective SAFI in collaboration with the Théâtre du Merlan – a French national theatre based in the Grand Saint Barthélemy – and a local cultural center (Centre Social Agorà). The project Jardin d'Adam revealed a great interest of local people for the gardening activity as a way for improving the public space in the neighborhood. In the light of this, Jardins Possibles was conceived as an opportunity for further developing this interest and potential during the ECoC year, through a more structured organization based also on the already established collaborations between SAFI and other local actors. "Based on our previous experience, we wanted to give rise to a gardening school where everybody could learn and experiment a new idea of public space. The Jardins Possibles were ephemeral gardens that could be built, dismantled, and put in other places, according to the project of urban renewal" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

The artistic intervention of Jardins Possibles was structured around three main moments. The phase called "La Manufacture" encompassed the promotion of an open-air workshop for the construction of a prototype of collective garden. The phase "Les Petites Fabriques" aimed at

[1] See footnotes 4 and 5 of Chapter 4 for further information regarding these two governmental bodies responsible for urban renewal.

fostering the knowledge of the territory through various "protocols of exploration" (guided walks, movies, recipes, and urban signage) identified and designed in collaboration with local associations. The final phase – "De Temps Festifs" – focused on opening both "La Manufacture" and "Les Petites Fabriques" to the public at large, through public events such as conferences, concerts, projections, and spectacles. As recalled by Dalila Ladjal (SAFI), the objective was to make the gardening activity a moment of artistic reflection and creation able to bring a social change in the neighborhood (Figure 2). "We wanted to give rise to questions around several issues: how the garden becomes a space for gathering people together; how the garden becomes a space for building the city of the future; how the garden becomes a place where collective memory could be expressed; how it was possible for us, the artists, to become active part of the change in the city".

Figure 2. "It is possible!" - One of the slogan of the project Jardins Possibles

Source: Background documents of the project Jardins Possibles

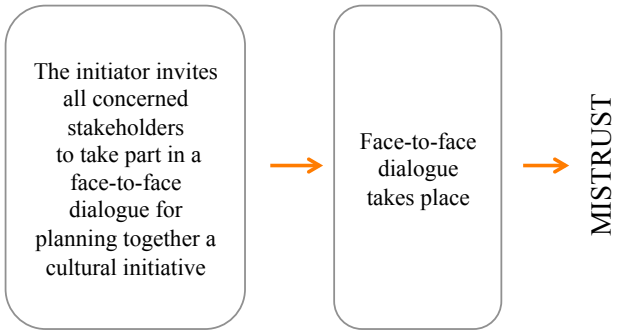
1.2 The observed causal steps

As in the previous Chapter dealing with the project PARCeque (Marseille) and the Exchanger Obrody (Košice), the following paragraphs illustrate the presence of the hypothesized causal steps linking participatory governance with its impacts in the project Jardins Possibles. In order to make clear the various phases of the analysis, every causal step is discussed separately. Each paragraph begins by stating and graphically representing the part of the hypothesized causal mechanism that the research wanted to test; then it discusses its presence in the case referring to the empirical evidence collected.

1.2.1 Dialogue and mistrust

Causal step: Face-to-face dialogue takes place but the trust building process is not successful; mistrust persists between the initiator and the local stakeholders.

Figure 3. Causal step linking dialogue with mistrust



Source: Author's elaboration

Coherently with the institutional design of Quartiers Créatifs, the activation of a face-to-face dialogue between a variety of local stakeholders was the "trigger" of the participatory process of the project Jardins Possibles. During the interview, Dalila Ladjal (SAFI) illustrated the steps realized for bringing to the table a representative group of actors linked with the local cultural life and with the objectives of Jardins Possibles:

> "Since the beginning, we were aware that it was not possible for us to realize the project alone, without involving all actors that could be sensitive to the artistic intervention in the Grand Saint Barthélemy. We first organized a meeting with the stakeholders with whom we were already in contact thanks to the project Jardin d'Adam: the Théâtre du Merlan and the Centre Sociale Agorà. The Centre Sociale suggested us a list of associations, including the Comité Mamega, which should be involved in the project. We also promoted regular discussions and collaborations with the ADDAP and with two primary schools. Finally, following the suggestion of MP2013 regarding the necessity of including also an international dimension in the project, we involved another artistic collective, COLOCO. They had great expertise and technical skills for realizing and managing collective gardens in the framework of urban renewal interventions".

As evidenced in Table 1, this phase of dialogue created a highly differentiated partnership among a wide variety of actors having different positions for what concerns cultural development. Civic actors such as the Centre Sociale Agorà, the Comité Mamega, the various local trade unions (Confédérations Syndicales des Familles of the areas of Busserine, Flamants-Iris, St Barthélemy III and CLCV – Association Nationale de Défense des Consommateurs et Usagers - Busserine), and the ADDAP were mainly concerned with "pro-access" and "pro-

economic impact" objectives. Their interest focused on the promotion of access to culture for people of the neighborhood, on the valorization of local memory and history and on the creation of employment opportunities for young creative people. The Centre Sociale Agorà, for example, was engaged in a long-term project concerning the formulation of a series of proposals for improving the quality of life of the area. These proposals, synthesized in a document called "Livre Blanc", were discussed several times during the meetings concerning Jardins Possibles.

"Pro-access" and "pro-economic impact" objectives were also pursued, respectively, by two governmental bodies responsible for urban renewal: MRU and the GIP Politique de la Ville. They both saw the artistic project as a way for improving the effectiveness and the social acceptance of the urban transformations. MP2013, the two artistic collectives (SAFI and COLOCO), and the Théâtre du Merlan shared "pro-excellence" interests and a great focus on conceptual and artistic quality.

However, while the "pro-excellence" focus of MP2013, SAFI, and COLOCO was nuanced by the necessity of pursuing also the "pro-access" objectives linked with the implementation of the City and Citizen criterion of the ECoC year, the position of the Théâtre du Merlan was much more rigid on the issue of quality. The theatre was responsible for the production of the public events of the project and for assuring their visibility in the city. "The theatre was more focused on attracting famous artists and realizing high quality performances than on giving voice to the local actors. They were afraid of an excessive engagement on the territory. They were convinced that a participatory practice was too risky and too complicated for a National Theatre. Their approach was more focused on assuring an excellent cultural production than on activating a participatory process among the inhabitants" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI). Finally, SAFI and COLOCO had also an interest for "pro-innovation" activities, linked with the experimentation of non-conventional forms of art and with the valorization of the local and traditional cultural heritage of the area.

Since the first contacts with these actors, SAFI was aware of the crucial importance of reaching a sufficient degree of trust in order to establish a fruitful collaboration. "Our idea was that of achieving a basic level of trust in order to generate a platform for discussion and engagement between those that are responsible for the management of the territory on a public level and those that live it and feel the necessity of being consulted and involved. Creating the possible gardens meant promoting a sufficient level of trust, able to make people working together also in the future" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

The artists tried to promote trust building in various meetings and discussions about the project and the role of each actor in its realization. "We proposed to local associations such as the Centre Sociale Agorà and the Comité Mamega the following division of responsibilities: they

were going to be responsible of the work concerning the local history and identity and we were going to help them in expressing these contents through the artistic languages and the gardening activities. […] For us it was clear that the inhabitants and the local civic actors were as important as the artists and the national theatre in formulating ideas about the future of the territory" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

However, several factors prevented the trust building process from being effective and successful. The dialogue on the project Jardins Possibles was initiated during the major urban renewal intervention planned for the area by MRU. "We alerted the people of MP2013 that we were in the middle of a phase of demolition and reconstruction of different parts of the neighborhood and that a cultural and artistic intervention in that context could be not well perceived by the population. At the time, some social housing complexes were already dismantled and the new apartments were still not ready. People were suspended in this state of uncertainty" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU).

Also because of their historical dissatisfaction with the urban renewal interventions implemented in the area, the associations were afraid that the whole artistic project was a weapon in the hands of MP2013 and of MRU for increasing consensus and legitimacy in a difficult neighborhood. The absence of both positive expectations and the willingness to accept vulnerability emerged clearly in the statements of local associations concerning the project:

> "We are happy to be helped by external people – provided that they don't act as missionaries of other political interests, airdropped here for occupying our territories" (Collectif des associations du Grand Saint Barthélemy, October 2012).

The resistance of the local associations towards Jardins Possibles was clearly perceived by SAFI: "These people were afraid of the fact that the project, since it was sponsored by MP2013 and MRU, was an excuse for implementing other activities in the framework of the urban renewal project. They told us they didn't want to be an instrument in their hands. They were afraid that Jardins Possibles was a cosmetic intervention for hiding other types of political interests". Local associations were also very distant from the concrete realization of the first gardening activities of the project: "the responsible persons of the local associations were present in the discussions but not in the co-fabrication moments in which we managed to involve mainly individual inhabitants" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

Mistrust was recognized as a sort of irremediable feature of the relationship between local associations and the promoters of the initiative, namely the artists, MP2013, and MRU: "We were aware of the presence of this mistrust of the associations towards the project. So we asked them

how we could remedy to this, how it was possible to make them more confident. They answered that nothing could guarantee that it was not the case" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

Table 1. Analysis of the actors involved in Jardins Possibles according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach"

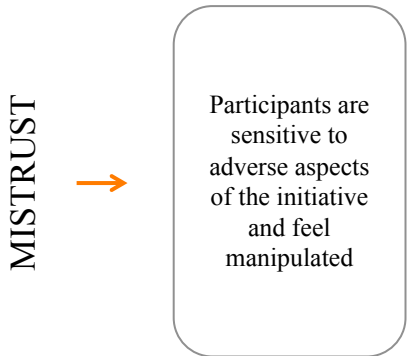
	GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL
PRO-EXCELLENCE	MP2013 SAFI COLOCO Théâtre du Merlan			
PRO-ECONOMIC IMPACT	MRU		Comité Mamega Centre Sociale Agorà Confédérations Syndicales des Familles (Busserine, Flamants-Iris, St Barthélemy III) CLCV – Association nationale de défense des consommateurs et usagers (Busserine)	
PRO-ACCESS	MP2013 GIP Politique de la Ville		Comité Mamega Centre Sociale Agora Confédérations Syndicales des Familles (Busserine, Flamants-Iris, St Barthélemy III) CLCV – Association nationale de défense des consommateurs et usagers (Busserine) ADDAP	
PRO-INNOVATION	SAFI COLOCO Théâtre du Merlan			

Source: Author's elaboration

1.2.2 Disagreements and feeling of manipulation

Causal step: In absence of trust towards the initiator, local actors express their disagreement for what concerns some aspects of the cultural program and feel manipulated.

Figure 4. Causal step linking mistrust with disagreement and manipulation



Source: Author's elaboration

Lacking positive expectations towards the intentions of the artists, of MP2013, and of MRU, local actors started to be sensitive to various adverse aspects of the initiative Jardins Possibles. In absence of trust, the dialogue between various stakeholders provoked what is known as the "waking sleeping dogs" scenario (Seigel, 2012): the more types of stakeholders are involved, the higher the possibility that some of them will disagree on the initiative and will oppose it (Rose-Ackerman, 1994).

The discussions promoted for the realization of the first actions of the project evidenced various points of disagreement among the actors involved. Firstly, there was a contrast between the ephemeral nature of the gardening activity and the necessity of promoting long lasting development in the area. "The idea of the garden was very contested since the beginning. The objective of the project was not that of building a permanent garden but that of training people for creating future gardens in the city. However, the associations couldn't accept the fact that money were spent for a project that was not going to last on the territory" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

This point was also linked with the need of including in the initiative employment opportunities for the young creative people of the area. Local associations stated that "no project aiming at fostering urban renewal or local cultural development can be imagined without promoting employment […]. We would be glad to see a greater investment for employment and professional training in the framework of Jardins Possibles" (Collectif des associations du Grand Saint Barthélemy, October 2012).

Finally, local associations expressed their dissent for the fact that the artistic team had the exclusive authority over the management of the funds for the realization of the initiative. "How one could explain the fact that our associations haven't received any money for funding their

activities? […] We demand, as we have done for many years, that at least as much money is allocated for the functioning of the associations. How could you ask us to involve the inhabitants and to make them participate in the project when you are the cause of our financial asphyxiation? […] We defend the right to access to culture to everyone but this is not possible without a minimum of financial stability" (Collectif des associations du Grand Saint Barthélemy, October 2012).

These disagreements evolved into a feeling of manipulation after the official meeting of presentation of the project Jardins Possibles organized in October 2012. The meeting was organized by MP2013 and MRU for discussing the initiative with the local associations. Because of the already existing tensions within the project, the collective SAFI decided not to take part in the meeting. "I didn't participate because I was scared about what was going to happen. I didn't feel part of what was going to happen there" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

During that meeting, local associations discovered that Marseille Rénovation Urbaine was one of the main organizers of the initiative and that its involvement was justified by the fact that, as affirmed by one member of MP2013 during the same meeting, "the consultation process was not in a good state". This declaration – even if later recognized as "misunderstood" and "innocuous" – made local actors feel, as they feared, that Jardins Possibles was an instrument for attaining other political interests in the area, trying to solve the historical dissatisfaction for the urban renewal intervention with an investment on cultural activities.

Throughout the meeting of October 2012, the associations perceived the participatory process activated around Jardins Possibles as "a guise to obtain a thin veil of legitimacy" (McAlister, 2010, p. 538) or "a means to rubber-stamp existing plans" (Sani, 2015, p. 7). "For those people the initiative was a clowning around. They started realizing that there wasn't a real interest of the public authorities for the peripheral neighborhoods in the framework of the program. They didn't believe that the artistic intervention was going to be a real improvement for the quality of life in the neighborhood" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU).

These feelings emerged clearly during the interviews with the representatives of the Comité Mamega and of the Centre Sociale Agorà:

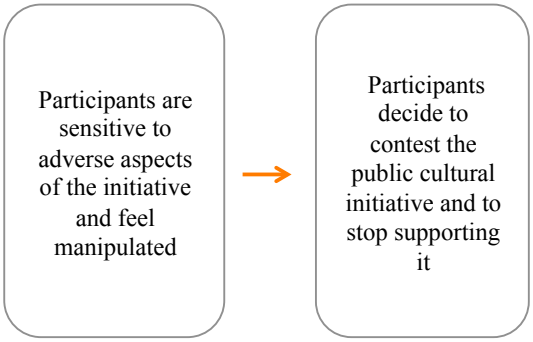
> "After a while we realized that Quartiers Créatifs was a transposition of activities and actions that were designed somewhere else. Jardins Possibles was conceived with the same logic of the ineffective urban renewal interventions implemented in the Grand Saint Barthélemy since 30 years: without any consideration of the needs of the inhabitants" (Pierre Lezeau, Comité Mamega).

"Until the official presentation of the project, we didn't understand the logic that was beyond the project. We loved the work of the artists and the relationships that they were building with the territory. But during the meeting we became aware that both the scope and the nature of the intervention reflected broader political interests" (Kevin Vacher, Centre Sociale Agorà).

1.2.3 Contestation

Causal step: Since participants disagree with some aspects of the cultural initiative and they feel manipulated, they decide to contest it.

Figure 5. Causal step linking manipulation with the contestation of the cultural initiative



Source: Author's elaboration

After the meeting of October 2012, a group of local civic actors (Comité Mamega, Centre Sociale Agora, Confédérations Syndicales des Familles of the areas of Busserine, Flamants-Iris, St Barthélemy III and CLCV – Association Nationale de Défense des Consommateurs et Usagers - Busserine) communicated their willingness to withdraw from the initiative Jardins Possibles with an official letter addressed to the French Ministry of Culture, the Mayor of Marseille, MP2013, and MRU. Pierre Lezeau (Comité Mamega) explained the reasons of this decision:

"It was a project that we could just accept or refuse. If there are no opportunities of employment, if there are no opportunities for the local artists to benefit from the effects of the ECoC Title, we don't want this project. […] The authorities told us that we were building a barricade and that we were not welcoming the great opportunity that was given to us. […] But if there are no positive impacts in the neighborhood, Quartiers Créatifs is not going to be realized. We fight for employment and for saving people from the misery in which they live. We wanted to improve the living conditions of the young people of the neighborhood through the artistic interventions and this was not the case".

After this act of retirement and contestation, there was no further dialogue between the actors involved in the project. "We never had a meeting and an opportunity of discussing what was happening" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI). The contestation process fostered a mechanism that can be considered the opposite of the one activated in deliberative settings: instead of transforming their individual interests in common-oriented ones, local associations, deciding to stop supporting Jardins Possibles, reinforced and reaffirmed their initial positions and attitudes towards the initiator. "My impression is that, by sending the letter, *the associations wanted to be back to the position they always had, that of constant resistance* [italics added]. […] At the end, everybody returned to his/her initial posture" (Dalila Ladjal, SAFI).

The lack of trust between local associations, on the one hand, and the artists, MP2013, and MRU on the other was recognized as being the key explanatory factor of the contestation of the initiative. A variety of different actors described this opposition as "the fruit of the specific history of the neighborhood" (Karine Antiq, ADDAP) and as "the product of a well grounded conflict that characterizes the relationship between the territory and the political institutions" (Kevin Vacher, Centre Sociale Agorà). In this context, Jardins Possibles was perceived – quoting the official letter of withdrawal – as "the straw that broke the camel's back", as a further demonstration of the "institutional and institutionalized disregard that the local associations experienced for decades".

During the interviews, the conflicting attitude was described as a sort of inherent historical characteristic of this area. "Since 40 years, the neighborhood is well known for being a rebel with dissenting attitudes. It is our manner for affirming that we don't want to be subjected to others' decisions and that we want to be actors of our destiny" (Pierre Lezeau, Comité Mamega). "This opposition towards the core objectives and principles of Quartiers Créatifs happened in this neighborhood and not in the others. This happened because in other parts of the city there is not such a strong network of associations and such a long tradition of fighting and opposition" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU).

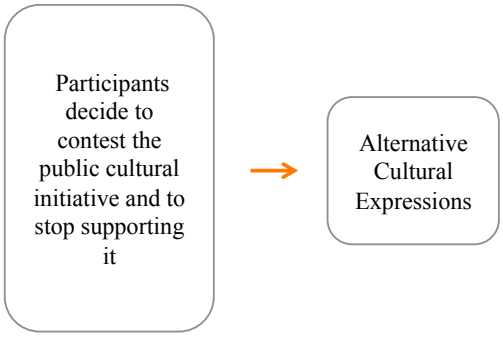
According to Dalila Ladjal (SAFI), "the problem was not within the project itself, but in the fact that *the mistrust and the malaise were so strong that it was impossible to see the beneficial points of the project for the neighborhood* [italics added]. There is hatred between those who govern the city and those who live it. There was such a powerful violence already in the neighborhood that it was not this project that created it. Maybe it expressed it and it made it more visible".

It was recognized that "there are no social connections that could be built through an artistic intervention *if there is no sufficient level of trust among all actors involved* [italics added]" (Miguel Georgieff, COLOCO).

1.2.4 Alternative cultural expressions

Causal step: The act of contestation fosters the creation of cultural expressions alternative to the official cultural program.

Figure 6. Causal step linking contestation with alternative cultural expressions



Source: Author's elaboration

The contestation of the initiative Jardins Possibles was also strongly linked with the necessity of giving voice to an alternative conception of culture, much more meaningful for the territory, its identity, and specific needs. In their letter of withdrawal addressed to the public authorities, local associations wrote: "Did you maybe think that we were not able to think about art and culture? Did you perhaps think that it was necessary to ask, or rather to impose, a framework in which you ask us today to participate? No, ladies and gentlemen, we can no longer accept such despicable methods. The inhabitants of our neighborhoods are themselves capable, if we give them the means, of thinking about art and culture. We are able to propose, organize, produce, and not only to be considered as marginal actors".

Following this attitude, local associations decided to host in November 2013 a cultural festival, "Paroles de galère", as an expression of their refusal for the official ECoC events. "Paroles de galère" (Words of Struggle) was a self-funded and self-managed festival promoted since 10 years in the cultural center La Friche de Belle Mai. It has been proclaimed since its inception a popular and militant festival, imagined as a means of expression of the struggles that people live on a daily basis: unemployment, uncertainty, racial and post-colonialist discrimination, and environmental degradation. The struggle refers also to the fact of facing everyday the reduction of political action to political corruption. The festival is characterized by the fact of being "totally independent from any political organization" and "far from cultural

institutions and traditional market logics". Its mission is that of "spreading a critical and fair culture through autonomous and participative practices of exchange and sharing free expressions in the public space". Within the festival, culture is considered at the heart of "individual and social emancipation processes" (Blog of the Festival).

In 2013, after some disagreements with the managers of Friche de Belle de Mai, the organizers of the Festival were looking for another location. The Grand Saint Barthélemy, after the interruption of Quartiers Créatifs and the contestations generated at local level, seemed to be perfect for the scope. "Since Quartiers Créatifs was not going to be realized in our neighborhood, there was a meeting with the organizers and we decided to do together the festival without any public funds in the North of Marseille. We were the first ones to openly oppose MP2013. We could do this because we were less involved in the cultural network of Marseille. We had fewer expectations in terms of financing, visibility, and future opportunities. Thanks to the total independence from the public institutions, everybody was really willing to join and give a contribution in the Festival" (Kevin Vacher, Centre Sociale Agorà).

"Paroles de galère" proves that, as hypothesized, the contestation linked with participatory processes implemented in presence of mistrust may nurture alternative projects and counter-discourses that give voice to local cultures and community concerns. "We were convinced that it was necessary to show that some cultural expressions belong to the neighborhood and are a crucial part of its identity. […] We decided to give voice to the past of conflict and fighting for individuating the culture that really belongs to us. We, the inhabitants of this peripheral neighborhood, were not going to enjoy the caricatured cultural expressions that the middle class proposed to us. We wanted to be the engine, the heart of an artistic and cultural program" (Kevin Vacher, Centre Sociale Agorà).

Both the video of presentation and the slogan (Figure 7) of the Festival[2] express a strong willingness of opposing the ECoC events and the public authorities that were supporting them:

> "Speak as you want! Everybody can speak the language that he/she prefers during the festival. The only important thing is being heard and understood. Singing, dancing, drawing, writing, playing theatre, screaming … It doesn't matter. We are capable of all this if we don't lose the sense of what we are in this neighborhood. Only in this way, art is meaningful. Art doesn't exist for filling the galleries; it doesn't exist for bringing audiences. An artist, both a professional and a non-professional one, must be capable of speaking about the place where he/she lives. And we have to speak about this world, the

[2] See the Blog of the Festival "Paroles de galère": http://parolesdegalere.over-blog.com/

one we live. To tell them that we are really pissed off!" (Video of presentation of the Festival "Paroles de galère").

Figure 7. Slogan of the Festival: "Paroles de galère, it is in Marseille, it is in 2013, but it is not part of Marseille-Provence 2013"

Source: Blog of the Festival "Paroles de galère"

"Paroles de galère" was an alternative one-off counter-movement that didn't activate long-lasting developmental dynamics in the Grand Saint Barthélemy. Apart from another small edition in 2014, this festival did no longer take place neither in that neighborhood nor in Marseille. This happened because these alternative cultural expressions were not able to foster cultural relations, creating a platform of dialogue between local authorities, associations, and inhabitants. Flauvigny (MRU) has well described the distance that has characterized the relationship between the actors after 2013:

> "Since the opposition was so strong and not constructive, politicians have moved their interest somewhere else. *The contestation caused a block for what concerns dialogue and connections* [italics added]. At a certain moment, public authorities started thinking that there was no way for cooperating with these people because of their constant attitude of fighting and protesting".

Unlike the legitimization process activated by the participatory process in presence of trust, contestation and alternative cultural expressions have somehow diminished the perceived importance of culture for the well being of the area. "*That experience delegitimized the usefulness of cultural interventions in this neighborhood* [italics added]. Even in the actual more relaxed context, it would be difficult to promote an artistic intervention when the memory of Quartiers Créatifs is still vivid. This is a pity" (Jean-Luc Flauvigny, MRU).

The lack of social capital dynamics characterizes also the relationship between local associations and inhabitants and among the inhabitants themselves. On the one hand, individual residents were somehow excluded in the framework of the opposition between local associations and public authorities. "The inhabitants are not even aware that they have capacity of action. Everything that they experienced was mediated by the presence of a social structure. Sometimes they are not even aware of the framework in which everything is happening. […] They didn't choose that the project started; they didn't choose that the project ended" (Karine Antiq, ADDAP).

On the other hand, there was a strong feeling of fragmentation among people of the area. "One of the main things that we learnt from the experience is that there is no feeling of unity among the inhabitants. There are groups and sub-groups of inhabitants that are more or less organized. However, the different socio-cultural communities are really isolated. We had some contacts with some of these groups, but really inexistent or weak contacts with other people. It is a really fragmented scenario" (Miguel Georgieff, COLOCO).

2. Cultural production without social cohesion in the Exchanger Važecká (Košice)

2.1 Origins and development of the Exchanger Važecká

The Exchanger[3] Važecká, like the Exchangers Ľudová, Štítová, and Wuppertálska, was opened in April 2013 in the framework of the SPOTs Program promoted as part of the ECoC events of Košice 2013. Contrary to the Exchanger Obrody described in Chapter 5, this cultural center is part of the "last generation of Exchangers", opened by the SPOTs Team during the ECoC year in order to complete all the activities initially scheduled in the ECoC cultural program. The cultural space is located in the district Nad Jazerom, a relatively young residential area, built during the 70s in the southern part of Košice, very far from the city center. The district was originally designed as an industrial area mainly dedicated to food industry and the production of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, bread, and pastry bakery.

Thanks to the presence of a lake (Jazero) and a river (Hornad), this neighborhood is also a suitable area for sports and recreational activities such as cycling, skating, and jogging. Many young families, attracted by the favorable environmental conditions, the low living cost, and the great offer of cheap and modern apartments, have recently populated the area. However, the

[3] A former heat exchanger that, thanks to the SPOTs Program, has been transformed into a community cultural center. This typology of space has kept its functional name "Vymennik" (in Slovakian) or "Exchanger" (in English).

district is very problematic for what concerns the social conditions. The area hosts the largest Roma settlement of the city, which is not fully integrated with the rest of the population from a social and cultural point of view. Moreover, Nad Jazerom registers high rates of homeless people, drug trafficking, and alcoholism. "It is much more likely to see people in disadvantaged conditions here that in other parts of the city" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager). This is why notwithstanding the presence of proper roads, public transports, commercial activities, and services, the area still appears as being at the end of the world" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community Artist).

The preliminary researches conducted in this neighborhood by the SPOTs Team in order to design the Program Scan of the Exchanger Važecká provide a detailed explanation of this situation. Figure 8 shows the results of the "district value scan" (green and pale blue parts) and of the "cultural value scan" (red and yellow parts) realized according to the general SPOTs methodology (see Figure 3 – Chapter 4). The district reported good scores for what concerns physical livability, being well equipped in terms of infrastructures and services. Moreover, the Exchanger itself, because of its peculiar architecture (Figure 9), was already recognized as "an iconic building of the neighborhood, of which local people were very proud" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager). Public perception was, on the contrary, much lower: citizens were used to consider the whole area more linked with industrial and recreational activities than as having a specific cultural value. The disadvantaged social conditions of specific groups also contributed to the general low attractiveness of the area.

Personal development scores (education and employment rates) were not below the Košice average; still, individual competences were not publicly expressed and enhanced through social and cultural activities. Indeed, notwithstanding the presence of various cultural institutions, attendance and participation to their initiatives resulted to be very low. As a result, social cohesion was scarce in the area: "during the research phase, we discovered that more than 40 social and community organizations were present in the neighborhood but that none of them was cooperating with each other" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

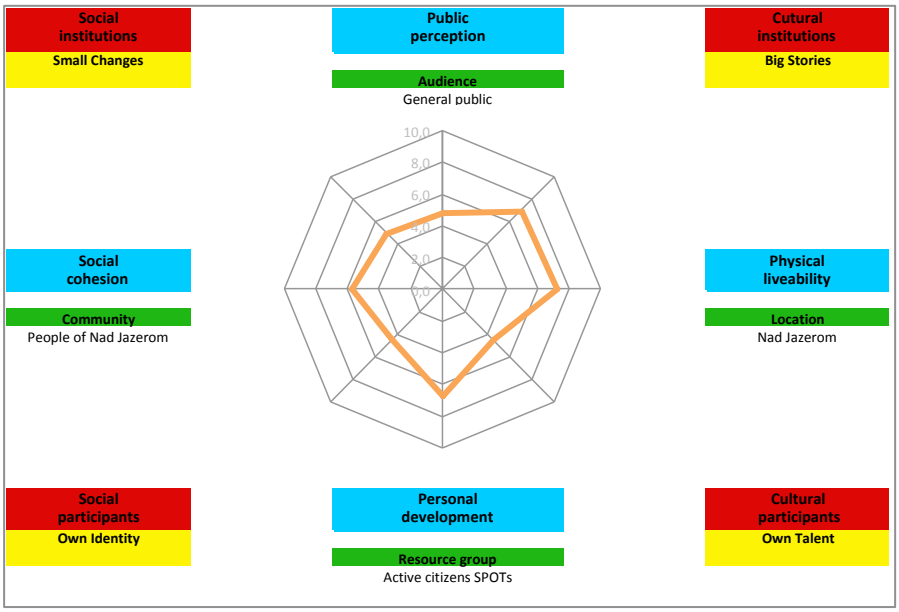
The "artistic response" and the "collaboration force" activated by the SPOTs Team in the Exchanger Važecká as an answer to the "driving force" – the social needs of the neighborhood – was all based on talent development activities, that were mainstreamed in all four segments of the Program Scan. The "Small changes in the social system world" segment (left upper quadrant of Figure 8) included participatory planning and the organization of festive events (Suburb parade, observation session of stars on the roof of the Exchanger) in collaboration with socio-cultural institutions. The "Own identity in the social system world" segment (left lower quadrant of

Figure 8) encompassed the collaboration with a wide number of local artists and young creative people for the organization of workshops open to the local population, with a particular focus on the possibility of identity building connected with fashion activities. The "Big stories in the artistic system world" segment (right upper quadrant of Figure 8) focused on the promotion of high visibility events in the neighborhood, linked with the valorization of the Exchanger as a place for sports activities but also for film screenings and artistic installations. The last quadrant of the Scan – "Own talent in the artistic system world" – aimed at fostering exhibitions, fashion cafés, and meetings with professional experts in the cultural and artistic field, in order to support cultural entrepreneurship.

As explained by Blanka Berkyová, former SPOTs Project Manager, the "shaping force" – the ultimate mission - of the Exchanger Vážecká was that of making talent development a vehicle for improving social cohesion and public perception:

> "When people have the opportunity of developing personal skills, they are also more able to communicate with each other, to be appreciated and understood. They manage to create a community around an artwork or a public event. In this way, investing on people's talents became a way for producing a positive change in terms of social cohesion and image of the neighborhood".

Figure 8. Program Scan of Nad Jazerom - Exchanger Vážecká



Source: SPOTs Program

Figure 9. The Exchanger Važecká

Source: SPOTs Program

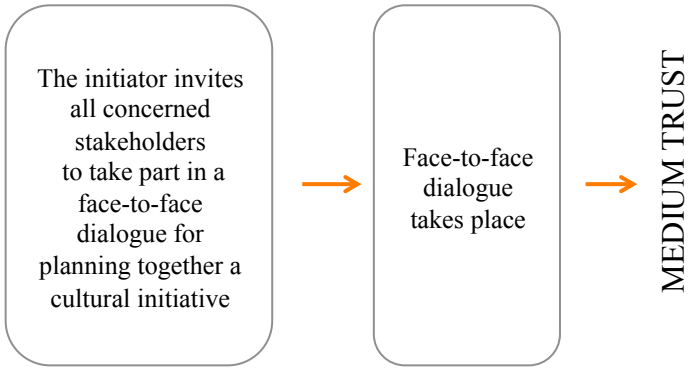
2.2 The observed causal steps

The following paragraphs illustrate the presence of the hypothesized causal steps linking participatory governance with its impacts in the Exchanger Važecká. In order to make clear the various phases of the analysis, every causal step is discussed separately. Each paragraph begins by stating and graphically representing the part of causal mechanism that the research wants to test; then, it discusses its presence in the case referring to the empirical evidence collected.

2.2.1 Dialogue and medium trust

Causal step: Face-to-face dialogue takes place and a medium level of trust, a "calculus-based" one, is achieved among the participants.

Figure 10. Causal step linking dialogue and the establishment of medium trust



Source: Author's elaboration

According to the overall institutional design of the SPOTs Program, the promotion of a face-to-face dialogue among a variety of local stakeholders was the first step of the process that led to the opening of the Exchanger Važecká. However, the dialogic process activated in the neighborhood Nad Jazerom was characterized by the necessity of adopting a different and faster method of involvement of the local population. Instead of the door-to-door surveys and the organization of the Future City Game that characterized the first participatory activities promoted in Terasa for the opening of the Exchanger Obrody, in Nad Jazerom dialogue was promoted through the cultural mapping approach.

The Future City Game and the cultural mapping are two participatory techniques that have different objectives and produce different types of engagement of the local population. As already explained in Chapter 5 (see footnote 7), the Future City Game aims at collecting general ideas about "ways to tackle future global and local challenges in neighborhoods" (Centre for Local Economic Strategies, 2010, p. 2) while cultural mapping[4] consists in the collective identification and classification of local cultural assets in order to individuate strengths, gaps, characteristics, and specific features of a connected territory (Duxbury, 2015).

Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager, has stressed the close connection between the choice of the cultural mapping approach and the short time that the SPOTs Team had for opening the Exchanger Važecká according to the deadlines established for the realization of the ECoC event:

> "In Obrody we really focused on people, we spent time in getting in touch with them also because we had this time at our disposal. In Terasa we used the Future City Game because

[4] Cultural mapping projects involve a variety of local stakeholders in the identification and classification of tangible cultural assets, local cultural spaces, activities, and resources, "complemented by attempts to capture more symbolic and intangible aspect of a place" (Duxbury, 2015, p. 1). It is a participatory methodology that, including cartographic processes of quantifying, labeling, categorizing, and organizing, makes also people engage with qualitative questions of identity and place-based meanings.

we would like to plan the Program together with the people. All the Program lines should be based on citizen input and we knew that we had to start very soon if we wanted to involve them. *In Važecká the situation was different. Everything should be ready for April 2013 because of the ECoC events planned for that year* [italics added]. We were more experienced and we needed to do something effective for both the SPOTs Program and local people".

In this context, cultural mapping was the instrument through which the dialogue among local stakeholders was activated in an efficient and less time-consuming way:

"We invited representatives of local NGOs, people engaged in cultural and creative activities, and local authorities to build a collective map of physical spaces, cultural institutions, important events, and activities in the neighborhood. We worked on a real map on which people could draw and identify which were the most important and meaningful parts for them. We identified the hotspots of the neighborhood and also the meanings associated to them. In a very short time we collected a lot of information and we could start working with these people" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

The variety of actors involved in this preliminary phase has been classified according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" adopted in the present investigation (Table 2). The dialogic process was characterized by a convergence around "pro-access" objectives promoted both by the SPOTs Team and other public institutions (Elementary Art School, IOM – Migration Information Centre) and other private and civic actors such as the Cultural Centre Jazero, the Cultural Centre Haliganda, and the organizers of the Košice Cyclo Tours (Košické cyklopotulky).

As in the case of Terasa, public authorities (the Local district Nad Jazerom) were mainly motivated by "pro-economic impact" objectives linked with the improvement of the attractiveness and the image of the area. Besides the SPOTs Team, "pro-excellence" and "pro-innovation" objectives were also pursued by two local cultural organizations (Photoclub RARA and Association Bazart) and by a series of local artists, including photographers, filmmakers, graphic designers, painters, and poets. These stakeholders played a crucial role in the identification of the cultural hotspots of the neighborhood.

The SPOTs Team decided explicitly not to implement measures of "selective recruitment" (Fung, 2006) of specific disadvantaged groups of people, such as Roma people. According to Blanka Berkyová, the reason of this choice was twofold:

"On the one hand, we wanted to keep the process as much open as possible. Conceiving specific activities just for some groups would have exacerbated differences and divisions

instead of promoting dialogue. On the other, we just didn't have the opportunity of addressing these issues because we had to open the space and assure that everything was done safely and effectively. We preferred to cooperate with organizations that were already organizing activities for these groups and offer them space in the Exchanger".

Thanks to the dialogue activated around the cultural mapping, fashion and sports emerged clearly as the most appropriate issues around which the development of the Exchanger Važecká should be based. For what concerns sport activities, the convenience was linked with the opportunity of making the most of the climbing wall of the Exchanger and of the infrastructures and characteristics of the neighborhood, i.e. presence of the lake and of cycle paths. Regarding fashion, it was considered a valid tool for improving the image of the area:

"Nad Jazerom was the less fascinating neighborhood of the city. Hence, we decided to make fashion available to local people. Fashion is something that touches the identity and the creativity of everyone" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

One of the first sport activities to be promoted was that of the Košice Cyclo Tours. As explained by Ondrej Béhun, founder of the initiative, "the aim of the tours is that of decentralizing sports and leisure activities from the city center to the periphery. We use the bike as a means to make both locals and tourists discover their territory from a cultural point of view".

Fashion activities in the Exchanger started thanks to the project VyVa – Fashion from the Street. Ideated by the artist Janka Bučková in collaboration with the SPOTs Team, the initiative was designed and realized in order to engage ordinary girls and women from the neighborhood in the creation of a fashion brand.

Rather than being trustworthy relationships characterized by the presence of both acceptance of vulnerability towards the others and positive expectations concerning their principles and values, these collaborations were based on a rational calculation concerning the possible benefits of the cooperation. They mirror what has been defined as medium or "calculus-based" trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996) in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, namely a calculation of the outcomes resulting from creating and sustaining a relationship relative to the cost of maintaining or sustaining it.

As emerged in the interviews, the relationships established between the SPOTs Team and the first groups that have populated the Exchanger Važecká present the characteristics of professional relationships based on "credible information regarding the competence or intention of another" (Rousseau et al., 1998).

For the Košice Cyclo Tours, for example, the collaboration with the SPOTs Team was an opportunity for improving the quality of the activities that they were already implementing:

> "Our collaboration with the Program originated from the idea of including also the Exchanger Važecká in our bike tours. The SPOTs Program offered us a better background, a solid platform, and also media and technical support for implementing our project" (Ondrej Béhun, Košice Cyclo Tours).

The project VyVa – Fashion from the Street was strongly linked with the professional relationship established on a personal level between Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager, and the artist Janka Bučková:

> "I chose Janka as artistic leader of the community artistic project concerning fashion. I spent a lot of time with her. She was very skilled and experienced; she was already doing another type of fashion activity in the city. We spoke and I told her what I would like to achieve, what was my intention and she tried to interpret my needs and to write a project. We worked very hard for designing the initiative. After three months we had a complete proposal, including the specific ways used for motivating people and for involving them in the activity" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

Table 2. Analysis of actors involved in SPOTs according to the "structured stakeholder mapping approach"

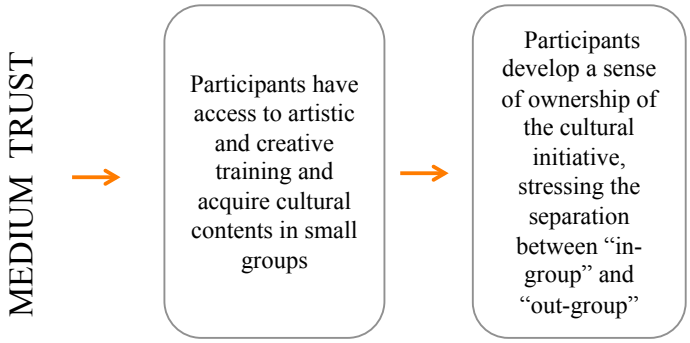
	GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	CIVIC	INDIVIDUAL
PRO-EXCELLENCE	SPOTs Team		Photoclub RARA	A series of local artists: photographers; filmmakers; graphic designers; painters; poets.
PRO-ECONOMIC IMPACT	Local district Nad Jazerom			
PRO-ACCESS	SPOTs Team Elementary Art School Irkutská 6 IOM Migration Information Centre	Private free time centre Galaktická 9	Cultural Center Jazero Cultural Center Haliganda Košice Cyclo Tours	
PRO-INNOVATION	SPOTs Team		Association Bazart	A series of local artists: photographers; filmmakers; graphic designers; painters; poets.

Source: Author's elaboration

2.2.2 Capacity building and limited social cohesion

Causal step: When involved in a relationship based on medium or "calculus-based" trust, participants acquire capacities and contents through training; they develop sense of ownership in small groups and not with the broader context.

Figure 11. Causal step linking medium trust with capacity building and group identification



Source: Author's elaboration

Once the first fashion and sport activities were established in the Exchanger, a lot of people from the neighborhood started attending them as opportunities for increasing their cultural and creative capacities. The case of the project Vyva – Fashion from the Street is exemplary in this sense. After the Fashion Cafés – meetings about fashion trends organized with experts, bloggers, and important personalities of the sector – it was easy to involve the first group of interested girls and women from the neighborhood.

> "These women came spontaneously to the Exchanger and started having regular meetings with the artist Janka Bučková. The objective of these initial interactions was that of identifying the existing skills and those to be acquired in order to start training these women in drawing models, sewing, cutting, and presenting the collection together with its logo and communication materials" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

The impact of this type of training on the development of the women's creative capacities was great. Some of the participants have described the experience as a way "to use and improve talent" (Helena Kuncová, Member of the VyVa Fashion group), "to fulfil myself artistically, from the sketch till the final product" (Patrícia Mihaliková, Member of the VyVa Fashion group) or "to express myself and to deepen my creativity and my relationship with fashion" (Katka Čižmárová, Member of the VyVa Fashion group).

One girl talked about the project as a constant source of change and inspiration for her:

> "Thanks to the workshops, I am gaining a totally different point of view on things. This experience is broadening up my perceptions. It is so inspiring to make these drawings:

these activities are able to change our point of view and make it complete and profound. The artist is inspiring all of us in doing great things" (Sonja Štefanková, Member of the Vyva Fashion Group).

The current cultural mediator has recognized that "there are big progresses with girls, they start working as little artists and their aesthetic sense is growing and growing; they now have all the technical skills that you need for designing and producing fashion. They are really skilled in pursuing the process that goes from the idea to the realization of the product. They are also acquiring organizational skills, ideating the performance, organizing and promoting it to the public" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator).

The role of the artist was pivotal in promoting capacity building. Janka Bučková has described the artistic practice as a process of removal of the cognitive barriers of these women:

"Since the beginning I knew that the hardest part of the process would be to free these women from their mental barriers and show them the possible ways. It wasn't easy but my expectations were not only fulfilled but also surpassed. […] When I see a sparkle in their eyes, I understand that this project is more than just a fashion brand. It's about people, about how we have partially changed their lives, about their sincere joy of success. There is nothing better than to see their illuminated faces and sincere joy".

From the perspective of the members of the fashion group, "it all starts with the artist: she gives us inspiration and we start designing the collection on the basis of what she suggested to us. We start drawing different designs of what we are going to have in the collection. We all try to do what we want to do but Janka has the final word in this sense. She approves what we do or she tells us what is not going to work. She is pushing us into the right direction" (Sonja Štefanková, Member of the VyVa Fashion Group).

The fashion project has been described as having a unique artistic component:

"The fashion shows are not just fashion shows; there are always performances, dancers, and music that present the story. It is also important to see how the music and the atmosphere change the perception of everything. The whole fashion show is more like a performance I would say" (Sonja Štefanková).

In the case of VyVa, as hypothesized in third scenario of the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3, the relationship between the artist and the participants has the main objective of transmitting specific cultural contents and activating forms of arts education. Dialogue is mainly linked with "knowledge-as-substance" (Brown, 2002), namely with contents that can be transferred from the teacher to the learners. In terms of social capital and group

dynamics, this type of capacity building is not linked with mutual understanding and change in people's perceptions concerning the others, but rather with a strong identification limited to a small group of producers and attenders.

The risk of the project VyVa to produce limited social cohesion and to foster exclusion and elitist behaviors has been underlined in various interviews:

> "The women of the fashion group are really concentrated on the quality of their work and on acquiring new capacities for improving their products. *Sometimes I feel that what they are doing is elitist, hermetic, and a bit closed. They are not flexible and inclusive* [italics added]. They are here since 2013 and they have the impression that they totally own the space" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator).

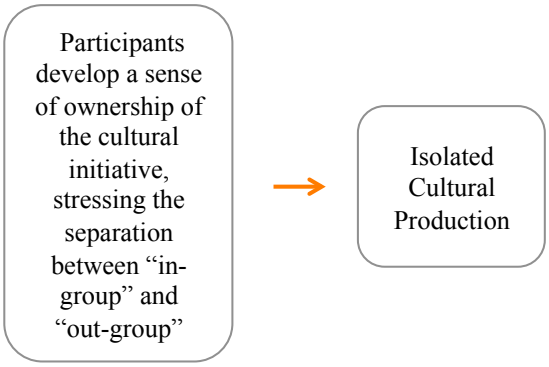
> "The project has a strong effect on the capacity building of these women, but it has created *a close group that has no relationships with the broader context* [italics added]. The project is amazing from the visual and artistic point of view but I cannot see the creation of a community around it. I don't see a strong connection with the social cohesion aspect. The project doesn't give voice to invisible women, for example. It doesn't give them the possibility of wearing the clothes they have designed because all the shows are realized in a very professional way. The participation of Roma people or of women of the neighborhood in social disadvantaged conditions is very low and almost absent. *The project is very exclusive and exclusivity sometimes could bring exclusion* [italics added]" (Ľudmila Horňáková, Community Artist).

As showed in the case of Catania described by Martorana et al. (2017) and recalled in the analytical framework, when a strong focus is put on the capacity building without paying attention to the broader social context, a cultural space risks being seen as a mere "commodity" for its attenders instead of being legitimated by a variety of residents as the reflection of the values they attach to the cultural experience.

2.2.3 Cultural production without social cohesion

Causal step: Because of the lack of social capital dynamics during the participatory process, in the following years (2013-2017) we observe an increase in cultural production not accompanied by growing cultural relations.

Figure 12. Causal step linking capacity building and the lack of social capital with an isolated cultural production



Source: Author's elaboration

Over the years, various other groups proposing different types of socio-cultural activities have populated the Exchanger Važecká. Besides the Košice Cyclo Tours, the association managing the climbing wall, and the girls of the VyVa fashion group, the Exchanger hosts a local rock band (GRVS7), the creative workshops led by the artist Anna Vaňová, and the socio-cultural activities for disadvantaged children promoted by the association Four-Leaf-Clover. Moreover, various exhibitions, English courses, and events are organized regularly in this space.

However, the lack of time for activating the trust building process that would have led people to develop mutual understanding and common good orientation has prevented these various groups from building meaningful connections among them.

In this sense, the current cultural mediator has remarked that "there is not much networking between the various associations working in the Exchanger" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator). Consistently, Ondrej Béhun (Košice Cyclo Tours) affirmed that "there are different communities carrying out their own activities" and that it wasn't possible for them "to find terrains of collaboration".

On top of that, different people recognized that the Exchanger Važecká is being very disconnected from the neighborhood; they described it as having a sort of unexpressed potential for the cultural development of the area:

> "The relationship between the Exchanger and local residents is weak. I noticed that there are a lot of Roma and homeless people that are not involved in the activities" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator)

> "The Exchanger is an excellent idea implemented in a bad way. They could do better. The activities are organized for very small groups of people and very tiny communities. They are not closed but it is just hard for them to have new members. Some people don't know

nothing about what is happening inside the space and this is the biggest issue" (Ondrej Béhun, Košice Cyclo Tours)

At the end of 2017[5], the cultural production promoted in Važecká, even if excellent *per se*, resulted to be isolated both internally – since the various groups did not support each other – and externally, since the Exchanger was not very much connected with the neighborhood and with the various social groups that populate it. The lack of time for activating a proper trust building process was recognized as a key explanatory factor of the lack of cultural relations in and around the Exchanger:

> "There was also here a preliminary research on the neighborhood but it was not as deep as in Obrody. *This might explain the weaker social connections with the surrounding context* [italics added]. The Exchanger should be open in April 2013 and the fashion project was a very interesting opportunity for bringing there some high quality artistic activities. However, *there was no time for involving other people from the neighborhood* [italics added], apart from the women and girls that spontaneously manifested their interest" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator)

> "During the short time I had for working in this Exchanger (April 2013 – June 2015) I didn't manage to put all the groups together and to start working as a family. The relationships among the various communities are not so strong. They respect each other but they don't know how to work together. *This is the crucial factor that explains why relations in Važecká are not so strong as in Obrody. We didn't have time to build a small family in the Exchanger* [italics added]" (Blanka Berkyová, SPOTs Project Manager).

In terms of perspectives of cultural development, the Exchanger Važecká is currently at a sort of crossroad. On the one hand, the SPOTs Team is trying to improve the relational dimension designing activities able to involve different social groups from the neighborhood and including Roma people and migrants:

> "I am trying to involve Roma people and migrants in the Exchanger. I hope this approach will bring fruits in the future and have a real impact on people's life. I would like to make the Exchanger an artistic driver for social inclusion" (Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator)

On the other hand, people talked about the possibility of transforming the fashion activity of the VyVa in a business-oriented and professional project. "We are thinking about a possible

[5] As explained in the Introduction of the thesis and in Chapter 4, this is coherent with the time span of impact evaluation considered in the present research (2013-2017).

evolution of VyVa in professional terms. They are trying to set up a business model that is still in progress now" (Lucia Hrubá).

As underlined by the current SPOTs Project Manager, this perspective is very much linked with the long-term sustainability of this artistic initiative:

> "The work of the fashion group is of higher quality than any other initiative carried out in the Exchangers. However, paying the artist for doing the workshops is also quite expensive. *We are really afraid that if we change the artist, if some conditions change, the activity will collapse in few months* [italics added]. We are trying to figure out what to do with this project. We have to decide if we want to transform it in a professional brand" (Ján Hološ, SPOTs Project Manager).

This situation recalls what has been hypothesized in the analytical framework: when cultural interventions are promoted without rooting in community practice, they lack the social capital dimension and they prove to be less sustainable in the long run. The possibility for this cultural center to impact on cultural development and become a "cultural ecosystem" (Throsby, 2017, p. 141) as the Exchanger Obrody is linked with the SPOTs Team's capacities to complement cultural and professional activities with a reinforcing chain of trust, mutual understanding, and common good orientation.

Conclusions

This Chapter has discussed the impacts that participatory governance has on cultural development in absence of fully-fledged trust among the actors involved. Specifically, it argues that:

1) when implemented in presence of mistrust among the actors involved, participation can lead to contestation and the subsequent realization of alternative cultural expressions;
2) when the relationship among the actors involved is founded on "calculus-based" trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995, 1996), participatory governance can bring about an increase in cultural production that is less sustainable in the long-term because of a lack of social cohesion.

The project Jardins Possibles (Marseille) offered empirical evidence for discussing the first scenario (1), while we referred to the Exchanger Važecká (Košice) for examining the second one (2). The aim is not that of comparing the two cases. Indeed, coherently with the methodological assumptions illustrated in the Introduction of the thesis, as it was realized in different contextual

conditions (i.e. mistrust in the initiative Jardins Possibles and "calculus-based" trust in the Exchanger Važecká), participatory governance in the two projects gave rise to two distinctive mechanisms that are not causally homogeneous and thus not comparable.

1) In the framework of the initiative Jardins Possibles (Marseille), participatory governance was implemented in absence of trust between the public authorities (i.e. MP2013 and MRU) and the local associations of the Grand Saint Barthélemy. The initial dialogic interactions did not manage to overcome the strong prehistory of conflict that characterized their relationship. Hence, because of the lack of positive expectations towards the initiator of the process, civic actors started to be particularly sensitive to some adverse aspects of the cultural initiative, underlying that the ephemeral character of the gardening activity was in contrast with the necessity of promoting long lasting development in the area, employment opportunities for the local young creative people, and financial stability for the associations. Moreover, they were afraid that the whole artistic initiative was a weapon in the hands of public authorities for increasing consensus and legitimacy in a difficult neighborhood. This feeling of manipulation made local associations not only withdraw from the initiative Jardins Possibles but also support the organization, in November 2013, of an alternative cultural event – the festival "Paroles de galère" (Words of struggle). This festival is a concrete example of how contestation may nurture alternative projects and counter-discourses that give voice to local cultures and community concerns.

2) For what concerns the participatory process implemented in the Exchanger Važecká, the lack of time and the necessity of opening the Exchanger according to the deadlines established for the ECoC event prevented the SPOTs Team from promoting a proper trust building among all the actors. Because of the need of implementing the activities in a fast and effective way, the first collaborations established with the Košice Cyclo Tours and with the VyVa fashion group were "calculus-based" professional relationships founded on "credible information regarding the competence or intention of another" (Rousseau et al., 1998). Especially for what concerns the VyVa fashion group, it had a great impact on the talent development of the women of the neighborhood. However, this type of training based on "knowledge-as-substance" (Bouwen & Taillieu, 2004) fostered a strong identification among a small community of people and hindered the development of relationships with both the other groups populating the Exchanger and the whole neighborhood, promoting an excellent but isolated type of cultural production.

As "deviant cases" (Beach & Pedersen, 2016), the analysis of Jardins Possibles and of the Exchanger Važecká allows us to test the importance of trust for the mechanism participatory governance → cultural development to function as hypothesized. The two cases demonstrate that the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) is valid only in presence of fully-fledged trust

among the actors involved: under these circumstances, participants develop capacities, mutual understanding, and common good orientation and a network of cultural relations assures long-lasting cultural development on the territory.

On the contrary, 1) in presence of mistrust, as showed in the initiative Jardins Possibles (Marseille), participatory governance exacerbates the role of culture as a "contested field of meanings" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010). When participants lack both positive expectations and acceptance of vulnerability, they are more sensitive to the power dynamics that characterize all participatory settings (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). The festival "Paroles de galère" promoted in the Grand Saint Barthélemy as a reaction to the official cultural program of Marseille-Provence 2013 is a concrete manifestation of the conflict on who has the right or can claim the right of creating cultural expressions and determining their value. The counter-movements that originate from these contestation processes, if not able to activate broader social capital and legitimization dynamics around them, risk to weaken even more the relations between civic actors and public authorities.

Furthermore, 2) when the relationship among the actors involved is founded on "calculus-based" trust, as exemplified by the Exchanger Važecká, participatory governance manages to boost cultural activities; nevertheless, because of the absence of cultural relations, these activities risk being far from the expression of local identity and are less sustainable once the participatory process ends. Since there was a strong focus on talent development, but little time for building deeper linkages among the groups and between them and the neighborhood, this Exchanger presents an excellent but isolated cultural production, "organized for very small groups of people and very tiny communities" (Ondrej Béhun, Košice Cyclo Tours). During the time span of impact evaluation covered by the present investigation (2013-2017), the Exchanger Važecká has not become, as Obrody (see Chapter 5), the center of a cultural network of interdependent actors engaged in cultural activities. However, consistently with the transformative approach to trust development (Vangen & Huxham, 2003), we argue that, if properly fuelled with trustworthy interactions and social capital dynamics, the "calculus-based" trust can evolve in the "identification-based" one (Lewicki et al., 2006), thus nurturing the relational assets that made cultural development possible. Only the study of the Exchanger Važecká in the following years (i.e. after 2017) would allow us to verify if parts of its activities (as the VyVa Fashion group) will be transformed into business-oriented ones or if, thanks to stronger relationships with the territory and the various social groups, the space will function as a "cultural ecosystem" (Throsby, 2017, p. 41) for the whole neighborhood.

General Conclusions

While being enthusiastically and optimistically promoted as a means to foster effectiveness, legitimacy, and sustainability of cultural policies in the recent international and European discourse and standard setting (Council of the European Union, 2014a; UNESCO, 2003; UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2007), participatory governance of culture presents various definitional, methodological, and evaluation conundrums. Not only there is lack of clarity for what concerns who should be involved and how cultural participatory decision-making processes should be conducted, but also the strongly claimed beneficial effects of participatory governance in culture are far from being proved both theoretically and empirically.

On the one hand, the literature on participation underlines how participatory practices could be linked with tyrannical exercise of power, manipulation of local knowledge, and increased conflict and ineffectiveness. On the other, the empirical evidence on the impacts of cultural participatory practices is contradictory: they sometimes proved to be positively correlated with long-term cultural developmental dynamics while bringing about contestation and lack of social cohesion in other cases. Hence, the promise of participatory governance of culture is currently suspended between myth and reality.

This thesis has tried to address this puzzle by providing an evidence-based investigation on the function of participatory governance of culture, shedding light on how, why, and under which circumstances it impacts on cultural development. For what concerns the theoretical background, this investigation has combined two conceptual tenets of the Democratic Theory: the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992) and the "pragmatic conception" (Fung, 2007). By doing so, the assumptions concerning the educational and transformative potential of participation on both individuals and society have become a set of workable hypotheses to be tested within the social and historical circumstances in which the decision-making processes are realized. Methodologically speaking, the theory-testing variant of process tracing has allowed us to theorize the various steps of the cause-effect chain that links participatory governance (X) with cultural development (Y) and then to refine them with the diagnostic analysis of the empirical evidence collected in four different projects realized in two cities selected as European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) in 2013: Marseille-Provence (France) and Košice (Slovakia). Being the first cities to be selected and evaluated according to the participatory principles introduced by Decision 1622/2006 (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006), these ECoC have been considered as precious terrains of study of the impacts of participatory governance of culture in a specific time span (2013-2017).

Thanks to these theoretical and methodological choices, this investigation has responded to its main objective. It proposed a "middle-range" theory (Pawson, 2000) of participatory governance of culture and its impacts, combining theoretical conceptualizations with the empirical facts connected with their realization. In doing so, the research has also provided an innovative contribution to both the debate on the "measurement failures" of the "expansive" theories of democracy (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012; Mansbridge, 1999) and to the examination of the often impalpable and subtle long-term social and cultural effects of the ECoC event. The General Conclusions are aimed to further discuss the results and the contributions of this research by tracing a *fil rouge* connecting all the issues discussed in the various Chapters. This conclusive part is divided into two main sections. The first one illustrates the main findings by proposing a list of statements and sub-statements on the impacts of participatory governance of culture. The second section identifies the future research perspectives on this topic, taking as a point of departure the limitations of the present investigation.

1. Main findings

In order to provide innovative insights and additional considerations to what has been discussed in the core Chapters of the thesis, the main research findings are presented in the form of statements and sub-statements open to discussion. These statements, rather than conclusive and definitive comments, are conceived as starting points for both future academic debates and further empirical investigations on participatory governance of culture. Moreover, they should be seen as the result of the "practical reasoning", one of two conceptual tools encompassed by the "pragmatic conception" (Fung, 2007) adopted in this investigation (see Chapter 2).

After having analyzed the "pragmatic equilibrium" of participatory governance of culture – namely the relationship between its proclaimed values and its effects on the ground – the "practical reasoning" allows the researcher to revise the initial theoretical assumptions in the light of the empirical facts. The following statements have to be considered as analytical efforts elaborated in this direction, that of reshaping the conceptual expectations on participatory governance of culture after having studied the intended and unintended consequences produced in various specific contexts.

Statement No. 1. *The potential of participatory governance to foster long-term cultural development depends on the intensity of trust that is reached during the first dialogic interactions among the actors involved. Specifically:*

(1a) in presence of fully-fledged trust, participatory governance reaches its "pragmatic equilibrium": it produces not only observable effects on cultural production and reception, but it fosters also the relational assets that make "cultural ecosystems" alive in the long-term;

(1b) in absence of fully-fledged trust (i.e. mistrust or "calculus-based" trust), participatory governance leads to phenomena of contestation or lack of social cohesion.

This statement can be considered as the summary of the main findings of the investigation and the answer to its main research questions. As hypothesized in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3 and then empirically tested in the case studies illustrated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, participatory governance proved to have an impact on long-term cultural development through the realization of the "self-transformation thesis" (Warren, 1992). In both the initiative PARCeque (Marseille) and the Exchanger Obrody (Košice), actors involved experimented an increase in capacities, legitimacy, and social capital that allowed them not only to foster cultural offer (cultural production) and interest in cultural activities (cultural reception) in the following years but also to create a network of collaborations and shared values (cultural relations) around two "cultural ecosystems", the Théâtre du Centaure in Marseille and the Exchanger itself and its growing community in Košice.

If the "self-transformation thesis" and the insights coming from these two "typical cases" allowed us to understand how and why participatory governance impacts on cultural development, the focus on the presence of fully-fledged trust made us discover under which circumstances this causal mechanism can be realized. Participatory governance produces cultural development only when, during the first dialogic interactions, participants develop positive expectations and accept to be vulnerable to each other's actions. Indeed, fully-fledged trust functions as an engine of social capital and makes them develop mutual understanding and common good orientation, the relational assets that nurture cultural development overtime.

When 1) trust is totally lacking because of a strong prehistory of conflict between the actors (as in the case of Jardins Possibles in Marseille) or 2) when their relationship is "calculus-based" and aimed at realizing common activities in a cost-benefits perspective (as in the case of the Exchanger Važecká in Košice), participatory governance produces i) contestation and alternative counter-movements or ii) excellent cultural production that lacks social cohesion and collective recognition. In short, in absence of fully-fledged trust, participatory governance activates, instead of social capital dynamics, feelings of manipulation and contesting attitudes (Jardins Possibles in Marseille) or capacity building processes for small groups of people, fostering divisions among

them that prevent the development of collaborations and the wider involvement of the territory (Exchanger Važecká in Košice).

Looking through a "pragmatic" lens at the arguments developed by the "expansive" theorists of democracy was fundamental for reaching the results of this investigation and for proving that, while each research on the impacts of participatory governance should assume the transformative potential of decision-making processes over the individual and the society, the extent to which this transformation actually happens depends on specific contextual conditions. This research started with the objective of testing the "self-transformation thesis" of the "expansive" tradition of the Democratic Theory and ended up by offering useful insights also on the validity of some of the assumptions of the "standard liberal" approach. Issues of self-interest, apathy, manipulation, and non-governability raised by "standard liberal" theorists should be seen as theoretically valid as the more positive views that link participation with increased capacities, legitimacy, effectiveness, and social capital. What changes in practice is the presence of certain contextual conditions that make participatory governance function as a "trigger" for different scenarios, bringing long-term cultural development in certain cases or fostering contestation and lack of social cohesion in other cases.

If, as in the case of cultural development, the expected outcome of participatory processes has a strong relational component, the presence of fully-fledged trust proved to be fundamental for mitigating the negative inclinations of the human nature and make people change their attitudes, understand each other better, and identify themselves in a common mission for the cultural life of the territory. In absence of fully-fledged trust, the participatory process lacks its lubricant and a series of conflicts, divergent interests, and group dynamics prevent the "self-transformation thesis" to be properly realized and function as engine of cultural development.

Statement No. 2. *The transformative effects of participatory governance on local cultural development are linked not only with power delegation to the various actors involved but also, and above all, with the quality of communication among them and with the connected activation of social capital dynamics.*

Since the first theorizations of participatory democracy (Kaufmann, 1960; Students for Democratic Society, 1962), the intensity of participation has been linked with the level of influence of non-state actors over the design and implementation of public decisions. The core idea of the influential Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) and of its various reinterpretations (Wilcox, 1994) is that the greater the power delegation to participants the higher the effectiveness of participation and its beneficial effects. The importance of power delegation

has been stressed also in the recent policy and academic discourse on participatory decision-making in culture. The Council of the European Union (2014a) defines participatory governance as the "active involvement of relevant stakeholders […] in all stages of the decision-making process" (par. 9); the European Experts Network on Culture (EENC) stresses that participation means "shared responsibility" (Sani et al., 2015, p. 1); similarly, the research conducted by the Kultura Nova Foundation on cultural participatory practices in Croatia underlines that "participation is also about having the possibility to question the rules of the game" (Sternfeld, 2013, p. 4; quoted in Kultura Nova Foundation, 2018, p. 130).

Instead of focusing only on non-state actors' power within the decision-making process, the present investigation has adopted a three-dimensional understanding of participatory governance, including, in addition to power delegation, also the breath of actors represented, and the direction and intensity of the communication among them. As widely argued in Chapter 3, in order to trigger the mechanism leading to cultural development, participation should not only encompass a minimum level of power delegation and consensus among actors, but also be based on a face-to-face dialogue among a variety of people belonging to various societal segments and having different positions as far as local cultural life is concerned (see the "structured stakeholder mapping approach" discussed in par. 2.2 of Chapter 3).

This multi-faceted definition of participation allowed us to observe that the transformative effects of participation are not only linked with the direct influence of participants over the realization of the cultural initiative, but also, and above all, with the quality and the results of the communicative process among the various actors.

From the power delegation perspective, participation was more intense in the SPOTs Program than in Quartiers Créatifs (see Figure 1 and Figure 2 in Chapter 4). However, the effects on cultural production or the production of alternative outcomes (contestation and lack of social cohesion) in the four cases analyzed proved to be independent from that. What really mattered were the more or less successful dialogic interactions able to fuel (or not) trust building and relational assets such as mutual understanding and common good orientation.

This consideration integrates and refines the current understanding of participatory governance of culture promoted in the policy and academic discourse. It underlines that participation encompasses multi-dimensional and complex social dynamics. The effects of these dynamics, far from being limited to the sharing of resources, power, and responsibilities among actors, are connected with the multiple ways through which people affect each other's behaviors and perceptions through their interaction in a collaborative setting.

Statement No. 3. *Participatory governance of culture is a learning process for all parties involved.*

This statement provides additional considerations to the previous one. The empirical analysis of both the project PARCeque (Marseille) and of the Exchanger Obrody (Košice) showed that, in presence of fully-fledged trust, participation brought about new capacities for all actors involved: artists and cultural operators learnt how to make culture widely accessible; local actors and NGOs became able to understand and appreciate cultural contents; public authorities recognized the importance of culture for local development, thus being prone to promote further cultural activities in the future.

Hence, more than redistribution of power between those who hold it and those who do not have it, participatory governance of culture proved to be a collective learning process in which power relations are reshaped in the light of the new competences acquired. While useful in identifying the initiator of the process and his objectives, the distinction between top-down and bottom-up participatory processes often used in the cultural domain (e.g. Sani et al., 2015) is not analytically useful for explaining the impacts on cultural development. Indeed, they depend more on the type of interaction among actors than on their initial position as far as the promotion and the coordination of the process is concerned.

As underlined in Chapter 5, participatory decision-making in culture creates "communities of practice" (Wenger, 1998) where knowledge is used for a common purpose and increases together with social interactions during the process. The more diverse the typology of stakeholders involved, the greater the competences exchanged and the learning process activated. Consistently, a bottom-up participatory project autonomously realized by civic actors (at the highest rung of Arnstein's ladder) risks bringing about less sustainable cultural developmental dynamics. Since fewer typologies of actors are involved, fewer opportunities of learning and exchange between public authorities, NGOs, and citizens are promoted, with diminished effects on cultural production, reception, and relations.

Issues of expertise and concerns for quality and excellence of cultural contents – often mentioned as being potentially damaged by the opening-up of the decision-making process to non-experts citizens (Jancovich, 2017) – acquire a total different meaning in the perspective of the social learning activated within a participatory setting. The focus is not on the possession of specific knowledge by the single actors before the process but rather on the transformation of these competences in shared ones throughout it. Thanks to trust and mutual understanding, participants become able to recognize both the importance of preserving the specific expertise of everyone and the need of integrating it with that of the others.

Statement No. 4. *Trust building proved to be a dynamic practice that occurs throughout the whole participatory process and evolves overtime. Hence:*

(4a) fully-fledged trust should be continuously fuelled to make cultural development possible;

(4b) not fully-fledged trust (mistrust and "calculus-based" trust) can evolve into more trustworthy relationships between actors, transforming phenomena of contestation or lack of social cohesion into cultural development at local level;

(4c) together with the intensity of participation, the initiator of the process can choose the intensity of trust that is more convenient for achieving their objectives.

This statement is meant to add further considerations to one of the main findings of the research, namely the importance of the intensity of trust among actors in determining the positive impacts of participation on cultural development.

As already underlined, the presence of fully-fledged trust is necessary for the mechanism linking participatory governance to cultural development to be triggered. However, it is worth noticing that positive expectations among actors should be continuously fuelled throughout the process to make trust evolve into the mutual understanding and the common good orientation on which cultural relations are based. By continuously nurturing these relational assets, as underlined by both Rousseau (1762/1968) and Pateman (1970) in their theorizations, participatory governance functions as a self-sustaining process, increasing its pre-conditions while being realized.

Secondly, exactly because of the transformative and dynamic nature of trust, both mistrust and "calculus-based" trust should be intended as temporary configurations of the relationships among actors that could change overtime. In the case of the Exchanger Važecká (Košice), if properly fuelled through stronger contacts among the various social groups and between them and the territory, "calculus-based" relationships can evolve into more value-based ones in the following years (i.e. after 2017), creating, as in the case of the Exchanger Obrody, a sort of "cultural ecosystem" around the space. In the case of Jardins Possibles (Marseille), the contestation movement that gave rise to the festival "Paroles de galère" was a one-off event that was not promoted also in the following years. Even if it was not the case in practice, in theory the Festival could have been an occasion for creating future collaborations among cultural actors in that territory, transforming an expression of mistrust in an opportunity of dialogue.

Thirdly, it should be noticed that the initiator of a decision-making process can wisely choose the level of trust that is most appropriate for attaining the objectives of the participatory process. Indeed, participatory governance in presence of fully-fledged trust is certainly more

rewarding in terms of long-term cultural development of the territory, but it is also extremely demanding and time-consuming.

The establishment of "calculus-based" trust has probably been a sage decision in the case of the Exchanger Važecká: professional relationships have allowed the project to be realized in a quick and efficient way within the deadlines established for the ECoC event, leaving for possible future developments the creation of stronger social ties among the actors involved.

In the case of Jardins Possibles in Marseille, being aware of the strong prehistory of conflict that characterized the relationship between public authorities and civic actors in the Grand Saint Barthélemy, the ECoC Management Team (MP2013) should have promoted Quartiers Créatifs in that area only if appropriate resources and time could be allocated for an effective remedial trust building.

Due to its complexity, participatory governance of culture presents multiple risks and trade-offs: while a participatory design could seem more attractive and promising, its implementation should be carefully evaluated on the basis of the types of actors involved and the intensity of trust among them.

Statement No. 5. *The impacts of participatory governance of culture are always context-specific and depend on the existing levels of social capital among people involved.*

Consistently with the previous affirmations, this statement is a further warning about the importance of considering the context when designing, implementing, and evaluating participatory interventions in culture. As no causal mechanism can be triggered independently from the necessary scope conditions that affect its functioning (see Falleti & Lynch, 2009), similarly no participatory process in culture has to be considered as a one-fits all recipe for sustainable local cultural development. The Program Quartiers Créatifs in Marseille-Provence 2013 and the SPOTs Program in Košice 2013 were meant to attain the same objectives in all neighborhoods involved. However, as showed in the four case studies illustrated in this research, both programs ended up producing very diverse and also unexpected outcomes in different parts of the two cities because of the different intensity of trust and social capital among people involved. Hence, no matter how successful and innovative, participatory practices in culture will never be fully transferrable across changing contextual conditions, neither in different cities nor in various part of the same city.

This means that even if the increasingly debated paradigm of participatory governance of culture will become the main standard of cultural policies strategies in the following years, its provisions would never work as binding criteria for public action but rather as evolving

guidelines to be implemented in a flexible manner to solve specific governance issues in specific socio-political contexts.

Statement No. 6. *Participatory governance of culture is intrinsically conflicting and, for this reason, always productive.*

Looking at the results achieved in the four case studies analyzed for what concerns long-term cultural development, one could be tempted to consider the project PARCeque in Marseille and the Exchanger Obrody in Košice as more successful experiences compared to the project Jardins Possibles and the Exchanger Važecká. While this assessment could be justifiable from the perspective of the institutional actors involved (e.g. MP2013 in Marseille and the SPOTs Team in Košice) in the light of their concern for the effectiveness and the sustainable legacies of the ECoC event, we find the dichotomy "success/failure" as being both inaccurate and inappropriate when dealing with the impacts of participatory governance of culture.

All four participatory projects started with a dialogic interaction among a wide variety of actors belonging to different societal segments and having divergent positions for what concerns local cultural development. "Pro-excellence", "pro-access", "pro-economic impact", and "pro-innovation" objectives emerged and clashed in each participatory space that was, at the beginning, always a "contested field of meanings" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010). Conflict was somehow intrinsic to and productive in every participatory process analyzed.

In the project PARCeque and in the Exchanger Obrody, thanks to the presence of fully-fledged trust and the deliberative process, divergent positions were transformed into common-oriented ones, allowing the "cultural ecosystems" to be widely representative of local cultural identities and also enriched by the diversity of the actors that joined them. In the Exchanger Važecká, conflict and criticisms among various social groups have been a stimulus for reflecting about new perspectives of social sustainability of the cultural center, making even more interesting the study of its evolution in the following years. Finally, in the case of Jardins Possibles, conflict manifested itself in its most prolific manner, promoting an alternative counter-movement that gave voice to the local culture of the peripheral and disadvantaged neighborhood of the Grand Saint Barthélemy in Marseille. In this case, what could be evaluated as a failure from the institutional perspective of Marseille-Provence 2013 functioned as a sort of "springboard" of an alternative form of citizen participation in culture, the festival Paroles de galère.

The case of the Exchanger Važecká in Košice and, above all, that of Jardins Possibles in Marseille show that the unintended consequences of participatory decision-making processes in

culture are not failures but opportunities for the emergence of new perspectives and ideas. As long as it opens spaces for discussion, confrontation, analysis, and criticism, participatory governance of culture will nurture the "infinite process of social sense-giving" (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2010, p. 16) that characterizes culture and its multi-faceted manifestations. Apart from the instrumental claim that surrounds it, the ultimate sense of democratizing cultural policies through participation seems to foster cultural expressions' "capacity to provoke debate" (p. 14), making everyone feel part of a constant discussion over the significance and value of culture.

2. Possible future developments

This is one of the first scientific works aiming at producing and discussing evidence-based insights on the impacts of participatory governance of culture. Even if innovative in both its scope and methodological choices, this investigation presents a number of limitations that can be considered as starting points for future research projects.

1) Generalizability.

As widely argued in different parts of the thesis, the use of the process tracing methodology was pivotal for answering to the research questions put at the basis of the present thesis. The process tracing methodology has allowed us to divide the cause-effect link between participatory governance and cultural development into smaller steps for which empirical evidence was collected and to individuate also the contextual characteristics that played a role in the functioning of the causal relation. Thanks to process tracing it has been possible to understand how and why participatory governance and cultural development are actually related, considering the "subtle changes" in individuals' perceptions and behaviors (Mansbridge, 1999) that would have been impossible to track through other methodological approaches based on a probabilistic understanding of causality. By doing so, this thesis has contributed at showing the usefulness of this method for conducting policy impact evaluations that aim at including both the observable and non-observable, relational, effects of public programs and initiatives.

Even if they offer interesting and evidence-based considerations on the functioning and impacts of participatory governance of culture, the results of this investigation are only partially generalizable to other cultural participatory processes. Indeed, this study is limited for being both time- and space-specific, since it analyses the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development in two ECoC cities – Marseille-Provence and Košice – in a time span that includes the year of the event and the following four years, until the end of 2017.

In the light of this inherent limitation, a future research project that investigates these cases also after 2017 would be extremely interesting for observing the evolution of the dynamics of cultural development in the concerned territories, confirming or disconfirming their sustainability and the functioning of the causal mechanisms as predicted. As already underlined in Chapter 6, an investigation of the Exchanger Važecká would be particularly appropriate for observing if "calculus-based" relationships have evolved into fully trustworthy ones or not and how this has affected the configuration of the cultural center, that, at the time this investigation stopped had both opportunities of business development and necessities of improving social cohesion.

According to the assumption of causal homogeneity that characterizes process tracing, as soon as the requisite scope conditions are present (i.e. presence or absence of fully-fledged trust among actors), we should expect the same mechanisms linking participation with cultural development, contestation or lack of social cohesion to be present also in a variety of other cases. However, a systematic collection of other empirical evidence is needed for verifying whether the results of this research are generalizable to both other ECoC and outside the ECoC domain.

Future research could address this aspect in a twofold manner. On the one hand, the analytical framework proposed in this investigation can be applied for evaluating the impacts of participatory governance in more recent ECoC. Since the new legislative framework introduced by Decision 445/2014 (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2014) stresses even more the need for enlarged participation in decision-making process, cities selected from 2020 onwards would offer other valuable empirical evidence on the effects of participatory approaches in culture. On the other hand, the hypotheses formulated in this investigation could be further tested for studying the UNESCO Management Plans of World Heritage sites, the inventories of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage, the projects promoted by the Council of Europe for implementing the Faro Convention at local level ("Faro Applications"), and a wider array of local cultural participatory initiatives as mentioned in the recent mappings realized at European and national level (Kultura Nova Foundation, 2018; OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018; Sani et al., 2015).

2) Case surveys and quasi-experimental designs.

The generalizability of the results of this investigation could also be enhanced by using the analytical framework presented in Chapter 3 as a basis for investigating the impacts of participatory governance on cultural development through other methodological approaches, such as case surveys and quasi-experiments. The case survey is a research method that, through the use of a common analytical framework (code book), integrates the findings from a large number of case studies to arrive at new insights (Yin & Heald, 1975). The method – already applied for

studying the effects of participation in the environment (Newig & Fritsch, 2009) and development fields (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012) – would allow us to use all the case studies and best practices on participatory governance of culture that are currently being collected (Kultura Nova Foundation, 2018; OMC Working Group of Member States' Experts, 2018; Sani et al., 2015) as a large-N sample for exploring the correlation between participation and a wide array of individual and societal cultural outcomes.

Following the example of Newig et al. (2013), the framework of causal mechanisms presented in Chapter 3 could be transformed in a structured code book for conducting a case survey on participatory governance of culture, providing a basis for individuating the main variables of interest and their definition. The framework can also be translated in a series of hypotheses to be tested in a quasi-experimental design as the one conducted in the field of participatory heritage tourism planning by Dragouni et al. (2018). Replicating their novel approach inspired by experimental economics, it would be interesting to compare participatory decision-making processes in culture with counterfactuals realized in a more centralized manner, studying the effects of participation through the control of experimental groups' composition and decision-making procedures.

3) An interdisciplinary study on participatory governance of culture.

The present investigation has analyzed the impacts of participatory governance of culture adopting a political science perspective. Choosing the Democratic Theory as a theoretical background, this research has focused on how the participatory process, under specific circumstances, changes actors' behaviors and perceptions and how these changes, in turn, affect cultural developmental dynamics in the long-term. The investigation has explained the effects of participation on cultural development stressing the role of trust, legitimacy, social capital, and power relations.

However, considering the complexity and the multi-dimensionality of both participation and culture, we are aware that a political science approach, while fundamental in shedding light on certain dimensions of the phenomena, could miss or underestimate other relevant aspects of the causal relations investigated. A future research project could address this limitation by analyzing the impacts of participatory governance of culture from an interdisciplinary perspective.

To mention but a few disciplines, a social psychology approach could help clarifying the individual and community behaviors in participatory settings, when dealing with conflict, disagreement, compromise, and sharing of resources. A remarkable example is the social psychological study conducted by García-Leiva et al. (2011) for investigating the impacts of

participatory budgeting on community empowerment and psychological wellbeing. Urban studies would also give a valuable contribution to the study of the impacts of participatory governance of culture. Various scholars, indeed, have investigated the interplay between arts, urban regeneration, and social inclusion in various cities and neighborhoods (see among others, Carey & Sutton, 2004; Ostanel, 2017; Sharp et al., 2005). Finally, precious additional viewpoints are given by artistic studies that deal with participatory art or relational aesthetic and investigate the effects of participatory artistic experiences on both the artists and the people involved (see, for example, Campana, 2011; Choi, 2013).

A future interdisciplinary research, while being challenging for what concerns the adoption of a conceptual and methodological framework valid across all disciplines involved, would offer a holistic and systemic account of participatory practices in culture and their effects. It will provide useful insights for researchers, policy-makers, artists, and a variety of cultural and social operators that are approaching this subject with increasing interest and curiosity but also with growing concerns about its effectiveness and social utility.

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1. Interviews

(Name, Role, Date of interview – In chronological order)

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3. Pascal Raoust, Member of the Citizen Participation Team of Marseille-Provence 2013, Interview: April 19th, 2017
4. Ouhabiba Sadou, President of the Association Parents, Interview: April 19th, 2017
5. Raymond Cresp, President of the Association Alargo Mazargues, Interview: April 19th, 2017
6. Laurent Le Gal, Social Educator at ADDAP - Association Départementale pour le développement des actions de prevention, Interview: April 20th, 2017
7. Marion Bourgelat, Member of the Association Robins des Villes, Interview: April 20th 2017
8. Emilie Cambiaggi, Project Manager of the GIP Politique de La Ville, Interview: April 21st, 2017
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11. Sabine Couet, Project Manager of MRU – Marseille Rénovation Urbaine, Interview: April 24th, 2017
12. Saliha Kaddour, Project Manager LOGIREM, Interview: April 24th, 2017
13. Ulrich Fuchs, Deputy Artistic Director and Program Director of Marseille-Provence 2013, Interview: May 8th, 2017
14. Pierre Lezeau, President of the Comité Mamega, Interview: July 10th, 2017
15. Dalila Ladjal, Member of the collective SAFI, Interview: July 10th, 2017
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20. Kevin Vacher, Member of the Centre Sociale Agorà, Interview: July 14th, 2017

Košice - SPOTs Program

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22. Christian Potiron, Artistic director of the SPOTs Program (2009-2013), Interview: June 18th, 2017
23. Blanka Berkyová, Project Manager of the SPOTs Program (2009-2015), Interview: June 19th, 2017
24. Ján Hološ, Project Manager of the SPOTs Program (from 2015 to date), Interview: June 21st, 2017
25. Lucia Hrubá, Cultural Mediator at the Exchanger Važecká, Interview: June 22nd, 2017
26. Ondrej Béhun, founder of the initiative Košice Cyclo Tours, Interview: June 22nd, 2017
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