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Understanding, Capturing and Fostering the Societal Value of Culture



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UNCHARTED D1.6



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	4
1. Gender and rising diversity (D1.1)	4
2. Urbanisation, spatial and social segregation (D1.2)	5
3. Globalisation and digitisation (D1.3)	6
4. Neo-liberalism (D.1.4)	8
5. The European historical and political experience in relation with the promotion cultural values (D.1.5)	-
Conclusion	10



INTRODUCTION

This deliverable synthesises the previous exploration of the research literature and existing data on the factors and circumstances influencing the shaping of the values of culture in Europe. The work will be organised taking into account the factors and circumstances analysed in previous deliverables (D1.1, D1.2, D.1.3, D1.4, and D1.5). The factors and circumstances to be considered here are the following:

- 1. Gender and rising diversity (D1.1)
- 2. Urbanisation and spatial and social segregation (D1.2)
- 3. Globalisation and digitisation (D1.3)
- 4. Neo-liberalism (D.1.4)
- 5. The European historical and political experience in relation with the promotion of cultural values (D.1.5)

1. GENDER AND RISING DIVERSITY (D1.1)

Based on the literature review and data provided by the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Cultural Trends*, Rodríguez Morató and Zarlenga seek to identify the factors that led to rising diversity and increased gender equality in European societies in recent times. Secondly, the authors analyse how these factors impact on the shaping of values of culture in three specific areas: institutionalised culture, cultural administrations and cultural policies, and citizen culture.

The first part of the report analyses the factors that contribute to the growth of diversity and gender equity, taking into account short- and long-term socio historical factors and related social movements. In this respect, the report identifies the processes of social differentiation (especially the growing division of labour and functional specialisation of modern societies in Europe), the incorporation of women as part of the workforce and the growing international labour mobility -increased by the processes of globalisation and transnationalisation- and their impact on the volume and composition of migratory flows in Europe since the end of the Cold War. Within the second group of factors, the movements linked to the so-called ethnic minorities, feminist and LGBT groups and their demands for greater recognition, economic equity, social participation and civil rights stand out.

The second part of the report highlights how these factors transform the values of culture, making difference emerge as a positive value in society. The report shows how the positive value of difference becomes part of the arena of institutionalised culture, cultural administrations and cultural policies, and citizen culture. In this regard, the report makes reference to the growth of tolerance and respect towards ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and sexual orientation differences as emerging social values. This increase in tolerance and respect for difference translates into new public policies of integration for minority ethno-cultural groups. In this way, European societies move from assimilationist policies, of the mono-cultural type, as a mechanism of integration and social cohesion, to pluri-culturalist policies aiming to guarantee the recognition of the singularity of different cultures (multiculturalism) and their integration on the basis of an egalitarian dialogue (interculturalism).

The report also points out how the positive value of diversity is reflected in the different configurations of cultural administration and in the orientations of cultural policies in Europe through the selection and analysis of specific cultural actions and programmes from a sample of European countries, representative of the different existing diversity profiles: UK, France, Germany, Spain and Bulgaria. In this regard, the report shows how the emergence of diversity as a positive value is reflected in a change of meaning in the notion of culture that cultural administrations use: from culture in a restricted sense -as a sector linked to artistic activities and cultural industries- to a broad or socio-anthropological sense -as senses, meanings-, which allows for a diversification of cultural expressions and practices to be considered as a target of public action. Another change concerns the substitution of policies inspired on the idea of cultural democratisation (which involves a univocal hierarchy of artistic and cultural values and the promotion of selective types of cultural expressions) by policies based on the ideals of cultural democracy (linked to the promotion and participation of a diversity of artistic and cultural expressions without an apparent hierarchical order).

Lastly, two clear orientations with respect to diversity are identified in cultural programmes and public action in Europe. Firstly, cultural programmes that understand and promote cultural diversity (ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) as a central element in the process of artistic and cultural creativity (cultural policies of creativity), and secondly, programmes that use art and culture as tools for intercultural dialogue in pursuit of social cohesion (cultural policies of interculturality).

Finally, the article points out how the positive value of cultural diversity is embodied in the institutionalised worlds of art and culture. Based on the analysis of specific cases in various sectors of artistic and cultural activity, it identifies, first, the trend towards an increased diversity of artistic and cultural content and repertoires from different origins and their legitimisation in consecrated spaces (such as museums, festivals, biennials, etc.). Second, it tracks the actions carried out by different ethno-cultural and feminist groups in pursuit of greater visibility (recognition) and equity in participation (redistribution) within cultural institutions. And lastly, on the basis of specific research on the subject, it also considers the relationship between ethno-cultural and gender diversity and processes of artistic and cultural creativity.

2. URBANISATION, SPATIAL AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION (D1.2)

Based on an analysis of documents and a review of the literature, György, Oláh, Teixeira Lopes, Apolinaário, Ferro and Azevedo analyse the impact of urban transformations on the configuration of cultural values. The text identifies two critical aspects in recent urban developments, namely: gentrification and touristification. These two processes are relevant for several reasons. Firstly, because of the centrality and role that culture (along with the economy) has played in this kind of process, based on what several authors have called culture-led urban regeneration processes. Secondly, because this kind of process has a direct impact on the preservation of heritage and on social and spatial segregation. Finally, due to the reconfiguration of the values of culture and what they provoke and the tension and resistance that they generate at the local level.

The report shows how many European cities have been transformed in spatial and urban terms since the 1960s. In these processes, culture has played a fundamental role in urban change. This phenomenon is highlighted in the text by the transformation of former industrial areas into cultural districts linked to the creative industries or the reconversion of former historical centres into spaces for tourism through the conversion and functionalisation of former buildings into cultural spaces such as museums, cultural centres and for events.

The report also points out how this kind of urban regeneration process has led to the displacement of low-income populations from historic city centres and their replacement by a middle-class population or spaces destined for commercial use (gentrification). It has also led to the growing phenomenon of tourist attraction - caused by the economic and aesthetic renovation of historical centres- and what this phenomenon generates in terms of population displacement (tourist gentrification), and the transformation of culture (for example, ethnicity) into "marketable commodities" to attract tourists (touristification). The text explores some indicators which measure the impact of excessive tourism in a given location and how this affects the quality of life of citizens and the visitors' own experience in a negative way (overtourism). Furthermore, it points out the paradoxical role that heritage policies have played by functioning as an element of resistance by local communities against commodification, and by playing a key role in the production and reproduction of inequalities.

Based on numerous examples, the report points out how the processes of gentrification and touristification have not only reconfigured the urban territory (provoking socio-spatial segregation) and cultural commodification, but have also generated, at the same time, resistance and protests in local communities. In this sense, the text points out numerous examples of resistance and protest actions against gentrification and touristification in various cities in Europe.

Within this framework, the processes of gentrification and touristification that have reconfigured the values of culture are identified. The authors find a tension between, the economic values that guide the processes of urban transformation and their correlation, the processes of commodification of culture (often articulated in the framework of public-cultural policies), and the processes of resistance by local communities to having their practices and sense of belonging transformed, re-signified and commodified in the framework of urban renewal processes. This tension of values is identified in the conflict between different actors: "gentrification agents vs. displaced inhabitants; communities resisting ethnic commodification and neighbourhoods' touristification; or inner-city inhabitants against overtourism pressures" (D1.2.p.6).

3. GLOBALISATION AND DIGITISATION (D1.3)

Hylland, Haugsevje, Berge, Lévy and Quemin explore the influence of globalisation and digitalisation on the shaping of cultural values. The text starts with an understanding of globalisation as a universal and polymorphic experience of social relations and exchanges on a planetary scale that began with the industrial revolution in the 19th century and intensified with the use of the internet since the 1980s. It then explores the impact of digitalisation on the configuration of the values of culture in terms of access, participation and cultural production.

UNCHARTED



D1.6

Based on a review of the literature on the subject, the report identifies six models of globalisation. The first is associated with the idea of cultural homogenisation, where globalisation is the factor that generates a convergence and uniformity in cultural products and consumption, creating identical cultural values. The second appears to be associated with S. Huntington's reflections on the conflict or clash of civilisations caused by the incompatibility of certain aspects of Western cultural productions with certain religious dogmas. Globalisation as imperialism is another of the models outlined in the text. This model understands globalisation as the imposition of contemporary Western (especially American) values on the rest of the world, which points to an inequality in international cultural exchanges and the existence of domination effects. The fourth model reviewed is that of cultural hybridisation, which has a more positive vision of cultural globalisation (without domination), centred on the processes of horizontal exchanges between cultures. The fifth model of globalisation is based on A. Appadurai's analysis of international exchange flows, creating an imagined community that transcends the borders of nation states. Finally, the model of "glocalisation" is described, where the local constitutes one of the dimensions of the global.

The report points out that one of the greatest effects of cultural globalisation in terms of values is homogenisation and uniformity. However, it also points out elements of resistance to this kind of homogenising trend. Within this framework of tension, the effects of globalisation in the field of cultural production are pointed out, specifically from the emergence of a global culture (accentuated by digitalisation and the concentration of major cultural industries). The result of this effect is the circulation of standardised cultural products. However, the report points out elements of resistance to cultural standardisation associated with the persistence of traditional cultural identities; the diversity of local contexts of reception that modify the meaning of global cultural products; the different modalities of cultural appropriation according to class background; and the emergence of other regions or countries that can join the global cultural scene thanks to their competitive cultural industries (as is the case of Japan).

Based on a review of the academic literature on the subject, the second part of the text focuses on the effects that digitisation generates in the configuration of the values of culture in access, participation and cultural production. Regarding digital access, the text identifies a trend towards complexity in empirical studies, moving from a celebratory perspective on the increase in the extent of digital access, to a critical view of the existing inequalities and the ways in which digital culture is used. Within this area, the text pays special attention to digital access to heritage. In this field, a tension is identified between studies that deal with digital access to cultural heritage in terms of democratisation to ensure diversity, equity and citizen engagement, and those that point out that digital access to cultural heritage tends to perpetuate existing differences and inequalities. In the area of participation, the text reports on research that understands "the digital turn" of cultural participation positively, based on the attraction of new audiences, the breadth and diversity of users, the reduction of barriers to access cultural spaces such as museums and galleries, etc. It also points out that another part of the literature on the subject identifies negative aspects, such as, the existence of digital algorithms that promote a certain type of access to hegemonic digital content (not giving rise to diversity). Finally, with regard to the digital impact on cultural production, it points out that the majority of studies can be classified as positive, opportunistic and critical. The positive view points out that digitalisation has led to an increase in creativity, or a fusion between professionalism and amateurism in the creation of online content. The opportunistic view highlights the need to develop intellectual property management processes linked to the digitisation of cultural heritage. The critical or



negative approach, put in question the view of the creation of digital cultural value as something collaborative or participative, pointing out the persisting importance of competitiveness, rivalry and existing hierarchies between producers and intermediaries.

4. NEO-LIBERALISM (D.1.4)

Alexander and Peterson Gilbert provide an overview of the various ways in which neoliberalism has affected cultural values in thirty European Countries (the EU 27, plus Switzerland, Norway and the United Kingdom). Through an analytical coding of the Council of Europe's Compendium of Cultural Policies and Cultural Trends, the deliverable identifies the relative deployment of civic and politico-economic cultural values across Alexander and Peterson Gilbert's Resistant, Emergent, Established, and Dominant (REED) typology of European neoliberal cultural policy regimes.

The report first elaborates a typology of neoliberal-oriented cultural policy regimes on which the thirty European countries analysed are classified. For this purpose, neoliberalism is defined as a political-cultural belief that understands that monetary exchange and the free market is the best method to organise human activity. The role of the neoliberal government would be to protect these market mechanisms from other influences and the freedom of choice of people and their private property. Due to the politicisation of the term "neo-liberalism" and the difficulties of a "value-neutral" analysis, the authors prefer to use the term "marketisation" and "marketisation practices". At the level of government policy, "marketisation practices" often involve the privatisation of public resources, the weakening of labour market regulations (in pursuit of choice and competition), tax cuts (as a mechanism for growth), rationality in government spending, deregulation of the international financial market, the restriction of labour organisations, and instrumental government rationality.

Based on the above definition of neoliberalism, Alexander and Peterson Gilbert coded eight vectors of "marketisation" across cultural policy regimes in Europe on a scale from -2 (lower presence of marketisation practices) to +2 (higher presence of marketisation practices). Based on these criteria, the authors established a ranking of the countries analysed according to the degree of presence of marketing practices in cultural policies. This ranking allowed them to classify the thirty countries analysed according to four types: Resist, Emergent, Established and Dominant (REED) according to the lower or higher degree of presence of marketing practices in cultural policies. According to the GDP 2019 of each country analysed, the authors identify that the most productive countries with the highest cultural employment are those that tend to employ "marketisation practices" more consistently in their cultural policy system.

The second part of the report identifies the cultural values that are prioritised in each country according to the REED ranking of cultural policies. Here the authors point out that with the advent of "marketisation" of cultural policies a shift in the justification of cultural policy regimes in Europe is identified, from an intrinsic justification of cultural values to an extrinsic or instrumental one. This change implies a predominance of instrumental values, focused on social and/or economic externalities as predominant rationalities guiding cultural interventions. From a review of the literature, the authors identify six clusters of instrumental values in cultural policies. These clusters of values are classified into two main groups. On the one hand, the Civic

Cultural Values cluster and, on the other, the Politico-Economic Cultural Values cluster. The first group refers to the "cultural outcomes" that have an impact on civil society and are linked to a variety of social benefits. These benefits include: (1) Social Cohesion, Civic Action, and Social Capital (2) Education, Cultural Literacy, and Creative Capabilities (3) Health, Wellbeing, and Social Care. The second group is part of the economic and geo-political outcome. These outcomes group together: (1) Soft Power, Cultural Diplomacy, and Inbound Tourism (2) Culture-led Regeneration, Placemaking, and Creative Clusters (3) Innovation, Talent, Wealth Creation, and Creative Economies.

In the third part of the report the authors analyse the presence of both civic and politicoeconomic instrumental values of culture through the REED classification of marketing practices in cultural policies at national level within the thirty countries analysed. Among the main results of the analysis, the report points out a growing presence of civic values in cultural policies in the countries with established and dominant forms of neo-liberal cultural policy. It also confirms a greater presence of politico-economic values in the groups of countries where marketing practices are predominant. The report demonstrates a broad correlation between marketisation in cultural policy and instrumental cultural values across the thirty countries, although no explicit causality can be determined from this cross-sectional data. It is evident that certain civic values (social cohesion, civic action, and social capital) and politico-economic values (soft power, cultural diplomacy, and inbound tourism) are widely present across all of the European nations studied.

5. THE EUROPEAN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE IN RELATION WITH THE PROMOTION OF CULTURAL VALUES (D.1.5)

Dedieu, Dupin-Meynard, György, Négirer, Oláh and Sonkolin analyse how historical and political experience has played a role in shaping cultural values in Europe. From the study of the 20-year summaries of the International Journal of Cultural Policy and Cultural Trend; the analysis of the national cultural policy profiles gathered in the Compendium of Cultural Policies (45 profiles); and the review of a body of mainly monographic and comparative literature on cultural policies, the report identifies five major families of values: democracy, identity, well-being, aesthetics and economy. It also describes the dynamics of emergence and transformation of the values attributed to culture in historical configurations, through three examples: the valuation of heritage, the conflicts over the values of democracy, and the values underpinning the concept of sustainable development.

The report points out the difficulties of measuring values in culture. Based on a review of the literature on the subject, the conclusion is reached that values are a political and social construction, and the valuation of culture can include a combination of judgments, taste preferences, prejudices or class habits. The second part of the text rejects the idea that in the cultural sphere there are truly intrinsic values opposed to extrinsic values, as the usual literature affirms. For the authors, the idea of an independent art (with its own or intrinsic values), can be considered a "chimera". For this reason, the authors identify five fundamental values in culture. These values would be autotelic (only referenced to themselves), composed of sub-values, but also of objectives and norms, which overlap.



The third part of the report aims to illustrate the emergence, configuration and evolution of three dominant values in culture, namely: democratic values in cultural policies, cultural heritage values and sustainable development values. With regards to democratic values in cultural policies, the authors highlight the tension between, on the one hand, the values of cultural democratisation (linked to universal access to cultural goods and services but accused of elitism due to the hierarchy in the selection of cultural goods and services selected for dissemination) and cultural democracy (linked to recognition, diversity, pluralism and participation, but criticised for its relativism), and on the other hand, the tension between the values of creative freedom linked to the independence and autonomy of art (understood as democratic values) and the anti-democratic values that can be generated when they are associated with certain tastes and interests promulgated and sustained by state policies. After indicating the factors that have configured democratic values in cultural policies in Europe, the report points out that tension and conflict between values can be interpreted as power conflicts, which put in opposition dominant actors (institutional position, legitimacy, symbolic capital), with an interest in the status quo, and the dominated actors, with an interest in subverting the reference values. An advocacy coalition framework has been gradually formed in favour of cultural democracy, at the regional, national or international level, focusing on importance of participation and diversity.

Secondly, the report characterises the centrality of heritage values today due to their importance in the construction of identities and associated values. The report points out the existence of tension and conflict linked to heritage: (i) the growing number of social actors involved in its interpretation; (ii) the breadth of its conceptual definitions, which range from local identity issues to more universal ones; (iii) the coexistence of different temporalities in its use, which includes the identity expression of local communities, but at the same time the need for its adaptability to an external view that turns heritage into a tourist product. Finally, the text points out the centrality of sustainable development in the reconfiguration of cultural values. It indicates how different social actors have sought to introduce the question of sustainable development into culture: on the one hand, by trying to have culture recognised as the 4th pillar of sustainable development - together with the environment, the economy and society - through the value of diversity. On the other hand, by activating its mediating function in order to improve environmental concerns and raise public awareness.

CONCLUSION

The WP1 investigate how different factors have influenced the shaping of cultural values in Europe. For this purpose, each of the deliverables has analysed different aspects considered relevant to this constitution, namely gender and rising diversity (D1.1), urbanisation, spatial and social segregation (D1.2), globalisation and digitisation (D1.3), neo-liberalism (D.1.4), and the European historical and political experience (D1.5). Through this explorative exercise, we provided a baseline reference for the whole project, and we get a picture of how cultural values are constructed in European societies today according to existing knowledge and information. This conclusion lists some of the key aspects in the construction and definition of cultural values in Europe and their tensions.

(1) Intrinsic values vs. extrinsic values. Several of the reports highlight a shift in the values of culture. This shift is marked by the loss of centrality of the intrinsic values of culture (linked to

the autonomy and independence of art) in favour of extrinsic values (linked to the instrumentalisation and use of art and culture for other economic and social purposes). This shift is pointed out as part of the presence of "marketisation practices" in cultural policies (D1.4), but also appears to be linked to the emergence, consolidation and legitimisation of diversity in the cultural sphere (D1.1).

(2) Economic orientation vs. social orientation. The instrumentalisation of culture opens up a set of tensions between its social and economic purpose, which is reflected in the orientations of cultural policies (D1.4), but also appears at the centre of disputes in the urban sphere. The processes of urban transformation led by culture have generated tensions between the economic values that guide this kind of process and the social values embodied in the cultural practices of the local communities that resist them (D1.2). This tension is particularly evident, for example, in heritage use and policies, since, due to their importance in the construction of identities and associated values, they include both the expression of identity by local communities and the need for their adaptability to an external view that turns heritage into a tourist product (D1.5).

(3) Homogenisation vs. cultural diversity. One of the greatest effects of cultural globalisation in terms of values is homogenisation and uniformity. In the field of cultural production, the emergence of a global culture (accentuated by digitalisation and the concentration of major cultural industries) has led to the appearance of equally standardised cultural products (D1.3). However, a trend linked to the emergence, institutionalisation and legitimisation of cultural diversity in the field of specialised culture and cultural administrations has also been observed. This trend appears to be associated with processes of social differentiation and the incorporation of women as part of the workforce and the growing international labour mobility (increased by the processes of globalisation) (D1.1). In the field of cultural policies, the tension between homogenisation and diversity is present between the values of cultural democratisation (linked to universal access to cultural goods and services), and cultural democracy (linked to recognition, diversity, pluralism and participation) (D1.5).

(4) Impositions (top down) vs. resistances (bottom up). There is a plurality of values in different cultural contexts, which often enter into tension and conflict. These tensions reflect unequal structures between the social agents that participate in different cultural environments. These conflicts can be interpreted as power relations that put in opposition dominant actors (institutional position, legitimacy, symbolic capital), with an interest in the status quo, and dominated actors, with an interest in subverting the reference values (D1.5). These tensions manifest, for example, in value conflicts between gentrification agents vs. displaced inhabitants or, inner cities' inhabitants against overtourism pressures in the contexts of urban transformation through culture (D1.2); or between the forces of cultural globalisation (manifested in the concentration of major cultural industries) and elements of resistance to cultural standardisation in the field of cultural production (V1.3).