Culture and Sustainability in European Cities

Imagining Europolis

Edited by Svetlana Hristova, Milena Dragićević Šešić, and Nancy Duxbury







Culture and Sustainability in European Cities

European cities are contributing to the development of a more sustainable urban system that is capable of coping with economic crises, ecological challenges, and social disparities in different nation-states and regions throughout Europe.

This book reveals in a pluralistic way how European cities are generating new approaches to their sustainable development, and the special contribution of culture to these processes. It addresses both a deficit of attention to small and medium-sized cities in the framework of European sustainable development and an underestimation of the role of culture, artistic expression, and creativity for integrated development of the city as a prerequisite to urban sustainability. On the basis of a broad collection of case studies throughout Europe, representing a variety of regionally specific cultural models of sustainable development, the book investigates how participative culture, community arts, and, more generally, creativity of civic imagination are conducive to the goal of a sustainable future for small and medium-sized cities.

This is an essential volume for researchers and postgraduate students in urban studies, cultural studies, cultural geography, and urban sociology, as well as for policy makers and practitioners wanting to understand the specificity of European cities as hubs of innovation, creativity, and artistic industriousness.

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Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development

Culture as an aspect of sustainability is a relatively new phenomenon but is beginning to attract attention among scholars and policy makers. This series opens up a forum for debate about the role of culture in sustainable development, treating culture and sustainability as a meta-narrative that will bring together diverse disciplines. Key questions explored in this series will include: how should culture be applied in sustainability policies; what should be sustained in culture; what should culture sustain; and what is the relationship of culture to other dimensions of sustainability?

Books in the series will have a variety of geographical foci and reflect different disciplinary approaches (for example, geography, sociology sustainability science, environmental and political sciences, anthropology, history, archaeology, and planning). The series will be addressed in particular to postgraduate students and researchers from a wide cross-section of disciplines.

Series Editors:

Katriina Soini, University of Jyväskylä, Finland, and Natural Resources Institute Finland Joost Dessein, ILVO, Ghent University, Belgium

Culture and Sustainability in European Cities

Imagining Europolis
Edited by Svetlana Hristova, Milena Dragićević Šešić, and Nancy Duxbury

Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability

Between past and future Edited by Elizabeth Auclair and Graham Fairclough

Cultural Sustainability and Regional Development

Theories and practices of territorialisation Edited by Joost Dessein, Elena Battaglini, and Lummina Horlings "'Imagining Europolis' comes at a moment when more than ever we need – at EU level – to collectively build a common civic space where European citizens can discuss and reflect on crucial issues for the further development of our European project. The book clearly contributes to this endeavour. My thanks to the authors!"

 Sylvain Pasqua, Senior Expert in EU Cultural Policies in the European Commission, Coordinator of the "European Capitals of Culture" Scheme of the European Union

"This is a very timely book that gathers many distinguished contributors on a hot topic such as sustainable culture-led development in small and medium-sized European cities – the true backbone of Europe. Research, fresh ideas, and experiences in this field are much needed in the Europe of today. Warmly recommended reading."

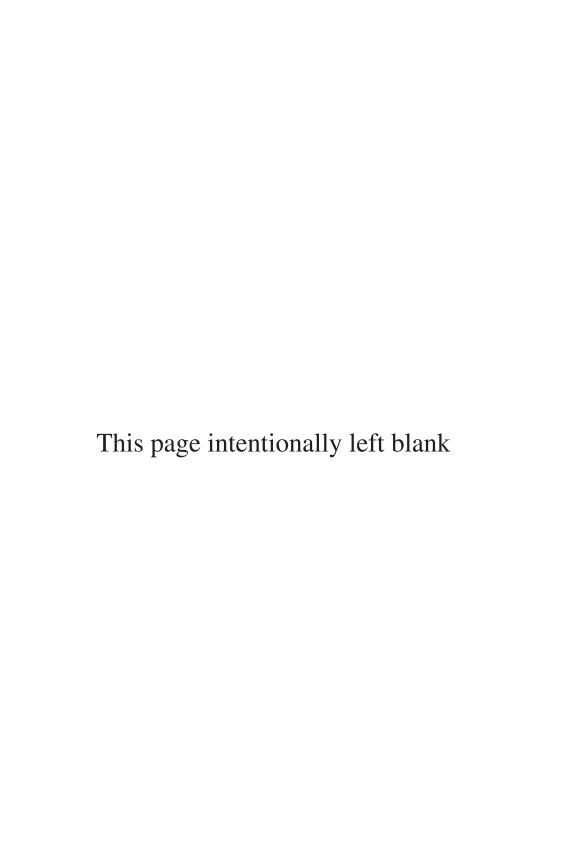
 Pier Luigi Sacco, Professor of Cultural Economics, IULM University, Milan, Italy; Member of the Technical-Scientific Committee on Cultural Economics of the Italian Ministry of Culture and Heritage

"The complex cultural dimensions of the urban condition today and of the theory and practice of sustainability are topics hampered by commonplace as well as wishful if not incantatory thinking. The essays in this truly significant volume on European cities break exciting new ground, however. They provide a rich template for far more informed and fruitful debate."

Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Professor of Cultural Policy Studies,
 The American University of Paris, France; Institute for Culture
 and Society, University of Western Sydney, Australia

"'Imagining Europolis' shows compellingly how a number of the continent's small and medium-sized cities offer key creative, imaginative, and participatory models for a culture-based sustainable urbanism while clearly theorizing everpresent tensions and faultlines. In its models for sustainable city co-creation the book offers valuable lessons for cities everywhere, including the urban behemoth Cosmopolis."

 Greg Young, Associate Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Sydney, Australia



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COST – European Cooperation in Science and Technology

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COST – European Cooperation in Science and Technology is an intergovernmental framework aimed at facilitating the collaboration and networking of scientists and researchers at the European level. It was established in 1971 by 19 member countries and currently includes 35 member countries across Europe, and Israel as a cooperating state.

COST funds pan-European, bottom-up networks of scientists and researchers across all science and technology fields. These networks, called 'COST Actions', promote international coordination of nationally-funded research. By fostering the networking of researchers at an international level, COST enables breakthrough scientific developments leading to new concepts and products, thereby contributing to strengthening Europe's research and innovation capacities.

COST's mission focuses in particular on:

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- Providing networking opportunities for early career investigators;
- Increasing the impact of research on policy makers, regulatory bodies and national decision makers as well as the private sector.

Through its inclusiveness policy, COST supports the integration of research communities in less research-intensive countries across Europe, leverages national research investments and addresses societal issues.

Over 45,000 European scientists benefit from their involvement in COST Actions on a yearly basis. This allows the pooling of national research funding and helps countries' research communities achieve common goals.

As a precursor of advanced multidisciplinary research, COST anticipates and complements the activities of EU Framework Programmes, constituting a "bridge" towards the scientific communities of emerging countries.

Traditionally, COST draws its budget for networking activities from successive EU RTD Framework Programmes.





Series introduction

Achieving a more sustainable level of development is the biggest global challenge of the twenty-first century, and new approaches are urgently needed to ensure that development is much better aligned with the environmental, societal, and economic problems we are facing. Scholars and policy makers have recognized the contribution of culture in sustainable development. The issue of culture in sustainable development is also being increasingly discussed in debates in various international, national, and local arenas, and there are ample local actor-driven initiatives. Yet despite this growing attention, there have been only a very few attempts to consider culture in a more analytical and explicit way within the frames of sustainability. The challenge of incorporating culture in sustainable development discourse, both scientifically and politically, is derived from the complex, normative, and multidisciplinary character of both culture and sustainable development. This difficulty should not, however, be any excuse for ignoring the cultural dimension within sustainable development.

The series "Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development" aims to analyse the diverse and multiple roles that culture plays in sustainable development. It takes as one of its starting points the idea that culture in sustainability serves as a "meta-narrative" which will bring together ideas and standpoints from an extensive body of academic research currently scattered among different disciplines and thematic fields. Moreover, the series responds to the strengthening call for inter- and transdisciplinary approaches, which is being heard in many quarters, but in few fields more strongly than that of sustainability and sustainable development, with its complex and systemic problems. By combining and confronting the various approaches – in both the sciences and the humanities and in dealing with social, cultural, environmental, political, and aesthetic disciplines – the series offers a comprehensive contribution to the present-day sustainability sciences as well as related policies.

The books in the series will take a broad approach to culture, giving space to all the possible understandings of culture from art-based definitions to way-of-life based approaches, and beyond. Furthermore, culture is not seen only as an additional aspect of sustainable development — as a "fourth pillar" — but, rather, as a mediator, a cross-cutting transversal framework, or even as a new set of guiding principles for sustainable development research, policies, and practices.

The essence of culture in, for, and as sustainable development will be explored through the series in various thematic contexts, representing a wide range of practices and processes (e.g. everyday life, livelihoods and lifestyles, landscape, artistic practices, aesthetic experiences, heritage, tourism). These contexts may concern urban, peri-urban, or rural contexts, and regions with different trajectories of socioeconomic development. The perspectives of the books will stretch from local to global and cover different temporal scales from past to present and future. These issues are valorized by theoretical or empirical analysis; their relationship to the ecological, social, and economic dimensions of sustainability will be explored, when appropriate.

The idea for the series is derived from the European COST Action IS1007 "Investigating Cultural Sustainability," running between 2011 and 2015. This network is comprised of a group of around one hundred researchers from twenty-six European countries, and representing many different disciplines. They have brought together their expertise, knowledge, and experience, and based on that they have built up new inter- and transdisciplinary understanding and approaches that can enhance and enrich research into culture in sustainable development, and support the work of the policy makers and practitioners in this field.

Urbanization is one of the major trends guiding and affecting development both in cities, as well as in surrounding regions and rural areas. Therefore, finding sustainable strategies for cities of all sizes is a fundamental challenge globally, but the focus on small and medium-sized cities allows a better understanding of the changing relationship between urban and rural realities. There is ample research on cities and sustainability, but, unlike most of the other contributions, this book brings culture in sustainable urban development to the core: it investigates, in particular, how participatory culture and artistic expression contribute to the sustainable future(s) of the cities. By focusing on various strategies, policies, and bottom-up practices of small and medium-sized cities in Europe, the book offers a perspective to imagine sustainable future(s) for smaller European cities as well as others worldwide.

Ultimately, the book seeks to explore different models of local sustainability that incorporate emotions and attachment to one's living place and move beyond profit-driven approaches, which tend to use culture and cultural policies only as a means for embellishment of the urban environment and propelling economic viability. The book also implicitly reveals path-dependencies of the development of European cities; each city has its history, which affects its future development. At the same time, cities are not "trapped" in their pasts, and, as the cases in this book show, the human agency, imagination, and cooperative efforts of residents can alter local development trajectories. Therefore, as the editors of the book wisely note, there are no copy-paste strategies. Rather, each city should find its own path to sustainability through innovative re-imagination of its own cultural assets and traditions and through creatively applying the lessons learned elsewhere.

Katriina Soini and Joost Dessein

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Introduction

Svetlana Hristova, Milena Dragićević Šešić, and Nancy Duxbury

If our time is labelled the "urban age," it is not simply because more than half of the world's population lives in cities but, more importantly, because "our world order comes to be built on cities and their economies rather than nations and their armies" (Khanna 2010). In the global constellation of cities, scale, positioning, vision, and ambition matter. Responding to critical aggravations in economy, ecology, and equity, cities today are acting as autonomous players seeking original solutions to local, national, supranational, and global problems. However, European small cities are facing diverse challenges besides global economic pressures and environmental threats, suffering from structural disproportions due to the demographic crises of quickly aging populations and workforces fleeing to the more promising job markets of metropolises (EEA 2009). During the recent economic crisis, European small and medium-sized cities (SMCs) have been challenged to demonstrate their strengths and capacities. It is precisely at this junction that they have displayed new levels of creative civic imagination in their search for specific innovative solutions within the competition for resources on both European and global stages and to find locally resonant sustainable development solutions.

This book was developed to energize and deepen the discussion about how SMCs are creatively addressing with the means of culture the challenges and risks of the contemporary neoliberal world (Lorentzen and van Heur 2012; Bell and Jayne 2006). Although SMCs represent over 60 percent of European urban settlements and give shelter to the majority of the European urban population, they receive disproportionally less attention in scientific analyses, which traditionally focus on global cities and metropolises. This volume addresses both a deficit of attention to the role of small and medium-sized cities in European sustainable development and an underestimation of the role of culture, artistic expression, and creativity for integrated development as a prerequisite for urban sustainability.

Characterized by interdisciplinary richness and geographical diversity, the book presents a broad collection of case studies and good practices from throughout Europe that illustrate how culture contributes to more sustainable models of city making focused on quality of life, local identities, and creating places where people like to live. The selected variety of regionally specific cultural approaches

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underline also how local cultural sectors have to be sustainable themselves, in order to operate as engines of integral city development. All these research issues are aspects of the overarching question: what are the roles of culture in sustaining small and medium-sized cities?

On the other hand, although culture is based on traditions, providing continuity "precipitated" into both material and immaterial heritage, still it is not a book about heritage. When the cases in this volume address issues of heritage, it is from the perspective of its contemporary use, reuse, and/or adaptation as a "natural" part of the cultural assets of communities and their places (Fairclough et al. 2015). The book also investigates how participatory culture, community arts, and, more generally, the creativity of civic imagination can contribute to the goal of sustainable futures for SMCs. Ultimately, the book is about European citizens, making their lives through sustaining their cities. In a broader perspective, the cases reveal the intricate and fragile relationships between cultural strategies, economic policies, sustainable development goals, and the national and regional contexts in which cities are embedded. As both Matarasso and Tomaz (in this volume) keenly observe, policy discourses often advocate an economic rationale for cultural strategies, while a community development focus depends largely on actors' power relations and their operating/national frameworks.

From a theoretical point of view, the book represents a conceptual node fusing three dimensions – insights from urban studies concerning small and medium-sized cities, the pressing agenda of sustainability, and cultural policy solutions and recommendations. Within this thematic intersection, the book addresses key issues such as:

- how to move beyond the dominating understanding of sustainability as an ecology-economy-equity balance to a more holistic sociocultural and human-needs-led development conception;
- how to address the contradiction between the profit-driven economic processes of regeneration, gentrification, and commercialization of cities and the emergence of more participatory bottom-up urban cultural movements (i.e. the right to the city);
- how to reconcile the potential contradiction between organizational fields of culture, sustainability, and innovation, which sometimes develops into open tension; and
- how to understand the various ways cities have been "Europeanized" in different national contexts, from simple copy-paste practices to the creative adaptation of European methodologies and innovative applied approaches.

Key concepts and cross-linking themes

The idea of Europolis

Despite the widely spread opinion that many European SMCs have become no more than suburban commuter satellites to the large cities and conurbation urban regions, the examples in this book reveal another reality: places *sensitive* to their environments, which contribute to a high quality of life, aim to be "safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run," and offer "equality of opportunity and good services for all" (EU 2007). *Europolis* is conceptualized as the emergence of a European model – or models, since it incorporates a variety of local approaches – for urban sustainability involving processes of reimaging and cocreating new city futures explicitly using culture. The term *Europolis* is also used to emphasize that these emerging models may possibly be European-specific approaches to sustainable urban development, in contrast to the development of metropolises and large urban agglomerations as a worldwide practice. *Europolis* is not a utopian concept, but it suggests a need to discern the counterbalancing processes enabled by new urban policies to meet economic, social, and ecological challenges, with sensitivity to the agency of participative culture.

Sustainable urban development – the sustainable city

In this book, the concept of sustainable city crystallizes as a consolidation of different coextensive lines in existing interpretations of urban sustainability. Understood as an issue of new urban culture with social, economic, institutional, technological, and ecological aspects, the book critically analyses the concept of sustainable cities from a sociocultural point of view, pleading for an integral holistic approach. This multidimensionality of urban sustainability bears implicit controversies. One of these is set around the concepts of sustainability and the sustainable development of cities. The concept of sustainable city incorporates the idea of smart space organization, taking account of land use, sanitation, and efficient transport – a kind of technologically perfect, car-free, carbon-neutral, no waste, solar-powered paradise, "full of architectural marvels to house new Guggenheim and Louvre collections in stunning new buildings by Frank Gehry and Jean Nouvel" (Khanna 2010). Cities of this type, newly designed in the non-Western world, may pretend to be sustainable, but they remain artificial assemblages, isolated from the calamities of reality and missing the true social glue: "For these emerging global hubs, modernization does not equal Westernization. . . . Western values like freedom of speech and religion are not part of the bargain" (Khanna 2010). This is certainly not the European model of continuous sustainable growth that aims to attentively manage local natural resources and to provide opportunities for inhabitants to develop their own abilities and collective local potentialities.

In exploring sustainable cities from a cultural point of view, the book suggests at least three interconnected and largely complementary possibilities for consideration: culture-based sustainably developing places, livable places, and ecologically sensitive culturized places (cf. Young 2008). The concept of culture-based sustainably developing places serves to introduce the necessity for creatively inclusive neighbourhoods or other types of territorial units with a potential for an evolving sense of place, which create their own developmental logic within the city itself but often go beyond city "walls" by expanding their regional, national,

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and international networks, thus offering more opportunities and cultural services for both citizens and visitors (Kangas and Sokka; Matarasso; Johannisson; Plebańzcyk; van der Geest). *Livable places* emphasize as their primary "task" ensuring a high quality of life "no longer defined by high material consumption . . . [but] when people can live a healthy, pleasant and safe life" (EEA 2009, 43). In other words, they can enjoy life on two interlinked levels: the satisfaction of everyday life needs and the fulfillment of life-long goals, which collectively create their sense of meaning (Georgievska-Jakovleva and Pavlovski; Dragićević Šešić, Brkić, and Matejić). *Ecologically sensitive culturized places* put greater emphasis on the revitalization of social fabrics in place-based contexts through renewed relationships with the local natural environment and new commitments to places of cohabitation as reimagined aesthetized places of restored cultural traditions and collective memory (Lapka and Cudlínová; Milohnić).

Civic culture and civic urbanity

While urban regeneration research typically focuses on economic dimensions and impacts, the book offers three important layers of debate that are investigating the potential creativity of community in contexts of participatory openness:

- Civic imagination, fostered through participatory creative processes, is a necessary prerequisite for the creation of diversified models of sustainable SMCs, which are tightly linked to promoting a specific local identity on global competitive stages, where metropolitan cities are dominating with institutionalized and financially supported "imagination" through numerous cultural and entertainment organizations. When a city or its civil society offers ongoing, context-specific platforms for expression, civic imagination can be an inexhaustible source of continuous innovation and experimentation, contributing to the further valorization of SMCs on a global scale.
- Civic urbanity refers to processes of creating connection and purpose (Landry) through being a full citizen, meaningfully engaged with his/her city. Culture is an important part of civic engagement as the authors of this book argue: culture is a public good, and a city's public space with its various cultural functions is a crucial element of sustainable city making. Thus, cultural initiatives are regarded as an essential part of civic urbanity, especially taking into account their social relevancy, capacity to contribute to social inclusion, and ability to regenerate a sense of civic pride.
- Civic—public partnerships involve civic actors and movements in dialogue with
 local governments. Through these partnerships, public values of culture are
 rearticulated and reemphasized. Partnering with civil society in reconceptualizing and creating broader cultural offers is the most important approach
 for cities wishing to innovate the scope of activities and assure the wellbeing of their citizens. Cooperation with different partners from civil society
 (artists, activists, NGOs, experts, and concerned citizens) allows for more
 prosperous, just, and inclusive societies, creating a city that is more vibrant

and confident in its own developmental capacity. Through partnerships, both sides are empowered and strengthened, so that civil society does not hesitate to offer its help to local government, and local government becomes closer to its citizens and their needs.

Public sphere: culture in the public interest as a public good

As contemporary society has shifted towards neoliberal market regulation, many people have suffered the throes of, first, the industrial/postindustrial crises and, then, the financial/banking crisis. Some authors claim that what we observe today is a cyclic structural crisis of a profit-driven neoliberal economy. As noted in the Brundtland Report, "economic development is unsustainable if it increases vulnerability to crises" (WCED 1987, 38). Although a new sociocultural paradigm is not yet fully formed, public actions are now set within a generalized but strong disbelief in neoliberal solutions, and this situation has led people to go back to something more "stable," generally characterized by solidarity, mutual support, and redistribution of profits and losses. This process of new urban activism, urbactivism (Hristova), has been embraced by bottom-up artivism (Dragićević Šešić, Brkić, and Matejić); energized by civic imagination (e.g. Aalborg Charter of European Cities and Towns Towards Sustainability [Aalborg Charter 1994]; European Sustainable Cities Platform 2013); and reinforced by top-down European policies through a series of public documents (e.g., Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities [EU 2007]), supported by considerable financial funding (Duxbury). In this context, culture once again is being considered a public good and an activity in the public interest, with a strong focus on the local space where it is "born" and lives. However, this is not a one-way street: as Landry underlines, civic urbanity develops in the "risk landscape" of cities facing a visible decline in engagement.

As the public sphere has diminished, new movements of urban sustainability have tended to focus on the enhancement and growth of the (sometimes limited) remaining public realm. We observe a return of the importance of the public sphere expressed spatially (public space), virtually (public communication, social media), and with close attention to democracy and public dialogue, enhanced with the means of arts and cultural expression as a public good and cultural right. Cities – local authorities and citizens together – are co-responsible for recreating the public sphere, taking into account its need to develop and support platforms for sociability and debates; public spaces for people to meet and gather; and public media or institutions as spaces for social dialogue. As the public and private spheres become more tightly interlinked, both public and private entities are increasingly expected to play roles in enabling, through partnerships and other arrangements, the openness of the public sphere.

In the global context of cultural policies praising the creative economy and emphasizing its financial contributions to urban development (Vilenica and Kuda.org 2012), this book presents a plurality of approaches and celebrates perspectives where culture is offering different sets of values based on the idea of

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the public good (necessary for creating conducive conditions for urban sustainability). Contemporary creativity and participatory practices contribute to social inclusion, urban vibrancy and renewal, and the incremental development of meaningful places. In contemporary times when business ideas about efficiency have been transferred into all domains of cultural and civic life, the practices, approaches, and perspectives highlighted in this book illustrate pathways to renegotiating the different values between sectors, accepting the importance of the noncommercial logic of the shared commons (Landry). In this negotiation of values, the importance of culture maintaining its own autonomy is recognized as contributing to public interests (Breznik 2004).

Participatory culture and arts, creative inclusion, and empowerment

Participatory projects are usually self-organized actions that sustain human relations and bonds of trust within a community – they are examples of civic urbanity in action, and they can lead to shared policies (Dragićević Šešić 2006). Acting collectively, these projects not only contribute to the sustainability of a place but also raise civic pride and create collective cultural memories (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995) that are indispensable for sustaining *livable places*. Thus, this book is about *people* making cities sustainable through participatory cultural civic activities. It is also about artistic contributions that inspire and lead many of these actions. As SMCs are usually not highly multicultural (i.e. much less than metropolitan cities), this issue was not often highlighted, but it was not avoided. This is also a book about specificities that shows why SMCs need different approaches and focused investigation, as many of the dominating themes in urban sociology and anthropology do not resonate with SMCs.

Dynamics and tensions

Contemporary cities are battlegrounds of controversial interactions and transversal tensions based on different development values and models, which Charles Landry (in this volume) calls fault lines: "so deep-seated, intractable and contentious that they shape our entire worldview, such as the conflict between environmental ethics and economic rationality in running countries or cities." This can take the shape of a conflict – for example, between the economicbased gentrification of a city versus the bottom-up "right to the city" movements aiming at community-focused sustainability processes. In many cases, high-level investment policies mean unsustainability for the indigenous inhabitants who cannot afford to continue to live in the upgraded locations. This leads to the disappearance of collective memories and sense of place, and, in the long term, to a new identity for the new inhabitants. The emergence of more participatory processes is the key way to reconcile these different tensions and conflicting interests. Public policies reconceived as developmental strategies of the community offer platforms where cultural economics and citizens' interests might go together.