Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE COST ACTION IS1007
INVESTIGATING CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

EDITED BY Joost Dessein, Katriina Soini, Graham Fairclough and Lummina Horlings
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Investigating Cultural Sustainability is a European research network focused in a multidisciplinary perspective on the relationship between culture and sustainable development. During its four year period (2011-2015) its main objective was to highlight European research across its members' countries in order to provide policy makers with instruments for integrating culture as a key element of the sustainable development. Action's network was composed of around 100 researchers from 25 countries within the EU, with participants as well from Israel, New Zealand and Australia. It held a wide variety of disciplines and fields of research, ranging from cultural, humanistic and social sciences, through political and natural sciences to planning. These were organised in three thematic clusters – Concepts, Policies and Assessments – which are broadly reflected in the structure of this document.

The work of the network was supported by the European COST Association (COoperation in Science and Technology) and funded within the European Commission's research programme Horizon 2020. COST Actions are designed to build new knowledge by bringing together researchers to cooperate and coordinate nationally-funded research activities, and to build up new transnational and international research co-operation. The funding provides an opportunity for researchers to develop their competences, share experience and expertise with colleagues in other countries, and improve their research career through workshops, training and exchange programs.

Action Investigating Cultural Sustainability in its four years organised eight workshops or symposiums hosted by its members across Europe, and a cross-cutting meeting was organised in Brussels for stakeholders in order to collate and produce new knowledge with the help of external experts, scholars, policy-makers and practitioners. Over 30 research missions between the research institutes were carried out by members of the Action, and two training schools were organised to strengthen the topic among the young researchers working in this field. A key outcome of the Action was the establishment of a new series of books that establish culture and sustainability as an important emerging and active field of research. Published as 'Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development', the series has been inaugurated by three volumes of papers drawn from and representative of the work of the Action itself.

The results of the work – including the publication of the present document, 'Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development' - were shared and discussed in a final public conference in Helsinki on 6-8 May 2015, 'Culture(s) in Sustainable Futures: theories, policies, practices'.

www.culturalsustainability.eu
www.cost.eu
It should be obvious that culture matters to sustainable development. Yet almost 30 years after the Brundtland report ‘Our Common Future’ the incorporation of culture into sustainability debates seems to remain a great challenge, both scientifically and politically. There have been some recent attempts to bring culture into sustainability, by trans- and inter-national organisations and by cross/trans-disciplinary scientific endeavours, but they continue to swim against the prevailing current of conventional sustainability discourses rooted in environmental and economic perspectives.

Culture, sustainability and sustainable development are complicated concepts that are not always easy for scientists, policy makers or practitioners to grasp or apply. In the course of our four-year (2011-15) COST Action, IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability, we explored all three concepts and learnt to embrace their multiple meanings and connotations. In this final report from the Action we present their diversity and plurality as a meaningful resource for building a comprehensive analytical framework for the structured study and application of ‘culture and sustainable development’. Our conclusions are presented in three chapters, after a Prologue to set the scene and followed by a reflective and forward looking Epilogue.

Our first chapter offers our view of key concepts, and presents the three important ways we identify for culture to play important roles in sustainable development. First, culture can have a supportive and self-promoting role (which we characterise as ‘culture in sustainable development’). This already-established approach expands conventional sustainable development discourse by adding culture as a self-standing 4th pillar alongside separate ecological, social, and economic considerations and imperatives. We see a second role (‘culture for sustainable development’), however, which offers culture as a more influential force that can operate beyond itself. This moves culture into a framing, contextualising and mediating mode, one that can balance all three of the existing pillars and guide sustainable development between economic, social, and ecological pressures and needs. Third, we argue that there can be an even a more fundamental role for culture (‘culture as sustainable development’) which sees it as the essential foundation and structure for achieving the aims of sustainable development. In this role it integrates, coordinates and guides all aspects of sustainable action. In all three roles, recognising culture as at the root of all human decisions and actions, and as an overarching concern (even a new paradigm) in sustainable development thinking, enables culture and sustainability to become mutually intertwined so that the distinctions between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability begin to fade.

Our second chapter, ‘Culture at the crossroads of policy’, identifies a number of different topics, fields or themes that are commonly – or should be – addressed by policies, and the streams or flows of thought and action that they follow; we liken them to ‘scripts’ that guide the performance of sustainability. These scripts reveal the broad contours of a new type of policy landscape. We explore eight overlapping themes: the negotiation of memories, identities and heritage; the relevance of place, landscape and territory; the complexities of social life, commons and participation; the centrality of creative practices and activities; culturally sensitive policies for economic development; nature conservation; the importance of increasing awareness and knowledge of sustainability; and finally, policies aiming at transformations. Our analysis reveals that culture is not just the subject or object of cultural policy; it should also inform and be integrated with all other policies, for the economic, the social and the environmental, and for the global and the local. All the best and most successful policies are (although not necessarily consciously) culturally

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
informed. Policies dealing with education, tourism, research, cultural diplomacy, social policies, and city and regional planning, as well as other areas, can integrate culture in the core of their policy-making to various degrees.

All these ‘scripts’ are interlinked and overlap, of course, but they can be viewed in the framework of the three roles that we have just summarised. In the first role, policy strengthens the key intrinsic values of culture, and tends to focus on creativity and diversity of cultural expressions and the contributions of artistic/cultural activity and expressions to human-centred sustainable development trajectories. In the second case, when culture is understood as having a mediating role, the policy extends to influence, share and shape the aims of other public policies, like livelihood, industries, social and environmental well-being. In the third case, policy will promote broader transformations towards more holistically sustainable societies, for example through increased awareness and behaviour changes that can provide catalysts and enablers for grassroots collective actions, and through the development of the capacity and capability of individuals and communities to adapt and carry on more sustainable ways of life.

Assessing the impact and effects of both policies and politics is a crucial aspect of sustainability. There are several methodologies for carrying out assessments and communicating their results, but indicators are perhaps the most commonly used, and we turn to these in our third chapter. From the complexity of everyday life, indicators select a few representative threads, headlines or leverage points that can be distilled into more easily comprehensible evidence for the impacts of events and trajectories, the effects of different courses of action, and the quality and direction of change. Existing culturally-sensitive indicator sets are limited, and in this publication we therefore focus on specific challenges. These include the availability, standardisation, aggregation and ranking of data, all of which are required to allow cultural statistics to be consistently constructed and made useful, although we also recognise the historical and local specificity of indicators – they must be fit-for-context. We offer suggestions for the way forward, including the importance of joint learning processes and participatory development of indicators, the need for the collection of good examples and practices (notably of qualitative indicators, with illustrations of how they can be used and combined with quantitative indicators) and above all the acknowledgment in indicator construction of the three different roles of culture in, for and as sustainable development.

In our Epilogue, we reflect on the intellectual and cultural journey and exchanges that the Action has afforded its many participants. We have explored new territory between disciplines, between cultures and between the conventional three pillars of sustainable development. A major lesson is how little is actually known about the current and the potential inter-operability of culture and the sustainability ‘tripod’, and we therefore conclude by looking forward. We suggest lines for future research in four categories – concepts, methodologies and practices, evidence bases, and selected topics that seem us to be currently key. With new European and global funding streams becoming available to address sustainability issues (for example within the ERA and through Horizon 2020), and supported by our extensive webs of cross- and inter-disciplinary collaborations, we can see the necessity and the advantages for everyone of culture gaining a more central and transformative role in sustainable development discourse, and in action. We envisage that the insights of this COST Action will help to ensure a strong ‘cultural stream’ in future research and policy.
ASSESSING CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Informing and shaping policy
Existing indicators
The challenges of assessing culture in sustainability
The way forward

Story 4 - Reconstituting Culture

EPILOGUE

Dwelling in No Man's Land
Returning with new ideas: future research lines
The end of an Action, the beginning of action

Story 5 - Greening the City, Cultivating Community

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PROLOGUE
Culture matters in sustainable development. Many if not all of the planet's environmental problems and certainly all of its social and economic problems have cultural activity and decisions - people and human actions - at their roots. Solutions are therefore likely to be also culturally-based, and the existing models of sustainable development forged from economic or environmental concern are unlikely to be successful without cultural considerations. If culture is not made explicit, discussed and argued over explicitly within the sustainability debates, it does not have power in the decision making.

Yet incorporating culture in the sustainability debates seems to be a great scientific and political challenge. The scientific challenge is that both culture and sustainability are complex, contested, multidisciplinary and normative concepts. The policy challenge is that a broad understanding of culture requires cross-sectoral or even transdisciplinary policies, and innovative, at times even radical modes of implementation that involve re-examination of broad spectrum issues such as governance, democratic participation and social equity. Crossing into both sets of challenges is the manner in which bringing culture into the sustainability debates questions the conventional discourse and action of the three pillars: the economic, the environmental and the social. To pursue sustainability through the framework of culture therefore urgently requires new approaches, which cross the sectoral and disciplinary boundaries.

Few can have fully foreseen the success of the idea of 'Sustainable Development' when it was introduced to a broad global audience in 1987 by the Brundtland publication 'Our Common Future'. Almost 30 years later, the idea is still increasingly being presented as a pathway to all that is good and desirable in society, widely adopted and frequently called-in-aid. This was clearly illustrated at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012. One of the conference's main outcomes was the agreement by member states to set up sustainable development goals, which could be useful tools in achieving sustainable development and to be linked with United Nation's Post-Millennium Development goals. The concept is also frequently used by local governments, practitioners, educational sector, and it has also been taken as a tool for marketing. The popularity of the concept among scholars is illustrated in the number of journals or articles...
that deal entitled ‘sustainable development’ or ‘sustainability’. More than 108,000 peer reviewed papers that deal with ‘sustainability’ or ‘sustainable development’ have been published.

Yet at the same time the concepts continue to be critiqued by scholars and policymakers for their anthropocentrism, vagueness and ambiguity. The mainstream way is to discuss and implement sustainable development in terms of ecological, social and economic ‘pillars’ as confirmed at the Johannesburg Summit of 2002, but often labelled in more or less symbolic ways, such as people-profit-planet. However, attempts to keep these three dimensions in balance and to make sustainability a ‘win-win-win’ solution for all three, seems to remain unsatisfactory or in many people’s eyes a grail to be sought but never found.

We argue that the three pillar model is proving to be fundamentally flawed by the absence of culture. Several transnational and international organisations like UNESCO, United Cities and Local Government and the Council of Europe have recently advocated culture as an explicit aspect of sustainability, but it has also been introduced implicitly in many other policy publications from global to local. However, although these publications introduce a number of ways culture ‘drives’ and ‘enables’ development, the conditions of sustainable development in respect to various aspects of culture, have not been thoroughly analysed.

Cultural aspects have also been embedded in a number of other recent closely-aligned research lines, theories and frameworks, which in one way or another aim at a

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(Nancy Duxbury, Jordi Pascual, Jyoti Hosagraha)
holistic, cross-disciplinary and transdisciplinary integration of human systems with ecological ones. Examples include landscape research, bio-cultural diversity, the actor-network theory or capability frameworks. These concepts and approaches—all with significant cultural dimensions in their own right—can perhaps help to integrate culture explicitly into sustainable development frameworks. But this has not been done comprehensively, and the essence of culture in sustainable development research and policies therefore tends to remain ignored.

This publication presents conclusions emerging from a four-year (2011-15) COST Action IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability, attempting to strengthen and more solidly ground sustainability by integrating culture and cultural perspectives into it. The Action aimed to strengthen sustainable development’s conceptual framework, suggest ways of operationalising the new perspectives and insights, and to locate culture in sustainability policies and assessments. This publication offers ways forward to harness culture to the sustainable development goals. The first chapter after this Prologue (‘Three roles for culture in sustainable development’) touches on concepts, frameworks and the various roles played by culture in sustainable development. The second chapter ‘Culture at the crossroads of policy’ turns to the type of policy (or politics) that might be able to put those concepts to practical use. ‘Assessing culture in sustainability’ considers the issues of assessments and indicators: how to know what actions to take, how to measure and if needed modify their effects. Thereafter, an Epilogue formulates some future research lines in this field and sums up the lessons learned.

Finally, people who actively contributed to the scientific work of the network are listed.

The publication is illuminated by five real life ‘stories’ that are presented as a running thread in parallel to the main text; they are supported by many smaller examples, symbolised in the text as ●. These stories and examples illustrate the possibilities that exist, and are already being exploited, within the rich, diverse and challenging practices offered by culture. They give some idea of the kind of knowledge that is and will be needed to be able to understand the interrelation of culture and sustainable development, and to be able to apply these insights in science, policy and other sustainable development-practices. They will provide inspiration for moving forward in the proposed new framework.

ON BIO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The intricate relations between biodiversity and culture can be captured by the concept of ‘bio-cultural diversity’, defined as the diversity of life in all its manifestations (biological and cultural forms) which are all inter-related within a complex socio-ecological adaptive system [33]. Bio-cultural diversity emphasises the adaptive connections between nature and people and thus the significance of hybrid landscapes. Moreover it is a way to analyse these landscapes as an integrated value-practice system.

The biological and cultural value of the environment grows from practice, action and behaviours. This definition of ‘environment’ thus exceeds the spatial understanding that the term is most often given, for example when it comes to assessing biodiversity, gardening or quality of habitat. It establishes instead a complex approach which takes into account both scientific knowledge as a medium towards an understanding of social ties or cultural practices associated with a given space [34]. Biodiversity was first seen in cities as the manifestation of the diversity of species mainly in a genetic or ecosystemic sense. Bio-cultural diversity however is a way to read the diversity of urban landscapes, as well as narratives and atmospheres, in relationships to socio-cultural groups and the quality of places. Bio-culturally significant places are mainly green places such as community gardens and multifunctional parks that accommodate needs of different socio-cultural groups.

(Nathalie Blanc)
THREE ROLES FOR CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
Policy documents that highlight the importance of cultural industries are becoming increasingly common throughout the world, even though culture is almost invisible in the Millennium Development Goals. This is also the case in countries that are in the 'low human development' category, such as Burkina Faso, positioned by the UNDP at 183 out of 187 countries. Its population of approaching 20M contains more than 60 ethnic groups, and studying policy here offers a compelling view of the creative economy debate in a culturally diverse context, and highlights local-global policy interaction.

Two key policy documents from Burkina Faso illustrate how culture is linked to sustainable development. First, SCADD (2010) - Stratégie de Croissance Accélérée et Développement Durable (Strategy for Accelerated Growth and Sustainable Development) - has a general objective of achieving accelerated and sustained economic growth and improved quality of life. Culture (specifically crafts, cultural industries and tourism, in practice events, festivals and heritage sites that attract tourists) is one of four sectors (alongside agriculture, mining and small / medium businesses) identified as key to driving the economy through entrepreneurship, tourism, the production of cultural goods and services and cultural and artistic creation. Second, BBEAC (2012) - Study on the Impact of Culture on Social and Economic Development of Burkina Faso (published by the Bureau Burkinabe d’Etudes et d’Appui-Conseils for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, funded by UNESCO’s International Fund for Cultural Diversity) - deals more widely with culture and (sustainable) development, and focuses not only on the cultural sector but also on culture perceived more broadly as a way of life, a key aspect of the social fabric, and as a traditional mechanism of mediation.

The two documents use different views of culture, however, which sometimes conflict with each other. ‘Cultural industries’ are prominent in both (although in the BBEAC study culture is also taken to mean the broader social fabric), and
culture features explicitly. Yet the term remains ill-defined, and actions and aims can be conflated if, as in SCADD, ‘culture’ and ‘cultural industries’ are used interchangeably. The actions are also disjointed because in BBEAC the relation between artistic creation in the cultural industries is not connected to culture as social fabric. So far, the most common use of culture as a separate fourth pillar of sustainable development mainly treats it as a product (the cultural sector, arts, events and cultural industries), whereas using culture as a mediating force, to regulate and shape development more broadly, recognises culture as a significant contributor to social cohesion. Examples include the process through which agricultural activity is driven by cultural context and inherited practices, or the function of ‘kinship jokes’ in inter-ethnic communication to mediate conflict and tension. Taking culture beyond mediation to become a generally-transforming element, however, would embed it more deeply in grassroots aspirations and activities, such as community farming and anti-desertification initiatives, which are not central to the current policy documents. These policy documents create higher visibility for culture, potentially encourage greater public support and funding for cultural activities and provide greater economic justification for cultural industries. They additionally valorise culture (both quantitatively and qualitatively) for its instrumental capacity towards social and economic development: as a way of life ‘culture’ is recognised to have transformative power, whether towards or against change.

Policy formulation in Burkina Faso is inspired by debates at a local level but is also coloured by ideas from global fora such as the UN and UNESCO; like anywhere now, the country is part of wider networks, influenced by multi-scale discourses and debates. Critical questions remain, not least to ask how culture can play a role in balancing economic growth and sustainability, especially, crucially, in so-called ‘developing’ countries. How to bridge the gap between cultural patterns, practices and traditions ‘on the ground’, and more abstract concepts and policies which often come from elsewhere? How to develop sustainable enabling policies to support cultural products and practices?

A key lesson is that, in whatever form, whether expressed in routines, unspoken rules, humour, relations or practices, culture can indeed act as an integrating factor in society. It makes a central contribution to the social fabric, contributing both to unity and to an appreciation of cultural diversity, which is a valuable insight for any country currently facing ethnic difference or conflict. At a time when the culture-light Millennium Development Goals are about to expire (in 2015), there is a growing consensus that culture needs to be more prominent in the next set of Goals to emerge from the global development agenda.
THREE ROLES FOR CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Thriving on complexity

*Few things in human life are more powerful than ideas and concepts, and culture is one of the most influential in all walks of life.*

(Graham Fairclough)

Both culture and sustainable development are broad concepts, covering different spheres of life from past to future. Trying to define the roles of culture in sustainable development opens up questions about what we mean by culture, how it is related to various types of development and how it lives with diverse interpretations of sustainability. In this chapter we examine some of the difficult ideas that underpin culturally-focused and culturally-informed sustainability. This involves reconsidering apparently familiar ideas such as culture, and even 'development'. It is also necessary to explore what lies behind the two terms sustainability and sustainable development: are they interchangeable, complementary or in conflict? And where do social and cultural sustainability intersect, interact or overlap?

Culture

As Raymond Williams now-famously said, 'culture’ is one of the two or three most complicated words in English usage [1]. There have been, and will continue to be, many attempts to list all the things the word embraces. Whilst used in different ways in several
distinct intellectual disciplines and distinct systems of thought, culture is additionally also an everyday concept, it has 'public' meanings and understandings, and is used in many different ways and contexts. Its meaning has changed through time as well, from early ideas of culture as action in real life-worlds and its interaction with nature, which are essential aspects for anthropological use of the concept even today, to culture as the cultivation of the human mind and behaviour.

We define culture as a loosely integrated totality of practices, institutions and mechanisms that deal with the production, distribution, consumption and preservation of collectively shared meanings, as well as the explicit and implicit rules that govern the relevant processes. The cultural system is only relatively organised and embraces the tensions and internal contradictions of the social and spatial world, in which it appears, perpetuating and subverting its norms of behaviour and power relations, as well as providing loopholes for escape from its everyday routines to imaginary spaces.

(Hannes Palang)

Williams came up with three main meanings of culture that have become popular both in research and policy: culture as the general process of intellectual, spiritual or aesthetic development, culture as a particular way of life, whether of people, period or group, and culture as works and intellectual artistic activity [1]. Often, however, two distinct higher level distinctions are drawn, broad-based and narrowly-defined: a ‘broad, lifestyle-based concept referring to all domains of human life’, which is akin to Williams’ ‘way of life’, an anthropological-archaeological interpretation, and on the other side, a ‘narrow, art-based culture referring to both the general process of intellectual and spiritual or aesthetic development and its results’ [2]. Many policy conventions and declarations define culture in a broad way, but in politics and in public discourse culture is often treated in a narrower sense. In addition to these two formulations, we can bring in the symbolic dimension of culture: culture as semiotic, drawing on symbols as vehicles, arguably as the broadest view of all, including as it does both intentional and unconscious behaviour. In this publication we settle on a usage of the term culture that encompasses all these perspectives, whilst recognising the possibility, indeed necessity, of both subdivision and overlap.

Development

Development - perhaps more precisely qualified as ‘human development’ – usually entails intentional as well as unintentional processes of change and evolution towards a new situation that is better in social, cultural, and environmental terms. This can for example be expressed through high level values such as democracy, health, food and water security, equality of opportunity and access to resources, social equity, justice or economic prosperity. The latter is sometimes foregrounded to the partial exclusion of the others, but such a focus on economic growth, especially if accompanied by social and cultural inequalities, or without regard to environmental balance, cannot move towards sustainability.

Development has been described, in the UN Development Programme (UNDP) first Hu-
man Development Report in 1990 as a process (‘the enlargement of relevant human choices’) as well as an achievement (‘the compared extent to which, in given societies, those relevant choices are actually attained’) [3: 17]. It will generally also involve specific goals of the type emphasised in sustainability, notably equity, justice and responsibilities within and between the generations. This can entail a spontaneous evolution towards such goals, without self-conscious or intentional actions, or it can refer to (social) processes that are deliberately designed to transform a social environment and which may be instigated by institutions or actors not necessarily belonging, or deriving from, the place or community in question.

As well as recognising this broad spectrum of development, we are also in this document strongly aware that the concept of development cannot be objectively defined but is value-laden in ways that are specific to culture, context and history or time. It is therefore a continuously (re-)negotiated concept. Whether a situation, context or place is regarded as being more developed than another, or not, or a particular development proposal is regarded as being ‘good’ or ‘bad’, depends on the viewpoints and agenda of those assessing the changes. The introduction of a new crop variety in a farming system, for example, might be an improvement for some people because of its better production and/or better social and economic conditions, but others might consider this as a decline through, for example, its impact on biodiversity or landscape character, or through loss of economic independence; both viewpoints may be culturally-informed assessments.

Culture is often considered as a positive cause or result of development. But might it sometimes be a hindrance or obstacle to development, for example if entrenched traditions, tastes or ways of thinking discourage change or adaptation to new technologies or ways of life? It is possible in some circumstances to question how far every aspect of a particular culture can be valued. As already mentioned, development can be defined in terms of achievement as well as of process, taking various directions, and potentially forward and backwards. It is also common for development to be seen as a continuous evolutionary path; but the trajectory can be changed, or even broken, for example by political, social or technical ruptures.

In our work we have taken the Brundtland report on sustainable development and the pillar-approach to sustainable development as one of our principal starting point. The Brundtland definition of ‘sustainable development’ is world-famous: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. Although the definition talks about sustainable development, sustainability has also become popular. The two terms are often used interchangeably; are they therefore synonyms? Presumably not - a number of governments and global business corporations are prepared to discuss policies for sustainable development, but pull back from sustainability. It may be that for such governments sustainable development is ‘safe’ in its implication that any type of development can go ahead as long as it is mitigated usually in practice environmentally, occasionally in theory at least socially. ‘Sustainability’, in contrast, with its implication that an association with further development is not essential, can seem threatening to those sectoral interests for whom ‘growth’ (usually defined as economic
growth) is the only way ahead. This would suggest that ‘sustainability’ is a term with a more reaching set of objectives and values, one that can support de-growth and no growth agendas as well as growth, one that might have social equity and justice not economic prosperity as its goal.

Sustainable development or sustainability is usually seen as a win-win-win solution between ecological (protection), social (justice) and economic (viability), hence the widely-used model of the three pillars, or axes [4]. Other pillars like institutional, cultural and other dimensions of sustainability have been proposed [5]. Our position is that, whilst acknowledging some shortcomings related to the pillar model (reduction of reality and culture and leading to sectoral rather than cross-sectoral/disciplinary thinking), we also recognise their value as metaphors in sustainability debates, as relatively well-accepted and understood tools, and therefore as means to explore the role of culture in that framework and bring it to the policy debate.

THE MANTRA OF OUR COMMON FUTURE AND ITS CULTURAL VISION

Almost three decades since its publication, the report Our Common Future, popularly known as the Brundtland Report (1987) has become a cornerstone of the conceptualisation of sustainable development and is today still one of the most cited documents in sustainability discourses. Its introductory statement has acquired the status of an indisputable definition turned into a mantra: ‘Sustainable development ... meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.’ However, taken out of its context, this statement sounds ambiguous. It may be interpreted at least in two ways: as a need to save resources for the next generations, and as recognition of the present’s limited possibilities to solve the sustainability problems that will be left to our successors.

To cope with this ambiguity, it is worthwhile to re-contextualise the vision of sustainable development that the report offered:

(1) It is based on a new holistic developmental model, denying the narrow preoccupations and compartmentalisation of national economies, characterised by three important aspects: the imperative of limits, a changed developmental aim, and differentiated approaches to achieve these ends.

(2) In this vein, the report suggested - in the name of our common future - a global redistribution of the causes, consequences, benefits, and responsibilities of development.

(3) Our sustainable future can be guaranteed only by a drive for new type or form of development, one beyond the motivation of purely economic profit: the necessity to satisfy human needs and aspirations, declared to be the major objective of development.

(4) The report suggests resetting the direction of urbanisation, by ‘taking the pressure off the largest urban centres and building up smaller towns and cities, more closely integrating them with their rural hinterlands’.

(5) Although culture is not especially accentuated in the report, its role is crucial as a new value promoter and pattern maker: it begins in chapter 1 by stating that ‘To successfully advance in solving global problems, we need to develop new methods of thinking, to elaborate new moral and value criteria, and, no doubt, new patterns of behaviour’.

Thus the report marked the cultural turn to a new developmental path.

(Svetlana Hristova)
Some scholars think it less a problem to define sustainability than to find ways to achieve it, and this has been explored in a number of ways. Perhaps some of the most familiar is the spectrum from ‘(very) weak’ to ‘(very) strong’ sustainability [6], or the distinction between ‘broad’ and ‘narrow’ sustainability [7]. Such concepts are important, in particular when the substitution of various forms of capital (social, human, natural, economic) are being negotiated in the face of developmental change. Another relevant discussion concerns the intrinsic and instrumental values of both culture and nature, and how they should be understood, balanced and treated in a sustainable manner. This is an important issue when culture is used purposively as an instrument in development (e.g. to boost creative industries). Questions such as which and whose culture is used, and for what purposes, are deeply founded on issues of power.

Sustainable development does not mean the same in all parts of the world, and current meanings are subject to change over time. Nor can it be understood independently of cultural context(s). There is no single definition of sustainable development or sustainability that works for all circumstances, and it is necessary to acknowledge the diversity of these meanings. Meanings are shaped by diversity in human life-modes and by adaptations to living conditions that vary around the world; even more so by aspirations and needs or wants. Consequently the key ideas and values of sustainable development, inter- and intra-generational equity, justice, participation and gender equality, and ecological quality vary from culture to culture, and within them [8][9].

The undefined ‘needs’ mentioned by the Brundtland’s definition are not on the whole consistent across the globe, through all levels of society, or at different stages of life, or even when filtered through ideology or faith. One person’s need is another person’s excess or dearth; when one set of ‘needs’ is fulfilled, another (often someone else’s) is denied.

(Constanza Parra)

Social and cultural sustainability: same or different?

Until now the cultural aspects of sustainable development have mainly been discussed or elaborated as a part of the social pillar of sustainable development, or else combined with social sustainability (socio-cultural sustainability). In the former case cultural issues are solely considered as part of the social dimension; in the latter there is recognition that culture is different from social but the difficulty of separating them in practice or existing policy means that they are kept linked. Only a very few researchers (e.g. [11][12]) or policy documents have tried to separate them, yet not necessarily with a proper way to make a difference between them. Are they the same or different? Are cultural issues, as many actors consider, a part of the realm of social issues, or (as implied above) does culture act through societal frameworks and mechanisms? How to separate the cultural and the social in sustainability?

These questions lead us to discuss the relationship between society and culture. In its broadest sense culture covers all spheres of life, and therefore also of society.
Defining culture in this way, however, makes it so full of meaning ('conceptually obese') that it may cease to be a concept with practical use. Yet, much research in the social sciences (particularly since the so called ‘cultural turn’) recognises not only the separateness but also importantly the interlinkedness of culture with society and/or social structures. In Habermassian thought, for example, the constituents of the life-world are seen as individuals, culture and society; many commentators have also added concepts of power, and emphasised the symbolic as well as material importance of all these things.

In this document, we assume that culture and society have to some degree an iterative and reciprocal relationship, in which culture constructs society but society also shapes culture. To make an analogy, people have for thousands of years designed their architecture to contain their specific, culturally constructed lifestyles and economic activities; yet once built, the architecture in its turn shapes and changes how people live, so that their future ‘ways of living’, their culture, fit into the (by then) pre-existing structure. Whilst society and culture are in many ways interlinked and constitutive of each other, however, their different constituencies nevertheless allow for distinctive social and cultural dimensions in sustainability.

Policy

Policy is in fact highly plural and highly diverse. It can be created at any scale from the smallest community or municipality, through business or industrial corporations and all levels of municipality up to and including a ‘World City’ like London, to regions and upwards to nation states, federal states, and supra national communities such as the EU, NATO or global multinationals such as Shell, Rio Tinto or Google. Policies can be bottom up or top down; in both cases they may be democratic or participatory, or not. They may be mandatory rules or optional guidance, bedded in law or in custom, or ideologically-based. Whilst increasing attention is being given to integrated policy and planning processes, and to holistic thinking about development, policies still usually arise from particular sectoral groupings, or specific areas of governance, or particular government departments. These different origins, and their relationship (or lack of) to each other, may prevent successful functioning or lead to unintended consequences.

In this document, in the next chapter we focus mainly on the various fields in which policies operate and the ‘scripts’ they most commonly follow. Then we consider ways to monitor the effect of policy, as of other planned or prospective changes, for example by monitoring through indicators. Before moving into those areas, however, it is necessary to describe the ways in which we see culture operating and functioning through sustainability.
Cultural heritage is well known to be dynamic, controversial and able to generate heated debates. There are many arenas in which this can happen, but one of the most common is the museum, an institution created and maintained to preserve and look after objects, stories and memories from the past, a task which can never be politically or ideologically neutral. Museums, as places where heritage is not only preserved (with issues of what to select) but also presented and interpreted (with issues of which stories to tell, which narratives to create) are often used as tools for shaping national, local or community identities in the context of particular policy discourses. In some cases, they are even involved in political battles. This story deals with Cyprus, a country divided in two, amidst unresolved political conflict, with a long history of cultural change (Greek, Roman, Venetian, Ottoman, British etc.) and a currently rapidly-changing economic and social environment. It serves here as a good case study to discuss the potential of museums to engage in social dialogue in the face of xenophobic and nationalistic movements throughout the world.

Any museum usually integrates two parallel narratives, such as global and local, or nation and community. It is however not clear whether museums can succeed in sharing multiple narratives and acknowledging its relations with a variety of stakeholders. In Cyprus, museums in the southern part of the island (Greek-Cypriot) tend to celebrate the island’s classical Greek past. On the other hand, in the northern part (Turkish-Cypriot) the more recent, medieval and Ottoman past takes its place, yet paradoxically with space given, for example, to the culture of Greek orthodox icon painting. How are heritage and culture used in museums? Whose culture is it? For what aims, and why? And how does this relate to xenophobic or nationalist movements?

This is relevant as culture is the object of social conflict. It also represents the interplay of policies and politics of memory and forgetting. As a result, power relationships may shape a museum’s content and practices. Museums may exhibit politically desired narratives and exclude or misrepresent the heritage of ‘others’. Museums run the risk of merely reflecting officially accepted identities or the dominant ideologies of those in power. A crucial question for the future is how to ensure that those museums which keep local heritage and cultural diversity alive become more self-sustainable and not dependent on political priorities.
The Faro Convention strongly suggests that communities engage in active communication with museums to define the content and multiple uses of cultural heritage. Democratically-rooted in such a way, museums would serve society as places of inspiration, knowledge and expertise, and as safe places to (re)negotiate heritage. They can be key actors in the negotiation of its complex multicultural values and traditions within society. By collecting individual and family memories they can function as gateways of communication, offer interpretations, and transmit them to a growing collective social memory, thus contributing to a new culture of shared memories. Museums might even help cultural heritage to play the decisive role that the Faro Convention identifies of conflict reconciliation and the bridging of deeply politically divisions. To do this however, requires museums to be independent of political imperatives that promote exclusion and to be ethically responsible, not only about museological issues but also in relationship to all its stakeholders, users and visitors, the communities, local or otherwise, which they serve, their audiences, and society in general.

Cultural policies should encourage the inclusion of multiple voices and perspectives and the engagement of diverse communities and experts in defining and interpreting heritage and culture. This is not just a responsibility for sector based cultural policies but requires a wider culture-inclusive policy approach. Policies dealing with education, tourism, research, cultural diplomacy, social policies, and city and regional planning, as well as other relevant public policies, can integrate museums in the core of their policy-making.

The Cyprus Museum, southern part of Cyprus, inaugurated in 1909 (left page) and the Canbulat Tomb and Museum, northern part of Cyprus, inaugurated in 1968 (rightpage); Pictures: Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert
Multiple contributions of culture to sustainable development

In this publication, we recognise that culture is capable of being integrated within sustainable development in three more-or-less separate but never fully distinctive and indeed often interlocking ways, or ‘roles’. These are derived from a literature review of scientific articles using the concept of ‘cultural sustainability’ [13] . Each role is discussed in more detail below, but to summarise:

- First, a supportive and self-promoting role (characterised as ‘culture in sustainable development’), which simply, and fairly uncontroversially, expands conventional sustainable development discourse by adding culture as a more or less self-standing or freestanding 4th pillar. Culture stands, linked but autonomous, alongside separate ecological, social, and economic considerations and imperatives of sustainability.

- Second, a role (‘culture for sustainable development’) which offers culture as a more influential force that can operate beyond itself; this role moves culture into a framing, contextualising and mediating mode, that can balance all three of the pillars and guide sustainable development between economic, social, and ecological pressures and needs (which of course grow out of human cultural aspirations and actions).

The overall issue is a need to make culture more explicit in the academic and policy debate on sustainable development: I refer here to a view of culture in and for sustainable development which is understood in dynamic interaction with nature. Culture, as an ensemble of tangible vectors of social life, comprises a natural dimension. It is this dimension that should be resurrected in order to strengthen and make more tangible the role of culture in sustainable development.

(Constanza Parra)

SEVEN STORYLINES OF CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

In their paper in GeoForum [14], ‘Exploring the scientific discourse of cultural sustainability’, Soini and Birkeland reported on their analysis of the diverse meanings that were being applied in scientific publications, at that stage in the development of this field of study, and as the COST Action began its work, to the concept of ‘cultural sustainability’. The study showed that the scientific discourse on cultural sustainability could be organised around seven principal ‘story lines’ or narratives: heritage, vitality, economic viability, diversity, locality, eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilisation.

Some of the storylines referred to culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability, while others saw culture as contributing to achieve social, economic or ecological goals of sustainability, or culture as a necessary foundation for a transition to a truly sustainable society. Moreover, although also interlinked and overlapping, the storylines were relatable to four different contexts, ideologies, attitudes or ways of thinking that can be labelled conservative, neoliberal, communitarian and environmentalist. These contexts provide further perspectives on the diverse political ideologies and policy arenas in which cultural sustainability must operate.

(Katriina Soini, Inger Birkeland)
• Third, a role (‘culture as sustainable development’) which sees culture as the necessary overall foundation and structure for achieving the aims of sustainable development. By recognising that culture is at the root of all human decisions and actions and an overarching concern (even a new paradigm) in sustainable development thinking, culture and sustainability become mutually intertwined, and the distinctions between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability begin to fade.

The diagram below shows the relationship of these three defined roles to sustainability and to each other. They are not mutually exclusive, but rather represent different ways of thinking and organising values, meanings and norms strategically and eclectically in relation to discussions on sustainable development.

SUPPORTING SUSTAINABILITY - A SELF-STANDING ROLE FOR CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

First role – supporting. Culture as a separate aspect, a free-standing or self-standing additional pillar, the ‘4th pillar’, a role as an independent and autonomous dimension alongside the others.

Seeing culture as a fourth pillar of sustainable development, alongside the ecological, social and economic pillars is already a well-established view [14]. It is a relatively straightforward and thus practical approach. It risks being a limited approach however, focused on protecting assets deemed cultural that are valued (‘giving culture a voice of its own and an equal value’); it is sometimes too easily limited to a narrow definition of culture as the arts and creative-cultural sector. It is also open to allowing culture to be understood only qualitatively as that which is considered excellent or only through its socio-economic contribution to a nation or other imagined community.

Furthermore, because of the way culture is often popularly understood today as art and creative activities, and as a separate sphere of public policy, the 4th pillar role can obscure
culture’s relationship to nature, and can understate its connections to broader societal issues. This encourages the view that culture is a marginal concern in sustainable development, not the equal of the other three pillars. Through the historical construction of culture, art and aesthetic processes have become ranked above other more earthly activities like agriculture, and other primordial areas of life like nursing and caring. Modernity’s expansion of scientific thinking and reflexivity helped to establish art and culture as a separate sphere, and deserving its own domain in public policy. Now, at a time when all divisions of knowledge (disciplinary boundaries) are being re-examined, and when holistic solutions – of which sustainability is of course one - are being seen as necessary, it is clear that a 4th pillar approach for culture cannot be the only way forward, useful and powerful though it is proving to be.

The 4th pillar role nevertheless offers many possibilities for relating culture to sustainable development. The key issue here is the understanding of art and creative activities in terms of particular qualities, which makes it very possible to define the qualities of sustainable development within the arts and culture sector. Values can be set in policymaking, operationalised in strategies and carried out in practical action at different political levels, within arts and cultural organisations and within business and economic enterprises. Artistic and creative qualities can be introduced for example through the setting of criteria for judgments about how sustainable a particular policy, organisation or company is. Criteria can be defined for valuing or assessing the contribution to sustainable development of a particular process, product or image.

Furthermore, artistic and cultural qualities are relevant when asking what sustainability would imply, for example, with regard to aesthetic valuation of public art, cultural heritage, natural and built environments. The qualitative concept of culture is thus very important whenever we want to evaluate and judge quality and develop indicators for assessing the effects of a particular practice or program. This is also why culture can usefully be understood and used as a 4th pillar of sustainability.

CONNECTING SUSTAINABILITY – THE MEDIATING ROLE OF CULTURE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Second role – connecting and mediating. Culture as driver of sustainability processes; this transcends the drawbacks and benefits of ecological, economic and social development. Economic, social and ecological sustainability afforded by culture.

Since all human beings both have culture and are cultural human beings, we need a broader conceptualisation of culture that includes the diversity of human values, subjective meanings, expressions and life-modes, and that allows us to distinguish between differences in culture and between cultures in a fruitful way, without making judgments about qualities of art and culture. Culture is the meaningful content of human societies and communities. It is made by individuals within societies whilst simultaneously also shaping their lives and existence. In terms of sustainability’s three pillars, culture can be the way to balance competing or conflicting demands and work through communication to give human and social meaning to sustainable development. Culture can be a go-between or intermediary to connect the various dimensions of sustainability, as shown in the second part of the diagram.
...sustainability is cultural by being contextual, historically and geographically concrete; everything human beings do is woven into culture in terms of webs of meaning created by human beings. Culture appears and is understandable through narrative organisation, and cultural sustainability can emerge as a social process created through narratives that connect the past with the future, and the local with the global. [15: 165]

Culture processes and translates into a common language the ecologically-, environmentally- and socially-founded reactions to proposed development or imminent avoidable change. Generally speaking however some sort of lens or filter is required to understand how culture mediates the relation between society and environment. One might be the concept of landscape, for example, another might be the context of territorialisation, a third could be ecosystems services, and creativity might be fourth example. All require a cultural context and an understanding and welcoming of diversity of cultural expressions, and most importantly some level of co-production rooted in human intentionality expressed in practices, i.e. culture. The fact that the potential of culture’s mediating role has rarely been exploited perhaps explains why sustainable development has proved to be so elusive.

CREATING SUSTAINABILITY – THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF CULTURE AS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Third role – creating sustainability. Here culture takes on its evolutionary, holistic and transformative role, providing a new paradigm to the question of sustainable development.

Culture can be viewed at a more profound level of society as a core issue for a transition towards sustainable development. We can for example insist on a co-thinking of environmental, social and cultural sustainability, and an insistence on how social life is embedded in particular places and situations. A truly evolutionary culture, or an eco-cultural civilisation, involves practicing a new understanding of the human place in the world, and recognising that humans are an inseparable part of the more-than-human world. Crucially, this means that every human action is always relative to and influenced by the situation at hand. It allows new values, new ways of life, and (perhaps) utopian visions of a sustainable society.
INTERACTION BETWEEN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND SUSTAINABLE REGIONAL LANDSCAPE DEVELOPMENT

Many rural areas in Europe have undergone a sustained depopulation of urban centres over a long period, whereas others have experienced positive renewal through in-migration and population growth. Can culture positively influence such developments?

The University of Bern undertook case studies in six protected areas of four European countries within the framework of a project entitled ‘The cultural dimension of sustainable regional and landscape development (SRLD)’. These studies revealed that culture is generally a significant driver of SRLD, in that it promotes social cohesion and can delay or even reverse depopulation of rural areas. One example is the French National Regional Park (PNR) of Monts d’Ardèche, a region boasting a high diversity of cultural activity, a high density of people engaged in the cultural sector, and numerous cultural associations and activities. Furthermore, there are many efforts to promote the area’s rich cultural heritage, particularly its dry-stone terraces. This high level of cultural activity is self-energising and works to attract further inward migration of those interested in spaces for creative living. In the case of the Ardèche, the diversity of cultural activities enhances quality of life and adds value to the economy; culture can be seen to play a significant role as a driver of SRLD.

Even a single flagship project can contribute to regional cultural revival and consequent positive economic and social benefits, including countering depopulation. The internationally-renowned ‘théâtre du peuple’, for example, has endowed the village Bussang in the Vosges with a prominence above and beyond commercial success: its vibrancy and long tradition has become central to regional identity. The newer, but already widely acclaimed Theater Origen in Switzerland’s Parc Ela may engender a similar effect over time.

These examples demonstrate that culture can contribute significantly to sustainable regional and landscape development and can also positively influence the demographic development in rural areas.

(Bettina Scharrer, Marion Leng, Thomas Hammer)

www.cde.unibe.ch/Pages/Project/6/66/The-cultural-dimension-of-sustainable-regional-and-landscape-development-SRLD.aspx

Culture represents and creates wider relations between human and nature, past, present and future, the materialised and the imagined world. [16]

Culture thus becomes the matrix for particular ways of life. In this sense, culture is more than a descriptive or analytical tool, and offers an ideal of doing things well, of culture as cultivation and sustaining life, but without making things well at the cost of something or somebody else. Culture in this approach refers to a worldview, a cultural system guided by intentions, motivations, ethical and moral choices, rooted in values that drive our individual and collective actions [17], and to a process and communication of transformation and cultural change. This makes it possible to think of sustainability and sustainable development as processes, ongoing and in-the-making, not as fixed states.

Sustainabilities imply making connections between people and the worlds they inhabit and use. In this approach, ecoculture is deeply related to social learning by working with place-conscious and place-responsive teaching, sharing and learning, and engaging humans in discussions of what kind of world we want to live in now and in the future. This is applicable in policymaking and even in wider politics: engaging citizens in discussions of what kind of world should be a basic premise of public policies. Culture refers here not to particular types of knowledge, but to fundamental new processes of social learning that are nourishing, healing, and restorative. Sustainability exists thus as a process of community-based thinking that is pluralistic where culture represents both problem and possibility, form and process, and concerns those issues, values and means whereby a society or community may continue to exist.
Three roles, many applications

Depending on circumstances and objectives, all three ways of using culture in sustainable development will be relevant in particular contexts, whether theoretical, political or practical. The three roles should not necessarily be seen in the sequence presented here, and they do not necessarily form an evolutionary path. Nonetheless, within the three-role framework one can observe trends, trajectories, dynamics and gradients. In comparing the third to the first (4th pillar) role, the ecological emphasis, but also (thanks to the integrating power of culture) the integration of cultural, social and ecological aspects, and the overall dynamics, diversity and openness, hence the overall complexity, increases.

Similarly, policies become more diverse, nuanced and multilayered, and more dialogue and interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary communication is required. These trends are obviously related to the broader definition of culture, which allows, perhaps sometimes demands, a systemic approach including aspects from both natural and human worlds. We should also realise that there can be complex dynamics even within the ‘simple’ 4th pillar model. Although most clearly based on disciplinary and sectoral approaches, this use of culture is also encouraging new modes of governance to emerge.

Acknowledging all the challenges related to the concepts of culture, sustainability and sustainable development, we suggest that this framework can work as a first systematic attempt to analyse the role of culture in sustainable development. We also argue that given the broadness, vagueness and complexity of culture and sustainability, there will still be space for interpretations and flexibility. Thus - although a number of issues remain to be resolved - this framework may be used both in research and policy concerning culture and sustainability as a tool to find one’s position in the field.
Surviving Post-Industrialisation: Resilience and transformation: Post-industrial landscapes, place and living futures in Norway

The protection and uses of industrial heritage raise many problems. Some (whose heritage, what to protect and how, who is in control?) are common to all heritage, although often exacerbated by scale and recentness. Some on the other hand are more distinctive to industrial heritage. So-called ‘industrial’ heritage is normally actually post-industrial: it is the material remains that have been left behind that we grapple with, and often in the context of communities affected by the withdrawal of employment and prosperity, who have the need to not only preserve the remains but to ensure they take on new economic, cultural and social life. The uses of these remains are therefore an aspect of heritage that is particularly relevant to discussions of culturally-informed sustainability.

The towns of Rjukan and Notodden in Telemark became in the early 20th century the birthplace of Norway as a modern, industrial nation, thanks initially to the use of hydro-electricity drawn from local waterfalls in large-scale industrialisation, notably the production of chemical saltpetre. From 1900 to 1920 their populations grew from almost nothing to several thousands. After a short period of rapid growth, the area has experienced a prolonged period of de-industrialisation, and since 1945 in particular technological development and the changing global economy created social and economic challenges as factories closed and large scale industrial employment fell away. The two towns have met the need for economic restructuring in different way. In 2014 the Norwegian government submitted a proposal to nominate the industrial heritage at Rjukan and Notodden for UNESCO’s world heritage list. The nomination consists of four components associated with technical-industrial heritage: the tangible and man-made remains for power production, the factories and industrial buildings, the transport systems and urban communities of the company town type.

The nomination emphasises the human creation of society as an expression of modernisation through industrialisation. But what should be sustained and protected and why? Is it the buildings with machines, and the trains and ships? Is it the town and the workers’ housing areas? Or is it the whole landscape? Industrial development at Rjukan and Notodden was highly dependent on the physical landscape. Why not sustain the whole production system, the physical and the man-made landscape? Or is it the intangible heritage, the “ways of living” of population with all their customs, skills and backgrounds, that also should be sustained? The human features will change and vanish if they are not protected. This is also a question of how to protect. It concerns the way in which factory buildings are turned into nice, sanitised and safe surrounding for families, children and visitors of any kind. Are factories fun places to play? Are hard working conditions, long hours, dangers, etc. from the beginning of twentieth century being forgotten in the process? Sustaining industrial heritage is also a question of the image of the landscape, not only the physical landscape.

The protection of cultural heritage has to be evaluated in the context of current discourses in media, policy, education and the arts, in order to understand the varied meanings of
sustainability and culture, and to be clear whose cultural sustainability is being described. These meanings are multiple, but include (as adapted from [14]): values (as in the content of landscape and/or heritage), processes (identifiable through practices and participation) and affordances (in terms of those living there and visitors, such as sense of place, identity, locally-defining events like the sun festival).

The stewardship of a post-industrial landscape involves, like any aspect of heritage, a process of selection of what is to be sustained, re-used or adapted, protected or memorised. When de-industrialisation remains, as in Rügian, more or less within living memory, local interests, tastes, identities and powers come to the fore. They are also usually foregrounded by the sheer scale of the industrial remains and the imperative to find new economic uses. A more reflexive policy approach to culture would be helpful here. To make culture an object of discourse can be relevant as the relation between culture and sustainable development is emotional, cognitive and ethical; people have a sense of place or belonging to their place. Policy-makers can include this sense of place in policy-making via collaboration and networking. This can even change the political culture itself.

The key lesson is perhaps that cultural sustainability can be achieved by maintaining links with the past through an understanding of heritage as a social and cultural process, especially in the case of recent, still deeply ‘felt’ heritage such as industrialisation. Recently de-industrialised complexes and landscapes, amongst all types of heritage, offer great opportunities via protection, use and re-use to absorb elements from diverse cultures, so that post-industrially-challenged locations once again become ‘enlivened’ places.
CULTURE AT THE CROSSROADS OF POLICY
CULTURE AT THE CROSSROADS OF POLICY

Defining policy

We discussed the complexity and plurality of policy in the previous chapter. Here, we use the word 'policy' to refer to formal plans, actions and strategies, and how they are implemented in regulations and institutions. Policies include principles, documents, rules and guidelines that are formulated or adopted by collectives or organisations to reach their long-term goals, and more specifically, strategies, decisions, actions and other 'systems of arrangements' undertaken to solve a collective problem with the help of human, financial and material resources. The word also applies to coordinated actions undertaken to modify a structural or a temporary situation in order to attain predetermined objectives [18]. Policy also incorporates in its scope formal and informal practices linked to operationalisation and implementation. Governance is an important issue as well; we consider it here as processes of social interaction involving multiple stakeholders in decision-making processes, based on values and principles such as local democracy, transparency, citizens’ participation, cooperation and exchange [19].

Due to all this complexity, 'policy' is a thread running through all the discussions and debates on culture and sustainable development. These discourses emphasise how it is necessary always to root policies and their implementation into the specific circumstances of their existence, and how policies should be specific and appropriate in particular social, geographic or cultural terms, not be generic. This is valid at any level, from international to local, and helps to explain why some worldwide policies encounter difficulties of implementation in some areas, or why some countries choose not to ratify international conventions.
Successful policies will normally be those that take into account the specificities of the cultures relevant in their context.

Policy ‘scripts’ for culture and sustainable development

In reviewing existing policy areas, we have found it useful to identify a number of different ‘scripts’ that policy formulation and implementation can be seen to follow, the contexts in which policies are commonly devised and used. These ‘scripts’ can be characterised as the theme that policies address, or the streams or flows of thought and action that they follow. They each frame specific goals, often even using specific languages, disciplinary assumptions or ideologies. For our purposes they provide a means to express the particular ways in which policies are informed by and shaped with culture. They differ at many levels, such as the geographic scale at which they are applied, the type of actors who are involved and the sectors concerned, the institutional, legal and financial tools that are used, and the ethics, assumptions and values by which they are inspired. The scripts can be observed at the local level within diverse settings, embedded within dynamics of local living, collective social dialogues, and planning and policy processes of cities and communities. These ‘on the ground’ discussions and often innovative practices are developed for particular conditions and circumstances, but they are often informed by multi-level policy frameworks and overarching sets of guiding principles and commitments negotiated at supra-national levels.

We discuss here eight such contexts in which policies are commonly devised, although we appreciate that these can overlap and be mutually supportive. They form a nexus of memory, heritage and identity, place, landscape and territory, social life, commons and participation, creativity, economic development, nature, awareness, and transformations.

Policies negotiating memories, identities and heritage

Cultural sustainability in this context is about maintaining links with the past, whilst recognising that heritage is about much more than preserving materiality or even ‘keeping the past alive’. It is dynamic, controversial and can elicit heated debates. Policies relating to heritage and memories seek to protect and preserve but also, and as importantly, to use and develop non-material as well as material heritage, such as folklore, cultural practices and attitudes, events and traditions and buildings or artifacts. Such policies should be capable of absorbing ideas and supporting the aspirations from a variety of groups involved in the heritage and contemporary life of a place. In this context it is helpful to recognise distinctions between the diverse manifestations of heritage, the values people assign to things, and the processes and means (practices and participation) that they apply to them. Heritage policies involve both the inclusion of the perceptions of people who shaped the place, as well as wider imagining and discussions on how development possibilities can be created in the future. In this way, heritage does not result in a derelict site or a museum but, like landscape, becomes a living environment.
Culture is complicit in signifying that particular places of memories or identity benchmarks serve as touchstones. These places may be sites of solemn remembrance or, in contrast, significant places of celebration. Some may be marks of deep antiquity and have an ancient history, while others are more recent; some still live in collective memories of local or national communities, such as locations constructed in the context of European Capital of Culture designations or important historical events. Some memorial sites remember and deal with a shameful or sad pasts, others commemorate or celebrate the foundations of society and identity. Either can be subversive or 'dissonant' in the sense of both uniting and dividing, carrying different meanings for different communities. Heritage functions as a key means to facilitate social communication, and can also be a platform for unheard voices and to allow tensions (sometimes suppressed) to be negotiated publicly, for example where there is a lack of dialogue between ethnic groups, social groups, races and nations.

**Policies on place, landscape and territory**

People are involved with places via location, ecological participation, socio-territorial belonging and cultural conformity or commonality. Memory, heritage and identity are also relevant. They attach subjective cultural meanings to place, often described as a sense of place, but the concept of landscape is a close synonym. Sense of place has frequently been linked to sustainability, suggesting that the construction of socially-sustainable (and in the case of ‘landscape’ approaches, also environmentally-sustainable) communities can be facilitated through a shared (re)connection with a place they call home [20], inspiring people to collective action as a response to unwanted spatial and sometimes unsustainable developments even beyond the local scale [21][22]. Territorialisation is a closely-connected concept, too, that refers to a framework within which to facilitate the role of culture to mediate intentions and practices in spatial development at multiple scales [23].

The construction of identities is often linked to particular places. To enhance the symbolic identity of a place, and contribute to residents’ connecting with a place, attention is increasingly paid to the importance of ‘everyday’ markers such as architecture,

**BRIDGES AS PLACES OF DIVISIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES**

Bridges are functional public spaces, and spaces used for festivities, and everyday social and cultural practices. They also have great significance as evidence of human achievements. In the collective memory of the Balkans, bridges are also symbol-bearers of attempts to make connections between communities on both sides of a divide.

Throughout history, bridges have been a symbol of territorialisation and state power. Remarkable examples are the Ottoman bridges in Bosnia and Hercegovina, such as the famous Old Bridge in the city of Mostar, or the Latin Bridge over the River Miljacka in Sarajevo.

All of these bridges have multiple narratives and function as symbol-bearers of their cities. People attach different meanings to this heritage. Many of these bridges are ‘heritage which divides’. The bridge on the Drina for the Bosniak (Muslim) community, as do other bridges of the Ottoman period, contributes to a much wider sense of cultural identification, as symbols of the greatness of the culture they wanted to participate in, and the importance of the Ottoman Empire. The destruction in 1993 of the Old Bridge in Mostar by Croatian forces had no strategic or military purpose, but led to a decrease of self-confidence and respect and created a feeling of hopelessness among the Bosnian community.

(Milena Dragićević, Šešić M. Ljiljana, Rogač Mijatović)
Public art, street benches and light standards, paving designs, plantings, and other aspects of urban design as well as improvised uses of public space that help mark the identity of a place and collectively contribute to the sense of place experienced by its residents and visitors [24]. Capturing, indeed defining, such resources and values though place-specific cultural mapping is becoming more popular. These mapping exercises are often focused on the arts and creative sector, but there is also growing interest in capturing more intangible elements and broader aspects of sense of place and place identity.

Just as there is a need to be sensitive to and acknowledge the multiple histories and memory-based perspectives on a place, or the distinctive ways in which a place connects people to the natural world, so there are multiple and overlapping lines of experiences and meaning-making in a place. Culture-sensitive policies can help ensure that all citizens can ‘see themselves’ reflected in ‘their’ city and can contribute actively to its development, its continuity, and its changes.

Policies dealing with social life, commons and participation

This script is about how to live together in ways that supports the co-existence of different ways of life and values and makes space for equal participation. It highlights cultural diversity within society and the inclusion of varied groups in decision making, as key issues in the move towards cultural sustainability. It embodies the principle of respecting the rights of all citizen groups, including cultural rights. Participation and social cohesion in communities are conditions for development and transformational change. There are powerful connections here to the age-old concept of commons which is currently being revived in a wide range of spheres: that of natural resources, access to and use of which is shared by a community within a set of socially-agreed rules that ensure future sustainability, and governance for the benefit of the whole community. Commons presents an alternative to the notions of enclosure and privatisation that have been growing since the early modern period. The concept of landscape, for example, already mentioned, or even of heritage, can be seen as a universal commons [25].

The inclusion of different groups in society into participative decision-taking and action...
has its own challenges, of course, especially in the context of large scale demographic change, problems with social equality, and widespread mobility and migration. Moreover, with policies directed towards these issues, unexpected side-effects and complexities can occur. Culture can function here as a way of communication between different groups but also may express officially or politically desired narratives, excluding the narrative of others.

Cultural diversity calls for culture-specific understandings of development at all scales, and taking a variety of values and worldviews of different cultural groups into account. This is a reason why ethnographic and anthropological methods are useful in research on cultural diversity. From a planning and policy development perspective, the diversifying populations of cities and regions are leading local authorities to emphasise culturally-sensitive and culture-inclusive planning processes, involving extensive consultations and real participation in decision-making processes. These principles are also reflected in the many initiatives to encourage and support intercultural dialogue that are being developed throughout Europe [26].

**Policies encouraging creative practices and activities**

One of the main dimensions of a creativity-focused script for policy is the recognition of ‘everyday creativity’. It acknowledges the diversity of practices, values and understandings of a world shaped by interactive processes between human beings and their surroundings. It highlights ‘ordinary’ residents as active contributors of grassroots agency to gradually and iteratively contribute to a place and its development. The challenge for policy is to take into account the diversity of and dynamic character of local cultures, as resources for sustainable development.

The second main dimension concerns the art and cultural sector and related creative practices in a more narrow sense. Culture here focuses mainly on art as an activity and on the products of art, that is, for example, theatre performances, music, literary works, visual arts, museum and heritage sector, visual and digital sector, and any cultural idea or product that can be placed within artistic and creative sectors. It also involves sustainable design: not only environmentally, culturally and socially sustainable products, but products in everyday settings and designed environments that can promote more sustainable ways of life and shifts in thinking and behaviour.

Arguments for the multiple ways in which artistic and creative activity as well as design contribute to societal well-being and holistic sustainability are grounded in a long stream of evidence-based research concerning the role of arts and culture in society. The focus on artistic and creative activities in the context of sustainability relates both to their central role in developing meaning and narratives that structure the way we think about and act in the world, as well as the various dimensions of sustainable actions embedded within their artistic, organisational and creative industry practices.

**Culturally sensitive policies for economic development**

Creative economy and bio-economy are key dimensions in sustainable economies discourse. This sphere of policy-making is interested in the role of culture in policies aiming for sustainable economic development. Cultural and creative industries are
based on individual and collective creativity, skills and talents that have a potential for wealth and job creation through, for example, the development of products, services, tourism and place branding. A focus on the economic dimensions of cultural and creative activities tends to provide economic data to lift ‘culture’ higher up the policy agenda, creating a wider understanding of the roles of culture in society. But the rich social fabric of a society and its functioning is also embedded in and supported by routines, unspoken rules, humour, interpersonal relations, and other practices that are integrating and dynamic factors in the society, and these important elements of culture in a broader sense may be left in the shadows. The explicit recognition of culture beyond economic terms both requires and deserves more attention within the creative industry debate.

Within the bio-economy discourse the problem is not the over- or mis-use of culture, but rather the ignorance of the significance of culture. Bio-economy encompasses the sustainable production of renewable resources from land, fisheries and aquaculture environments and their conversion into food, feed, fibre, and bio-energy as well as related public goods such as well-being services derived from nature. Within this debate, there is a strong belief in the exploitation of knowledge-based technology and innovation. But bio-economy is also based on the conservation and preservation of biological diversity at all scales, which, in turn is based on the cultural diversity of local ways of lives and locally developed livelihoods. It is also dependent on citizens’ values and knowledge, for example their invention and adaptation of new technologies, products and services. It can be argued that policy to foster a bio-economy is culturally-informed and embedded, but until now an explicit understanding of culture in bio-economy debate is very limited, if not absent.

**Policies of nature conservation**

It is commonly known, although not always practiced, that to be successful nature conservation activity should take into account the cultural values of people and their livelihoods. If not, there will be conflicts between actors or a decrease in well-being, and the aims

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**SUSTAINABILITY AND LEGITIMACY OF THE TANYASZINHAZ THEATRE COMMUNITY IN SERBIA**

Tanyaszinhaz (loosely translatable from Hungarian as ‘village theatre’) is a theatrical community base in a tiny village in the province of Vojvodina (north of Serbia) that has been performing in dozens of villages across the province for almost 40 years. Most of their members are ethnic Hungarians living in Serbia, performing almost exclusively in Hungarian for local audiences. While changing directors and actors - in total some 260 actors have collaborated in their productions - their mission remained the same: bringing theatrical experience to small and remote villages in Serbia. As such, Tanyaszinhaz is a rare form of travelling theatre in South-East Europe which has survived many social and political systems, including the turmoil of the war-saturated years. Without any doubt, these trailer-based performers not only sustained, but also built from scratch rural cultural life in places they are visiting.

The theatre’s organisational model as well as its programme orientation is valuable because it runs against the grain of the current national cultural field in Serbia, in which government funding of institutional theatres, and an orientation towards urban cultural-elites, are regarded as the standard in professional art circles. The existence of the Tanyaszinhaz troupe has been neglected, however, by all ‘relevant’ theatrical circles, media reports and cultural policy debates. It is usually discounted as folkloric or amateurish even though it is not vernacular culture, and its artists are professional academy-educated artists. Yet it is a shining example of how self-governed communities, despite a lack of wider public attention to the topics they deal with (rural cultural life for example), can successfully sustain forms of cultural expression. It shows that sustainability can be non-institutional, and that marginalised and de-legitimised actors can also build sustainable and vital cultural networks.

(Goran Tomka)
of nature conservation will not be reached. Traditionally, nature conservation policies were largely based on public policies, using legislation as the main instrument, which has not left much space for voluntary activities or participation. As far as livelihoods such as agriculture or forestry are concerned, financial subsidy systems have been introduced to make practices more environmentally sound. Yet these financial support systems are not sustainable in a sense that they are not necessarily able to change the attitude and behaviour in the long term [27].

Cultural sustainability within nature conservation policies will instead seek to change human and social behaviours and practices or find alternative ways to treat or use nature. Culture is a key factor in the adaptation and learning new practices. Another, more often mentioned point is the use of traditional ecological knowledge and know-how in nature conservation and restoration which should be acknowledged alongside the expert or scientific knowledge; neither is sufficient alone.

Policies to increase sustainability awareness and knowledgeability

Awareness has been considered to be an important accelerator for change towards sustainability, referred to as ‘change from the inside out’ [28], which is linked to people’s values, world-views and motivations. Culture and cultural values matter in the context of environmental concern and people’s motivation for action. Most of the various attempts to uncover intrinsic value in nature have in common a search for ways to use such an ascription of value as a basis for a system of non-anthropocentric duties toward nature. Three key tools of transformation are highlighted in this script: sustainability education, communication media, and artistic practices.

Sustainability education engenders greater awareness and informed practices. Environmental education, both formal and informal, aims to raise children’s awareness of environment and sensibility towards nature. Yet education is not only formal school-based, but also informal life-long learning among all age groups. Moreover, it should include all dimensions of sustainable development from environmental to social and cultural ones. There are examples of better recognition of culture as heritage, multiculturalism and way of life in the curriculums of schools. Communication media such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and social media can be engaged to extend this dialogue into the wider society, to play important roles in public education about sustainability issues, and to serve as key platforms for information exchange and social dialogue in communities. Artistic works aimed at bringing environmental issues to the public’s attention or using the arts to improve the environment are growing. They can serve as insightful catalysts for rethinking our daily habits and modelling new ways of working and living. There are growing calls to invent strategies to more deeply involve artistic and cultural actors in fostering more sustainable cities and ways of living and grassroots examples of civic imagination and ‘artivism’ (art-led activism) in many cities [37].

Transformations

Transformation to a more sustainable society calls for new ways of thinking and acting. Many modes of innovations are needed: technological, social, cultural, systemic and informal. The role of policy is not only to provide institutional (or market) structures
and education for supporting innovations, but also to enable citizens' awareness and engagement in culture and social life, which can contribute to an emergence of innovations in a remarkable way. Engaging in dynamic grassroots movements — animated, for example, by artistic communities — can lead to a joint spirit, collaboration, and result in multi-actor dialogues, new networks and institutional arrangements.

Bottom-up and participatory approaches can help to create ideas and actions leading toward sustainable local communities, but without systemic support from the local government such initiatives cannot be sustainable in the long run [37]. It is therefore crucial to recognise the complexity of multi-stakeholder processes in policy-making, and consciously cope with this complexity. Enabling policies and planning processes are needed to support these grassroots initiatives, including recognition and power to grassroots innovation actors and processes and involving them within an inclusive, multi-scale innovation politics.

**Conclusions and reflections on policy**

In the context of international negotiations to develop the post-2015 global Sustainable Development Goals, and amid international efforts to incorporate explicit mentions of culture within this agreement, the policy 'scripts' described here reveal the broad contours of a new type of policy landscape. A wide range of research and policy efforts is striving for greater articulation and clarity, and the need to generate a greater 'action-ability' of culture in sustainable development seems evident. Yet culturally sensitive policy structures to guide our societies — and, collectively, the world — into the future are still the exception.

Until recently, cultural sustainability has been advocated most strongly by actors associated with the artistic and creative sectors, but the realisation of the importance of culture for human-centred sustainable development is steadily gaining traction among nations (e.g., the Group of Friends of Culture and Development, launched in September 2013 by 15 UN Member States), cities (brought together through the United Cities and Local Governments organisation and guided by Culture 21: Actions, approved in March 2015), and international agencies led by UNESCO. However, we realise that the struggle to develop and implement policies that more fully and more strongly relate to the integration of culture with sustainability and development continues. The field is challenged by multiple definitions and perspectives about these relationships, which characterises its complexity and multidimensional character.

In closing this chapter, we emphasise again that culture is not just a topic of cultural policy. It should also inform and be integrated within all other policies. Increasingly it is argued that all the best and most successful policies are culturally informed, although not necessarily consciously. Yet many policies and programs have been traditionally implemented only in a top-down 'one size fits all' manner, with too little regard for the cultural specificities of the people and places involved. Experience has shown that such a practice is problematic and generally not effective. And while the idea of a cultural lens on all public policies and plans to ensure local development proceeds in harmony with local cultural contexts has been discussed
for well over a decade, it is only rarely a systematic practice. However, we contend that policies dealing with education, tourism, research, cultural diplomacy, social policies, and city and regional planning, as well as other areas, can integrate culture in the core of their policy-making to various degrees.

Although the ‘scripts’ policy is (or in some cases should in future be) following, as presented in this chapter, are interlinked and overlapping, and are definitely not mutually exclusive, they can be viewed according to the three roles of culture introduced in the previous chapter, that is, culture having supportive, connecting and transforming roles in sustainability. In the first case, the policies strengthen the key intrinsic values of culture, and tend to focus on creativity and diversity of cultural expressions and the contributions of artistic/cultural activity and expressions to human-centred sustainable development trajectories. In the second case, when culture is understood as having a mediating role, the policies extend to cover/share and shape the aims of other public policies, like livelihoods, industries, social and environmental policies. In the third case, policies are promoting broader transformations towards more holistically sustainable societies, for example through increased awareness, behaviour changes providing catalysts and enablers for grassroots collective actions, and developing individuals’ and communities’ capabilities to adapt and carry on more sustainable ways of life. All three models of cultural intervention in sustainable development are valid and resonate in different circumstances.
ASSESSING CULTURE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
A major outcome of this COST Action is a new book series 'Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development' aiming to analyse the broad 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' for bringing together ideas and standpoints from a diverse body of academic research currently scattered among different domains, disciplines and thematic fields. Moreover, the series responds to the call for inter- and transdisciplinary approaches which is being strongly felt, as in most other fields of research, in the field of sustainability and sustainable development. 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 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. The essence of culture in, for, and as sustainable development will be explored 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 socio-economic development. The perspectives of the books stretches from local to global and covers different temporal scales from past to present and future. These issues are valued by theoretical or empirical analysis; their relationship to the ecological, social, and economic dimensions of sustainability will be explored, when appropriate. So far three books in the series have been published. These have been edited by members of the COST Action and with most of their authors being participants in the Action. More books and book proposals are on their way. If you are interested in publishing a book in this series, either an edited volume or monograph, contact Katriina Soini and Joost Dessein, the editors of the series.

www.routledgetextbooks.com/textbooks/sustainability/culture.php

www.routledge.com/books/series/RSCSD/

This book views heritage as a process that contributes through cultural sustainability to human well-being and socially- and culturally-sensitive policy. By examining the interactions between people and communities in the places where they live it exemplifies from a broad interdisciplinary perspective the diverse ways in which a people-centred heritage builds identities and supports individual and collective memories.

With theoretically-informed case studies from leading researchers, the book addresses both concepts and practice, in a range of places and contexts including landscape, townscape, museums, industrial sites, everyday heritage, ‘ordinary’ places and the local scene, and even UNESCO-designated sites. The contributors demonstrate in a cohesive way how the cultural values that people attach to place are enmeshed with issues of memory, identity and aspiration and how they therefore stand at the centre of sustainability discourse and practice. The cases, drawn from many parts of Europe, illustrate the contribution that dealing with the inheritance of the past can make to a full cultural engagement with sustainable development.

An introductory framework opens the book, and a concluding section draws on the case studies to emphasise their transferability and specificity, and outlines their potential contribution to future research, practice and policy in cultural sustainability.
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 of small and medium-sized cities.

Meeting the aims of sustainability is becoming increasingly difficult; at the same time, the call for culture is becoming more powerful. This book explores the relationships between culture, sustainability and regional change through the concept of ‘territorialisation’. This describes the dynamics and processes in the context of regional development, driven by collective human agency that stretches beyond localities and marked-off regional boundaries.

This book launches the concept of ‘territorialisation’ by exploring how the natural environment and culture are constitutive of each other. This concept allows us to study the characterisation of the natural assets of a place, the means by which the natural environment and culture interact, and how communities assign meaning to local assets, add functions and ascribe rules of how to use space. By highlighting the time-space dimension in the use and consumption of resources, territorialisation helps to frame the concept and grasp the meaning of sustainable regional development. Drawing on a range of case studies from all continents, the book addresses both conceptual issues and practical applications of ‘territorialisation’ in a range of contexts, forms, and scales.
Assessments are an important part of both policies and politics. There are several methodologies for carrying out assessments and communicating their results, but indicators are perhaps the most commonly used. Indicators select threads, headlines or leverage points from complex and non-linear phenomena, and reduce them to more easily comprehensible evidence in order to provide information about the impacts of events and trajectories, the effects of different courses of action, and the quality and direction of change. Usually indicators are quantitative, statistical and numerical, which for some topics can be a simplification too far, and it becomes necessary – a far more difficult task – to devise and use qualitative indicators by means, for example, of general descriptions, anecdotes and observations, narratives, images and perhaps even performance.

While indicators reflect policy options, they can also shape them, since very often policies, or at least activities are defined by what outputs can be measured. This often leaves behind the less quantifiable areas of cultural sustainability and which are a great many.

[Raquel Freitas]
Efforts to develop sustainability indicators have strongly increased since the beginning of the 1990s, often led by intergovernmental processes of organisations (such as the OECD, EU or UNESCO) and supported by large research projects as well as by regional and local initiatives. Indicators (such as GDP) also serve as a tool of communication and can raise awareness (for example ‘ecological footprints’). Thus, although indicators are used to indicate and measure change, they may also generate it, and in that sense they are powerful policy tools. Indicators relate not only to the production of scientific knowledge, but also to a political norm creation [29]. The design of sustainability indicators constitutes a challenge to scientists, however, given the multidimensionality and value-laden nature of sustainability, and this difficulty is only exacerbated in the context of culture which can less easily than, say economics or ecology, be quantified statistically.

Social, cultural and environmental contexts are time and space specific. To attend the purposes of reducing complexity, correlate one another phenomena that seem untidy and chaotic and facilitate handy communication for policy arenas, the assessments often may flatten and trivialise the phenomena’s complexity or crush a concept on the indicator and masking or even hiding paradigms, ideologies and assumptions.

(Elena Battaglini)

Indicators, and more broadly evidence-based policies, are often criticised as representing a techno-rational/economic view of society and of decision-making, and there are some arguments for not expanding this approach into the field of culture and humanities. We find however that indicators, whether quantitative or qualitative, provide important tools for making culture more tangible in the policy arena. The essential question for us is not whether or not to have indicators, but rather to find or create indicators that are capable of accurately and fully pinpointing the particular and characteristics attributes of culture within sustainable development, not ‘whether’ but ‘what sort’ and ‘how’ to construct or to use them.

Existing indicators

There are presently a number of social and cultural statistics from international to local level that offer data about cultural phenomena and human well-being. There also exist sets of sustainability indicators that include socio-cultural aspects alongside their environmental and ecological ones. But what kind of indicators are there that explicitly target the interconnections between culture and sustainable development? What is characteristic of these indicators?

The existing indicators are often sector based serving a certain type of policies. They usually concern practices and processes such as the consumption or the supply of services or the availability of resources, but they are rarely able to measure and interpret quality change in society. They also often suffer from confusion between cultural activities and impacts [30]. Overall, it seems to be difficult to take into account the full diversity and complexity of our cultural reality, and as a result existing indicators tend to follow a rationalist and econometric logic. Moreover, although these indicators are labelled as being ‘cultural’, they seem to measure phenomena that could rather be considered as social (for
example, participation, equity or education) or economic. They also seem to assume that the impact of culture on development is always sustainable.

Indicators may also suffer from scalar problems. The scale of the measurement does not necessarily meet the scale of the actual activity or practice or their impact (e.g. use of national level indicators in the assessment of tourism at the destination level), or they are simply designed to target certain type of societies (such as, developing countries). There are also challenges related to their operationalisation arising from a discrepancy between objectives (the vast aims of the sustainable development ‘project’) and resources (including the normal funding models, which make truly long term assessment difficult) [31].

The challenges of assessing culture in sustainability

There are several challenges to finding or creating indicators that measure the relationship between culture and sustainability. First of all a clear understanding of the linkages between culture and sustainability is required at the conceptual level. Here, our identification of three different but complementary and overlapping roles for culture in sustainable development might facilitate the collection of data and evidence that is more suitable for the evaluation of the role and meaning of culture in sustainable development. Second, however, come questions related to the availability, standardisation, aggregation and ranking of data, all of which are required to allow cultural statistics to be consistently constructed, and therefore useful.

Assessment should be more than a collection of indicators. It should include methodological considerations that go as far as proposing the inversion of top-down structures that compartmentalise and pre-define policy areas, into alternative frames for guiding decision-makers through bottom-up, contextualised decisional processes. [Raquel Freitas]

Those developing cultural sustainability indicators may also encounter other problems. Professionals and practitioners working in the sector of culture are not necessarily familiar with quantitative (or any other) assessment methods, an issue also with variation.
between countries, and without interdisciplin- ary co-operation they cannot essentially con- tribute to the process of designing indicators. Decisions makers, on the other hand, might rely on measurable, tangible quantitative indicators whilst seeing qualitative indicators as being flawed by their perceived subjectivity. To achieve cultural sustainability, both types are needed, and must be combined into inte- grated ways of monitoring and understanding change, which will require new approaches and long-term planning. There is an urgent need for good examples that show the op- portunities of new participatory approaches such as cultural mapping or ‘counter-map- ping’, and co-production of various sorts.

The way forward

In the light of shortcomings in existing indica- tors and acknowledging the challenges fac- ing the development of better indicators, we suggest the following steps to proceed.

The development of indicators that more usefully reflect culture should be considered as a joint learning process. This implies that the importance of incorporating cultural as- sessments in sustainability programmes needs to be revealed to a wider range of stakeholders, participants and research- ers. Relevant stakeholders from policy and decision makers to researchers and practi- tioners, with their different worldviews and paradigms, should be involved in the design- ing process of new indicators, and where feasible to modify (broaden) existing ones, and their capacities and knowledge of indicators in the design and use of indicators should be increased. Collaboration between the actors at different levels and sectors is also needed to critically reflect on the existing statistics, taking responsibility for the costs of their

CULTURAL MAPPING AS A WAY TO INVOLVE COMMUNITIES TO MAKE ASSESSMENTS

Cultural mapping [36] is a systematic tool to involve communities in the identification and recording of local cultural assets, with the implication that this knowledge will then be used to inform collective strategies, planning processes or other initiatives. It promises new ways of describing, accounting for, and coming to terms with the cultural resources (both tangible or quantitative and in- tangible or qualitative) of communities and places.

Key issues in the highly interdisciplinary field of cultural mapping include the questions of what to map, how to map, and to what purpose the ‘findings’ should be directed. Issues of power, resistance, alternative per- spectives and knowledge, and the question of what con- stitutes important cultural elements and meanings are situated at the centre of the field. The process of making implicit knowledge explicit, and mobilising the symbolic forms through which local residents understand and com- municate their sense of place, also have ethical and politi- cal dimensions.

Cultural mapping encompasses an array of tradi- tions and trajectories. For example, since the turn of the millennium the rising prominence of so-called ‘creative industries’ internationally has meant that cultural policy- related mapping research has tended to focus on defin- ing, measuring and mapping the presence and spread of the economic dimensions of the cultural and creative sec- tors. At the local level, as culture became more integrat- ed within strategic development and planning initiatives, there has been a growing number of initiatives to identify, quantify, and geographically locate cultural assets such as facilities, organisations, public art and heritage.

This comprises only a part of the field, how- ever. Cultural mapping also encompasses artistic and counter-mapping traditions that prioritise the qualitative and the intangible, valorise alternative perspectives, and broaden the ways in which we understand cultural resources within community systems, relationships, and fields of meaningful interaction. In these ways, cultural mapping aims to recognise and make visible the ways lo- cal stories, practices, relationships, memories, and rituals constitute places as meaningful locations.

An important trajectory of cultural mapping in- volves the tradition of community empowerment and counter-mapping. Counter-mapping refers to a map-mak- ing process in which communities challenge the formal maps, appropriate official techniques of representation, and make their own maps. Both the alternative mapping process itself and the visualised map that results are viewed as acts of resistance, and in contexts of uneven power relations can serve to articulate and promote mar- ginalized voices and perspectives in society.

(Nancy Duxbury)
development and operationalisation. Collaboration may also contribute positively to the bias that may arise from political objectives related to the indicator work.

The second imperative is that good examples and practices are urgently found and shared. What is needed for example is qualitative indicators, examples of different types and formats, illustrations of how they can be used, and ways for them to be combined with quantitative indicators. There already exist approaches, frameworks and procedures which might be exploited as a starting point or work of reference when developing indicators for culture. This includes cultural ecosystem services [32] and the principles and practice of sustainable design. But there seems to be need for many different and parallel assessment methods and types of indicators, instead of one.

The acknowledgment in indicator construction of the three different roles of culture in, for and as sustainable development, as elaborated in this document, is a third requirement of future research. As far as the first role, the 4th pillar approach, is concerned the indicators may mostly concern the cultural policy sector, and there are both good statistics, as well as already ongoing work, in this field. Lessons from this field, however, include the need for a more critical elaboration of sustainability and a more critical stance to economic development. In culture’s ‘second role’, where culture is considered as a connecting or mediating force between the other dimensions of sustainability, the assessment becomes more complex, due to the role of culture in different processes. Moreover, the assessments are extremely context specific. However, (participatory) methodologies in landscape research and place attachment have been shown to be helpful. Finally, in the third role of culture, there are already indicators that can be used to measure (for example) changes in the environmentally-sound behaviour or human and societal wellbeing that is culturally embedded. The challenge is rather to consider these as indicators of culturally sustainable transformation, and to develop new indicators to measure this change.

Finally there is the question of time and relative perspectives. As far as the overall process of indicators from design to use is concerned, it should be noted that assessments related to the interrelationship between culture and sustainability concern underlying processes that are not necessarily perceptible in the short-term. Moreover the processes may be perceived differently depending on the subject and on the object of analysis. Therefore, the long term and issues of inter-subjectivity and different perceptions and interests concerning cultural sustainability are necessary points of departure for analysis. They must be included in the picture that is taken through assessment. This is useful not only for the policy design, but also for the policy implementation and policy evaluation phase. Assessment tools and indicators, just as the concepts that underlie them, should also not be seen as static entities but as contextualised and evolving realities, which the policy-maker has to constantly take into consideration in order to maintain the relevance of policy and resultant action.
GREENING THE CITY, CULTIVATING COMMUNITY:
Social and cultural sustainability: Re-connecting urban humans with the land in Paris

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report and Agenda 21, interest in urban nature has grown, and for social, cultural as well as environmental reasons. For many decades, nature within cities has been ‘civilised’, relegated to a decorative role, and appreciated at best for relaxation and recreation. This position has been challenged by recent enthusiasm for community gardening and the more radical ‘guerrilla gardening’. These activities reflect on the place and role of inhabitants’ engagement with nature in the context of urbanisation.

Although guerrilla gardening varies around the world, there are fundamental aspects in common, notably social and political dimensions, and above all the desire to begin to transform the relationship of humans to nature. Guerrilla gardening is interconnected with local cultures and based upon ordinary everyday creativity closely linked to nature. The initiatives function as common ground for people to express basic universal concerns on issues such as participation, democracy, responsibility, trust, personal health and aesthetic concerns.

Guerrilla gardening in Paris and its suburbs illuminates the new understandings and roles beginning to be given to nature by city dwellers, suggesting fundamentally new cultural patterns are being created. By means of direct action and the changes it brings to the quality of the everyday environment, it challenges both the perception of what urban nature could be and the governance mechanisms that contain both nature and use of the land; taken together this underlines a desire by citizens for a more enlivened milieu. In its pre-occupation with important matters such as the health of the soil and the air, rights of access to land and soil as a public good, the preservation of old species, the right to reproduce and distribute seeds, access to healthy local food and the implementation of alternative economic models, guerrilla gardening touches through culture on all three of the traditional pillars of sustainable development, the environmental, the social and the economic. The gardeners occupy public and private space as public goods, for example via shared use and open access to city public amenities, self-sustained food production, and green art. They question the conventional urban way of life, remind citizens that natural resources such as land are not endlessly renewable, and offer alternative, more sustainable, pathways through the urban world and lifestyle.

Culture is a dynamic concept; through initiatives such as guerrilla gardening it creates openness to innovation and change in terms of personal behaviour. Guerrilla gardening also touches and modifies perspectives such as identity, the shape and importance of (perhaps dormant) local cultures with historical roots; it provokes new cultural experiences. It leads to experiments with self-sufficiency and sharing, so that guerrilla gardening in Paris is also a social movement which symbolises its transformative power and the cultural shift it is bringing about, in which participation and civic empowerment are crucial aspects. It has socially innovative outcomes, too, because participants have an opportunity for social learning; actions such as this, not requiring a code of rules, can, as Evans Prichard says, create ‘a good ordered anarchy’.
There are obstacles. The occupation of public space can create tensions between contrasting perspectives and varied societal claims on how best to use the public space. Furthermore, because it brings into question models of society and economy based on private property and profit-led economic development, the possibility of integrating its perspectives into public policies is limited. Finally, whilst most guerrilla gardening initiatives have started as self-governance, with participatory approaches (radical civic engagement) and a marked tendency towards horizontal decision processes, in some cases gardens or growing yards have been institutionalised and are now promoted by governments and local municipalities, leading to a change in the existing policy models.

Some key lessons can be learned. Guerrilla gardening has already developed a rich cultural pattern that alters meanings of common space, self-identity, or even language, encouraging a new political perspective and approach. It proposes not only an alternative economic model, but alternative models of sustainable development more generally which question private property and promote the common use of public space. In a cultural perspective, guerrilla gardening leads to the de-institutionalisation and the re-institutionalisation of existing routines and ways of doing things. This is a precondition for change, as without impetus from inside, change would not happen.
On 8th May 2011 in the COST Association offices in Brussels a group of 30 researchers met together for the first time to start work on the newly-initiated COST Action ‘Investigating Cultural Sustainability’ [COST IS1007; www.culturalsustainability.eu]. Our four-year-dwelling in the No Man’s Land of culture and sustainable development had started.

In stepping into the gap between ‘culture’ and ‘sustainable development’, participants in the COST Action (their numbers rapidly growing from that initial 30 to about 100) were aware of entering a metaphysical No Man’s Land. We called it ‘cultural sustainability’, a ‘place’ with challenges but also resources and lessons to offer to its surrounding neighbours. It lay between large reasonably defined disciplinary territories of environmental and social sciences, arts and humanities, but its own boundaries were badly drawn and its heartlands hardly explored. It was most frequently visited and crossed by cultural policy and by artists of many kinds, bringing new ideas from other places, but also sometimes crossed by people interested in political ecology or democracy or human identity and wellbeing. Some concepts were already explored, but usually from relatively narrow or focussed standpoints. The actions and thoughts that took place in our notional No Man’s Land were as diverse (and superficially unconnected) as in real world No Man’s Lands. But we suspected we had simply not yet found the

“No Man’s Lands are places that do not belong exclusively to one person but are shared and used by many people as a common good. They were once firmly rooted in shared and collective community activity, indeed in sustainability and the long term husbanding of common resources governed by mutually-agreed social and cultural rules of behaviour and practice. Their most familiar meaning today may well be that of the land between the trenches in 1914-18. This reflects a much deeper meaning of lying between neighbouring communities, because such common lands for a thousand years have been located at the edges of village, township and parish lands. What makes No Man’s Lands most interesting for us, however, is a contradiction within their meaning. As a place of complex resources shared in common, they reflect community and collectivity, but at the same time they lay outside and challenged many norms of ‘society’. By virtue of their liminality, their location at the edge of communities, at the edge indeed of everyday activity and of the cultivated (‘cultured’) area, sometimes extending beyond even the ‘outfield’, places only occasionally visited and used, No Man’s Lands came to be seen as being beyond as well as between; strange, eerie and queer, indeed potentially dangerous places, a place of outlaws and of otherness, a place from which radical ideas could come”.

(Graham Fairclough)
right set of mutually-agreed rules and shared or mutually-respected attitudes that all successful commons needs. Approaches to cultural sustainability had been very diverse, reflecting the different aims, aspirations and disciplinary backgrounds of the many different types of actors, artists, researchers, practitioners, policy-makers and politicians who haunted these outfields of what was becoming ‘mainstream’, conventional sustainable development. Not enough voices called for new research lines; not enough critical mass yet existed to establish different policy contexts or frames of discourse. As in the real historical world, the shared commonality of No Man’s Lands had been fractured by sectoral difference. COST’s endorsement of the cultural sustainability action provided an opportunity to (re)discover this unexplored land, now abandoned at the edges but potentially central to everything.

Our key task was to embed in various ways cultural sensibilities and culture in all its forms into existing sustainability frameworks. We therefore packed the Brundtland Report on Sustainable Development as a guidebook, albeit possible outdated, and carried the three ‘pillars’ of environment, society and economy in our toolbox, for want of anything more modern. Acknowledging the challenges and some shortcomings of this set of ideas and implements, we also noted their applicability in research and power in policy making. They gave us signposts, directions and occasionally maps.

The network itself witnessed and represented a diversity of European cultures and different perceptions of sustainabilities. This was a great resource for our work, but also a challenge for the co-ordination.

(Katriina Soini)
memories make the future; some aimed for cultural, attitudinal and indeed political change.

We began to understand and appreciate others’ viewpoints and ideas, whilst nevertheless still keeping our own. No Man’s Lands in the real world belonged to no single person, but they were used by many. Such shared areas and resources – commons – afforded many different things to many people, even conflicting things as long as their exploitation was well and sustainably managed. In our metaphorical No Man’s Land, therefore, we saw that, agreeing on single, exclusive key concepts, definitions or methodologies – ways of dwelling – was not an option. We wished to benefit from the diversity of perspectives and methods that existed in our research community, and to profit from the ‘otherness’ that lies within any No Man’s Land. A decrease in intellectual and practical diversity would, we felt, limit our understanding of our No Man’s Land, and reduce its value to others, as when mosaic farmland is converted to agri-monoculture.

So instead (or as well as) framing definitions and identifying policies and tools, we started to tell stories about our different experiences, our contexts whether urban or rural, about agriculture, territorialisation, arts, both on conceptual as well as practical levels. Some of these stories have been offered in this book, as stories or as smaller texts; many others went towards the making of three edited volumes in a new book series, ‘Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development’, which will continue to offer a place to publish the best of ongoing cultural sustainability research and practice.

In the final year we returned from our No Man’s Land back into the centres of our communities, and started to build a common house, an interdisciplinary framework, the groundwork of which was based on three different roles of culture in sustainable development. The walls started to grow. Time was too short for such a network to complete the interiors or even to cover the house with a roof, but nevertheless No Man’s Land had been explored, and has been found to be a fruitful, rewarding and revealing place. This publication serves as a first map for way-finding in No Man’s Land and for returning to it in order to harness its intellectual and practical assets for broader common and cultural good. We may also see that, although we covered most of the No Man’s Land with different knowledge and expertise, there were areas that remained unexplored (cultural minorities, cultural economics ... but the list is long). The No Man’s Land, although explored now, is still open for new travellers, visitors or residents; so is the field of culture and sustainable development open for further development. We end this book with our suggestions for next steps and new journeys, expressed through future research lines.
Returning with new ideas: future research lines

Despite growing interest in culture as an explicit aspect of sustainable development, the number of research programmes covering the issue remains small, and in most cases research is concealed in a variety of other thematic projects. Raising the profile of cultural sustainability as an independent but integrative research field is therefore a priority if it is to be more deeply recognised in current and forthcoming research programs.

The insights gained during our Action, which have been only briefly summarised in this document, allow us to identify major gaps in understanding the role and meaning of culture in sustainable development, and to discern obstacles to future progress. We can begin to identify ways to take forward this relatively newly-emerging field of interdisciplinary research, and in this final section we offer a few suggestions.

There is always a risk in setting out such lists of research questions or topics. They might for example be mistaken as being comprehensive. More damagingly, they might be considered in isolation, and it seems important to emphasise that whilst we argue for the independence of “culture in, for and as sustainable development” as a field of research, we do not argue for its isolation; indeed, it’s very raison d’être is to be integrative and meditative. One of the major lessons of our four year COST Action, and of the intensive collaborative networking and co-researching that it enabled, has been the inherent interconnectedness of culture and sustainable development, in action as well as in research. There are interconnections at disciplinary level, in terms of policy contexts (scales, public-private), in the

ON INTER- AND TRANSDISCIPLINARITY IN CULTURE AND SUSTAINABILITY

The integrative search process of sustainability, with its 4+1 dimensions (ecological, economic, social, cultural, + personal) requires a learning culture. Engaging with culture enables contributions to be made to shaping systems of meaning in society, and connections to be made to worldviews, values and things that speak back to humans. The symbolic universe that we build and inhabit is both part of the ecosystem of sensory realities, and a product of inter-subjective agency. Learning-able and response-able cultures of sustainability, infused with understanding and respect for life in all its complexity, empower humans to change and re-invent their lives. The search for social justice requires not only the development of certain ethical values but also the enrichment and diversification of skills, competences and ways of knowing reality, embedding these into shared practices.

Transversal learning is possible through an expanded rationality, striving for unity in complexity of knowledge, integrating different ways of knowing without simplifying them into one meta-discipline. It both rejects a unitary ‘theory of everything’ and welcomes a complex unity of knowledge, grounded in inter- and transdisciplinarity, defined as:

- Interdisciplinarity, practices which, thanks to inspiring exchanges, enable researchers from one discipline to borrow and adapt methods and metaphors from other disciplines, within a wider shared system (e.g. science or art);
- Transdisciplinarity, an extra dimension of research and action, involving different modes of knowing, from outside of science (or of art); a wholly different kind of research practice, which complements disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, offering a wider integrative framework.

The transdisciplinary attitude is not opposed to disciplinarity (which advances specialised, limited areas of knowledge), but is opposed to a ‘cisdisciplinary attitude’, i.e. a self-mutilating research philosophy whose self-identification conforms with the boundaries of professional disciplines. Transdisciplinarity invites artful inquiry, an openness to dynamic complexity and an acceptance of ambivalences, contradictions and ambiguities.

(Sacha Kagan)
interface of the material and the cognitive or perceptual worlds, in the transition from past to future, in the symbiosis of global with local and of people and place, the interdependence of production and consumption (and the impacts of both), to mention but a few examples.

We propose a loose-knit yet interwoven set of future research principles. They constitute a strategic framework for the next stages, perhaps over the next decade or so, of research into understanding and acting on the central place that culture holds in sustainability discourse. In summary, research should:

- achieve true interdisciplinarity, beyond and between the domains (social sciences and humanities, natural sciences, technological sciences, etc)
- reach out towards transdisciplinary research involving other stakeholders
- envision the co-creation and co-production of knowledge, for example by integrating local knowledge in research, and by exposing participative and transdisciplinary practices
- stretch beyond Europe and develop intercontinental collaborative practices, also between global South(s) and North(s)
- integrate and valorise quantitative and qualitative data and methodologies equally
- expand ecological research from climate change and biodiversity to wider variety of issues, including socio-cultural points of view
- contribute towards practical applications and the re-formulation of policy at all levels, in other words seek to be transformative in the ways that citizens, actors and governments see and shape the future

Following these general research principles, we suggest a number of more-or-less specific individual research lines. We have grouped them in four clusters, broadly speaking, relating to concepts, methods, evidence and themes, but nonetheless we of course insist on their overarching interconnectedness.

- **Refining and operationalisation of conceptual approaches**
  - Further clarification and specification of the interface, interrelationship and overlap between culture and sustainable development
  - Investigation into how the three roles of culture work in practice: what are the political, philosophical and practical prerequisites?
  - Exploration of ‘cultural sustainability’ in relation to other unifying and mainstreaming frameworks and new evolving frameworks

- **Developing methodologies and practices, such as**
  - Definition and selection of indicators or guidelines to analyse and manage regional development through unifying culturally-related filters such as landscape, ecosystem services or territory
  - Further development of the practice of place-based assessments that use culture to create new opportunities, wealth, quality of life and progressive development
  - Revival and modernised use of the concept of commons, including consideration of public/private conflicts, the formation/transformation of common (social) memory and cultural and counter mapping
  - Development of methods for mobilising and motivating individuals and communities in activism and in sustainable thinking and for studying processes of catalysation (who leads, whose agendas)
  - Devising and testing new methods for influencing and shaping eco-environmental action and injecting it with greater culturally-sensitive and culturally-informed awareness
  - Designing ways to use and benefit from cultural activity and creativity in spatial planning
• **Expanding the evidence base for the role of culture in sustainable development**
  > Collect and comparatively analyse more evidence through the study of exemplars, such as the value and social impact of culture in diverse sustainability contexts
  > Engage in comparative research (into discourse and practice) with due regard for contingency and path dependence, in different global contexts
  > Harmonise statistical data spatially and over time, successive aggregation of indicators and indices

• **Selected thematic topics**
  > The effects and benefits of migration and mobility: studying modes and methods of the reciprocal integration of incoming cultures and adaptation of ‘host’ cultures, a two-way process
  > The impact of the loss of ‘minority’ languages (which in academic and policy spheres increasingly means) – not only for their own sake, or impact on identity, but impact on how people think, share discourse, and connect to alternative discourses
  > Modernisation agendas and neo-liberal growth paradigms - negative influences on (obstacles to) achieving culturally-informed sustainable development
  > Exploring how research and policy deals with the ‘wickedness’ of sustainability challenges
  > Attitudes – culture as mediator of change management: questions of participation, adaptive strategies for resilience (e.g. to climate change, post-industrialisation), growth/de-growth and transition (towns), ‘nudging’ behaviours
  > Explore the role of design and creativity in engendering both physical and emotional resilience in the face of unavoidable environmental change
  > ‘Growing’ democratic participation: ways of operationalising the Faro Convention, shifting practice and policy to become more people-centred, practical infrastructures for participation
  > Absence/weakness of modes and mechanisms of local governance, which should be capable (through openness, transparency, subsidiarity while safeguarding autonomy, context and information) of achieving more culturally-sustainable development
The end of an Action, the beginning of action

We are confident that new research along such lines will advance this emerging field of study, and enable culture to play a more substantial and future-proofed role in achieving sustainability. The Action has been able to establish a new book series — ‘Routledge Studies in Culture and Sustainable Development’ — as a specific outcome of its work. This will provide a vehicle for dissemination of the results of future research and will help to build cohesion within the whole field. The first three books in the series (see pages 48–49) have been drawn primarily from the work of the Action and its participants. We have also already established a pilot on-line MA in this subject, which we hope will inspire others to follow us.

We are also aware that many European and global funding streams, for example within the ERA and notably Horizon 2020, are becoming available for research that addresses sustainability issues. It would be a lost opportunity if major research programmes continue to focus as exclusively as they have in the past on narrowly-defined views of environment or ecology, or on views of the economy that separates it from its societal roots. From our vantage point as returnees from No Man’s Land, and supported by our extensive webs of cross- and inter-disciplinary collaborations, we can see the necessity and the advantages of culture gaining a more central and transformative role in sustainable development discourse and action. We envisage that the insights of this COST Action will be able to ensure a strong ‘cultural stream’ in future research and policy.
RECONSTITUTING CULTURE
Tradition and Modernisation: Nature-culture interactions in the Atacama Desert in Chile

Landscapes can be seen as the materialisation of communities, culture and social relations in dynamic interaction with the natural world. Nature and culture co-evolve; each shapes and in turn is shaped by the other. The ongoing social and ecological transformation of the Atacama Desert in the Andes is a clear illustration of the complexity of this interaction. It shows that policies not taking a sensitive approach to culture and social change can cause unsustainable outcomes, even when seeking to do good (here, acknowledging the rights of indigenous people towards their resources).

Recognised as the driest inhabited place on earth, the Atacama spans the borders between Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. Rather than a barren strip of land, many parts of the region support a diversity of biological and geological forms, as well as a network of saltpans, lakes, hot springs and underground water resources. The combination of these qualities, together with the presence of archaeological vestiges of past cultures and the living legacies of the Atacameño culture, led to the establishment of the Flamencos Nature Reserve in the early 1990s. The entire north of Chile also contains an abundance of mineral resources such as copper and lithium.

People have been living in Atacama since pre-Columbian times, and more recently, occupation by traditional communities has led to the development of small settlements such as Toconao and San Pedro de Atacama in oases that are scattered across the landscape. The natural resources historically provided indigenous peoples with a subsistence livelihood, nevertheless many migrated in search of employment, notably to the mining sector in other parts of the north of the Chile.

Chile has a turbulent political past, and the election of a democratic government in 1989 brought both stability and further change. New democratic ideals led to the drawing-up of the 1993 Indigenous Peoples Act which recognised indigenous populations and began a progressive restitution of land and water rights. Although seemingly a positive step forward for the indigenous population, the way in which rights were distributed has proved problematic. 'Indigenous' was defined on ethnic grounds alone; anyone genetically related to an indigenous population was granted rights to traditional resources and new social benefits. This included people who had left the region; they were given the opportunity to register for a share of indigenous rights and to take advantage of from their ethnic background.

This situation attracted indigenous people back to the towns of the Atacama Desert. These people, however, brought back new values that were not necessarily compatible with those of the traditional cultures that the newly acquired rights were supposed to protect. Instead of restoring the ‘traditional’ culture-nature nexus, the empowering of indigenous people thus entailed problematic effects as well. Indigenous populations who had remained in the area, with their particular dynamic of understanding and practice, suddenly found themselves sharing their ‘culture’ and environment with neo-indigenous immigrants who had different cultural values or understandings. As a result, instead of being strengthened, the relatively small existing com-
communities were disrupted by an influx of newly 'indigenised' people with a different cultural connection to the land. Consequently, divergent cultural meanings generated conflicts within the Atacama Desert community, notably when managing and deciding collectively over the newly returned land and water rights, including the Flamenkos Nature Reserve. Furthermore, growing water scarcity caused by the expansionist needs of mining companies operating in a neoliberal setting add to the contemporary climate of tension and race for natural resources and water in the Atacama Desert.

The key lesson to be learned is that culture is constantly changing, that it evolves rapidly, and that it cannot be regarded as an inherent genetic trait. Many countries around the world have indigenous populations and, while their culture often provides a framework for maintaining the community, the assumption that all hold to the same cultural values cannot be made. The nature-culture nexus is a result of complex and continuously changing cultural, social and political connections built up over long periods of time. Policies which seek to protect culture and nature (in this example, those which grant democratic property rights to indigenous people) will also impact on and change cultural identity itself [38].
ACTION PEOPLE

People who actively contributed to COST Action IS1007

Many people actively contributed to the COST Action 1007 'Investigating Cultural Sustainability'. They are listed below. More information about their expertise can be found in the online publication 'Investigating Cultural Sustainability. Experts and multidisciplinary approaches' (www.culturalsustainability.eu/about-is-1007). In addition to all those members listed below, we also of course benefitted greatly from the participation of all other Action members, as well as the assistance of many other people, notably those who helped organise our workshops and conferences, our invited keynote speakers and other colleagues who offered us presentation from a very wide range of expertise and experience, and advise of members of COST Domain Committee and our rapporteur.

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