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Change and resistance in cultural urban policy. Madrid as a scenario.

Author(s)

*Velasco, María, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain,
maria.velasco@cps.ucm.es*

*De la Fuente, Rosa, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain
rdelafuente@ucm.es*

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1. Introduction

Urban policies are a set of policies, programs and punctual interventions that are related to the aim of producing a specific city model. Usually, the role of urbanism in this urban policy mix has been the most studied one, since it is considered the main tool to intervene or transform urban space. However, urban policies are more than urban planning ones.

To analyze urban policies some theoretical approaches had focus on policies as urban sustainability, spatial planning or urban social policies, but many others has focused on urban policies' changes and continuities. This longitudinal approach to urban policies let them identify long stages and turning points (Blanco & Subirats 2012, Ravazzi & Belligni 2016, Subirats 2012, de la Fuente & Velasco 2012, Precado 2010, Davis & Blanco 2017, de la Fuente & Velasco 2017). Those stages can be also conceptualized as "urban political orders" (Stone 2015), letting us the possibility of understanding change in urban political analysis (Rast 2015:139). Those stages or periods are characterized linked to an implicit or explicit "city model", since at every period there are a group of hegemonic mix of urban policies, due to the diffusion of innovative and good practices policies related to a multilevel consensual city model. Turning points, on contrary, are related to global or local economic crisis and the appearance of social movements claiming for an economic, political and social change. Sometimes also an electoral overturning occurs with the appearance of new leaderships supported by a new advocacy coalition. In those tipping point moments, city model narratives change and therefore there is an attempt process of renewing urban policies' aims, but also institutional and political constraints.

In those cases, political dynamic and the role of political actors are the conditions of possibility of the change in urban policies. One of the objective of this essay is precisely to try to analyze this moment. In that sense, we will use several theoretical perspectives to explain the crisis and the political re-framing happened in Madrid City since May 2011, with the appearance of the indignados' movement in Madrid, and later with the arrival of the new local government in May 2015 with Manuela Carmena, a former judge, who won the elections back up by a civic and party coalitions, Ahora Madrid (Madrid Now). After two years of leading, the city we

would like to analyze their new city model, and its relation with the design of new urban policies, in this case, just with the cultural policy.

The urban context, close to the needs and demands of citizens, promote collective decision-making in relation to cultural policy (Evans, 2001, McGuigan, 2004; Grodach and Silver, 2014). Therefore, we are particularly interested in observing how, in this arena it is possible to observe the dynamics of change and resistance in the formulation of urban policies. In this context, we could wonder to what extend new local government have changed urban policy mix, after two years of leading the city, but mainly in which way cultural policy have been central to reconfigure political possibilities and pursuit a new urban collective identity.

We will show how cultural policy has been a terrain of political struggle through which is possible to understand the resistance and constraints to change the city model. Also, it is relevant to illustrate how participatory processes and a new culture of participation in the city has been introduce to change the political culture of the city. According with the new city model, culture should not be considered as an instrumental tool to generate economic activity and attracting tourism and investments, but an instrument to foster new democratic cultural possibilities. Mainly, two main tools had been used: decentralization and participation. But many disputes appeared even inside the government coalition.

2. Theoretical framework and methodology

Since his effort to explain the city change in Atlanta, Stone (1989, 1993) urban regimen theory is an essential analytical tool to understand change in urban policies. This theory try to recognise who are the most relevant actors and how they become into the key decision-makers of urban public policies, through moments of increasing public-private cooperation. Although, for some authors, this theory is not able to capture the essence of nowadays public-private cooperation (Rast 2017; 139), and the author himself is proposing a new theoretical approach (American political development, Stone 2015) it is still useful for our analysis. It is especially pertinent to show the way private and public actors are building governance coalitions (Stone 2005) to get the “power to” to transform the urban context (Ravazzi & Belligni 2016).

However, we must underline that in our study case, the context, in which the new city model and the coalition of private and public stakeholders is being built is different than the one used

under the post-Fordism context, the one Stone mainly analysed, so the relevant question is how change occurs considering those different political orders (Rast 2016:139), and under which circumstances those stable urban regimes are reframed. Since we have interested in analysing change in urban policies, we are not focus on the stability of fragility of the coalitions of actors but more in the core ideas to be spread through the implementation of urban public policies, that could also reinforce the dynamic of networking.

Therefore, we consider other theoretical efforts, separately from the rationalist and institutionalist approaches, considering ideas and actors as the core elements to understand how a public policy is changed (Fontaine 2016). It is very interesting that those proposals, mostly, those which considered public policies as learning processes, finally got similar metaphors than those considered by the urban regime theory. The approach developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, the “Advocacy Coalition” also developed the idea of consolidated coalitions, joined around common interest, sharing a core groups of beliefs and values about it. Those coalitions are composed by “people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system—i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions—and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time” (Sabatier 1988: 139).

Also, interpretative approaches in social sciences help to explain the dynamics of change and continuity (Schmidt 2011: 107). In that sense, Zittoun underlined “the actor’s discourse is considered as the indispensable link which allows policy change to be understood (...) the production of a discourse of change and its causes is considered as a fundamental activity for actors trying to influence other actors and transform public policies” (2009:67). Therefore, he considered that rather than interrogating the existence and the causes of policy change with all its attendant epistemological difficulties, we can analyse actor’s production of policy change discourses as an essential element required to install a new public action” (Zittoun 2009.74). In a similar way, he also considers that to evoke this common discourse, we can use terms such as a “policy statement” and a “discursive coalition” to identify the (re)grouping of actors and discourses which occurs in the policy process (2009: 75).

However, using only those theoretical approaches, it is difficult to understand how those ideas and political construction of discursive coalitions are translated to the design and implementation of public policy specific actions. So, in that sense, we consider it is interesting

to include other theoretical approaches focusing on public policies like the one proposed by Hall. Following Hall (1993) there are three dimensions or layers that constitute a policy (Hall, 1993) a deep one related with the core ideas and beliefs about the issue or the paradigm level; a second one related to how to address the objectives or which instruments should be use; and finally, settings or evaluation of specific tool. Those dimensions can be also read as part of the discourses of change, although translated and institutionalised, as Schmidt explains: “The policy ideas in the coordinative discourse (...) are generally translated by political actors into language accessible to the public, as part of a communicative discourse that also add normative legitimization, to ensure that the policy and programmatic ideas resonate with the philosophical frames of the policy” (2011: 117).

Therefore, we have used several methodologies to analyse the new urban regime building process and the change of the previous political order but specifically in relation with the role of cultural policy, due to its role in the diffusion of ideas. First we have analysed the discourse of change through the electoral programme and the political context, secondly we have analysed several semi-structured interviews applied to different types of actors, (High Officials, Executive Staff, Technical Staff, and Interest group leaders, see Appendix) and finally we have revisited the assessment reports of the Cultural Operative Plan, available at the Open Government Data Digital site. To present our results, we will use figures to explain our most relevant findings.

In the following sections, we will first show the “incubation phase”, the moment of designing the new city model, building at the same time a coalition of actors who were going to support them. Secondly, once we had considered this context, we will analyse one sectorial public policy, the cultural one, to check if the change is having an impact in the inner-core of cultural policy, in the type and characteristics of the instruments fostered, or in the settings of implementation (Hall 1999). Moreover, in our case, as we could explain later, this sectoral policy is a relevant instrument of the change in the urban regime, and therefore our intention is to discover if the symbolic and discursive struggle of changing the city model is also the result of a new design of public interventions in culture sphere.

3.The context of change: ideas, agents and policies

In Spain, the economic crisis was the result of the international crisis but it was also strongly related to Real Estate bubble burst which had an unprecedented impact in unemployment rates, foreclosures and evictions. Moreover, the crisis in 2011 was considered not only as an economic one, but mainly as a political and cultural one. And, therefore, after the 15M camp demonstrations in 2011 new political narratives were spread through different actors claiming against the social effects of the economic crisis and those who has caused them (Casero-Ripollés & Feenstra 2012, Romanos 2017).

Social movements and organized civil society tried to frame new political possibilities, using argumentative strategies of denouncing “they called it democracy but it is not”, and claiming new ways of doing politics, in a more transparent and participative way, re-centering citizens as the main actors of the political scene. Since those claims were mostly related to the national political system and its problems (corruption, crisis of representation and so on), new national political parties appeared to channeled the discontent of the citizenships, as Podemos (left oriented) and Ciudadanos (liberals). However, many local actors, as neighborhood associations, new urban activism¹ (Walliser 2013) and the anti-eviction movement (PAH) were also part of the process of politicization² converting local and urban scales in those arenas in which contentious politics and resistance could be placed.

¹Walliser (2013: 342) defined them as New Urban Activisms and their main features are: “1) A loose organizational structure, often define more by a digital identity that by a formalized structure, although this is sometimes a prerequisite to consolidate their projects and become stakeholders.2) Blurry lines between political action, mobilization and professionalization in a landscape of a young generation of skilled and politically committed that share values but also strive to escape unemployment or a precarious job market. 3)Weak formal links or identification with established political organizations beyond the individual opinions of the activists as a reaction to traditional mechanisms of political participation (Forbrig, 2005). 4) Social innovation such as the consolidation of open source communities that produce collective knowledge. (...) 5) ICTs are a crucial tool to build identity, debate and mobilize online, but also to de-virtualise the digital community by encouraging real, offline interaction. 6) Activists can be identified more on generational and political traits than strictly on social class. Often highly educated, activists are the outcome of three decades of welfare state and social investment in education in Spain. With a rate of youth unemployment over around 50% these activists are redesigning life careers, political participation and their eventual (yet almost impossible) access to the labor market. 7) NUA are often promoting and networking both as a reaction to public administration initiatives, but mainly with a proactive bottom-up strategy. In terms of public space their main aim is to transform the city and develop new innovative projects. Sometimes the dialogue with the authorities is not but a tactical need to achieve their purposes. 8) NUA using ICTs and its locally based projects, have the agency to place political debate at the same level that mainstream social media and to even gain visibility and be influential in the public opinion.

²We understand politicization as the process through which claims are expressed in a contentious and antagonist way, not only demanding but also condemning those who are generating the privation.

Since the end of 2014, the municipalism³ incipient movement was going to activate progressively a corpus of critical urban narratives, through which also they were defining a new city model possibility. Classical and new urban activisms (Walliser 2013) were involved in the collaborative process of defining the institutionalization of those new citizen candidatures or confluences but also defining their programmatic solutions, using sectorial and neighborhood assemblies, but also new digital and participatory tools as Reddit, Agora Voting, and Loomio. The project was to foster “a new urban collective intelligence”⁴. According with the urban regime theory, this process could be considered the “incubation phase” (Ravazzi and Belligni 2016) through which common purposes of urban change are shaped, framing new political possibilities and design of public policies.

In May 2015, in several cities in Spain, the so-called “municipal or citizen confluences inspired by the new municipalist ideas, “and back up in some cases by the new party Podemos, won municipal elections”⁵. After it, Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Badalona, Cádiz -among others- were going to be ruled by non-expert politicians, with the aim of fostering a new *municipalism*, able to act against the “old way of doing politics”⁶. One of the members of Ganemos platform in Madrid, reflect about it: “at the beginning we thought if you create a social idea, the government is going to hear you, but it is not true”, “we went for election to change public to common” (ES1: 2016). In that sense, they were calling themselves, “the cities of change”, motto used due to the omnipresent idea of

³The municipalist movement is related to the idea of the autonomy of cities and citizens to rule their own future. In May 2014, the Foundation of the Commons and the coop. editorial called “Traficantes de Sueños”, (Dealers of dreams”) published; *The municipalist Bet. Democracy starts in the nearest place*, resuming the main characteristic of this movement and their most relevant discursive collective frames. Those main frame ideas were: good governance and transparency in the managing of the city, new democratic institutionalism through political and economic autonomy, participatory processes and transparency, support of communitarian initiatives and social economy, and dismantling of the privatization of public services and the neoliberal city model.

⁴This is a new *mantra* during the pre-electoral phase but also it was used many times after winning municipal election by those new urban activists, as a narrative to legitimate participatory processes and the potential of citizens of becoming political actors.

⁵ Those civic platforms were created from bottom assemblies’ experiences as Ganemos Madrid (Let’s win) in Madrid, or Ganemos Sevilla, and Guayem,(Let’s win) in Barcelona, but once in some cases, they got the support of different parties they also changed they electoral candidature names, as Ahora Madrid (Now Madrid), Barcelona in Comú, (Barcelona in common).

⁶Other European examples of cities struggling against austerity and fostering radical democracy procedures through social innovation are among others Lublin and Gdańsk, in Poland (Ultratel 2017), Messina, Naples, and Bologna in Italy (Cillero 2017), and Amersfoort in Holand.

changing in their programmatic discourses⁷. The change was focused on introducing a new way of doing politics, specifically a more ethical and transparent way to avoid corruption, more participative and inclusive and more oriented to satisfy the necessities of the inhabitants, through endogenous and communitarian policies, in sum, a more radical democracy.

All these ideas were related to the main goal of transforming the city model from one oriented to growth and private profit (neoliberal one), to a redistributive one, to reduce inequalities and solve social “real” problems like evictions, absence of social housing, high prices of supplies (gas, electricity, heating, internet...) etc. For example, the idea of changing the city model was described programmatically in Barcelona as follows: “A part from the measures to guarantee the basic rights to citizens, it is necessary to change the city model. And therefore, it is necessary to restrain privatization processes, and those *precarisation* and segregation effects in the city, fostering new social, cultural and economic practices, more collective and sustainable“(Barcelona en Comú Programme 2015).

In that sense, they underlined the possibility of improving the access and the quality of public services through re-municipalization, and changing the austerity measures implemented under the context of public spending rationalization implemented by the national government⁸.

Moreover, they also introduced the idea of managing the urban commons⁹, and how to transit from public services to commons, and the collaborative and commonality design of projects and urban policies¹⁰. Around the idea of the urban commons many questions arose in the pre-

⁷For example, in Ahora Madrid’s political programme, the idea of the change was all over the document, and they explained: « a change which should be start with the management and organization of the city. Building a democratic city model in which all citizenship could participate in the definition, manage, and development of relevant policies » (Ahora Madrid Political Programme 2015). In Barcelona, in Comú’s political programme, the idea of change was also included, since the first page, where they consider even the programme was a relevant change considering traditional programmes, since it was made by the citizens, « not with the support of lobbies, or made in offices in a non-transparent way» (Barcelona en Comú Political Programme 2015: 1).

⁸ In May 2011, the Conservative Party (Popular Party) won the national elections with absolute majority. Then, the President Mariano Rajoy started to accomplish austerity measures mainly through two Royal Decree-Laws. The first one, in 2012, affecting all public administrations spending to maintain macroeconomic and budgetary stability, and later, in 2013, with the Law of the rationalization and sustainability of Local Administration, reducing local autonomy and introducing the expenditure ceiling.

⁹ Ana Mendez, former advisor on the Area of Culture in Madrid City Hall, in an interview, underlined the relevance of inventing urban commons resources as political opportunities, material and immaterial ones (ES1 : 2017).

¹⁰ The urban common ideas are being tested through different Laboratories of democracy and governance where the role of the State in producing local services is being challenged, and new relationships about local administration and citizens are being rethought in small pilot experiences and regulations. On urban common

electoral debates. First, how to revert privatizations of services of public interest in a context of austerity constraint defined by the National Government, secondly, how to support from local government social economy backing up, as well, urban communitarian regeneration, thirdly, how to design collaboratively public space abandoned due to the crisis or highly privatised in the city centre, and finally, the most innovative one, how to foster co-production and co-implementation of public policies.

In this sense, culture as many others resources and goods, could be considered as urban commons and therefore, the way it has been used, enjoyed, produced and shared should be modify or change in a new policy mix, deconstructing the idea of its instrumentality and its value of change.

3. Inner-core ideas of the cultural policy in a context of urban change and contentious political process

After the municipal elections, with the triumph of *Ahora Madrid*, a new minority government was formed in the city with the political Socialist Party support, so many institutional and political constraints appeared in the possibilities of introducing changes in Madrid local government, although it was still an incredible window of political opportunity comparing with the previous historical electoral results (see Appendix).

So, the new urban regime (Stone 1989) starts to be built since June 2015, with the support of a the “new advocacy coalition” (Sabatier and Jenkins 1993) or “discursive coalition¹¹” (Zittoun 2009) trying to pursuit a new city model. Since then, we have discovered cultural policy has been a key policy in the initial implementation of the model, especially in relation with political conflict. As Zittoun underlined “conflict is thus a fundamental element in the analysis of policy change as a discursive activity” (2009: 79). In that sense, in the last two years in Madrid, around cultural policies we could find many conflicts, some of them due to implementation mistakes but many others due to the difficulties to define policies and the relevance of political problems

experiences in Italy (Iaone 2017), and about the specific regulation in Bologna, (Comune di Bologna 2016, Mendez 2016, Bollier 2015, Comune di Bologna 2016, Iaone 2017).).

¹¹« In the discursive approach, the study of change focuses on the way in which actors work out a new policy statement a construct a coalition around it” (Zittoun 2009 : 79)

should be solved with them but also “to transform instruments into solutions” (Zittoun 2009: 80) in a context of high polarization of ideas and city models.

Considering that cultural policy deals with a very complex object: culture as collective identities; culture as creativity and personal growth factor and culture as common heritage that must be preserved (Bradford, Gay and Wallach, 2000; Miller and Yudice, 2002, Mulcahy, 2006). Let's analyze two of these dimensions.

3.1 New narratives of urban identity

There have been four moments we could consider important in relation with the cultural dimension of collective identities that were conflictive. Constrains and controversies about changes in cultural policy related to the possibility of transforming collective identity appears almost from the beginning of the new government. First, the idea of introducing the commons discursively and its polemic effect, then the drama about how to apply the Historical Memory Law and the change of Name's Streets, and two moments of polemic and conflict about cultural programming.

In June 2015, two councilors of the new Ahora Madrid government took their oath, saying: “Yes, I promise. *Omnia sunt commnia*”, which means, “all is common”. This symbolic way of expressing their idea of commonality was linked with their previous participation in *Patio Maravillas*, a self-managed social Centre but also with the free Open culture and Creative Commons principles. This unusual oath produced a disaffecting effect, since nobody could even understand it, and almost nobody knew what was the meaning. This way of disrupting the protocolized ceremony was followed by remarks and criticisms and a discredit campaign which ends one month later with the replacement of Guillermo Zapata as Councilor of Culture, due to public controversies and tough criticisms related to tasteless jokes he had twitted years ago, in a debate about the free of expression. After him, Celia Mayer was designated as the new responsible of Culture and Sports Government area of the City Hall.

One month later, in July 2015, she announced that for the first time since 2007, the City of Madrid was going to comply with the Historical Memory, which was passed by the Socialist government of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero¹². To do it, they decided to follow

¹²In Spain, the political myth of transition and consensus after Dictatorship mostly closed the Historical Memory debate and therefore the democratic period was created with a post-political consensus about not opening the past and the history of the victims of Civil War and the victims of the Dictatorship (mass grave yields, exiles, etc.).

the legislation removing all names relating to the regime of former dictator Francisco Franco from the Spanish capital's streets and squares but also sculptures and other heritage related to the conflict. Also, Celia Mayer announced they were going to substitute the names through participatory processes with the neighbors giving a new "pluralistic, democratic and diverse" face to the city, making visible women, the most absent subjects in the streets.

However due to the media, political and citizen's controversies about the way Celia Mayer was accomplishing the change of streets' names and the application of the Memory Law¹³, the Mayor again solved the conflict relegating Celia Meyer on those competencies, chosen strategies of consensual and "reasonable" tactics instead of more confrontative attitudes. Therefore, they created a Committee of Expert and technical advisers, neutralizing the political debate about collective memory) reducing the core of the problem and trying to explain clearly that those selected streets were clearly just those linked to the exaltation of the victory, the Civil War and the values of the Dictatorship, the names chosen in order to replace those related to Civil War and Dictatorship were mostly the same they had before the Civil War, erasing the undemocratic period, and some writers and even a Falangist woman who fought against the violence against woman. The discourses spread after all the controversies were the follow: past and history must be part of the city, it is important to take "common sense" into account not disturbing citizens and small traders, and recognizing failures in the selection and technical imprecisions in the beginning of the process.

Also, collective identity and the value of uses had been discussed but in controversial and polemic debates in two recent moments, first when the Parade of the Three Wise Men, celebrated in the honor of the Epiphany in January 2016 received many criticisms because the Three Wise Men were dressed slightly different than the typical images with rich and sumptuous clothes, the dissimilarity with the old way of dressing was considered as unbearable fault but also the changes including in the Parade; the exclusions of elephants and camels, the entrance of bikes, percussion groups, and African and Arabs musicians. Criticisms started in twitter, with a tweet written by a former deputy of the Conservative party about the absence of

However, in 1980, under the leadership of Tierno Galván, Mayor of Madrid (1979-1986) in a context of new democratic councils of left-wing parties and in Alliance with social neighborhood associations they changed 27 names of Streets, struggling with many conflicts and controversies about the selections of the erased names but also the names chosen to replacement them.

¹³The Councilor gave the order of retiring some commemorative plates that two days later were replaced. The Councilor apologies for taking decisions under pressures and rushes due to the existence of a Legal Complaint about the unaccomplished of the Historical Memory Law in Madrid.

“authentic” in Gaspar’s costume, but it was followed by controversial debates in national press accusing the Mayor of destroying the magic beliefs of children. After it, there was another contentious about programming a tale puppeteer theater which included a gag about the disarticulated terrorist group ETA. In another episode of criticisms and pressure the City hall denounced the artists of possible glorification of terrorism, and although the judge did not see any indication of crime and puppeteers were soon released with any charge, the episode was considered another failure of Celia Mayer, as the “uncommon sense” way of programming.

3.2 Ideas about culture and the new city model

4. Implementation of new profile of cultural policy

Recently, Pascual (2009) and UNESCO (2011) thinking about the new dimensions of cultural policy, designed a new cultural policy profile, underlining the changes and continuities of this policy and new actions implemented.

This new cultural policy profile is the result of the join of classical set of actions with new ones. The classic ones, labelled as the inner core of the policy, are: cultural rights and responsibilities, support to artists, cultural actors and cultural organisations; programmes for the cultural sectors: the arts, heritage and languages.; professional artistic education and legal infrastructure: copyright regime. The new dimensions being also considered in this new profile are those related to social and cultural inclusion. But not only in relation to those citizens traditionally outside the cultural arena, but moreover the citizens that are now conforming multicultural societies. Therefore, in this dimension are included programmes which are developing strategies to advance intercultural dialogue, but also those related to increase the number of audiences and promoting gender perspective.

Also, there is also a new dimension connected with the environment since urban space is a basic element of the cultural ecosystem. Therefore, actions concern with improving the territorial balance of the cultural supply, culture and urban planning or urban regeneration or the use of public spaces for cultural projects are also part of this new profile. Moreover, although economic dimension was included in cultural policies since 80-s, lately, terms as creative

industries, media and information and communication technologies are being considered as an intrinsically dimension of cultural policies.

In a similar way, governance issues have been more relevant for this policy. Specifically, this new cultural profile considers necessary to design and implement actions to improve competencies' distribution, participation of civil society in the governance of culture and the participation of governments in international networks and international cultural cooperation projects, especially development cooperation.

During our research, we have understood that urban cultural governance is also a relevant tool of the public action. In fact, a new urban governance regime has been designed over two pillars: decentralization and new channels of citizen participation for design and implement actions.

The first pillar is the idea of institutional decentralization and the budget from the central government of the city to the neighborhoods scale. Since they considered the previous conservative government had designed a very centralized structure of taking decisions and managing the budget, they started to implement an institutional change to return more spending capabilities, more staff and responsibilities to the District Assemblies level¹⁴. The Strategic Plan of District Assemblies Decentralization (2015) main objective, following the councilor- is "not moving competencies from one level to another but improving the quality of living in the neighborhoods, approaching the City Hall to the citizens, making life easier to the people there, where they live" (H02: 2015).

According with the Operative Cultural Police Plan (2015-2016), the aim of decentralization was also a central one. And to pursuit it, they consider to develop programming not only in the main and prestigious city's cultural centers, but also in the neighborhoods creating conditions for social and neighborhood associations would became into an active agent of the definition of cultural programming.

Related to decentralization of urban public policy in Madrid, since the new government arrived individual and collective participation has been another main political and policy change's instrument. Citizen's participation was understood not only as a tool to democratize decisions, but mainly as a mean to foster a collective intelligence at the service of the community and the

¹⁴ Although it is not possible to increase the number of public civil servant due to the austerity policies, they have developed a plan to distribute more staff and competencies to the decentralised areas of government in the districts, administrative and political division of the city In Madrid there are 129 neighbourhoods, included in 21 Districts.

city. Through cultural policy the idea was opening leisure and cultural activity to social agents and neighbors, not only in the way of passive spectators but also as creative agents of taking decisions.

In that sense, those ideas provide a significant progress in the basic cultural policy getting closer to the “new cultural policy profile”, an instrument that “shall nurture a new public debate on cultural policies considering the dialectic relationship between cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue” (Pascual, 2009, UNESCO, 2011). However, in order to also understand how this new cultural policy profile has been accomplished not only in relation to urban governance (decentralization and participation), we should pay attention to actions related to other new and classical dimensions.

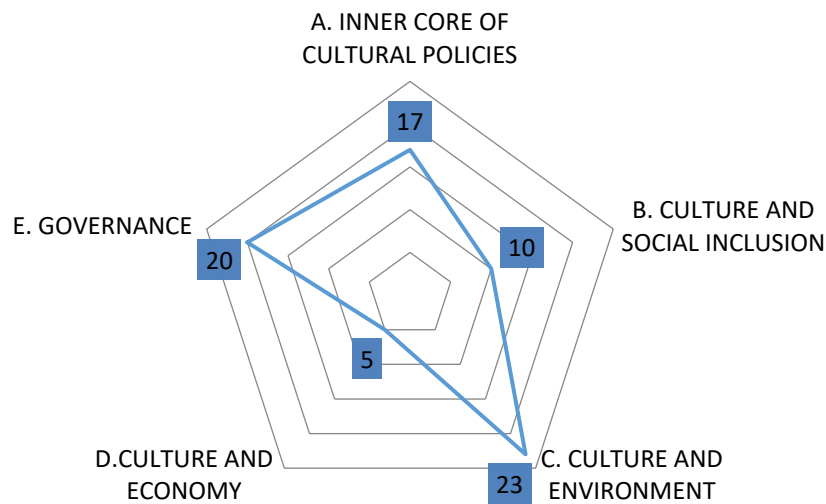
4.1 Accomplished actions and resistances

In Madrid city, following the City Hall reports of achievement, 75 actions of cultural policy were activated. Those actions are included in the following plans:

- Plan for improving libraries, museums, and cultural facilities
- Plan of cultural centers' investments
- Plan of promoting access to cultural programs and facilities: quality service, open and diverse.
- Project to recover the memory of the city
- Plan to launch participatory culture
- Plan of culture decentralization
- Supporting Plan of education and cultural research
- Plan of supporting cultural and social fabric
- Plan of cultural accessibility

In the following table , we can see the number of actions implemented in relation with the main dimensions of the new policy profile.

Figure I. Number of actions implemented following the “new cultural policy profile”



(Source: self elaboration)

Some of the actions already planning have been postponed. If we analyse them, we can observe that one of the explanation is the spending, as in the case of the delay of building a new childhood and young center, the rebuilding of Valverde Cultural Centre, or the rehabilitation of Madrid's Theater. Other political reasons point out the difficult of getting consensus and implement actions as new protocols of access and diffusion of contents through free open culture licences.

5. Conclusions

Using the urban regime, we can answer our questions since many scholars have already analyzed how the possibility of setting a new agenda of urban policies could be possible after an “incubation phase”, through which common purpose are shaped by governing coalitions. But also, the interpretative turn in social sciences is useful to analyse public policies as texts with performative aim that could allow us to understand the way all policies are embedded to create a new urban governance regime, one of the most relevant new challenges of urban cultural policy in Madrid.

Our research, analysing interviews and planning documents, show how cultural governance is in the middle of the public actions. The two pillars of the reconfiguration and re-framing cultural

policy and probably urban policy are: decentralization and participation in the design and implementation of actions.

Specifically, in culture, the idea is to develop more cultural activities in districts allowing the accessibility (places and tickets) and to create the conditions of possibility of social and cultural tissue defining new programming (Cultural and festivities, but also General Programming).

In that sense, just since the Political programme of Ahora Madrid, cultural issues were centred around the idea of “democratizing culture”, although it should have also defined it as “cultural democracy”. This is a classical debate of this sectoral policy: “Democratization of culture prioritizes access of the public to forms of high culture and Cultural democracy, emerged in cultural policy debates in the 1970s, focus on the citizens’ access to the means of cultural production and distribution (Matarasso and Landry, 1999). Also, the idea of democratizing culture, in our case, is concern with the idea of introducing more democratic ways of managing institutions, even those already existing, like Madrid Destino, the public enterprise managing cultural centres.

The proposal included all those items:

- a) To create a Culture Council, independent of other traditionally linked sectors, as tourism and sports. Supporting it with an appropriate budget, adapting governing bodies to a transparent and more democratic managing system.
- b) To generate new administrative protocols and procedures (licences, regulations, administrative formalities, public tenders) in order to manage a more flexible, agile and transparent, simplifying the access to initiatives and citizen production.
- c) To promote citizen initiatives to use spaces and infrastructures, content programming and events’ organization in the municipal facilities.
- d) To recover, conserve and disseminate our collective memory, as much as the material and non-material heritage in order to stimulate pluralistic and critical visions of the past and its meaning for the present”
- e) To recuperate the use of streets and urban green spaces to create an independent regarding the common and private resources and the citizen’s harmony.
- f) To guarantee the visibility of the cultural diversity of Madrid, in Libraries, media centers, cultural centers, creative spaces, art schools and public spaces
- g) To use free licences in the cultural and intellectual production funded by the municipal government (Ahora Madrid Programme 2015: 36)

In this programme, there are briefly resume the main ideas of the new public policy core, citizen initiatives, collective memory, adding new public space for cultural purposes, and territorial distribution of resources.

These ideas show us a significant advance in the content of the basic core of the cultural policy of the city, getting closing to “new cultural policy profile (Pascual, 2009, UNESCO, 2011). And after our study case, we consider it should be add new elements to understand the new processes developing in the “ciudades del cambio”, the culture of common good, the attempts to recover from the private companies the delivery of cultural services to municipal hand to create new communitarian way of managing later. But also, to create windows of opportunity to foster collective intelligence through participatory processes regenerating the social tissue of the city (Experimenta, Escucha).

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Municipal Election in Madrid. Voter Turnout

	2015	2011	2007
Voter Turnout	68.85 %	67.22%	65.93%

Table 2. Municipal Elections in Madrid. Results

	2015	2011	2007
% PP	34.55% (21)	49.69%	55.65%
% AHORA M.	31.85% (20)	-	-
% PSOE	15.28% (9)	23.93%	30.94%
% C's	11.41% (7)	-	-
% UPYD	1.83% (0)	7.85%	-
% Voto IU	1.71% (0)	10.75%	8.68%

Source: Self-elaboration following official results of the Ministry of the Interior 2015.

Table 3. Interviews and Press releases

Santiago Eraso. Director of Cultural programming. Madrid Destino	HO1: 2015	
Celia Meyer. Councilor Ahora Madrid. Delegate of Culture and Sport Area	HO2: 2015 HO2: 2016	
Nacho Murgui. Councilor and Delegate for Territorial Coordination and Public-Social Cooperation	HO2: 2015	

Ana Mendez Activist of Ganemos, part of the Foundation of the Comunes, and Advisor for the internationalization of Culture, Area of Culture, Madrid City Hall.	ES1: 2016 ES1:2017	
Julia Varela. Madrid Destino. Area of Culture and Sports	ES2: 2017	
Marcos García. Medialab Director, Area of Culture	ES3: 2017	
Alejandra de Diego. Participa Lab, Medialab Prado, Area of Culture	TS1: 2017	
Yago Bermejo. Coordinator of Citizen innovation Laboratories and ParticipaLab. Area of Culture	TS2: 2017	
Azucena Klett Arroyo, Intermediae cultural center	TS3: 2016	
David Berna, Medialab, Area of Culture and Sport	TS4: 2017	
Fernando Sabín, Observatorio Metropolitano, Cooperativa Tangente, Member of Madrid 129, Ahora Madrid.	IGL1: 2016 IGL1: 2017	
Mauro Gil-Fournier. VIC, Vivero de Iniciativas Ciudadanas (Breeding Ground of Citizen Initiatives)	IGL2: 2017	

Table 4. Relevant topics following interviews and press releases

	HO1	HO2	ES1	ES2	ES3	TS1	TS2	TS3	TS4	IGL1	IGL2
A. INNER CORE OF CULTURAL POLICIES											
Mission of cultural policies. Impact. Evaluation.											
Cultural rights and responsibilities											
Cultural ecosystem: size and diversity of actors. Needs of artists, cultural actors and organisations.		X	X	X			X	X		X	X
Programmes for the cultural sectors: the arts, heritage and languages.	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X
Programmes for professional artistic education.		X			X		X		X		
Legal infrastructure: copyright regime	X	X	X	X	X		X				X
B. CULTURE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION											
Cultural practices: programmes to promote the active participation of citizens in cultural creation	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Audiences and users of cultural activities			X	X	X			X	X		X
Programmes on intercultural dialogue	X					X	X				
Programmes on gender equality		X			X						
C. CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT											
Cultural eco-events and cultural eco-buildings											
Territorial balance of the cultural supply	X	X		X	x	X	X	X		X	X
Culture and urban planning / urban regeneration											
Use of public spaces for cultural projects		X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Natural landscapes and cultural landscapes											
D. CULTURE AND ECONOMY											
Diversity of economic and financial instruments in support of culture	X			X	X			X		X	
Creative industries, media and information and communication technologies	X	X		X	X		X		X		
Analysis of cultural employment						X		X			
E. GOVERNANCE											
Distribution of competencies. Tiers of government.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Participation of civil society in the governance of culture	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Participation of governments in international networks and international cultural cooperation projects, especially development cooperation.			X	X	X			X			

(Source: self elaboration)

Table 5. Cultural policy's actions accomplished

A. INNER CORE OF CULTURAL POLICIES	
Mission of cultural policies. Impact. Evaluation.	
Cultural rights and responsibilities	
Cultural ecosystem: size and diversity of actors. Needs of artists, cultural actors and organisations.	2
Programmes for the cultural sectors: the arts, heritage and languages.	12
Programmes for professional artistic education.	3
Legal infrastructure: copyright regime	
B. CULTURE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION	
Cultural practices: programmes to promote the active participation of citizens in cultural creation	6

Audiences and users of cultural activities	3
Programmes on intercultural dialogue	1
Programmes on gender equality	
C. CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT	
Cultural eco-events and cultural eco-buildings	5
Territorial balance of the cultural supply	13
Culture and urban planning / urban regeneration	
Use of public spaces for cultural projects	5
Natural landscapes and cultural landscapes	
D.CULTURE AND ECONOMY	
Diversity of economic and financial instruments in support of culture	2
Creative industries, media and information and communication technologies	3
Analysis of cultural employment	
E. GOVERNANCE	
Distribution of competencies. Tiers of government.	6
Participation of civil society in the governance of culture	13
Participation of governments in international networks and international cultural cooperation projects, especially development cooperation.	1